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Is Something Wrong with Small People's Media? Walking Through YouTube Kids

Abstract

The virality of the notion that “something is wrong on the Internet,” following the rise in popularity of toy unboxing videos, animated nursery rhymes, and the more devious and subversive ElsaGate content, has caused a moral panic among the parents of children who are on YouTube and/or YouTube Kids. Though YouTube Kids can be seen as a “walled garden” or a safer, cleaner, more educational version of YouTube, questions still remain about content vetting, algorithmic suggestions, and the success of the platform's affordances. This research uses the walkthrough method (Light, Burgess, and Duguay, 2016) to explore the US-version of YouTube Kids application as of October 2018. By exploring the registration for and entry into the application as well as the expected environments of use and everyday use cultures of the application, this research offers a firsthand practical look at how YouTube Kids works, what the platform affords the intended child consumers and their families, and insights into the content on the app while also calling into question what is not readily apparent to viewers.

Introduction: A Brief History of YouTube Kids

Today's children are growing up in a world that is awash with personal smart devices; oligopolistic social media, algorithm, and data conglomerates (notably the FAANGs—Facebook, Amazon, Apple, Netflix, and Google); and questions about the mysteries surrounding big data and black box algorithms and their effect on society. With such wide-reaching questions at the forefront of contemporary media and communications scholarship it is, perhaps, unsurprising that studies examining the smaller changes happening in the media industries—especially those that do not impact adult audiences' individual media consumption but rather impacts smaller, younger, and less vocal and agentic child audiences—are given less scholarly limelight. However, if one considers how an amassed collection of small changes can and have affected the children's media industry in the digital age, one can begin to understand how small media geared towards small people can have big implications as those small people grow. This research examines how the junior or “small” version of YouTube, YouTube Kids, has

made substantive changes to the children's media industry by conducting an walkthrough of the application¹ and examining the content on it in light of recent calls that something is wrong on the Internet.^{2,3} By walking through YouTube Kids, this research comparatively examines the walled-garden aesthetics and design directives of the “small” application against those of the “bigger” YouTube platform. This research gives a practical look at how the intended regulation of young people's activities on YouTube Kids is successful as well as how it can be improved upon.

YouTube Kids was unveiled in 2015 at the annual Kidscreen Summit by then Global Head of Family and Learning for YouTube, Malik Ducard. As recorded by David Kleeman, Ducard framed the new application as one that would be educational and safe, promising a non-log-in, sign-out based architecture with significant parental controls—at no financial cost.⁴ Following the product launch, industry executives and parents alike began asking questions similar to “isn't YouTube, YouTube Kids?” Many critics were left wondering how trusting they should be of an application which could potentially lead “from race cars to racy in just a click or two.”⁵

YouTube's parent company, Google, promised that the content on the app would be carefully vetted, that search terms would be controlled, and expressed the hope that their built-in timer would counter the revolving debates amongst children and media scholars about screen time and appropriate device usage.⁶ This, however, did not deter the Campaign for Commercial-Free Childhood (CCFC) and the Center for Digital Democracy (CDD) from expressing concerns about the advertising on the app, arguing that many children would not be able to distinguish between the creative content selected for the application and the advertisements featured between that content due to YouTube Kids' platform affordances and the rise in popularity of toy unboxing videos—a native YouTube genre often conflated with commerciality.⁷

The Trouble with YouTube Kids: The Differences Between ElsaGate and Toy Unboxing

These points aside, larger issues for YouTube Kids were brought to light in November of 2017 when author and artist James Bridle posted a viral article on *Medium* arguing that “something is wrong on the Internet.” The premise of his viral article was that, “someone or something or some combination of people and things is using YouTube to systematically frighten, traumatize, and abuse children, automatically and at scale” forcing him to “question [his] own beliefs about the internet at every level.”⁸ In that article and a subsequent TED Talk, Bridle would go on to discuss the plethora of toy unboxing and surprise egg videos that have appeared on YouTube in recent years. In some cases, Bridle blurred the lines between what content was on YouTube that children may have watched and what content was on YouTube Kids. That being said, he explained broadly that toy unboxing and surprise egg videos featured individuals (sometimes just a pair of disembodied hands) unpacking and unveiling products that are of interest to children ranging from toys to candy. He explained that one unboxing channel had amassed 3.7 million subscribers and 6 billion views. These statistics had a certain shock value when Bridle compared that toy unboxing creator to a mainstream celebrity, in this case, Justin Bieber, who had 10 billion views.⁹ He went on to talk about the popularity

