References

Abrams, Lawrence. 2018. "Google Agrees to Pay $11 Million to Owners of Suspended AdSense Accounts." *BleepingComputer* (blog). May 18, 2018. www.bleepingcomputer.com/news/google/google-agrees-to-pay-11-million-to-owners-of-suspended-adsense-accounts/.

Achen, Christopher, H., and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Adams, Julia. 1994. "Trading States, Trading Places: The Role of Patrimonialism in Early Modern Dutch Development." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36 (2): 319–55. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500019071.

Adams, Kristen, and Daniel Kreiss. 2021. *Power in Ideas: A Case-Based Argument for Taking Ideas Seriously in Political Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adena, Maja, Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova, Veronica Santarosa, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2015. "Radio and the Rise of the Nazis in Prewar Germany." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 130 (4): 1885–939. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjv030.

Agarwal, Bina. 2000. "Conceptualising Environmental Collective Action: Why Gender Matters." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 24 (3): 283–310. https://doi.org/10.1093/cje/24.3.283.

2001. "Participatory Exclusions, Community Forestry, and Gender: An Analysis for South Asia and a Conceptual Framework." *World Development* 29 (10): 1623–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(01)00066-3.

Aguiar, Luis, Christian Peukert, Maximilian Schäfer, and Hannes Ullrich. 2022. "Facebook Shadow Profiles." arXiv. https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2202.04131.

Alba, Davey. 2018. "How Duterte Used Facebook to Fuel the Philippine Drug War." *BuzzFeed News*, September 4, 2018. www.buzzfeednews.com/article/daveyalba/facebook-philippines-dutertes-drug-war.

Alexander, Leigh. 2016. "Facebook's Censorship of Aboriginal Bodies Raises Troubling Ideas of 'Decency'." *The Guardian*, March 23, 2016, sec. Technology. www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/mar/23/facebook-censorship-topless-aboriginal-women.

Ali, Muhammad, Piotr Sapiezynski, Miranda Bogen, Aleksandra Korolova, Alan Mislove, and Aaron Rieke. 2019. "Discrimination through Optimization: How Facebook's Ad Delivery Can Lead to Biased Outcomes." *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3 (CSCW): 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1145/3359301.

Aligica, Paul D., and Vlad Tarko. 2012. "Polycentricity: From Polanyi to Ostrom, and Beyond." *Governance* 25 (2): 237–62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2011.01550.x.

Amazon.com. 2020. "Amazon Establishes New Counterfeit Crimes Unit." *Amazon News*, June 24, 2020. https://blog.aboutamazon.com/company-news/amazon-establishes-new-counterfeit-crime-unit.

Amnesty International. 2022. "The Social Atrocity: Meta and the Right to Remedy for the Rohingya." ASA 16/5933/2022. Amnesty International. www.amnesty.org/en/documents/ASA16/5933/2022/en/.

Ananny, Mike, and Tarleton Gillespie. 2017. "Public Platforms: Beyond the Cycle of Shocks and Exceptions." http://blogs.oii.ox.ac.uk/ipp-conference/sites/ipp/files/documents/ananny Gillespie-publicPlatforms-oii-submittedSept8.pdf.

Anderson, Elizabeth. 2006. "The Epistemology of Democracy." *Episteme* 3 (1–2): 8–22.

      2015. "Moral Bias and Corrective Practices: A Pragmatist Perspective." *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 89: 21–47.

Anderson, J. Jonas. 2015. "Court Competition for Patent Cases." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 163 (3): 631–98.

Angwin, Julia, Madeleine Varner, and Ariana Tobin. 2017. "Facebook Enabled Advertisers to Reach 'Jew Haters'." *ProPublica*, September 14, 2017. www.propublica.org/article/facebook-enabled-advertisers-to-reach-jew-haters.

Arab News. 2022. "TikTok Sets Up Safety Advisory Council for MENAT Region," February 8, 2022. www.arabnews.com/node/2020911/media.

Article 19. 2018. "Self-Regulation and 'Hate Speech' on Social Media Platforms." Article 19.

      2019. "The Social Media Councils: Consultation Paper." Article 19.

      2021. "Social Media Councils One Piece in the Puzzle of Content Moderation." Article 19.

Arun, Chinmayi. 2022. "Facebook's Faces." *Harvard Law Review Forum* 135: 236–64.

