

22. The tendency for people to downplay racism by talking about how they have friends of different races is so common that it is a frame through which people look at cross-race connections. In the 2012 book *Some of My Best Friends Are Black*, Tanner Colby describes the challenges of racial integration in the United States through four different case studies. In a more comedic treatment of the same issue, comedian Baratunde Thurston dedicates an entire chapter in *How to Be Black* to "how to be the black friend." He offers entertaining advice to black readers on how they can make white people feel comfortable by taking concrete steps to be a "good" black friend.

23. For a discussion of homophily, including how American society is divided along racial and ethnic lines, see McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook, "Birds of a Feather."

24. See Lin, "Inequality in Social Capital."

25. Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists*.

26. For a more detailed analysis of the division that emerged in the 2006-2007 school year between Facebook and MySpace, see boyd, "White Flight in Networked Publics?" Craig Watkins also documents the racialized tension between these sites in his work on youth and social media. Watkins, *The Young and the Digital*.

27. As Siân Lincoln points out in *Youth Culture and Private Space*, teenagers use whatever platform their friends use, even if they personally prefer other platforms.

28. Black and African American individuals are overrepresented on Twitter compared to their participation online more generally. Scholars have begun analyzing a practice known colloquially as "Black Twitter," referring both to the significant presence of black users as well as how practices and norms in Twitter appear to differ across race lines. See Brock, "From the Blackhand Side"; and Florini, "Tweets, Tweeps, and Signifyin'."

29. Clinton, "Internet Freedom."

30. Scholars and government agencies have pointed out that technology uptake is often dependent on contextual relevance. When it comes to information and communication technologies, people are often more likely to appreciate their value when they see others use them in beneficial ways. If people's personal networks aren't using particular technologies, they often see no reason to use them. See Haddon, "Social Exclusion and Information and Communication Technologies"; and Federal Communications Commission, *National Broadband Plan*.

31. Hargittai, "Digital Reproduction of Inequality."

32. For a sampling of relevant studies on social networks, see Fischer, *To Dwell Among Friends*; Granovetter, "Strength of Weak Ties"; Lin, *Social Capital*; and Wellman, *Networks in the Global Village*.

33. In *Invisible Users*, Jenna Burrell makes the issues of structural inequality especially visible in her study of Ghanaian youth. Although these youth have

access to information technologies, the social networks in which they operate—and the norms that exist in their home communities—complicate their ability to connect successfully and meaningfully with more powerful users.

34. Webster, *Theories of the Information Society*; Webster, "Information and Urban Change"; Garnham, *Information Society Theory as Ideology*.

Chapter 7. Literacy

1. Walz and Brownsberger, "(Real) Virtual Education."

2. Ellen Helsper and Rebecca Eynon have argued, in "Digital Natives," that not only is it misguided to assume that there is a digital knowledge gap between educators and students but it is entirely possible for adults to "become digital natives" through a combination of skill acquisition and interaction with ICT.

3. Barlow, "Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace."

4. The origin of the concept of "digital natives" is murky. At the same time that John Perry Barlow was penning his manifesto, Doug Rushkoff published *Playing the Future: What We Can Learn from Digital Kids*. While promoting this book, Rushkoff regularly spoke of youth as digital natives. For example, Rushkoff is quoted by Elizabeth Weil in a *Fast Company* article entitled "The Future Is Younger than You Think" as having said, "Kids are natives in a place where most adults are immigrants." Rushkoff and Barlow each told me that he was inspired by the other.

5. Prensky, "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants."

6. Prensky, "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants: Origins of the Term."

7. In their report on "Connected Learning," Mimi Ito and coauthors describe how different constituencies should come together to enable new forms of learning through and with technology. This report provides concrete steps that educators can take.

8. Media literacy is a contentious topic. Scholars, policymakers, and educators have long contested its definition, parameters, and pedagogy. Those disputes and discussions will likely continue as the nature of the internet morphs and evolves. For a more in-depth exploration of the debates surrounding media literacy and media literacy education, see Aufdenheide, *Media Literacy*; Livingstone, "Media Literacy"; and Hobbs, "Seven Great Debates."

9. The history of media literacy education started in the United Kingdom in 1930s when F. R. Leavis and Denys Thompson published what is considered to be the first instruction manual for teaching about the mass media in schools, *Culture and Environment: The Training of Critical Awareness*. See Buckingham, "Media Education in the UK."

10. In the United States, the media literacy movement started in the 1960s and was spearheaded by John Cullkin, who advocated for media education in school curricula. See Moody, "John Cullkin."

