

REFERENCES

- Adalytics. (n.d.). About Adalytics. Adalytics.io. Retrieved November 27, 2023, from <https://adalytics.io/about>
- Amadae, S. M. (2018). Game theory, cheap talk and post-truth politics: David Lewis vs. John Searle on reasons for truth-telling. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 48(3), 306–329. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12169>
- Bartz, D. (2020, May 14). Advocacy group says TikTok violated FTC consent decree and children's privacy rules. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/tiktok-privacy-children-ftc-idUSL1N2CV2LV/>
- Beser, J. (2021a, August 10). *New safety and digital wellbeing options for younger people on YouTube and YouTube Kids*. YouTube Official Blog. <https://blog.youtube/news-and-events/new-safety-and-digital-wellbeing-options-younger-people-youtube-and-youtube-kids/>
- Beser, J. (2021b, October 25). *Our responsibility approach to protecting kids and families on YouTube*. YouTube Official Blog. <https://blog.youtube/news-and-events/our-responsibility-approach-protecting-kids-and-families-youtube/>
- Borgstede, M., & Scholz, M. (2021). Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to Generalization and Replication—A Representationalist View. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12(1), 1–9. NCBI. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.605191>
- Bullock, O. M., Shulman, H. C., & Huskey, R. (2021). Narratives are Persuasive Because They are Easier to Understand: Examining Processing Fluency as a Mechanism of Narrative Persuasion. *Frontiers in Communication*, 6. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2021.719615>
- Cao, Juncheng. (2023). Safeguarding children's privacy: study of regulation and practice in the United Kingdom and the United States. *International Journal of Law, Ethics, and Technology (IJLET)*, 2023(1), 56-84.
- Cieslik, K., & Margócsy, D. (2022). Datafication, Power and Control in Development: A Historical Perspective on the Perils and Longevity of Data. *Progress in*

Development Studies, 22(4), 352–373.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/14649934221076580>

CNET Highlights. (2021, October 28). *WATCH: Facebook, YouTube, Google TikTok, Twitter Execs at UK Parliament - Livestream*. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M77pDP5YjWc>

Consumer Federation of California. (2015, November 18). *Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA)*. Consumer Federation of California.
<https://consumercal.org/about-cfc/cfc-education-foundation/childrens-online-privacy-protection-act-coppa/#:~:text=COPPA>

C-SPAN. (2023, March 23). *TikTok CEO Shou Zi Chew testifies before Congress*. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/live/_E-4jtTFsO4?si=ihOqwonXCB0NqyTe

C-SPAN. (2024, January 31). *Social Media Company CEOs Testify on Online Child Sexual Exploitation*. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/live/9dRFevkUUu8?si=LS3IRB7x3KWc_USA

Deligiaouri, A. (2018). Discursive construction of truth, ideology and the emergence of post-truth narratives in contemporary political communication. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, 14(3), 301–315.
https://doi.org/10.1386/macp.14.3.301_1

Department for Science, Innovation & Technology. (2023, April 6). *Digital Sector Economic Estimates 2020: annual GVA*. GOV.UK.
<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/economic-estimates-gva-for-dcms-sectors-and-the-digital-sector-2020/digital-sector-economic-estimates-2020-annual-gva#:~:text=In%202020%2C%20the%20Digital%20Sector>

Dodgson, L. (2024, March 8). *TikTokers are enthusiastically joining the app's call to wage war on Congress over a potential ban*. Business Insider.
<https://www.businessinsider.com/tiktokers-joining-war-on-congress-over-potential-ban-2024-3>

DoubleVerify. (n.d.). *Company*. DoubleVerify. Retrieved May 5, 2024, from <https://doubleverify.com/company/>

Federal Trade Commission. (2020, July 20). *Complying with COPPA: Frequently Asked Questions*. Federal Trade Commission. <https://www.ftc.gov/business-guidance/resources/complying-coppa-frequently-asked-questions#A.%20General%20Questions>

Flick, U. (2007). Concepts of triangulation. In *Managing Quality in Qualitative Research* (pp. 38-54). SAGE Publications, Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209441>

Gellert, R. (2016). We have always managed risks in data protection law: understanding the similarities and differences between the rights-based and the risk-based approaches to data protection. *European Data Protection Law Review (EDPL)*, 2(4), 481-492.

