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Research Article

Questioning the Dimensions of Digital Surveillance and Parental Supervision: YouTube Challenges and Video Recommendation System

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ABSTRACT

The development of communication technologies and the active use of social media platforms have led to the fusion of the existing culture with the digital culture formed in this field. While digital culture enables individuals to transfer their norms and values to social media platforms, on the other hand, it has adapted its norms and values to daily culture. YouTube has become one of the main social media platforms on which this culture is especially based and where it is defined as participatory culture. It is thought that especially younger age groups are included in this culture and that provides an occasion for them to take part in surveillance practices by providing data to big data. In this study, to make sense of this situation, the theories of digital sociology and digital surveillance sociology were rethought and qualitative research was conducted to look at the ways in which children aged 9-13 are involved in big data. The study focuses on their YouTube practices, especially their experiences of the challenges connected with using YouTube and the video recommendation system, and suggests precautions where necessary. After conducting netnography on YouTube, the sample of the study was determined using purposeful sampling and snowball sampling techniques, and in-depth interviews were conducted with 23 children upon obtaining consent forms from their families. The findings of the research revealed that usage patterns of social media platforms and the resulting consequences can reach very dangerous levels and that the degree of parental supervision should be reconsidered.

Keywords: Digital Surveillance, Video Recommendation System, Challenge, Parental Supervision



1. Introduction

With the communication revolution, usage of the internet and social media platforms has become widespread, and because of this development, the worlds of being online and offline, of virtual experience and reality, of digital culture and everyday culture have become interconnected. The Covid-19 Pandemic in which we are living reveals how much the internet has affected our lives. It gives clues about the impact of the digital culture arising from the new norms and values that have emerged with the widespread use of the internet. Therefore, digital culture has become one of the issues that requires more detailed thinking and social scientific research.

The digital culture emphasizes the concept of a culture where people are in a communication process like never before, where the concepts of time and space have lost their meaning, and where the speed, frequency, and quality of communication have reached unprecedented dimensions. Such a definition of culture necessitates the redefinition of most of the concepts discussed so far. For example, the concept of inequality can no longer be defined independently of the concept of digital discrimination based on digital culture. The positive results of digital culture should be mentioned, such as the increase of the speed and quality of communication between people, the contribution to cultural diversity and to democracy in the sense that it is an environment where everyone can express their opinions more comfortably, and the emergence of a freer and more critical public space. However, it is striking that digital culture also has negative consequences. These include insufficient access to the Internet in some places, the replacement of virtual reality, the prevalence of surveillance techniques and digital surveillance, viruses, fraud, ontological insecurity, the potential of the Internet to turn into a pressure tool, and manipulation through algorithms and advertisements.

Digital culture, which comprises all areas of life, can influence individuals of all ages through social media platforms. One of these platforms, YouTube, is important for understanding today's self-broadcasting culture (Keen, 2011). According to Keen, in "self-broadcasting culture", an amateur's or anyone's idea is praised, and the distinction between an educated expert and an uninformed amateur becomes dangerously blurred. Any individual has a right to create a channel and publish content on YouTube, but the distinction between amateurism and expertise has disappeared.

YouTubers participate in YouTube as "producers" by producing content (user-generated content), and viewers participate as "consumers" by watching, subscribing, liking, or commenting on this content. Both YouTubers and viewers participate as "prosumers" (producer-consumers) because YouTubers produce their contents by analyzing their viewers' evaluations and information (comments, likes, duration of watching, age scale etc) and viewers, while they are watching, influence the production of other contents. This presumption circle is the basis of a surveillance system and it is difficult to differentiate who monitors whom. YouTube and Google, which owns the company, can monitor YouTubers, their followers, and users by collecting all the data on the platform. YouTubers, on the other hand, have a kind of surveillance power by accessing data such as their followers' movements, likes, watching times, comments, what age group they watch, how much they are watched (this statistical data is presented to them by YouTube). Advertisements or other contents are directed to the users in that way. The viewers, on the other hand, watch or "monitor" YouTubers by following their content. In addition, the question of distinguishing who really wants to "express" oneself and who wants to "exhibit" oneself should also be asked. This situation conceptually takes place in the literature as the dilemma of expression and exhibitionism. It is stated that this situation leads to a process that directly kills the culture instead of producing a participatory culture. Describing users as "amateur monkeys", Keen criticizes the fact

that user-oriented content is used to publish unqualified political commentary, home videos that may violate privacy, embarrassing and very amateur music, unreadable poetry, and other similar content (Keen, 2011).

It is thought that social media platforms that support user-oriented content production, especially YouTube, do not lead to an egalitarian system and participatory culture but rather to a system that is suitable for surveillance. The main reason for this is that not every individual or institution in society has equal opportunity of accessing technology and there is a power imbalance between individuals and institutions that have this opportunity. This situation, which might be explained with the concept of digital discrimination, causes individuals who think that they are only expressing themselves to be included in big data with social media tools and to be included in the system with the thought that they must sacrifice something to benefit from something. It is stated that participatory culture is a strong incentive for people to share various things with others (Jenkins, 2009), and people see inclusion in the YouTube community as a kind of emotional support mechanism. However, it is not known how the participatory culture will interfere in human lives. It is stated that both individuals participating in this culture and even big industry leaders such as Google and Viacom can lose control at some point even if they have unequal power, ownership and control over the reality produced there (Burgess & Green, 2009). While many people on YouTube both contribute to and benefit from the cyclical mechanism of production and consumption processes, which are called prosumption, they contribute to big data with the algorithms they are involved in. Algorithms emerge as the digitized form of all movements of individuals and establish the necessary basis for making predictions about individuals' practices and habits. YouTube, with its entertainment element, includes young children in its digital surveillance system and easily collects data about them.

A review of the existing literature reveals that studies about YouTube are generally about its effect on culture and private-public space. They are focused on user-generated content and the video recommendation system and take YouTube as a social communication platform. When this research was conducted (2018), there were some articles about YouTube and YouTubers (Holmbom, 2015; Metz, 2008; Mingione, 2014; Harvey, 2013; Riley, 2014 etc.) in international studies. In Turkey there were a few studies on this topic (Yaraş, 2015; Mutlu&Bazarcı, 2017 etc.) but they were focused mainly on beauty and fashion vlogging or brand collaboration. YouTube's own report takes the youngest group as the 16-24 age range and 72% of this group watch videos on YouTube (YouTube, n.d.). According to YouTube's research, there are no data on primary school children. However, it is thought that they are digital natives and that as such they are active on this platform both as users and producers. The control of the content on YouTube is difficult and challenging, and the video recommendation system used by YouTube might be risky for this age group. The aim of this research is to obtain data on this issue for this special age group, to raise awareness about surveillance systems on YouTube and to inform parents by focusing on surveillance systems on YouTube through qualitative research techniques (both netnography and in-depth interviews). This research might fill the gap in the literature in respect of the sample group chosen, the techniques used, and the subject analyzed herein.