Bachmann, Jan, and Jana Hönke. 2010. "'Peace and Security' as Counterterrorism? The Political Effects of Liberal Interventions in Kenya." *African Affairs* 109 (434): 97–114. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adp069.

Bain, Marc. 2019. "Nike Is Ending Its Two-Year Fling with Amazon." *Quartz*. November 13, 2019. https://qz.com/1747795/why-nike-will-stop-selling-on-amazon/.

Baiocchi, Gianpaolo. 2003. "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment." In *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, edited by Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, 45–76. The real utopias project, volume 4. London: Verso.

Baker, Matthew J., and Thomas J. Miceli. 2005. "Credible Criminal Enforcement." *European Journal of Law and Economics* 20 (1): 5–15. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10657-005-1011-3.

Baldwin, James. 2007. *No Name in the Street*. New York: Vintage.

Balkin, Jack M. 2020. *The Cycles of Constitutional Time*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

      2018. "Free Speech in the Algorithmic Society: Big Data, Private Governance, and New School Speech Regulation." *U.C. Davis Law Review* 51 (3): 1149–210.

Bambauer, Jane, James Rollins, and Vincent Yesue. 2022. "Platforms: The First Amendment Misfits Symposium: Compelled Speech: The Cutting Edge of First Amendment Jurisprudence." *Indiana Law Journal* 97 (3): 1047–70.

Barnidge Jr, Robert P. 2018. "Anti-Zionism, Jus Cogens, and International Law: The Case of the Banjul Charter and Arab Charter." *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 9 (1): 77–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2018.1449796.

Baronian, Laurent. 2020. "Digital Platforms and the Nature of the Firm." *Journal of Economic Issues (Taylor & Francis Ltd)* 54 (1): 214–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/0021362 4.2020.1720588.

Bartz, Diane. 2021. "U.S. Senator Wants to Ban Big Tech from Buying Anything Ever Again." Reuters, April 12, 2021, sec. Technology. www.reuters.com/technology/us-senator-wants-ban-big-tech-buying-anything-ever-again-2021-04-12/.

BBC News. 2018a. "The Country Where Facebook Posts Whipped Up Hate," September 12, 2018, sec. BBC Trending. www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-45449938.

2018b. "Facebook Admits It Was Used to 'Incite Offline Violence' in Myanmar," November 6, 2018. www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-46105934.

2020. "Myanmar Rohingya: What You Need to Know about the Crisis," January 23, 2020, sec. Asia. www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41566561.

2021. "Bolsonaro: New Bill Will Limit Tech Giants' Power to Remove Content," September 6, 2021, sec. Latin America & Caribbean. www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-58470093.

Beaubien, Jason. 2018. "'I Would Rather Die Than Go Back': Rohingya Refugees Settle into Life in Bangladesh." *NPR*, August 24, 2018, sec. World. www.npr.org/2018/08/24/641239849/i-would-rather-die-than-go-back-rohingya-refugees-settle-into-life-in-bangladesh.

Bedell, Zoe, and Benjamin Wittes. 2016. "Tweeting Terrorists, Part I: Don't Look Now but a Lot of Terrorist Groups Are Using Twitter." *Lawfare* (blog). February 14, 2016. www.lawfareblog.com/tweeting-terrorists-part-i-dont-look-now-lot-terrorist-groups-are-using-twitter.

Beer, Stafford. 2002. "What Is Cybernetics?" *Kybernetes* 31 (2): 209–19. https://doi.org/10.1108/03684920210417283.

Beitz, Charles R. 2018. "Property and Time." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 26 (4): 419–40. https://doi.org/10.1111/jopp.12145.

Bekos, Paschalis, Panagiotis Papadopoulos, Evangelos P. Markatos, and Nicolas Kourtellis. 2022. "The Hitchhiker's Guide to Facebook Web Tracking with Invisible Pixels and Click IDs." arXiv. https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2208.00710.

Bell, Stephen, and Andrew Hindmoor. 2012. *Rethinking Governance: The Centrality of the State in Modern Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Belli, Luca. 2015. "A Heterostakeholder Cooperation for Sustainable Internet Policymaking." *Internet Policy Review* 4 (2). https://doi.org/10.14763/2015.2.364.

Bellman, Steven, Ziad H. S. Abdelmoety, Jamie Murphy, Shruthi Arismendez, and Duane Varan. 2018. "Brand Safety: The Effects of Controversial Video Content on Pre-Roll Advertising." *Heliyon* 4 (12): e01041. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2018.e01041.