Hadero, H. (2023, March 26). *TikTok Users Call Potential Ban a Scam*. NBC Connecticut. <https://www.nbcconnecticut.com/news/national-international/gap-grows-between-tiktok-users-lawmakers-on-potential-ban/3001875/>

Hagstrom, A. (2023, March 23). *TikTok deploys swarm of influencers to US Capitol ahead of expected CEO grilling*. Fox News. <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/tiktok-deploys-swarm-influencers-us-capitol-expected-ceo-grilling>

Highfill, T., & Surfield, C. (2022). *New and Revised Statistics of the U.S. Digital Economy, 2005–2021* (pp. 1–20). Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Hussain, A. (2019). Theorising Post-Truth: A Postmodern Phenomenon. *Journal of Comparative Literature and Aesthetics*, 42(1), 150–163. <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A596850034/LitRC?u=googlescholar&sid=bookmark-LitRC&xid=088559ab>

Information Commissioner's Office. (2023, May 19). *Law enforcement processing*. ICO. <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/data-protection-and-the-eu/data-protection-and-the-eu-in-detail/law-enforcement-processing/>

Integral Ad Science. (n.d.). *About IAS*. Integral Ad Science. Retrieved May 5, 2024, from <https://integralads.com/about-ias/>

Internal Revenue Service. (n.d.). *Charities and Nonprofits* | Internal Revenue Service.

IRS. Retrieved May 5, 2024, from <https://www.irs.gov/charities-and-nonprofits#:~:text=Organizations%20that%20are%20organized%20and>

Johns, A. (2021). Privacy . In A. Blair, P. Duguid, A.-S. Goeing, & A. Grafton (Eds.), *Information: A Historical Companion* (pp. 686–693). Princeton University Press.

Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2010). A Narrative Policy Framework: Clear Enough to Be Wrong? *Policy Studies Journal*, 38(2), 329–353. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2010.00364.x>

Kapoutsis, I., & Lampaki, A. (2021). Business in the swamp. *Organizational Dynamics*, 51(1), 100838. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orgdyn.2021.100838>

Kelly, H., Lima-Strong, C., Guskin, E., & Clement, S. (2023, March 22). The biggest decider of who backs a TikTok ban? If they use TikTok. *Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2023/03/22/tiktok-ban-opinion-poll/>

Knowsley Council. (n.d.). *UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR)* | Knowsley Council. Knowsley Council. Retrieved May 5, 2024, from [https://www.knowsley.gov.uk/council-and-elections/privacy-and-data-protection/uk-general-data-protection-regulation-uk-gdpr#:~:text=The%20UK%20General%20Data%20Protection%20Regulation%20\(UK%20GDPR\)%20is%20a](https://www.knowsley.gov.uk/council-and-elections/privacy-and-data-protection/uk-general-data-protection-regulation-uk-gdpr#:~:text=The%20UK%20General%20Data%20Protection%20Regulation%20(UK%20GDPR)%20is%20a)

Krasmann, S. (2018). Secrecy and the force of truth: countering post-truth regimes. *Cultural Studies*, 33(4), 690–710. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2018.1503696>

Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis : an introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Kristof, J. M. (2023). The Three Languages of School Choice: A Narrative Policy Framework Toward Better Conversations About Education Freedom. *Journal of School Choice*, 17(3), 352–372. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2023.2233323>

Kurki, V. (2021). Active but not independent: the legal personhood of children. *Griffith Law Review*, 30(3), 395–412.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10383441.2021.1996881>

Lauber, K., Hunt, D., Gilmore, A. B., & Rutter, H. (2021). Corporate political activity in the context of unhealthy food advertising restrictions across Transport for London: A qualitative case study. *PLOS Medicine*, 18(9), 1–29.
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1003695>

Local Government Association. (n.d.). *General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) | Local Government Association*. Local Government Association. Retrieved May 5, 2024, from <https://www.local.gov.uk/our-support/research-and-data/data-and-transparency/general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr#:~:text=New%20rules%20relating%20to%20how>