2. Theoretical Framework

Surveillance has started to gain an important place in sociology with the concept of "panopticon" defined by Jeremy Bentham. In addition to the concept of "crime", which is carried out against the legal systems in a country, deviant behavior which goes against certain norms and

values in society can be defined as “social deviation”. The first is subject to certain punishments and distinguishes between criminal and deviant behaviors. The concept of panopticon can be explained in terms of individuals in prison being watched and kept under control by guards in a watchtower. The basic idea here is that the snoopers see the spied on, but because the spied on cannot see them, the latter think that they are constantly being watched. This model provides the power to function easily and replaces the principle of “visibility” first coined in the 18th century (Eroğlu, 2016). Visibility forms the basis of digital surveillance because individuals will want to share their information and be spied on at various costs. The panopticon’s greatest impact on surveillance is the emergence of the logic that “you do not really need to watch people to control them. It is enough to make them think that they are being watched.” Over time, the logic of the panopticon spread over the whole of society making people think that not just criminals, but all individuals were under surveillance to perform “desired” behaviors. In the historical process, as seen in Foucault’s theory of biopolitics, surveillance has gained a form that works not with normation but with normalization and thus with social control. This form is one of the main characteristics of control societies. With social control and normalization, going beyond the central idea of crime and punishment, attention has been drawn to the historical establishment of a different form that operates in the context of “discipline instead of sovereignty, positivist social sciences instead of legal discourse, deviation, and surveillance instead of crime and punishment, and control” (Özkazanç, 2007, p.2).

According to Foucault the transition from disciplinary societies to control societies occurs in the first place when individuals are disciplined by institutions such as mental hospitals, education, nursing homes and prisons (normation process) and when the state directly imposes various sanctions, and in the second place when individuals who think they are being watched internalize and reproduce the norms (normalization process). Describing these societies using the concepts of biopolitics and biopower, Foucault emphasizes that the desire is to control life. Power has transformed from managing people to managing human needs. The fact that power puts into action mechanisms for restructuring life by putting life into forms that can be calculated and made economically productive has made a new art of management dominant. This new art of management is not based on controlling life, but on making life productive (Baştürk, 2012).

As a result of the formation process of these social control mechanisms, new power mechanisms emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries. On this basis, it was not goods and wealth that was gained, but labor and the value of time; laws were replaced by normalizations. An example of normalizations is the medicalization of behaviors and desires, and such a society can be described as a normalizing society. Based on biopower, especially in the second half of the 18th century, regulative power mechanisms replaced disciplinary power, the subject became the life of people, and the transition to a cumulative power mechanism instead of individualization was defined as biopolitics (Foucault, 1997). Emphasizing that power is not just something the state uses, but that it exists in all social relations, Foucault says that many social groups such as the insane, criminals, and the unemployed, who do not participate in social production or are thought to be harmful, are shut in various institutions for various reasons, as in the logic of the panopticon. Surveillance systems in modern societies, especially with technology and social media, have begun to collect information about individuals and create social control mechanisms in this way (Foucault, 2017).

Another concept based on biopower is the risk society, which describes the new consumption relations shaped by the desire for life. The basic concept on which the risk society is based is security (Sustam, 2016). In the risk society where risks are considered natural, people accept risk

and normality is determined by security. In Beck's theory of Risk Society, risks are globalized and avoiding risks is not enough. The biggest impact of the risk society on digital surveillance is that while people accept being spied on for security purposes, they also feel confused by thinking that they are being watched all the time.

These basic theories, which are here mentioned very superficially, are the theories that ground the transition from surveillance to digital surveillance. To gain a deeper understanding of digital surveillance in digital sociology, attention is first drawn to Lyon's work *The Surveillance Society*. When objects summon people and people begin to use whatever means available to them to possess them, the connection with the objects turns into a relationship with "Power" that begins with a capital letter. Economic, political, coercive, and symbolic powers become the Big Brothers of people who interact with objects in shopping spaces (Öztürk, 2013). This system, which allows the control of individuals in places of consumption, entertainment, and organization, is called Superpanopticon. By using the internet, the superpanopticon becomes an internalized control rather than a controlling and coercive power. As Melossi describes it, "After tyranny and the law were replaced by the manipulation and control of meanings, various social changes occurred. Language has a very important role at this point. Recreational activities have become tools of social control. Mass media is one of the important factors at this stage" (Melossi, 1997, p.55).

From this point of view, digital surveillance enables social media to control people. For Lyon, the surveillance society represents all societies that depend on communication and information technologies for management and control (Lyon, 2006). In surveillance societies, being watched, controlled, and investigated are the three most important basic features. Unlike the risk society, the reason for the desire to be observed in these societies is not only for security, but also for mass surveillance for all purposes. As expressed by the concept of liquid surveillance, especially with the development of social media tools, a situation of surveillance, control and what to do with this data, and the inability to control decentralized information, has emerged. The disappearance of the existence of individuals in the physical environment and the disconnection that occurs in social relations are explained by the concept of disappearing bodies. The framework that is effective in the formation of disappearing bodies is the "Invisible Frames" in Lyon's conceptual expression. The fact that individuals think that all these surveillance systems, especially the internet, have always existed in their lives and that they cannot live without them, is the basic framework that determines the limits of individuals' movements. "Power plays its part and ordinary people often become partners and sometimes surrender to the system. But is that control or coercion? This constantly changes." These sentences express the process of individuals becoming disappearing bodies with the boundaries drawn by invisible frames in the lives of individuals, and the logic of digital surveillance (Lyon, 2006).