Beningi, Matthew C., Kenneth Joseph, and Kathleen M. Carley. 2019. "Bot-Ivistm: Assessing Information Manipulation in Social Media Using Network Analytics." In Emerging Research Challenges and Opportunities in Computational Social Network Analysis and Mining, edited by Nitin Agarwal, Nima Dokoohaki, and Serpil Tokdemir, 19–42. Lecture Notes in Social Networks. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94105-9.

Benkler, Yochai, Rob Faris, and Hal Roberts. 2018. *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Berger, Jonah, and Katherine L. Milkman. 2012. "What Makes Online Content Viral?" *Journal of Marketing Research* 49 (2): 192–205. https://doi.org/10.1509/jmr.10.0353.

Berkes, Fikret. 2002. "Cross-Scale Institutional Linkages: Perspectives from the Bottom Up." In *The Drama of the Commons*, edited by Elinor Ostrom, Thomas Dietz, Nives Dolšak, Paul C. Stern, Susan Stonich, and Elke U. Weber, 293–321. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Bevir, Mark. 2013. "Governance as Theory, Practice, and Dilemma." In *The SAGE Handbook of Governance*, edited by Mark Bevir, Paperback ed., 1–16. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE.

Bevir, Mark, and R. A. W. Rhodes. 2015. *The State as Cultural Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bhagwat, Ashutosh. 2021. "Do Platforms Have Editorial Rights?" *Journal of Free Speech Law* 1 (Symposium Issue): 97–138.

Bhattacharjee, Yudhijit. 2011. "How a Remote Town in Romania Has Become Cybercrime Central." *Wired*, January 31, 2011. www.wired.com/2011/01/ff-hackerville-romania/.

Bickert, Monika. 2018. "Publishing Our Internal Enforcement Guidelines and Expanding Our Appeals Process." *Facebook Newsroom* (Blog). April 24, 2018. https://about.fb.com/news/2018/04/comprehensive-community-standards/.

Biddle, Sam. 2021. "Revealed: Facebook's Secret Blacklist of 'Dangerous Individuals and Organizations'." *The Intercept* (Blog). October 12, 2021. https://theintercept.com/2021/10/12/facebook-secret-blacklist-dangerous/.

Birnbaum, Emily. 2021. "Facebook Staff Complained for Years about Their Lobbyists' Power." *Politico*, October 25, 2021. www.politico.com/news/2021/10/25/facebook-fatal-flaw-technologists-lobbyists-516927.

Bisbee, James, Megan Brown, Angela Lai, Richard Bonneau, Jonathan Nagler, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2022. "Election Fraud, YouTube, and Public Perception of the Legitimacy of President Biden." *Journal of Online Trust and Safety* 1 (3). https://doi.org/10.54501/jots.v1i3.60.

Blattman, Christopher, Alexandra C. Hartman, and Robert A. Blair. 2014. "How to Promote Order and Property Rights under Weak Rule of Law? An Experiment in Changing Dispute Resolution Behavior through Community Education." *American Political Science Review* 108 (1): 100–120. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000543.

Bleakley, Paul. 2021. "Panic, Pizza and Mainstreaming the Alt-Right: A Social Media Analysis of Pizzagate and the Rise of the QAnon Conspiracy." *Current Sociology*. https://doi.org/10.1177/00113921211034896.

Bloch-Wehba, Hannah. 2019. "Global Platform Governance: Private Power in the Shadow of the State." *Southern Methodist University Law Review* 72 (1): 27–80.

Bloom, Joshua, and Waldo E. Martin, Jr. 2016. *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. 2nd ed. Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Bonina, Carla, Kari Koskinen, Ben Eaton, and Annabelle Gawer. 2021. "Digital Platforms for Development: Foundations and Research Agenda." *Information Systems Journal* 31 (6): 869–902. https://doi.org/10.1111/isj.12326.

Bowden, John. 2020. "Zuckerberg Expressed Concern to Trump over Rhetoric amid Protests: Axios." Text. *The Hill* (blog). May 31, 2020. https://thehill.com/policy/technology/500391-zuckerberg-expressed-concern-to-trump-over-rhetoric-amid-protests-axios/.

Bowers, John, and Jonathan Zittrain. 2020. "Answering Impossible Questions: Content Governance in an Age of Disinformation." *Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review*. https://doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-005.