of animated nursery rhyme channels like Little Baby Bum and Chu Chu TV and alluded to myriad variations of “The Finger Family Song,” the “Baby Shark” song, and “Johnny Johnny Yes Papa” rhyme which were iterated upon time and again.¹⁰ Though some toy unboxing videos and children's nursery rhyme videos are questionable in terms of their commerciality and virality, many creators are well-intentioned, careful about what brand partnerships they engage with, if any at all, and hold little control over their algorithmically suggested virality beyond attempting to make quality content. Of greater importance is that the creators of toy unboxing videos and children's nursery rhyme videos were reductively and incorrectly associated with a larger issue—ElsaGate content—by Bridle despite the fact that they were made by entirely different creators, with entirely different intentions and goals, and marked aesthetic differences, genre conventions, production practices, and opportunities for social interactions.

The so-called ElsaGate content can loosely be defined as amateur created or edited videos in which popular children's and family entertainment brands are co-opted and subverted in satirical or devious ways on YouTube. These videos ranged from ones where adults would dress-up to look like popular branded children's characters (notably Elsa from Disney's *Frozen* and Marvel's *Spiderman*) and act out scenarios that were seen as inappropriate for children (notably videos of dealing with pregnancy and sexuality) to videos where characters from popular animated children's programs, like *Peppa Pig* and *Paw Patrol*, were re-animated to be seen drinking bleach, cannibalizing other characters, and dancing to N.W.A's protest song “Fuck tha Police.”¹¹

The content of these videos, in conjunction with the attention they were given in Bridle's article, transformed how content made by amateur (or small in scale) creators was seen by small audiences (children and their families) in a big way. Many of these popular branded characters, once viewed by adults as trusted sources of visual entertainment for children, were now being put into question because they were being remixed, co-opted, and transformed via

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YouTube's platform affordances in conjunction with the platform's everyday use culture. These issues were further complicated by the fact that these videos appeared not only on the main or "adult" YouTube site but that some of them also appeared on the YouTube Kids application.

The fact that they were on YouTube Kids was troublesome for parents as these videos made their way through the filters and blockers created by Google, largely based on keywords and metadata, into the supposed safety of the walled garden that is the YouTube Kids application. Related to this, Bridle raises several questions about these videos and the space in which they are commonly accessed in his writing which can be largely categorized as: (1) the clarity of each video's authorship, (2) how each video is being made visible by YouTube's suggested video algorithm, (3) how each video is funded and created, and (4) how YouTube's platform affordances can be used to combat, report, and otherwise deprive questionable and objectionable content. As such, this research responds to Bridle's questions by looking at the things that are purported to be wrong with the Internet and unpack the "nightmare videos of children's YouTube" by conducting an application walkthrough of the YouTube Kids application.

While in the children's media industry YouTube has long been called "Kid Google," given anecdotes about its popularity among young users as well as being named the world's second largest search engine, behind its parent company Google,¹² this research focuses on YouTube Kids because it is seen as Google's response to the criticism that children under the age of 13 should not be on YouTube, due to COPPA compliance, and yet many still are.¹³ As such, it is imperative to understand how Google and YouTube are combatting what parents and lobbyist groups purportedly take umbrage with about YouTube for children by interrogating YouTube Kids by looking at the expected environments of use and dominant use cultures of the YouTube Kids app for the assumed child viewer. These issues include the clarity of authorship of content on YouTube Kids, how content is clearly separated and demarcated from advertising on YouTube Kids, the platform affordances or denials which help position and frame YouTube Kids as being "safer" and "more educational" than YouTube.