Examining all changes and transformations such as computer technologies, social media tools and the internet, which are invisible frameworks, the field of digital sociology describes these transformations using concepts such as technobiophilia and scopophilia. As Thomas wrote in his book, *Technobiophilia: Nature and Cyberspace* (2003), since the emergence of computer technologies, terms such as web, cloud, bug, virus, and metaphors such as root and mouse are used because in this way computer technologies are seen as less scary and less alienating (Lupton, 2013). On the one hand, technobiophilia is considered as technology addiction, but on the other hand, it tries to explain the indispensability of these systems for people. It is seen that all concepts in human life are matched with the concepts of new technological developments so that these systems seem to have always existed and that surveillance is not denied. Scopophilia, on the other hand,

supports technophilia because of the desire to be admired by others and because of the evaluation of social positions that make individuals voluntarily involved in digital surveillance.

Deleuze's concept of rhizomatic connections explains the connections that enable involvement in surveillance. This concept describes "becoming" and "constant self-renewal". It is used to emphasize the situation where individuals in the surveillance system both affect and are affected by this system. "Rhizomatic is a concept that describes the destruction of all orders and all hierarchies. Rhizome is the root of a plant. This root moves horizontally underground and multiplies at an unpredictable speed" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). Theoretical discussions about rhizomatic connections are handled with four basic principles. These principles are connectivity and heterogeneity, multiplicity, the principle of nondeterministic rupture, and the principles of cartography and decalcomania. With these principles, the infrastructure that constitutes the technical infrastructure of the internet and digital surveillance is discussed theoretically. In terms of connectivity and heterogeneity, it is emphasized that different social media platforms can synchronize with each other, and two different realities can progress through a single network. Multiplicity, on the other hand, refers to the state of being in more than one connection, the ability to connect with different DNS, and the ability of individuals to express themselves in many ways. Non-deterministic rupture refers to all technical obstacles in social media platforms where these systems may become inaccessible at any time due to technical reasons. However, cartography and decalcomania, as the principles that most clearly explain the inclusion of big data, are a kind of mapping (cartography) where the connections and indeed the data are brought together and where the idea that the internet also has an end is seen (Yücedağ, 2017).

The emphasis on rhizomatic connections can be thought of as the diffusion of decentralized knowledge. Considering the example of YouTube, digital surveillance systems collect data and provide the opportunity to map individuals with algorithms, thanks to the decentralized information that spreads over all areas, resembling a rhizome, that is, the roots of a plant. These algorithms form the basis of the video recommendation system. YouTube, which is a social media platform where individuals share their personal preferences and data without being consciously aware of it, is also a social media platform where the video recommendation system and rhizomatic connections are based and where digital surveillance is operated. The biggest innovation brought by digital surveillance is that surveillance becomes more fluid without being directly limited by a certain physical power while becoming the control mechanism of meaning productions (Melossi, 1997). Being able to see others while invisible, and thus classifying, disciplining, and controlling individuals, forms the basis of digital surveillance (Thwaites, 2017).

As can be explained with theoretical transitions, transitions from panopticon to superpanopticon, from hard power to soft power, from a discipline society to a control society have caused societies to take the form of surveillance societies. Social media platforms have been one of the most effective tools that ensure the surveillance of masses in this form and the operation of digital surveillance. The most obvious differences between surveillance and digital surveillance are that it is massive (surveillance of everyone, not just criminals), that individuals are defined by "dividuation" rather than as individuals, and new classification normalization techniques are used. In digital surveillance, movements in all social networks are tracked thanks to algorithmic surveillance by using data that are shared consciously or unconsciously. Although digital surveillance is generally considered as soft power due to the fact that participation in this surveillance is voluntary and operates with participatory surveillance, it can still be used for punishment, capture, and grouping functions from time to time, and it can also be considered as hard power in such cases (Thwaites, 2017).

With the aforementioned theoretical framework, this research aims to examine and understand the reflections of YouTube's digital surveillance systems, which are increasingly influential today, on children. For that reason, this study looks for answers to the following research questions: What types of digital surveillance formats does YouTube have? What are the reasons for children to be included in digital surveillance systems on YouTube? Are children aware of the video recommendation system while watching YouTube contents? What does the "Challenge" mean for children, and if they are involved in these practices, what are the reasons? What is the role of parents in these processes, and what do children think about their family's behavior? What do children do to protect themselves from surveillance systems?

3. Methodology

This study uses data collected for the master's thesis "Youtubers in the Process of Changing Social Values from the Perspective of Digital Sociology: The Sample of Primary Education Students", written in Hacettepe University, Social Sciences Institute, Sociology Master's Program with Thesis. Qualitative research method was used to understand what the challenges and video suggestion system on YouTube mean to children between the ages 9-13 and to determine the dimensions of digital surveillance. Qualitative researchers rely on personal beliefs, biography, or specific current issues to identify topics of interest or importance to them. They may proceed through the theoretical-philosophical paradigm or place their research in the context of ongoing discussions with other researchers. Qualitative research provides the opportunity to choose a direction that may include many potential questions rather than narrowing it down. In qualitative research, the researcher collects, analyzes, and interprets data, but this process takes place as a fluent process that goes back and forth, and new concepts and theoretical interpretations occur during the interpretation of data (Neuman, 2014). In this study, qualitative research method was used to reach the individual experiences and interpretations of children on YouTube in general, the Video Suggestion System and Challenges in particular, and to focus on other potential questions in the research process.

3.1. Data Collection Tools

To collect data in the research, YouTube was determined as an area that needed to be investigated. Netnography was carried out to obtain the data in this field primarily through ethnography and to gain information for the next step, in-depth interviews. Unlike "nethnography", which is expressed as "netnography" in English and is based on examining consumer behavior without the letter "h", netnography is a research technique that aims to examine social interaction in online environments with an anthropological approach (Braga, 2021). The dispersion of time and space has led to the emergence of various techniques called netnography or virtual ethnographies, using classical tools such as archival studies of cultural anthropology to observe interaction and communication in online spaces, or treating materials obtained from online communication like any other text (Alexandersson, 2020). This technique has gained greater importance especially in studies done with generation Z or with digital natives. Netnography, with the century-old method of Bronislaw Malinowski and Franz Boas, is an ethnography that supports research in an era where young people spend most of their social life on Facebook, not in the schoolyard, where new mothers learn a lot of information from internet forums, not from their family or friends and where blogs and Twitter are now the most important source of industry news and ideas in many workplaces (Kozinets, 2010 as cited in Özuz, 2018).