Mai, J.-E. (2016). Big data privacy: The datafication of personal information. *The Information Society*, 32(3), 192–199.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01972243.2016.1153010>

McBeth, M. K., Shanahan, E. A., Arrandale Anderson, M. C., & Rose, B. (2012). Policy Story or Gory Story? Narrative Policy Framework Analysis of Buffalo Field Campaign's YouTube Videos. *Policy & Internet*, 4(3-4), 159–183.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.15>

Mejias, U. A., & Couldry, N. (2019). Datafication. *Internet Policy Review*, 8(4), 1–2.
<https://doi.org/10.14763/2019.4.1428>

Minkus, T., Liu, K., & Ross, K. W. (2015). Children Seen But Not Heard. Proceedings of the 24th International Conference on World Wide Web.
<https://doi.org/10.1145/2736277.2741124>

Mintrom, M., & O'Connor, R. (2020). The importance of policy narrative: effective government responses to Covid-19. *Policy Design and Practice*, 3(3), 1–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/25741292.2020.1813358>

Mirrlees, T. (2021). Sanctioning China's Tech Industry to "Secure" Silicon Valley's Global Dominance. In S. Davis & I. Ness (Eds.), *Sanctions as War:*

Anti-Imperialist Perspectives on American Geo-Economic Strategy (pp. 105–126). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004501201_008

Mohan, N. (2023, March 1). *Letter from Neal: Our 2023 Priorities*. YouTube Official Blog. <https://blog.youtube/inside-youtube/2023-letter-from-neal/>

Nyberg, D. (2021). Corporations, Politics, and Democracy: Corporate political activities as political corruption. *Organization Theory*, 2(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2631787720982618>

Peters, M. A. (2021). From the “Yellow Peril” to the “Asian Century.” *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 55(9), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2021.1983428>

Petridou, E., & Mintrom, M. (2020). A Research Agenda for the Study of Policy Entrepreneurs. *Policy Studies Journal*, 49(4). <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12405>

Pixability. (n.d.). *PixabilityOne | YouTube & Connected TV Advertising Software*. Pixability. Retrieved May 5, 2024, from <https://www.pixability.com/our-solution/>

Putra, Y. P. (2022). Comparison of Personal Data Protection Laws Using Narrative Policy Framework Between Indonesia, Malaysia, and Japan. *NEGREI: Academic Journal of Law and Governance*, 2(2), 98–106. <https://doi.org/10.29240/negrei.v2i1.5227>

Rodriguez, S. (2022). The United States of Surveillance: A Review of America’s Mass Surveillance Laws, Programs, and Oversight. *IDEAH*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.21428/f1f23564.f20c77b2>

Sadowski, J. (2019). When Data Is capital: Datafication, accumulation, and Extraction. *Big Data & Society*, 6(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053951718820549>

Schlauffer, C., Kuenzler, J., Jones, M. D., & Shanahan, E. A. (2022). The Narrative Policy Framework: A Traveler’s Guide to Policy Stories. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 63, 249–273. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11615-022-00379-6>

- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2018). How to conduct a Narrative Policy Framework study. *The Social Science Journal*, 55(3), 332–345. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2017.12.002>
- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2018). How to conduct a Narrative Policy Framework study. *The Social Science Journal*, 55(3), 332–345. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2017.12.002>
- Sholikhah, V. H., Sejati, N. R. F. F., & Shabitah, D. (2021). Personal Data Protection Authority: Comparative Study between Indonesia, United Kingdom, and Malaysia. *Indonesian Scholars Scientific Summit Taiwan Proceeding*, 3, 54–63. <https://doi.org/10.52162/3.2021112>
- Siripurapu, A., & Berman, N. (2023, September 26). *The Contentious u.s.-china Trade Relationship*. Council on Foreign Relations; Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/contentious-us-china-trade-relationship>
- Skowronski, D. S. (2022). Coppa and educational technologies: the need for additional online privacy protections for students. *Georgia State University Law Review*, 38(4), 1217-1252.
- Stoilova, M., Nandagiri, R., & Livingstone, S. (2019). Children's understanding of personal data and privacy online – a systematic evidence mapping. *Information, Communication & Society*, 24(4), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118x.2019.1657164>
- Talley, V. A. M. (2021). Major Flaws in Minor Laws: Improving Data Privacy Rights and Protections for Children Under the GDPR. *Indiana International & Comparative Law Review*, 30(1), 127–162. <https://doi.org/10.18060/25066>
- Taylor, D. (2023, August 18). *Our strict privacy standards around made for kids content*. Google Ads & Commerce Blog. <https://blog.google/products/ads-commerce/our-strict-privacy-standards-around-made-for-kids-content/>
- TED. (2023, April 21). *TikTok CEO Shou Chew on Its Future — and What Makes Its Algorithm Different | Live at TED2023*. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/7zC8-06198g?si=e6eNyr2I2JS82iXh>