Methods

To answer these questions, I used Light, Burgess, and Duguay's walkthrough method,¹⁴ wherein a researcher scientifically notates and reflects upon the steps and processes used to navigate mobile applications, to familiarize myself with the application. During the data collection process, I metaphorically walk you through how the app works as each stage from: (1) registering for and entering the app, to (2) the application's environments of expected use, to (3) the discontinuation and/or suspension of use of the app. It should be noted that the data used for this paper is largely based on a walkthrough conducted in October of 2018 in preparation for a presentation I gave at The Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) Annual Conference in Montréal, Canada, though it also draws from findings gleaned from earlier walkthroughs in 2017 and 2018. Given that this research not only interrogates YouTube as a platform but also the videos and content on the platform in tandem, this research also utilizes techniques drawn from post-structuralist textual analysis of media texts¹⁵ to interpret the dominant readings—or likely interpretations and understandings of content—of the YouTube videos as consumed by children and their family members within the YouTube Kids app. Given the limitations of this work, this research pays particular attention to how one registers for and enters the YouTube Kids app and to the dominant readings of the day-to-day use cultures and environments of expected use on YouTube Kids. Choosing these two steps as the focus of this work allowed for more active interrogation of Bridle's prompts while also engaging with the actor-network theory (ANT)¹⁶ that undergirds the walkthrough method which acknowledges that one is only ever able to show a portion of the data in any given reflection.

Registering For, Entering, and Creating Profiles on the YouTube Kids App

Had you decided to download the YouTube Kids app in the United States in early October of 2018, you would have been greeted by a short video wherein a dancing bottle of water and collection

of other whimsical characters based on popular Internet-native videos travel through space and time to greet you and seemingly invite you to a YouTube Kids dance party before being pushed to a static download screen button which looked like a more crudely animated version of the YouTube play button, seemingly imitating conventions for in childhood animation.

Before accessing any content on YouTube Kids, children were instructed to “get a grown-up’s help.” To prove that you are, in fact, “grown-up,” the accompanying adult must add the year that they were born to the application. Following this, there were numerous disclaimers, warnings, and legalese that appeared on the subsequent pages. Through these pages, the YouTube Kids app acknowledges that there is a recommendation engine as well as a directive excluding “content that’s not appropriate for kids” while also noting that “it’s possible your child may find something you don’t want them to watch” because not all videos are manually reviewed. Any indication of which videos are reviewed, how they are reviewed, by whom, and when was not made readily apparent.

Before being able to view any content, adults are prompted to “approve some content” and “pick videos, channels, and curated collections from either the YouTube Kids teams and their partners” which you deem appropriate for the children you care for. Given the limits of this research, I mention only that the partnerships on YouTube Kids vary from groups like The Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media to American basketball player Kevin Durant. This raises additional questions and areas for further research about the vetting of these partners by YouTube and/or YouTube Kids as well as the media literacy skills of parents, teachers, and other adults to be able to research these partners and “choose sources they trust” for their children.

It is here that I noted that the “walled garden” aesthetic within YouTube Kids. By this, I mean that videos on YouTube Kids did not allow for interactions that are typical on the main YouTube platform—making playlists, commenting on videos, viewing other viewer profiles and playlists, and accessing video metrics such as a video’s like count, dislike count, view count, or the overall subscriber count a channel has. This walled garden aesthetic

was further evidenced by the platform prompting parents to restrict and filter content for children by clicking on one of two curated settings—“younger” or “older” content—which was set by the YouTube Kids application and seemingly could be modified to hide content that parents flagged or disapproved of. Whether these younger and older categories were created through human curators or through algorithmic means was not made readily clear. Further still, YouTube Kids offered an option wherein parents could turn off the search function on the app altogether thereby making it a more static and flat screening video-on-demand platform (SVOD).