With netnography, this research has tried to understand the logic of the video suggestion system and how the algorithms work. To ensure the necessary interaction, notifications of YouTube channels followed by children were opened, these videos were followed regularly, and after these videos, an attempt was made to see what kinds of videos the video suggestion system suggested. A YouTube account was also opened for these stages and only channels followed by children were followed. The comments under the videos were carefully examined and comments were made on the videos that attracted a lot of attention. For the challenges, thanks to netnography, it was possible to observe what kinds of challenges there are, how they are carried out, and what the fun and danger dimensions related to them are. Netnography has made great contributions especially in the creation of individual interview forms. Thanks to the participatory observation carried out with netnography, all the issues that needed to be examined were revealed and the necessary ground was created for the second stage of the research.

In-depth interview was used as the main data collection tool in the research. In-depth interviews were conducted using a pre-created semi-structured individual interview form. Semi-structured individual interview forms were considered important especially in order to prevent the age group from deviating from the subject. For the same reason, since it is very important to observe the emotional states, gestures, and mimics of the children between the ages of 9-13, the interviews were conducted face to face. During data collection using in-depth interviews, the ability to add other questions deemed necessary and to focus more on the necessary questions was one of the biggest advantages. Before each interview, after informing participants and parents about the research, the participants signed voluntary participation forms, and the parents signed the parent consent form. In-depth interviews were conducted only with children whose parents had given consent for their children to participate in the research. The individual interview form was divided into five sections wherein the first section focused on general information, the second part on information about the use of YouTube, the third part on information about YouTube and social relations, the fourth section on YouTube's contribution to academic and daily life, and the final section on YouTubers as a role model.

3.2. Data Collection Process

In the first stage of the data collection process of the research, netnography was used and information about YouTube, which was determined as the study area, was collected through participant observation. In the light of this information, an individual interview form was prepared, and necessary preparations were made for the semi-structured in-depth interview. After determining the subject and basic questions of the study, all relevant forms and annexes were submitted to the Hacettepe University Ethics Committee to proceed to the second step of the data collection process. An application was made requesting approval regarding the suitability of the study, especially for children, and approval from the Ethics Committee was obtained. To determine whether the individual interview form fully covered the framework of the research and its functionality, necessary corrections were made by conducting a pilot study with one person, and the interview process was adjusted to last 40 minutes at most with the aim of eliminating the element of boredom and preventing loss of seriousness during the interview with children. Before the interviews, necessary information was given to the families and after the parents had signed a consent/voluntary participation form, the children were read the child/adolescent voluntary participation form and they were asked to sign it. Before each interview, it was stated orally, even though it was written in the form, that the study was completely voluntary. In the study, after the Hacettepe

University ethics committee report had been received on January 22, 2018, in-depth interviews were conducted with all participants between February 20 and April 20, 2018. 23 people were interviewed on different days and dates, and during the interviews permission was granted to use a voice recorder and in addition to record detailed notes made of the conversations. When the audio recordings and notes were brought together, a detailed deciphering process was carried out, and the data of the research were made ready.

3.3. Data Evaluation Process

It can be said that the most controversial part of qualitative studies is the data evaluation process because researchers make sense of the data by adding their own interpretations in this process. This claim is not entirely correct because there are many steps that are followed to ensure the validity of the research. This study draws on the following analysis methods: the analysis method of Miles and Huberman (1984), which proposes the data reduction process, the visualization of the data, the stages of reaching and confirming; Dey's (1993) analysis method, which enumerates the processes of description, classification and connection, and Dey's analysis method, which suggests general description, analysis and interpretation based on subjective interpretations with a careful and systematic analysis in which the data collected from the field is reflected as they are. In addition, Corbin and Strauss's (1990) analysis of coding and conceptualization of similar events by comparing events and cases based on answers was examined (Özdemir, 2010). Taking all these methods into account, the process of collecting the data that are important for the study and distinguishing them from the unnecessary ones was carried out as part of the "data reduction process". All the voice recordings and notes were read in detail after decoding and unnecessary data had been separated. This process was also seen as an important step in terms of block quoting to increase the validity of the research. Then, the stage that is called conceptualization, coding or linking, where the data are collected under certain headings, was carried out. In this stage the aim was to reach a basic conceptualization with coding concepts.

3.4. Participants

The participants of the research were aged 9-13, were being educated at primary school level, and were followers of YouTube as well as being YouTubers themselves. In the research design, attention was paid to the fact that of the 22 participants, 11 of them went to public school and 11 of them went to private school. Due to two of the participants being twins, the number was increased to 23 and the study was completed with these 23 participants given that the research had reached saturation point. The names of the participants were used anonymously throughout the study, and they were referred to using expressions such as "Participant 1" and so on. Due to the age group, extra care was taken in the process of creating the individual interview forms and in the process of obtaining the report from the ethics committee. The participants were determined within the framework of purposive sampling, and the sample's representativeness of the universe was not considered because it did not aim to generalize. Participants were selected from a group of people determined qualitatively and descriptively. In addition to the age criterion, the participants were asked to have the necessary technological equipment to access YouTube on the internet, to actively follow YouTube and to have information about the content there. In the stage of reaching the participants, the snowball participant technique was used to reach the participants who met the criteria specified in the purposeful sampling, and social communication networks were also given importance in the stage of finding the participants. The fact that the participants were young and required family per-

mission also provided convenience in terms of keeping in touch with the participants through social communication networks which provided easier access to individuals.

3.5. Risks and Limitations

For the research to work in a specific sample group, limiting the study to individuals who were in the 9-13 age group and who had knowledge about YouTube and were YouTubers was seen as a necessary limitation for the study. However, reaching children with those characteristics and getting permission from their families was one of the difficulties experienced in the research. During the interviews with individuals under the age of 18 and especially in this age group, the 40-minute limit applied to the in-depth interviews for the children to both give correct answers and complete the research without getting bored. Other difficult aspects of the research derived from the fact that the research was not a quantitative study, that parental consent was required to have the children fill in the questionnaires, that the research required in-depth interviews to be conducted and that this research technique needed to be explained to the families. Another risk was that digital sociology, which forms the theoretical basis of the research, is a new and developing field and attempts to progress with fewer resources. In the same way, the lack of many studies and resources in the process of research on YouTubers and the fact that the study did not progress with a known sociological phenomenon were other difficult aspects of the research. The biggest issue that can be seen as a limitation of the research was participant representation. Although qualitative research does not aim to generalize, it is important to note that the study cannot be generalized to include all children in the world or in Turkey, and that this study does not include any comments about children who do not have access to technological tools and who do not follow YouTube.