Bowman, Sam. 2020. "Amazon's Tightrope: Balancing Innovation and Competition on Amazon's Marketplace." *Truth on the Market* (blog). April 27, 2020. https://truthonthemarket.com/2020/04/27/amazons-tightrope-balancing-innovation-and-competition-on-amazons-marketplace/.

Börzel, Tanja A., and Vera van Hüllen. 2014. "State-Building and the European Union's Fight against Corruption in the Southern Caucasus: Why Legitimacy Matters: EU-State-Building in the Southern Caucasus." *Governance* 27 (4): 613–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12068.

Brady, William J., Ana P. Gantman, and Jay J. Van Bavel. 2019. "Attentional Capture Helps Explain Why Moral and Emotional Content Go Viral." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 149 (4): 746–56. https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000673.

Braun, Joshua A., and Jessica L. Eklund. 2019. "Fake News, Real Money: Ad Tech Platforms, Profit-Driven Hoaxes, and the Business of Journalism." *Digital Journalism* 7 (1): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1556314.

Brennan, Jason. 2016. *Against Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brignall, Miles. 2016. "Banned by Amazon for Returning Faulty Goods." *The Guardian*, March 18, 2016, sec. Money. www.theguardian.com/money/2016/mar/18/banned-by-amazon-returning-faulty-goods-blocked-credit-balance.

Brodkin, Jon. 2021. "Amazon 'Seized and Destroyed' 2 Million Counterfeit Products in 2020." *Ars Technica*, May 10, 2021. https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2021/05/amazon-seized-and-destroyed-2-million-counterfeit-products-in-2020/.

Broockman, David E., Gregory Ferenstein, and Neil Malhotra. 2019. "Predispositions and the Political Behavior of American Economic Elites: Evidence from Technology Entrepreneurs." *American Journal of Political Science* 63 (1): 212–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12408.

Bruckman, Amy. 2022. *Should, You Believe Wikipedia? Online Communities and the Construction of Knowledge*. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Brynjolfsson, Erik, Avinash Collis, and Felix Eggers. 2019. "Using Massive Online Choice Experiments to Measure Changes in Well-Being." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116 (15): 7250–55. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1815663116.

Bueger, Christian, Timothy Edmunds, and Robert McCabe. 2020. "Into the Sea: Capacity-Building Innovations and the Maritime Security Challenge." *Third World Quarterly* 41 (2): 228–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1660632.

Buerger, Cathy. 2021. "Speech as a Driver of Intergroup Violence: A Literature Review." *Dangerous Speech Project*. https://dangerousspeech.org/speech-as-a-driver-of-intergroup-violence-a-literature-review/.

Byers, Dylan. 2021. "'This Is Not Normal': Behind the Decisions at Facebook and Twitter to Deplatform Trump." *NBC News*, January 14, 2021. www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/how-facebook-twitter-decided-take-down-trump-s-accounts-n1254317.

Calo, Ryan, Ivan Evtimov, Earlence Fernandes, Tadayoshi Kohno, and David O'Hair. 2018. "Is Tricking a Robot Hacking?" In. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3150530.

Campanella, Thomas J. 2011. "Jane Jacobs and the Death and Life of American Planning." *Places Journal*, April. https://doi.org/10.22269/110425.

Canegallo, Kristie. 2019. "Meet the Teams Keeping Our Corner of the Internet Safer." *Google Blog (blog)*. February 5, 2019. https://blog.google/around-the-globe/google-europe/meet-teams-keeping-our-corner-internet-safer/.

Caney, Simon. 2001. "Review Article: International Distributive Justice." *Political Studies* 49 (5): 974–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00351.

Caplan, Robyn, and danah boyd. 2018. "Isomorphism through Algorithms: Institutional Dependencies in the Case of Facebook." *Big Data & Society* 5 (1): 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1177/2053951718757253.

Caplan, Robyn, and Tarleton Gillespie. 2020. "Tiered Governance and Demonetization: The Shifting Terms of Labor and Compensation in the Platform Economy." *Social Media + Society* 6 (2): 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120936636.

Carley, Kathleen M. 2020. "Social Cybersecurity: An Emerging Science." *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory* 26 (4): 365–81. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10588-020-09322-9.

Carr, Madeline. 2015. "Power Plays in Global Internet Governance." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43 (2): 640–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829814562655.

Chant, Tim De. 2021. "Apple Sued for Terminating Account with $25,000 Worth of Apps and Videos." *Ars Technica* (blog). April 23, 2021. https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2021/04/apple-faces-class-action-lawsuit-over-its-definition-of-the-word-buy/.