Expected Environments of Use and Everyday Use Cultures

Once a user selected from these options, you would be allowed to enter the YouTube Kids landing page, in which you are immediately able to select content from four curated categories: Explore, Shows, Learning, and Music. Upon watching a smattering of videos of YouTube Kids, an algorithmically curated list of videos is created for each individual profile and is in turn generated into a fifth clickable category called Recommended. Additional categories were found to come and go based on seasonal interests. For instance, at the time of this walkthrough (October 2018), a Halloween was made readily available.

This recommended category coincides with YouTube Kids’ affordance allowing adults to create individual profiles for individual children. By clicking the button in the top left of the screen, viewers are prompted to get a grown-up to create individual profiles. The adult is asked to enter a simple four-digit numeric code by writing typing corresponding numeric values (see Fig. 1) and is subsequently prompted to sign in to your email address and give permissions to be able to create profiles for your child or children. Before you can do so, however, YouTube Kids puts adults on a veritable scrolling exercise wherein it is explained in small font what information is collected by Google (ranging from the parents’ Google and Gmail account activity as well as the child, children’s, and/or family’s activity on the YouTube Kids app) and that such information may be used by Google and

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their third-party partners before finally asking you to give your consent. It should be noted that the consent box is a large vibrant red box at the bottom of the screen which asks you to enter your password as a form of approval. It is arguable that the difference in color, font size, and positioning may prompt some parents to bypass the externally linked YouTube Kids Privacy Notice¹⁷ and Parental Guide¹⁸ and quickly gloss over the requests for data access.

Finally, you are allowed to create a profile for your child. After identifying them by name, age group, and an avatar of their choosing, parents can select whether or not their child needs “younger” or “older” content. There are notable differences between the categories presented with each option with “shows, music, gaming, and education” prompted for younger audiences but “popular music, gaming, shows, and nature and wildlife” prompted for older viewers. It was noted in an earlier presentation of this data that the content for “younger” audiences looked like it was geared towards an early elementary school-aged child and that the “older” content was seemingly geared towards tweens and teenagers,

you don’t want them to watch. Different warnings appear on the older content acknowledging that one may come across content including explicit language, imagery, violence, suggestive content – and potentially nudity and extreme violence. Following a virtual acknowledgment of this by a parents’ click of approval, the user is prompted to turn the search function either on or off and is reminded that while you can always reconfigure this setting there are still chances that your child may see something you do not wish for them to see within the curated collections made by YouTube.

The user is then brought to a list of user profiles. It was noted that it is incredibly easy to click into any one of these profiles, without entering any password or parental log-in information. It was also noted that going back and forth between these profiles was equally as easy. In turn, this dissolved any semblance of YouTube’s barrier being effective when content intended for an infant and content intended for older children was simply a few taps away from one another.

“Younger” and “Older” Content

In looking at the content made available for younger and older audiences, significant differences were noted between the two settings. Not only is the content on the older setting vastly different in terms of the platform aesthetics and genres of content available but the sheer amount of clickable and

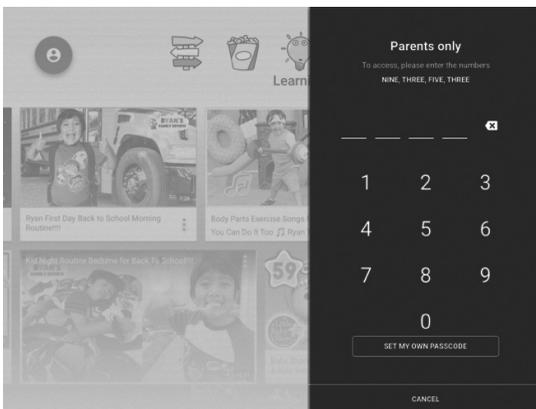


Fig. 1: Screenshot taken from researcher’s YouTube Kids account on an iPad Mini showing the numeric lock and passcode option provided by YouTube Kids.¹⁹

thus begging questions about how YouTube Kids provides content that is appropriate for each age group targeted by the platform and whether younger and older are useful labels for parents when selecting content.