4. Findings

At the stage of interpretation of the findings, as can be seen in the subtitles of this section, the data obtained from netnography led to the emergence of YouTube and surveillance types in this field. The types of surveillance on YouTube are discussed within the framework of the principles of rhizomatic connection, drawing analogies as they take place in discussions of digital sociology. Following on from this the content of YouTube and digital surveillance in general is mentioned. The research-based and most important part of the study is the awareness levels and experiences of the participants in the Video Suggestion System, which reflects YouTube's surveillance practice and algorithmic surveillance logic. In the next section, the Challenges that increase the need for parental supervision and the children's involvement in the YouTube culture and surveillance system and the way they are implemented are discussed. Data obtained from both netnography and in-depth interviews were used to explain the challenges. The importance of challenges in terms of digital surveillance is that young participants voluntarily participate in this system, and this causes them to be involved in big data with these practices, reflecting the logic that "visibility is not a punishment, but a reward", which is one of the basic principles of digital surveillance. Finally, at this point, the attitudes of families are mentioned, and the importance of parental supervision is emphasized.

4.1. Types of Surveillance on YouTube within the Framework of Rhizomatic Connection Principles

When the findings of the research are evaluated, it is seen that the surveillance wherein children are involved and voluntarily exposed to on YouTube is shaped within the framework of the principles of rhizomatic connection. As a result of the methods of netnography and in-depth interviews, it

was determined that the principles of heterogeneity, multiplicity, cartography and decalcomonia of rhizomatic connection all exist. The research showed that children and YouTubers use their social media accounts in sync and for many purposes. Spying on, being watched, and surveillance are carried out from all social media platforms and generally continue into consumption practices. As an example, from the data obtained, it is seen that the participants follow both the channels and Instagram accounts of YouTubers and all related sites and content. For example, when a child follows Enes Batur, he/she visits the site where Batur sells the sweatshirt called “Batuber” and he/she follows the YouTuber’s movements on Instagram too. From the point of view of multiplicity, it is noteworthy that while YouTube is followed for the purpose of following others, this follow-up expands to include sharing of one’s own information, and data sharing takes place. The principle of cartography, on the other hand, refers to the fact that data collected from every angle become a whole like a map. In a sense, YouTube keeps and supervises its own employees, namely YouTubers, under a kind of control mechanism, and this process is about entertainment, with awards such as “YouTube Rewind”, “YouTube Thank You Letter”, and “1 Million Plaque”. It is well known that in addition to channel owners being checked, video contents are also checked, necessary videos are age-limited and YouTube Partnership of channel owners is cancelled where necessary. In addition, participants follow YouTubers with synchronization and participate in their activities with comments and likes. YouTubers, on the other hand, can follow their own subscribers, access a lot of information such as the watch time of a content, the number of people watching, the number of subscribers, and develop strategies accordingly. The fact that YouTube represents an endless internet tool that contains an infinite number and variety of content represents the principle of decalcomonia. It is seen that it is very easy to access many uncontrollable contents that occupy children’s minds such as the Deep Web, Blue Whale and Illuminati in this endless environment. A complaint against a YouTuber to the prosecutor’s office for saying “Commit suicide, get rid of this life” and a YouTuber sharing content in a place called “Suicide Forest” and having his partnership cancelled are two prominent examples of ways in which control can take place.

4.2. Principles of Digital Surveillance

The main principles of digital surveillance which come to the fore based on this study, can be determined as the disappearance of the separation of time and space, the increasing importance of mass surveillance, the increase of the culture of surveillance with organization and communication, and the death of culture. YouTube is a social media platform where digital surveillance systems work in every respect. Users can communicate with YouTubers regardless of time and place, and all their movements while using this opportunity can be watched by both YouTube and YouTubers in the content they follow. Decentralized information takes place on social media platforms, and it is getting harder and harder to control this information. YouTube is one of the systems that supports mass surveillance and is based on the logic of “seeing others when you are invisible”, reflecting the transition phase from a disciplinary society to a control society. As in social control systems, it is seen that people who are not included in this system are excluded from the groups they belong to and are exposed to a new classification. The statement of Participant 2 clearly illustrates this situation:

Kids who don’t open channels or whose parents don’t let them do it, feel left out. Because it’s a bit of a necessity at our age. Because people who don’t like or follow each other on YouTube are excluded. It happens at our school too. I mean, I don’t remember any examples of this right now, it was something that usually happened in elementary school. (Participant 2, 13, Female)

I would like to open a channel and broadcast, but I would like to this in 8th grade, I'm so young right now. However, I'm not jealous because my friends don't have many subscribers, so if I start now, I can catch up, but of course, if they have many subscribers and I can't catch up, I would feel excluded. (Participant 13, 12, Male)

The basic logic of digital surveillance is not to do surveillance with strict norms and punishment, but on the contrary to do surveillance through organization and communication, as explained by the concept of the superpanopticon. YouTube and the emerging Self-Publishing Culture are blurring out the public-private distinction, and individuals are sacrificing their data when they think they are having fun. Entertainment becomes central to the control of meaning production, and the death of culture occurs with the disappearance of the amateur-expert distinction as asserted by Keen. During the surveillance, YouTube also controls the consumption practices of children, as people accept having to sacrifice in order to reach various objects, including what objects they want to buy and what they crave.

4.3. Video Recommendation System Awareness and Responses

In order to check awareness of the video suggestion system and their involvement in algorithmic surveillance participants were asked questions about what kind of videos they saw advertised next to or below the videos they watched or in the auto play section after the video they had been watching was finished. Some of the children (as seen in Participant 7) stated that these videos were sent randomly, and they also encountered various scary items:

YouTube randomly sends recommended videos to me. I came across a scary video, but I was not afraid. For example, it was more of a thriller, for example, a clown joke. Horror movies also come up while watching movie trailers. (Participant 7, 11, Male)

Some of the participants found that YouTube's videos were sent according to a certain system, according to the videos they watched and depending on the content they watched the most, but they encountered various frightening elements:

I think YouTube sends suggested videos based on something specific. It looks at the content we watch the most. It sends it directly from there. There was a scary video that I came across. Forget what it is (laughs). In the video, there is a normal road at first, cars are passing by. In a moment, but in one scene, in a second, the video cuts out and something terrible explodes, something like a monster, a zombie explodes on the computer screen. At the beginning of the video, something normal, funny was written. There is another video about Dabbe Siccin. It happened unintentionally. When it opened there, I had to click it (laughing). It piqued my interest." (Participant 3, 13, Male)