11. Age, gender, race, and socioeconomic status are all determining factors in whether youth have the opportunity to develop digital literacy skills. For example, children from higher income households are more likely to have access to the latest technology, which means that they will have more opportunity to figure out how to use it, not only from trial-and-error exploration, but from the instruction of their parents and siblings. Furthermore, these children are more likely to have been taught to search for information, as well as to qualify and evaluate it. See Livingstone, Bober, and Helsper, *Internet Literacy Among Children and Young People*; and Hargittai, "Digital Reproduction of Inequality."

12. In his article on "Copy and Paste Literacy," Dan Perkel notes that even though teenagers may know how to engage in "networked discourse" from a social perspective, they still developed technical sensibilities in order to update their MySpace profiles.

13. For a critical examination of how Google—both the company and the search engine—works, see Vaidhyanathan, *Googolization of Everything*.

14. In *Spam*, Finn Bruton details how spammers react to Google's attempt to stop search engine optimizers by developing complex algorithms to manipulate the system. This creates an ongoing battle between the company and those who seek to profit from having their material at the top of the results pages.

15. In "The Relevance of Algorithms," Tarleton Gillespie details the ways in which algorithms have political power.

16. In "The Curious Connection Between Apps for Gay Men and Sex Offenders," Mike Ananny describes the unintended link produced by the algorithm underpinning Android's recommendation system. When Ananny tried to download Grindr, a gay dating site, he was encouraged to also consider downloading a sex offender search site. He wrote this essay to question how such a link was algorithmically produced. Unfortunately, Google did not respond. Instead, the company simply changed the algorithm.

17. Gasser, Cortesi, Malik, and Lee, "From Credibility to Information Quality."

18. Giles, "Special Report."

19. Although educators often dismiss Wikipedia over issues of credibility, they also tend to downplay the educational value of using the service. In "Writing, Citing, and Participatory Media," Andrea Forte and Amy Bruckman found that engaging with wikis was a learning-rich experience for high school students that contributed to both writing and information assessment skills.

20. Texas's undue influence on the US textbook market is discussed in Collins, "How Texas Inflicts Bad Textbooks on Us." For examples of how Texan Christianity shapes textbooks, see Birnbaum, "Historians Speak Out Against Proposed Texas Textbook Changes."

21. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:List_of_hoaxes_on_Wikipedia.

22. The potential of social media and other recent technologies for helping address issues in information flow and curation—including crowd-sourcing, classification, and cooperation—has been the topic of numerous books in recent years. See Weinberger, *Everything Is Miscellaneous*; Shirky, *Cognitive Surplus*; and Benkler, *Penguin and Leviathan*.

23. Jenkins, "Reconsidering Digital Immigrants."

24. The first official use of the term *digital divide* appeared in a report by the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA). The NTIA defined the digital divide as the gap between those who had access to a computer and the internet and those who didn't. See NTIA, *Falling Through the Net*.

25. Compaine, *Digital Divide*.

26. Warschauer, *Technology and Social Inclusion*.

27. NTIA, *Falling Through the Net*.

28. For an overview of digital inequality and the various scholarly strands, see Hargittai, "Digital Reproduction of Inequality"; Mossberger, Tolbert, and Stansburg, *Virtual Inequality*; and Selwyn, "Reconsidering Political and Popular Understandings."

29. Federal Communications Commission, *National Broadband Plan*. See also Eszter Hargittai's work on skill, e.g., DiMaggio, Hargittai, Celeste, and Shafer, "Digital Inequality"; and Hargittai, "Second-Level Digital Divide."

30. Warschauer, *Technology and Social Inclusion*.

31. Lenhart et al., "Teens, Kindness and Cruelty on Social Network Sites."

32. The politics surrounding access for youth are far from straightforward. Christian Sandvig notes, in "Unexpected Outcomes in Digital Divide Policy," that when given unstructured access, young people prefer to play games and use chat, activities that are not considered to be the types of "beneficial" engagement that policymakers had in mind.

33. Jenkins et al., *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture*.

34. The ability to access the internet without restriction is described by Eszter Hargittai as "autonomy of use." Autonomy of use has a significant impact on the depth of engagement and type of benefit that can be gained from internet use. Youth who rely on public sources of access, such as schools or libraries, often face major obstacles that impede their usage and impact, including physical distance, opening hours, and equipment quality and availability. See Hargittai, "Digital Na(t)ives?"

35. Eszter Hargittai's work on the topic of skills can be found at: <http://webuse.org/pubs/>. Two relevant publications are Hargittai, "Digital Na(t)ives?"; and Hargittai and Hinnant, "Digital Inequality."