Warnings appear following the choice of the younger option, with YouTube Kids stating that it is still possible that your child may find something

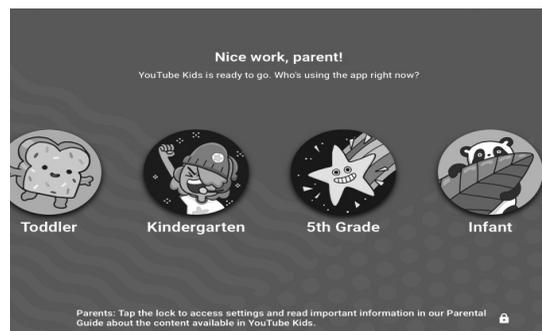


Fig. 2: Screenshot taken from researcher’s YouTube Kids account on an iPad Mini showing the different individual profiles that can be created on YouTube. All names of the accounts, (i.e. Toddler, Kindergarten, 5th Grade, and Infant) were chosen by the researcher as a means to link particular ages of children to more identifiable educational and/or developmental benchmarks.²⁰

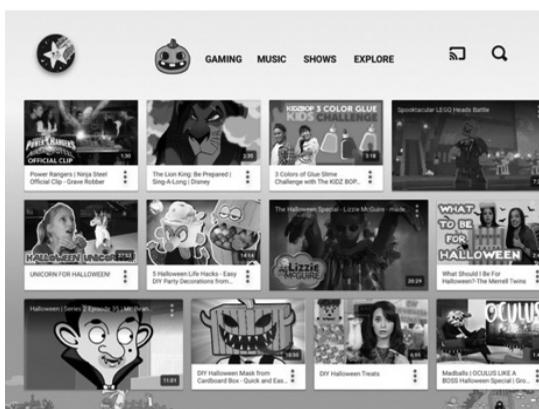
accessible promoted content on the landing page was more than doubled what is available on the younger setting. It was noted through this exercise that the thumbnails present on the landing page do not have explicit information about the authorship of the video save for a few YouTube creators/channels who featured their logos in the thumbnails. It was not until you clicked on the video, and in some cases watched the pre-roll advertisements, before small text below the video would appear and indicate who made the content you were clicking upon. This stands in stark contrast to the main YouTube web platform and application where video creators are listed underneath the thumbnails.

Beyond the options that YouTube automatically suggests for users, I found that users were afforded a plethora of search options by opting into the search function on YouTube Kids. However, for the purposes of this research, I dedicated my search

queries to the types of content suggested by Bridle to be potential “nightmares” for children. Like the main YouTube interface, a user is able to type in search queries, such as the words “surprise egg,” and be given a list of auto-filled suggested buzzwords, videos, and/or channel names in a sub-window generated underneath the search bar. Alternatively, users can also use the in-app voice-to-text function to search. This was of particular interest when one considers how a child might search for videos related to long queries with multiple potential spellings such as the viral children’s rhyming phenomenon “Johnny Johnny Yes Papa.”

Querying the term “surprise egg” on a profile geared towards younger children, displayed a myriad of colorful video thumbnails and seemingly computer-generated buzzword heavy video titles which entice users to click on eggs of various colors, shapes, and sizes, containing myriad branded and non-branded products inside, made by a variety of YouTube content creators. However, if the same younger user were to type in the related search term “unboxing,” they would be quickly re-directed away from the colorful thumbnails and long video titles and instead of being shown “toy unboxing” videos, be shown videos of adults unpackaging iPhones, consumer electronics, make-up, beauty products, and showing off their shopping hauls. This raises further questions about how YouTube Kids generates their search results, namely, whether they have built this platform on a filtered version of the main YouTube algorithm or if they have a separate algorithm for children and young people. Furthermore, it raises questions about the standards and practices used by the human curators and gatekeepers at YouTube and what power and agency they may have to shape, override, and train the black box algorithm or algorithms that generate content for children to watch.