I think YouTube is deliberately posting these suggested videos. It's not about the things I'm interested in. Aaa, it may be in the recommended videos, the things I watch or the ones that are followed so that you should watch it again. (Participant 11, 12, Female)

Our research revealed that some participants who encountered terrible items in the video suggestion system were afraid and anxious, or could not forget the content they watched from time to time:

I usually get the things I watch the most. I have never come across things that I would be afraid of, but when I think about it, there are some. For example, the girl who tore the Qur'an is just like that. Also, a video like the devil's son is smiling for two hours, but as it came up with the suggestions, I changed it right away. Five Nights at Freddy's "FNAF" is such a game, it came from suggested videos. Sometimes I sleep anxiously when I go to bed. When I go to bed, I don't pick up the phone and go to sleep, but sometimes I think of it and then it goes away when I watch other videos. (Participant 16, 12, Male)

Although the participants generally do not agree on whether the video suggestion system is intentional or random, it is clearly seen in the answers that the greater part of the participants have come across various scary or sexually explicit items due to YouTube video suggestions. The reason for encountering these kinds of videos was seen as content shared in the category of interesting information on YouTube in general, but it was understood that the participants who watched daily life videos were also exposed to these elements. For example, videos shared by the famous YouTuber Logan Paul in the domain Suicide Forest are watched by many children and this YouTuber is now subject to various sanctions placed by YouTube.

Our study revealed that in the video suggestion system one of the “recommended” video contents that the participants talked about the most was a game called FNAF. FNAF stands for “Five Nights at Freddy’s”. An important part of FNAF is its structure, which, with the detailed explanation of one of the participants, depicts digital surveillance in a way and may even contain important concepts for the sociology of surveillance.

Whatever YouTube video it is, for example, the ones suggested by the game video are the game videos or the ones we used to follow. I’ve never come across a scary video. I used to follow a game called FNAF (Five Nights at Freddy’s), it contains a lot of mystery, the game is a horror game and a thriller game. I was watching its videos and finally a guy was scaring me with Jumpscare. Jumpscare is something used there. There are several robots whose purpose is to catch you. You’re spying on them with a camera. They come to you, when you look at the camera, they either jump on you or do something else. If you stay fully open, you win” (Participant 13, 12, Male)

In the words of the participant, the rule of the game is that the individual who wants to survive in the game should always keep his camera on and he will encounter various frightening results when he looks at the camera. The idea that the individual sacrifices something in order not to be excluded and to be included in the system, as in digital surveillance, and that he or she will face various sanctions when he is out of this system, can be considered as very interesting data. The individual who stops being watched has lost the game. If the individual constantly looks at the camera, he will be attacked by various monsters.

In addition to the FNAF videos, a look at the contents that other participants mentioned reveals that one of the participants came across a video called the world’s most dangerous prison inmates and could not go to the toilet alone for a few days. Another participant encountered horror movie trailers while watching a movie trailer. It was also revealed that another participant faced many feelings of fear as he was afraid of the advertisements in between the videos.

This study shows that the videos coming from the video suggestion system encountered by the participants were not only scary, but also violent and sexual. As seen in the statements of Participant 4, Participant 14, and Participant 15, videos of animal torture, videos of human tattoos, and videos of killing dogs or a man cutting his face were encountered:

For example, they put a video of animal torture or a video of beating a person. And others are watching them too! I’m watching too, I can’t tell you that I’m not watching it. People become conscious, but at the same time others make money. I’m complaining to myself. However, I have never complained about any YouTuber even if I got very angry. Because I’m afraid it will mess with me if anything happens to me. I wouldn’t dare do it. (Participant 4, 13, Female)

A man was killing a dog. He didn’t like animals. I came across that video. But I just turned it off. Because it was so bad. There is automatic play, it is always pressed, it played itself from there, I do not press it. Otherwise, scary videos happened, it happened at school, and once my friends wanted it very much. There is a game called ‘Five Night in Freddy’s’, it is a very scary game.

Someone opened it. Then everyone was very scared. I hadn't watched it either. I saw something terrible in the commercials, too. I saw a movie. There is a girl, her eyes are different and transparent, she opens her eyes, they are round ones, they draw a circle, unfortunately, I don't remember her name." (Participant 14, 12, Female)

There was this guy named Jeff the Killer. It was a terrible video, the man cut his mouth and eye or something. It appeared in the suggested videos on the side. It was in the cover art where he cut his mouth off his face. I think the videos on this side come randomly. I don't think YouTube posts these videos on purpose. (Participant 15, 12, Male)

This study also attempts to understand how the children followed the video suggestion system in terms of coping with content that was bad or scary for them, and it was determined that they either assumed the role of passive viewers or tried to turn off the videos immediately. As seen in the statement above, when we look at the example of Participant 4, it is seen that social media is considered a kind of power and children think that they cannot cope with attacks there. One of the most impressive points encountered in the study is that one of the participants stated that instead of fairy tales with happy endings, YouTube shows them the real versions of these tales.

For example, I saw the real endings of fairy tales, I was very scared when I watched them, and I watched how horror movies were shot, and I was very scared. How the cartoons that I call the end of fairy tales Rapunzel, Snow White end. The ones I remember the most are Snow White's and Cinderella's. In Cinderella, the sisters cut off their toes and try on the shoes, so does the stepmother. In Snow White, the Evil Witch first gives Snow White a belt, a buckle, and then an apple. They weren't talking about what they were doing with that belt and buckle. And finally, Snow White and the Prince make the Evil Witch dance in shoes made of hot iron throughout the wedding to punish her. It was so scary. I don't remember any of the others. When I watched them, I was so scared, I said that the things I watch cannot end like this. (Participant 2, 13, Female)

In addition to such content, our research shows that games such as Blue Whale, which are banned in various countries, attract a lot of attention by this age group on YouTube, and they watch the relevant videos here to reach these games. Another remarkable result is that although the video game with the slogan "Die! You will be reborn anyway" causes children to injure themselves or commit suicide by performing various tasks, it is one of the many easily accessible contents on YouTube. Participant 4 expressed this as follows:

I think YouTube doesn't send suggestions based on the videos I watch. I think YouTube is an irresponsible app. For example, they say that Tom has a camera in his eye. They say they can see the photos you took on Snapchat. For example, I do not understand this, for example, the blue whale, you know? So how could something like that happen! Why would you want to kill a person, why would you want to make such a game! It's so different, it just seems silly to me. And they're playing! For example, my friends didn't play that game, but they explained what happened at the end of the blue whale video and they wrote blue whale here (she showed the inside of his arm) and died. They take pictures of all of them and post them on Instagram. For example, they have an Instagram account, they post all the photos and all the things written about the blue whale there. My friends follow him from there and he has quite a lot of followers, I can't believe how they did this. Even my friends follow him! I even stopped communicating with those people. Because they affect me too, they tell me all the time. (Participant 4, 13, Female)

Although the videos suggested by the video suggestion system to children vary, it can be seen that the participants encountered content that they would not want to encounter either with the suggestion system or with the friend circle connection. The danger dimension of this content

ranges from content that children will see and be afraid of, to content that may cause them to commit acts of violence.