The YouTube Team. (2019, December 9). *Our comment on COPPA*. YouTube Official Blog. <https://blog.youtube/news-and-events/our-comment-on-coppa/>

TikTok. (2019a, August 16). *Back to school with the National Cyber Security Alliance's Education and Career Resources Library*. Newsroom | TikTok. <https://newsroom.tiktok.com/en-us/back-to-school-with-the-national-cyber-security-alliances-education-and-career-resources-library>

TikTok. (2019b, August 16). *TikTok Truths: A new series on our privacy and data security practices*. Newsroom | TikTok. <https://newsroom.tiktok.com/en-us/tiktok-truths-a-new-series-on-our-privacy-and-data-security-practices>

TikTok. (2019c, August 16). *TikTok's new Transparency Reports and Transparency Center*. Newsroom | TikTok. <https://newsroom.tiktok.com/en-us/tiktoks-transparency-reports-and-transparency-center>

TikTok. (2023, March 21). *Our CEO, Shou Chew, shares a special message on behalf of the entire TikTok Team to thank our community of 150 million Americans ahead of his congressional hearing later this week*. TikTok. <https://vt.tiktok.com/ZSF8jWMEH/>

TikTok. (2023). *TikTok For Business: Marketing on TikTok*. www.tiktok.com. <https://www.tiktok.com/business/en>

TikTok. (n.d.). *Children's Privacy Policy | TikTok*. TikTok . Retrieved April 30, 2024, from <https://www.tiktok.com/legal/page/global/childrens-privacy-policy/en>

Vlajic, N., El Masri, M., Riva, G. M., Barry, M., & Doran, D. (2018). *Online Tracking of Kids and Teens by Means of Invisible Images. Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop on Multimedia Privacy and Security, 2018*. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3267357.3267370>

We Are Social & Meltwater. (2023). *Digital 2023 Global Overview Report: The Essential Guide to the World's Connected Behaviours*. DataReportal. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2022-global-overview-report>

Wojcicki, S. (2019, September 4). *An update on kids and data protection on YouTube.*

YouTube Official Blog.
<https://blog.youtube/news-and-events/an-update-on-kids/>

Yahoo Finance. (2021, October 26). *US Senate holds hearing on social media safety and protecting kids online.* YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/live/BIPzM48XlcU?si=wUBm-1wFchR3_UHz

Yonder Consulting. (2022). *Children's Online User Ages Quantitative Research Study.* In *Ofcom.* Ofcom.

https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0015/245004/children-user-ages-chart-pack.pdf

YouTube. (2024). *Parental controls & settings for YouTube Kids profiles - YouTube For Families Help.* YouTube for Families Help.

<https://support.google.com/youtubekids/answer/6172308?sjid=6166532300965446159-AP#controls&zippy=%2Cchange-your-childs-content-level-settings>

YouTube. (n.d.). *Online video advertising campaigns.* YouTube Advertising. Retrieved November 23, 2023, from

https://www.youtube.com/intl/en_id/ads/?subid=id-en-ha-yt-bk-c-rlsa

YouTube. (n.d.). *YouTube Kids Privacy Notice - YouTube.* YouTube Made for Kids. Retrieved May 5, 2024, from <https://kids.youtube.com/t/privacynotice>

Zhu, C., Huang, S., Evans, R., & Zhang, W. (2021). *Cyberbullying Among Adolescents and Children: A Comprehensive Review of the Global Situation, Risk Factors, and Preventive Measures.* *Frontiers in Public Health*, 9(1).

<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2021.634909>