With this critical perspective in mind, it was encouraging to see that the most discussed content to come out of Bridle’s article – the multitude of *Peppa Pig* spoofs that appeared on both YouTube and YouTube Kids as part of ElsaGate – were not made visible by the algorithm during my walkthrough. Beyond querying just “Peppa Pig,” I purposefully took it upon myself to query the YouTube Kids search engine to try and find ElsaGate content or elicit the algorithm to respond with such content. I



Figs. 3 and 4: Screenshots taken from the researcher’s YouTube Kids account on an iPad Mini showing the “younger” (top) and “older” (bottom) content provided by the algorithmically generated Halloween collections.^{21 22}

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found that even if a child were to go looking for the “bad” Peppa Pig videos or Peppa Pig being “mad” or “naughty,” that all videos related to those queries were that of the original entertainment property and had seemingly been vetted and whitelisted. The content relating to Peppa on YouTube Kids during that walkthrough was largely episodes of or segments of the original animated program that appeared on network television. Whether this was done entirely through human curation, algorithmic scraping, or a combination of the two was unclear.

Parental Controls

Given the recent panics surrounding YouTube Kids, I also used this walkthrough to examine the potential parental controls afforded by the platform to properly situate the content a child may view against the in-app tools that grown-ups would have to monitor it. Beyond blocking individual videos, in situ, I was drawn to the parental settings emblemized by a padlock icon in the bottom right-hand corner of the application as it invoked memories of the “parental locks” and V-Chip technologies made popular during my childhood. Upon clicking this icon, the adult is again asked for a four-digit numeric code. Upon entering the code, the user is offered three different options: a timer, a settings menu, and a feedback button. Going from the bottom up, the feedback button offers a very simple binary of you indicating that you are “happy” or “unhappy” with YouTube Kids. Should a user indicate that they are unhappy, they are provided with an opportunity to give detailed feedback in a separate window which includes a feature where one can include screenshots to further detail and offer a visual aid to the platform gatekeepers about what you are unhappy about. The next parental control, the settings menu, offers several features, most notably the capacity of the grown-up to set a custom numeric passcode which stands in opposition to the random number generator that an older child may be able to read and skirt around. Last but not least, we come to the most hyped parental control for the YouTube Kids app, the built-in timer. The timer allows grown-ups to set specific amounts of screen time in which their child may use the YouTube Kids app, knowing full well that the child will be notified and nudged to put the tablet to sleep by a

snoring face when their time allotment is up. While it is assumed that this feature is well-intentioned, interrupting a video with a “time’s up” notification raises questions about the effects it may have on a child’s understanding of narrative both in terms of continuity and closure.

Is Something Wrong with YouTube Kids?

By walking through several features, affordances, uses, and prompted content of and on YouTube Kids, it was the intention of this research to give insight into some of the content that is made visible and prompted by YouTube Kids as well as the parameters by which it is suggested, curated, collected, prompted, and potentially hidden, blocked, or skirted around. As such, I posit that YouTube Kids is in many senses, more like “YouTube Parents.” I make this conjecture because of how YouTube Kids is curated with exploratory and learning categories that give it the semblance of being educational in nature, though a discussion about how these categories are curated to prompt exploration and learning has yet to be seen. In addition to this, the amount of parental control and agency (or the perception of it) which permeate the app may also indicate to parents that YouTube Kids is a reasonable tool to learn and modify to fit individual family practices and values. I would caution, however, that while the search function is able to be turned on or off, this is a rather limited binary control. Further limitations were noted that any child who can read out the first nine written numbers and relate them to their corresponding numeric values can easily skirt around this feature and access content outside of the parents’ desired parameters.

Even as individual videos and channels are able to be blocked, reported, and flagged by grown-ups, at the time of this walkthrough there was no platform affordance which would allow a parent to lock a child into their respective profile. With a few taps on a tablet or mobile phone, it was incredibly easy to switch between profiles created for children of different ages and varying needs—namely, from younger content to older content. Families with children across a wider age spectrum or who have different content allowances for different children may be hard pressed to keep a younger child from

accessing “older” content within the YouTube Kids app. Furthermore, YouTube Kids offers no platform affordance which effectively gates the child viewer into the walled garden of the application—effectively making that they can click out of YouTube Kids and enter other applications and digital spaces afforded to them on a given device if parents have not set up external parameters and gates to discourse or disallow such activity. It is not difficult to imagine a scenario where a child who is unsuccessful in looking for something on YouTube Kids would click out of the app and meander to the main YouTube platform or onto the more ambivalent Internet—arguably synonymous with Google search queries—to find what they are looking for. Extending the metaphor, it would seem as though YouTube Kids has many locks within the walled garden of the application itself and yet not gatekeeping children inside the app or even within the supposed developmentally appropriate parameters of the application.