4.4. Challenges and Practices

Within the context of YouTube, ‘Challenge’ refers to certain practices that have become widespread to include all age groups. Individuals try to fulfil certain tasks in order to prove themselves and have fun. While video recommendation systems are the result of a direct surveillance practice, it is a system that needs to be examined because it identifies videos that are directly accessible to children. Practices called ‘challenge’ were examined in this study primarily because they support children’s participation in big data and algorithmic surveillance, and because they have become an issue that can make parental supervision mandatory and very difficult to control. As a result of netnography, this study shows that there are many types of challenges on YouTube. These are Mannequin Challenge, Ice Bucket Challenge, 10,000 Calorie Challenge, Kissing Challenge, The Lollipop Kissing Challenge, Cinnamon Challenge, Blue Whale Challenge, Tide Pod Challenge, Hot Pepper Challenge, Banana Peel Challenge, Banana Throat Challenge, Cold Water Challenge, Marshmallow Chubby Bunny Challenge, Neknomination Challenge, Duct Tape Challenge, Pass Out Challenge, Smoothie Challenge, Pouring Cement on Your Head and Microwaving your Head Challenge, Staying in a Store Challenge, Eating Corn with a Drill Challenge, Inserting a Condom in the Nose Challenge, Passing a Filled Condom Over Head Challenge, Kylie Jenner Lip Challenge and Pencil Hold Challenge etc. Some challenges are held to draw attention to social events or diseases such as the Ice Bucket Challenge, which is held to draw attention to ALS Disease. This challenge aims to raise awareness about the disease and collect donations for patients. However, it seems that some challenges are not particularly suitable for children. Some challenges contain sexual elements that are not suitable for this age group (such as trying to understand what the other person is eating by kissing after eating something with Kissing Challenge or The Lollipop Kissing Challenge, or challenges such as Kylie Jenner Lip Challenge where participants try to enlarge their lips with various tools) and this study showed that some of them are dangerous and that the devices used for birth control are used in challenges for entertainment purposes (Plugging a Condom in the Nose or Pushing a Condom Filled with Water Down the Head Challenge). In addition to sexuality, some challenges contain serious violence or danger and some of them are seen to pose a direct health hazard. Cinnamon Challenge is a practice in which a certain amount of cinnamon is eaten and then talked about, but it is known that this powder can cause serious health problems if it enters the lungs. In addition, challenges such as pushing the chest of your friends until they faint with the pass out challenge, fainting by crouching on the ground after taking rapid breaths, or fainting by applying pressure to the vein under the left ear, were also seen on YouTube, especially in groups of friends. While the challenges of eating corn with a drill or pouring cement on the head and sticking it in the microwave are directly violent, the neknomination challenge, on the other hand, has been observed to include activities such as drinking bottles of alcohol or undressing in the social area. It is also known that the challenge of eating dishwashing detergent is especially common in this age group and that children take part in these practices.

The participants of this research were particularly asked about the challenge of finding out about the challenge. It was seen that most of the participants did not know the Turkish equivalent of the challenge, but they expressed it together with the practices.

“I don’t know much about the challenge of doing something in the challenge, but I know what it means on YouTube. “Water Bottle Flip Challenge” then “Ice Bucket Challenge” for example. The Water Bottle Flip either looks normal like this or it doesn’t stop.” (Participant 4, Male, 9)

In particular, the way a participant expressed these challenges is unique to digital natives and is remarkable:

“Was the challenge a challenge? What do they mean on YouTube? Challenge is not Turkish, but it has entered our daily language. It didn’t come into my mother’s language, but I hear it at school.” (Participant 1, Female, 12).

The participants were asked what kind of reward or punishment they would give because of this challenge if they were going to participate in it, and it was seen that most of the participants were generally in favor of punishing. When we look at the content of these punishments, preferences such as “entering a tub full of ice, drinking salt water, eating a spoonful of cinnamon, eating raw meat, breaking eggs on the head, eating hot peppers, eating vomit with sugar, being put inside an animal cage and feeding on lemons” were expressed. In general, the participants made suggestions that were more severe and based on the logic of punishment. The expressions of two of the participants reveal the violence and the violent infrastructure in the challenges:

If I made a challenge video, I would shoot it in the pool. Because we did. Do you know cards? The person with the biggest card throws the other person into the pool. We did it, for example, as a challenge. And 500 people watched. It was very good. We do unannounced challenges. Pool push challenge. For example, we pushed a child. The child was injured. He was messing with people every day. There was a bit of a disabled type. We pushed him into the pool (laughs). But for the video. (Participant 3, 13, Male)

Eating salt until blind is my favorite challenge but my mom wouldn’t let me. But I will. If we spill water or something, we will get sick the most, at least if we do the salt-eating challenge, then we will be blind at once, not in advance. (Participant 19, 10, Female)

This study showed that the challenges are not only made by the participants who are YouTubers, but also by the participants who do not have a channel yet who shoot videos, prepare the content of the challenge, and record them. The main point to be noted is that simple and non-dangerous videos do not attract attention or cause cyberbullying, and young participants may participate in more dangerous challenges. The expression of a YouTuber participant who shared a video and encountered the comment “brats are everywhere” is as follows:

I do the not to laugh challenge, simply. We made a video. In the comments section, someone wrote “unfortunately, brats are everywhere” (laughs). In the video, we were eating tangerines as a punishment, but we were trying to show the tangerine as sour (!). It wasn’t sour. If we knew it would be like this, maybe we would have done other more interesting challenges. (Participant 21, 12, Male)

The digital natives who were the participants of this research showed that the important point is that “visibility is a reward, not a punishment” as mentioned in the theoretical part, and they are ready to sacrifice something at this point. For the digital natives who are accustomed to being spied on, it is seen that the way in which visibility is gained is not important, rather, the important point is to be like them and gain appreciation by observing others, as explained by the concept of “scopophilia”. Challenges are one of the important points of being visible for the participants in terms of scopophilia. Scopophilia is supported by technobiophilia, the feeling that technology addiction and systems such as the internet have always existed, and one cannot live without them. The desire is to gain likes, and for YouTube, concrete indicators of this are manifested as com-

ments, number of views and likes. As Lyon explains, children try to exist in the virtual environment by getting away from the environments they are in and act within the frameworks foreseen by YouTube as “disappearing bodies”.

