Tijana Milosevic, **Protecting Children Online? Cyberbullying Policies of Social Media Companies,** Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018, 296 pp., $35.00 (hardcover).

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Social media has contributed significantly to the pervasiveness of cyberbullying incidents in our societies, while at the same time drawing more attention to this ubiquitous phenomenon. Cyberbullying is bullying via digital technologies. Research has found that children who use social networking sites encounter more risks online than those who do not (Staksrud, Ólafsson, & Livingstone, 2013). Debates on children's engagement with media revolve around the need to balance risks and opportunities. Rights-based approaches to children's digital media practices offer a framework for research, policy, and initiatives that can balance children's protection online while maximizing the benefits and opportunities of connectivity (Livingstone & Third, 2017).
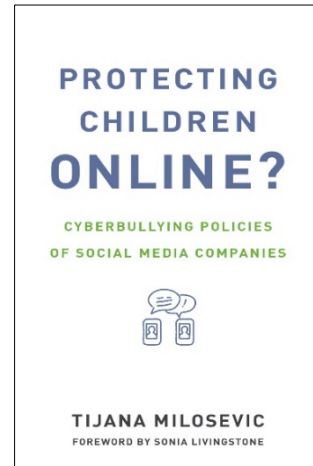
Before the digital age, issues related to bullying were left to families, educators, and schools to handle. In recent years, with the widespread use of social media among children, cyberbullying became prevalent and more stakeholders got involved in efforts to prevent and control cyberbullying. Private social media companies, governments, and nongovernmental institutions are among the key stakeholders who have the power to regulate cyberspace and make it a safe space, especially for children. Educators, parents, scholars, advocacy organizations, and youth need to work together to make children and youth part of the larger policy agenda (Montgomery, 2015).

In **_Protecting Children Online? Cyberbullying Policies of Social Media Companies_**, Tijana Milosevic addresses a gap in academic research by focusing on private social media companies as the main player in creating and implementing policies to regulate social media use and prevent cyberbullying. The book looks into cyberbullying with a focus on children. It does not analyze adult-related cyberbullying such as cyberstalking, trolling, or online hate speech. The author argues for a policy framework informed by a culture of dignity and transparency, balancing children's rights for protection and participation in the cyberspace.

Tijana Milosevic introduces the book with a question mark in the title, setting the tone for critical analysis and questioning of the effectiveness of social media cyberbullying policies while triggering readers to engage with her insights from the very beginning. The author examines the development of start-up companies' cyberbullying policies as well as more established social media companies whose cyberbullying policies are constantly challenged, such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Twitter. While doing so, the author critically evaluates available data on the effectiveness of the established social media self-regulatory system.

The book defines social media platforms as those that meet three of the four conditions proposed by DeNardis and Hackl (2015). First, they "enable the intermediation of user generated content," second, they "allow for interactivity among users," and third, they "allow for direct engagement with the content" (DeNardis & Hackl, 2015, p. 762 as cited on p. 7).

The cyberbullying policies analyzed in this book are antibullying and antiharassment, or abuse provisions as stipulated in corporate documents, including terms of service (TOS) and community guidelines or principles as well as enforcement mechanisms that social media companies have for cyberbullying incidents. Even though social media companies create and implement anticyberbullying policies, they are protected from liability in the United States under Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act (CDA). In Europe, the European eCommerce Directive also has safe harbor provisions that shield these social media intermediaries. Liability exemptions in this context leave social media companies with no incentives to find optimal solutions for combating cyberbullying.

Tijana Milosevic presents five case studies that were reported as cyberbullying incidents and contributed to the suicides of the five young victims. These cases provide a context within which the author examines the various factors that shape the decisions of social media companies in such cases. In addition to analyzing corporate documents and relevant media coverage, the author interviewed representatives from social media companies, NGOs, and e-safety consultants who are involved in developing cyberbullying policies or have an expert understanding of the issue.

After defining the research gap and the scope of the book in chapter 1, chapter 2 looks into the techlash and amplified public concern that break out as a reaction to online risks for youth in the context of cyberbullying. The chapter draws special attention to the culture of humiliation and the cultural and social context that usually gets ignored in cyberbullying discourses and media coverage. It also discusses children's rights to participation and protection within cyberbullying policies and how the right to participation and protection are usually depicted as contradictory. The author also emphasizes the strong link between the online and offline worlds as well as the physical and psychological repercussions of digital bullying. The term "cyberbullying," Milosevic argues, can be problematic because it suggests that digital bullying is somehow separate from offline bullying. Chapter 3 includes an overview of some seminal research on the role of private social media companies in regulating cyberspace with a discussion of the safe harbor provisions of the CDA and the DMCA (Digital Millennium Copyright Act). These provisions are critical in the context of cyberbullying, as they protect online intermediaries from liability.

In part 2 of the book, chapter 4 delves into the five high-profile cyberbullying cases that led to the suicide of the victims. Two cases are from the United States, two from Canada, and one from the United Kingdom. The chapter then looks into the pressure social media companies receive from media coverage and key stakeholders after such crises. The analysis then reveals the inefficacy of some of the governmental regulations that result from such crises, which according to the author do not necessarily benefit children. Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the digital bullying regulations in the UK and the United States. This chapter is especially helpful for readers who are not familiar with the self-regulatory and coregulatory legal systems and the safe harbor regulations that protect intermediaries from liability. The author explains the roots of the self-regulatory system based on her interviews with representatives from social media

companies and e-safety experts. Chapter 6 outlines gaps in cyberbullying policies and how these policies tend to evolve. Chapter 7 is an analysis of the NGO-company partnership for cyberbullying prevention and the digital-citizenship educational initiatives. These partnerships are considered as a crucial part of the self-regulatory system.

Chapters 8 and 9, which make up the third substantive part of the book, summarize the findings and apply the dignity framework to the results that were presented throughout the book. Tijana Milosevic argues that dignity theory is particularly relevant to policy development in the realm of cyberbullying prevention. Dignity theory provides a comprehensive understanding of the social and cultural contexts within which cyberbullying takes place, and which shouldn't be ignored in cyberbullying policy discourses. The author calls for more effective regulations than restrictive and punitive ones. She argues that the system marginalizes discussions about the effectiveness of the self-regulatory system. When these regulation discussions are politicized and simplified, children, caregivers, companies, and the wider public suffer the results. The author proposes more effective regulatory tools such as providing funding for educational and bullying-prevention initiatives as well as collaborating with mental health experts. The author also highlights the need for transparency as a key element in a regulatory framework informed by a culture of dignity and child empowerment. For cyberbullying policies to be transparent, policy and enforcement mechanisms need to be publicized and regularly evaluated.

This deeply researched, clearly written, and finely crafted book makes a unique contribution to the field. It is intended for audiences in academia, policy making, and beyond who are interested in understanding the intricate processes of policy making around issues related to children and cyberbullying. It illuminates the possibilities to create more effective policies that combine children's rights to participation and protection with dignity. Tijana Milosevic's insightful and critical account of cyberbullying policies is a strong reminder that scholars should consider the wider context of these policies by taking the social and cultural dimensions into account. For her, the stakes are high if scholars and policy makers keep eliminating the social and cultural context and dangerous culture of humiliation from cyberbullying debates. The book provides policy makers and scholars with a guide for a dignity-informed and rights-based approach to developing cyberbullying policies. This thought-provoking book can be used as a road map for researchers who want to expand the efforts made in this treatise to include cases from other parts of the world, especially the global south.

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