Chen, Adrian. 2014. "The Laborers Who Keep Dick Pics and Beheadings out of Your Facebook Feed." *Wired*, October 23, 2014. www.wired.com/2014/10/content-moderation/.

Chotiner, Isaac. 2019. "A Penn Law Professor Wants to Make America White Again." *New Yorker*, August 23, 2019. www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/a-penn-law-professor-wants-to-make-america-white-again.

Citron, Danielle Keats. 2018. "Extremist Speech, Compelled Conformity, and Censorship Creep." *Notre Dame Law Review* 93 (3): 1035–72.

　2019. "Restricting Speech to Protect It." In *Free Speech in the Digital Age*, edited by Susan J. Brison and Katharine Gelber, 122–36. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190883591.003.0008.

Cohen, Julie E. 2019. *Between Truth and Power: The Legal Constructions of Informational Capitalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cole, Samantha. 2021. "'WHYYYYYY?': Police Upset Idiot Colleague Played Taylor Swift to Trigger YouTube Filter." *Vice*, August 10, 2021. www.vice.com/en/article/4avp4m/alameda-county-police-department-taylor-swift-filming-youtube.

Constine, Josh. 2018. "Facebook Will Change Algorithm to Demote 'Borderline Content' That Almost Violates Policies." *TechCrunch*, November 15, 2018. http://social.techcrunch.com/2018/11/15/facebook-borderline-content/.

　2019. "Facebook Tries Hiding Like Counts to Fight Envy." *TechCrunch*, September 26, 2019. http://social.techcrunch.com/2019/09/26/facebook-hides-likes/.

Cosens, Barbara, J. B. Ruhl, Niko Soininen, Lance Gunderson, Antti Belinskij, Thorsten Blenckner, Alejandro E. Camacho, et al. 2021. "Governing Complexity: Integrating Science, Governance, and Law to Manage Accelerating Change in the Globalized Commons." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118 (36): e2102798118. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2102798118.

Cox, Joseph. 2019. "Company That Provides Tech to ICE Not Renewing Contract after Code-Deletion Protest." *Vice*, September 23, 2019. www.vice.com/en/article/qvg3q5/chef-not-renewing-ice-immigration-customs-enforcement-contract-after-code-deleting-protest.

Cox, Joseph, and Jason Koebler. 2021. "'FIND THIS FUCK:' Inside Citizen's Dangerous Effort to Cash in on Vigilantism." *Vice*, May 27, 2021. www.vice.com/en/article/y3dpyw/inside-crime-app-citizen-vigilante.

Craig, Robin Kundis, and J. B. Ruhl. 2020. "Adaptive Management for Ecosystem Services across the Wildland-Urban Interface." *International Journal of the Commons* 14 (1): 611–26. https://doi.org/10.5334/ijc.986.

Cusumano, Michael A., Annabelle Gawer, and David B. Yoffie. 2019. *The Business of Platforms: Strategy in the Age of Digital Competition, Innovation, and Power*. New York: Harper Business.

Dagan, Hanoch, and Michael Heller. 2020. "Choice Theory: A Restatement." In *Research Handbook on Private Law Theory*, by Hanoch Dagan and Benjamin C. Zipursky, 112–32. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Dahan, Frederique, Jacek Kubas, Lewis Cohen, and Yana Mihaleva. 2012. "The EBRD's Legal and Regulatory Assessment – What Limits Development of Local Capital Markets Analysis." *Law and Financial Markets Review* 6 (3): 218–23.

De Lara, Yadira Gonzalez, Avner Greif, and Saumitra Jha. 2008. "The Administrative Foundations of Self-Enforcing Constitutions." *American Economic Review* 98 (2): 105–9.

DeNardis, Laura. 2009. *Protocol Politics: The Globalization of Internet Governance. Information Revolution and Global Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

　2014. *The Global War for Internet Governance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Desrochers, Pierre, and Gert-Jan Hospers. 2007. "Cities and the Economic Development of Nations: An Essay on Jane Jacobs' Contribution to Economic Theory." *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 30 (1): 115–30.

Dewey, John. 1927. *The Public and Its Problems*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

DeWitt, Adrienne A. 2010. "The Cost of Free Access to Information: The Controversy over PACER and Open Access to Court Documents." *DttP: Documents to the People* 38 (4): 31–37.