36. Hargittai, "Digital Na(t)ives?"

37. Crawford and Robinson, "Beyond Generations and New Media."

38. Epstein, Nisbet, and Gillespie, "Who's Responsible for the Digital Divide?"

39. Palfrey and Gasser, *Born Digital*; Palfrey and Gasser, "Reclaiming an Awkward Term."

40. Gasser and Palfrey's nuanced description of digital natives comes from their answer to the question, "Are all youth digital natives?" on their project site: <http://www.digitalnative.org/#about>. They provide a similar explanation in the opening of their book *Born Digital*.

41. Prensky, "Digital Wisdom and Homo Sapiens Digital."

42. *Hanging Out, Messing Around, and Geeking Out* by Mimi Ito et al. provides a more detailed framework for understanding how young people's online activities can lead to tremendous learning opportunities. Many youth approach social media and other technologies as spaces to hang out with their friends, but some start messing around with different technical and media elements—such as those who started learning how to code by exploring ways of creating intricate MySpace pages. When teens become passionate about something, they may turn to social media to geek out, building online communities and drilling down in specialized interests. This book provides a framework for thinking about the various forms of informal learning that can emerge when youth are given the freedom to explore networked settings.

Chapter 8. Searching for a Public of Their Own

1. For an examination of how shopping malls serve as publics, see Matthews, Taylor, Percy-Smith, and Limb, "Unacceptable Flaneur."

2. Two books provide fantastic analyses of the consumer culture that American children inhabit and how it infects every aspect of their engagement with school, media, and society more generally: Seiter, *Sold Separately*; and Schor, *Born to Buy*.

3. For a broader critique of the commercial side of social media and the privatization of public spaces online, see Scholz, "Market Ideology and the Myths of Web 2.0"; and Lovink, *Networks Without a Cause*.

4. My collaborator, Alice Marwick, and I build off of this case study and detail the dynamics of Twitter and public culture in "Tweeting Teens Can Handle Public Life."

5. Duncombe, *Notes from Underground*; Finders, "Queens and Teen Zines"; Bayerl, "Mags, Zines, and gURLs."

6. In *The Anarchist in the Library*, Siva Vaidyanathan shows how new technologies erase institutional boundaries, which in turn challenge the political organization of society. Not only are people using new technologies to engage in political acts, but the very architecture of networked publics—and the affordances that underpin them—create new socio-technical configurations that alter the political landscape. In *Communication Power*, Manuel Castells points out that those who control the networks—both technical and social—are often those with the most power.

7. According to Youth and Participatory Politics Survey Project, 41 percent of young people have engaged in at least one act of participatory politics, defined by the project as "interactive, peer-based acts through which individuals and groups seek to exert both voice and influence on issues of public concern." Cohen et al., "New Media and Youth Political Action."

8. Jodi Dean argues that the environments that I'm describing as networked publics cannot serve as political public spheres because of the commercial underpinnings of these systems. Although I respect her argument, I do think that much political work does take place in and through these systems, even if they themselves are not the kinds of ideal publics that enable the public sphere to form. Dean, "Why the Net Is Not a Public Sphere."

9. In *Smart Mobs*, Howard Rheingold describes how activists in the Philippines used technology to spread information and come together politically. As protests were breaking out in Egypt and other parts of the Middle East, people turned to social media for information and to coordinate political resistance. See Tufekci and Wilson, "Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protests."

10. In *The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Philip Howard discusses how democracy is supported by having a high percentage of the population online, even if they are not directly engaged with political activities. In a paper for the Digital Media and Learning initiative, Joseph Kahne, Nam-Jin Lee, and Jessica Timpany Feezell demonstrated that engagement with nonpolitical online participatory cultures can act as a gateway for behavior that is considered to be more explicitly civic and/or political: volunteering; community problem-solving, protests, and political expression. Kahne, Lee, and Timpany Feezell, "Civic and Political Significance of Online Participatory Cultures among Youth Transitioning to Adulthood."

11. Khokha, "Text Messages, MySpace Roots of Student Protests."

12. Cho and Gorman, "Massive Student Walkout Spreads Across Southland."

13. Leavey, "Los Angeles Students Walk Out in Immigration Reform Protests."

14. For background information on Anonymous, see Coleman, "Our Weirdestness Is Free"; Norton, "Anonymous 101"; and Greenberg, "WikiLeaks Supporters Aim Cyberattacks at PayPal."

15. Olson, *We Are Anonymous*.

16. For an in-depth examination of internet memes and the sociopolitical use of memes for humor and cultural commentary, see Shifman, *Memes in Digital Culture*.

17. For an explanation of the Hitler Downfall meme, including other examples, see <http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/downfall-hitler-reacts>.

18. In his book on the history of the telephone, *America Calling*, Claude Fisher shows how the fears and anxieties discussed throughout this book also played out at the time in which the telephone was first being deployed.

19. Vint Cerf quoted in Ward, "What the Net Did Next."