Drawing from Seiter (1995), I contend that YouTube Kids is a digital equivalent of the yupscale products (toys or children’s products marketed with as having a higher quality and/or educational value than other mass marketed products) she wrote about in the mid-1990s. With its curation and walled garden aesthetics, YouTube Kids seemingly prompts parents to feel comfortable restricting or forbidding watching and engaging with the main YouTube platform at least until they are legally allowed to create a profile on YouTube at age 13, in most countries. This yupscaling of YouTube native content into YouTube Kids can also be seen as a way to attract advertisers to the platform. By advertisers, I do not mean the creators of surprise egg and toy unboxing videos discussed earlier, but rather the corporations who advertise in between YouTube native content and videos that are clicked upon or auto-suggested by the algorithm. YouTube Kids, in many senses, is built upon the concept of trust and offers opportunities for advertisers, who might feel nervous advertising to children and families on the main YouTube platform, a dedicated space where: (A) the content is supposed to clean and vetted, and (B) the design directive of the application is unequivocally geared towards families with children. Advertisers will have likely taken notice, that content aimed towards older audiences—not necessarily “adult” in the sense of

graphic or explicit content often linked to adult entertainment industry but content that is written for older consumers such as iPhone unboxings and make-up tutorials—does appear on YouTube Kids. Here too, they likely will have noticed that content seemingly aimed at children is also viewed at significant rates on the main YouTube platform. This raises questions for advertisers and parents alike; namely, how kid-centric and safe is YouTube Kids in comparison to the main YouTube platform and how should one balance the expectations of each platform as children age into the Google and YouTube brands.

One final contention with the application during this walkthrough was that the authorship of individual videos was not revealed prior to clicking on and effectively viewing the content. While a channel name will ultimately be unveiled upon viewing one of the videos, it strikes me that the YouTube Kids app lacks the transparency of the main YouTube platform and more readily prompts selection based on what is visually enticing as opposed to picking it based on the source. I also contend that YouTube Kids might benefit from having their channel partners be featured under their dedicated categories as opposed to algorithmically generated lists of videos. This may help to eliminate questions about who are bona fide YouTube Kids partners and lessen questions about who is making the content that appears in the YouTube Kids categories.

It is here that one can begin to see how a platform like YouTube Kids could be used to create “smaller” media and further agendas related to it. Little research has been done to study the differences in the media habits of children who use the main YouTube platform as opposed to the YouTube Kids application and vice versa. It is readily apparent that both the children who watch content on either platform as well as the creators who create content for children and their families on either platform occupy a liminal space between the “big” corporate mandates of Google’s design directives. Here too, the relative lack of regulation over YouTube regarding content aimed at children has allowed some creators to subvert the platform’s wishes (some with notably pro-social and positive intentions) and allowed some children to go under, around, and through the walled gardens (if not

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avoiding them altogether) to see content that is of interest to them. In light of the moral panics that arise when we hear that something is wrong on the Internet which could adversely affect children, it is incumbent on all—from viewer to content creator to platform employee to data scientist alike—to

question how the walls of such walled gardens are made, who is allowed to plant and play in them, and whether or not they have provided a haven that will entice small people to safely and, perhaps, quickly grow within them in preparation for their exposure to the bigger world.

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Notes

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24 Craig and Cunningham, 77 – 87.

25 Molly Rubin, “The world of kids on YouTube is weird, wild, and almost entirely unregulated,” *Quartz*, December 20, 2018, Accessed January 4, 2019. <https://qz.com/1500662/the-world-of-kids-on-youtube-is-wild-weird-and-almost-entirely-unregulated/>