Dhir, Amandeep, Yossiri Yossatorn, Puneet Kaur, and Sufen Chen. 2018. "Online Social Media Fatigue and Psychological Wellbeing—A Study of Compulsive Use, Fear of Missing Out, Fatigue, Anxiety and Depression." *International Journal of Information Management* 40 (June): 141–52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijinfomgt.2018.01.012.

Di Porto, Fabiana, and Marialuisa Zuppetta. 2021. "Co-Regulating Algorithmic Disclosure for Digital Platforms." *Policy and Society* 40 (2): 272–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/144940 35.2020.1809052.

Dias Oliva, Thiago, Dennys Marcelo Antonialli, and Alessandra Gomes. 2021. "Fighting Hate Speech, Silencing Drag Queens? Artificial Intelligence in Content Moderation and Risks to LGBTQ Voices Online." *Sexuality & Culture* 25 (2): 700–732. https://doi .org/10.1007/s12119-020-09790-w.

Docquir, Pierre François. 2019. *The Social Media Council: Bringing Human Rights Standards to Content Moderation on Social Media*. Waterloo, ON: Centre for International Governance Innovation. www.cigionline.org/articles/social-media-council-bringing-human-rights-standards-content-moderation-social-media/.

Dolgoplov, Stainslav. 2008. "Insider Trading, Chinese Walls, and Brokerage Commissions: The Origins of Modern Regulation of Information Flows in Securities Markets Insider Trading Symposium – January 27, 2007." *Journal of Law, Economics & Policy* 4 (2): 311–68.

Domino, Jenny. 2020. "Crime as Cognitive Constraint: Facebook's Role in Myanmar's Incitement Landscape and the Promise of International Tort Liability." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 52 (1): 143–97.

Donahue, John D., and Richard Zeckhauser. 2011. *Collaborative Governance: Private Roles for Public Goals in Turbulent Times*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Doremus, Holly. 2011. "Adaptive Management as an Information Problem." *North Carolina Law Review* 89 (5): 1455–98.

Douek, Evelyn. 2019. "Facebook's 'Oversight Board:' Move Fast with Stable Infrastructure and Humility." *North Carolina Journal of Law and Technology* 21 (1): 1–77.

   2021. "The Limits of International Law in Content Moderation." *UC Irvine Journal of International, Transnational, and Comparative Law* 6: 37–76.

Dowding, Keith. 2005. "Is It Rational to Vote? Five Types of Answer and a Suggestion." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 7 (3): 442–59. https://doi.org/10.1111/ j.1467-856X.2005.00188.x.

Durkee, Alison. 2019. "Facebook Investors Begin to Revolt against Mark Zuckerberg." *Vanity Fair, June 4, 2019*. www.vanityfair.com/news/2019/06/facebook-investors-revolt-against-mark-zuckerberg.

Dwoskin, Elizabeth, Craig Timberg, and Tony Romm. 2020. "Zuckerberg Once Wanted to Sanction Trump. Then Facebook Wrote Rules That Accommodated Him." *Washington Post*, June 28, 2020. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/06/28/ facebook-zuckerberg-trump-hate/.

Edwards, Brian, Elizabeth Naismith Picciani, Sarah Spicer, and Keith Cousins. 2021. "Addressing Rape in Four Minutes or Less: Dating App Reps Left Unprepared to

Respond to Assault Victims." *ProPublica*, May 17, 2021. www.propublica.org/article/addressing-rape-in-four-minutes-or-less-dating-app-reps-left-unprepared-to-respond-to-assault-victims?token=x6pxspak_bzvysutf-lu365b66_2ncxt.

Eichensehr, Kristen E. 2019. "Digital Switzerlands." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 167 (3): 665–732.

Elkin-Koren, Niva. 2022. "Government–Platform Synergy and Its Perils." In *Constitutionalising Social Media*, edited by Edoardo Celeste, Amélie Heldt, and Clara Iglesias Keller, 177–98. New York: Bloomsbury.

Ellickson, Robert C. 1991. *Order without Law: How Neighbors Settle Disputes*. 1. Harvard Univ. Press paperback ed.; 3. print, digitally reprinted. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Elster, Jon. 2000. *Ulysses Unbound. Studies in Rationality, Precommitment, and Constraints*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Engelmann, Severin, Jens Grossklags, and Orestis Papakyriakopoulos. 2018. "A Democracy Called Facebook? Participation as a Privacy Strategy on Social Media." In *Privacy Technologies and Policy*, edited by Manel Medina, Andreas Mitrakas, Kai Rannenberg, Erich Schweighofer, and Nikolaos Tsouroulas, 11079:91–108. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02547-2_6.