4.5. Challenges and the Parent’s Role

As stated in the theories of digital sociology, the concept of “rotted data”, which is one of the biggest problems brought by digitalization and big data, and the situation where an individual loses his control over the data he produces but still continues to produce this data, are also valid for YouTube and children. The concept of rotted data therefore greatly increases the burden of parents. Within the scope of the study, the participants were asked whether their families allowed them to open a channel on YouTube, and it was seen that most of them did, some of them allowed under certain conditions, and a very few of them did not. Although children want to open channels, it is seen that they have a fear of being watched in social reality.

There is a desire to open a channel and broadcast, and there is a fear inside me, for example, my account might be stolen, others might do something secretly, bad things, then they might see the house from the background, or from the outside, and maybe I will feel in danger.” (Participant 9, 12, Male)

In addition to their own fears, the criticism of families in terms of opening a YouTube channel for their children is remarkable. In general, the reasons why families do not allow their children to open channels are: Being too young, stealing information, deceiving people on YouTube, and evaluating YouTubers as wrong role models. Some children stated that their parents did not allow them because they thought they would be upset if they “failed” on YouTube.

If I want to open a channel, my family will allow it. Some families do not allow it because it has a bad purpose, for example, some of them become very famous, very talented, but some of them are humiliated, they cannot be very talented. But I think every family should allow the child if they want. It doesn’t make us feel bad if we fail, people’s comments make us feel bad. Because you stick to your purpose, but people’s comments can upset you. (Participant 5, 12, Female)

The most important reason given for not opening a YouTube channel is the theft of personal information. Although there are participants who think that the Internet environment is dangerous for this age group and that they should listen to their families to protect themselves (Participant 4), some participants (such as Participant 13) think that families are worried because they do not have enough information.

I think some families won’t allow it because people can give false information or videotape information that people can’t learn, which harms them. (Participant 4, 13, Female).

My parents let me start a channel on YouTube. I think some families do not allow this because they think it is dangerous. Because they do not know, they think it is fraud or they think that social accounts are not safe. I think malicious people cannot reach us from here. (Participant 13, 12, Male).

Some families give children permission to post videos on YouTube, but only by imposing conditions such as setting the condition of sharing videos in such a way that their face will not be seen and their voice will not be heard. However, these restrictions are not seen as desirable on the part of the children who consider this to be against the principle of visibility. Although some participants strongly oppose this, it is seen that it is particularly the participants who only shoot game videos and who are channel owners that are faced with this condition. As mentioned in the theory section of this paper, the fact that children’s private spaces have become accessible by social me-

dia, especially with the disappearance of the distinction between public and private, increases the responsibilities of parents more than ever before. To control whether the content shared by children will progress in the direction of self-expression or exhibitionism and to take precautions accordingly, families should also be knowledgeable about social media and be interested in the practices that their children are involved in. With the superpanopticon, digital natives voluntarily engage in surveillance practices and lose control of their own data.

5. Discussion and Result

This research examined YouTube's video suggestion system and challenge videos. It also studied the kinds of behavior that necessitate parental supervision in line with what kind of surveillance children are exposed to and their practices. A child is not considered a child in the digitalization period but a free subject and actor. Every action of this actor in society is digitized by collecting information from all kinds of activities on the internet, just like an adult. The whole of the data obtained about the individual through this digitization is called big data. Using research into YouTubers, YouTube, and users, this study has explained how multi-directional surveillance takes place on YouTube. In general, the conclusion reached is that children are mostly unaware that the video suggestion system is a system formed in the light of the data obtained as a result of monitoring the whole of their activities on the Internet and especially on YouTube. Therefore, an invisible surveillance system is in fact a digital surveillance system and YouTube reflects this system. Digital surveillance requires paying certain prices for certain gains. These gains are having fun and being visible on YouTube. Since individuals want to be visible of their own will, they share their information voluntarily. The video suggestion system, which they are unaware of, sends them videos ranging from horror movies, scary videos, violence, and torture to sexual content and it is a situation of concern for every participant. While children cannot understand why these videos come to them, some participants attribute this to the interesting information videos they watch. Children prefer not to report content that they are afraid of or that should be reported on YouTube. The reason for this is that they think that they can be harmed by this situation. Although the strategies to avoid them are generally to close the video, the fact that they remember these contents in detail shows that this strategy does not work.

Challenge videos posted on YouTube and watched by children were determined in this study to be a situation that families should pay attention to even more than the video suggestion system. This research shows that children can perform many activities for the sake of gaining more likes and being watched more. Challenges can include psychological harm as well as physical harm. This study shows that these practices are also used as a punishment method apart from being watched and as a way of gathering an audience. Participants record challenge videos even if they do not have channels. It has also been noted that if these challenges are not serious and dangerous, children tend to try more serious and dangerous challenges when bad comments are received by other YouTubers or after being exposed to cyberbullying. The main sources of these practices have been identified as technobiophilia and scopophilia (the desire to be like them and gain admiration by observing others).

The extent to which the video suggestion system and trying the challenges can reach children is explained in detail in this study. According to children, these two systems are never dangerous or harmful. The reasons why their families do not allow them to create a channel and implement these practices are that, according to the children, their personal information might be stolen, they might be deceived in social environments, they might be upset if they want to be YouTubers and

fail, and YouTubers might be people who should not be taken as an example. The way the children express the reasons for why their parents do not allow them to post on YouTube are quite innocent and reveal that they are not aware of the real danger. In addition, the in-depth interviews show that families are mostly unaware of YouTube and its activities. In this sense, digital literacy is of great importance both for families to be able to recognize virtual environments and the dangers these environments pose to their children, as well as for children to be more conscious and protect themselves.

It is expected that this research will pave the way for many more studies examining the digital surveillance systems that children are exposed to and the social, cultural, psychological, and physiological effects of these systems on children. These studies first need to reveal many more digital surveillance practices that children are exposed to and focus on how families should behave or guide them to protect their children who are included in digital culture and surveillance systems.

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