Engels, Barbara. 2016. "Data Portability Among Online Platforms." *Internet Policy Review* 5 (2): 1–17.

Etter, Lauren. 2017. "What Happens When the Government Uses Facebook as a Weapon?" *Bloomberg Businessweek, December 7, 2017*. www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2017-12-07/how-rodrigo-duterte-turned-facebook-into-a-weapon-with-a-little-help-from-facebook.

Evans, David S., and Richard Schmalensee. 2010. "Failure to Launch: Critical Mass in Platform Businesses." *Review of Network Economics* 9 (4): 1–26. https://doi.org/10.2202/1446-9022.1256.

Facebook. 2019. "Mark Zuckerberg Stands for Voice and Free Expression." *Meta Newsroom (blog)*. October 17, 2019. https://about.fb.com/news/2019/10/mark-zuckerberg-stands-for-voice-and-free-expression/.

Fan, Jenny, and Amy X. Zhang. 2020. "Digital Juries: A Civics-Oriented Approach to Platform Governance." In *Proceedings of the 2020 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 1–14. Honolulu HI USA: ACM. https://doi.org/10.1145/3313831.3376293.

Fanon, Franz. 1994. *A Dying Colonialism*. Translated by Chevalier, Haakon. New York: Grove Press.

Fearon, James D. 1994. "Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes." *American Political Science Review* 88 (3): 577–92. https://doi.org/10.2307/2944796.

Ferejohn, John. 1999. "Independent Judges, Dependent Judiciary: Explaining Judicial Independence." *Southern California Law Review* 72 (Issues 2 & 3): 353–84.

Ferreras, Isabelle, and Miranda Richmond Mouillot. 2017. *Firms as Political Entities: Saving Democracy through Economic Bicameralism*. Cambridge, GB; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Fingas, Jon. 2022. "Twitter Says It Inadvertently Ran Ads on Profiles Containing CSAM." *Engadget, September 28, 2022*. www.engadget.com/twitter-ads-csam-incident-204104639.html.

Fink, Christina. 2018. "Dangerous Speech, Anti-Muslim Violence, and Facebook in Myanmar." *Journal of International Affairs* 71 (1.5): 43–52.

Fishkin, James S., Robert C. Luskin, and Roger Jowell. 2000. "Deliberative Polling and Public Consultation." *Parliamentary Affairs* 53 (4): 657–66. https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/53.4.657.

Flew, Terry, and Rosalie Gillett. 2021. "Platform Policy: Evaluating Different Responses to the Challenges of Platform Power." *Journal of Digital Media & Policy* 12 (2): 231–46. https://doi.org/10.1386/jdmp_00061_1.

Follesdal, Andreas, and Simon Hix. 2006. "Why There Is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (3): 533–62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2006.00650.x.

Forestal, Jennifer. 2017. "The Architecture of Political Spaces: Trolls, Digital Media, and Deweyan Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 111 (1): 149–61. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000666.

———. 2021a. "Beyond Gatekeeping: Propaganda, Democracy, and the Organization of Digital Publics." *The Journal of Politics* 83 (1): 306–20. https://doi.org/10.1086/709300.

———. 2021b. "Constructing Digital Democracies: Facebook, Arendt, and the Politics of Design." *Political Studies* 69 (1): 26–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321719890807.

Forte, Andrea, Vanesa Larco, and Amy Bruckman. 2009. "Decentralization in Wikipedia Governance." *Journal of Management Information Systems* 26 (1): 49–72. https://doi.org/10.2753/MIS0742-1222260103.

Freeman, R. Edward, Kirsten Martin, and Bidhan Parmar. 2007. "Stakeholder Capitalism." *Journal of Business Ethics* 74 (4): 303–14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-007-9517-y.

Frenkel, Sheera. 2018. "Microsoft Employees Protest Work with ICE, as Tech Industry Mobilizes over Immigration." *The New York Times*, June 19, 2018, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2018/06/19/technology/tech-companies-immigration-border.html.

Frenkel, Sheera, and Davey Alba. 2021. "In India, Facebook Grapples with an Amplified Version of Its Problems." *The New York Times*, October 23, 2021, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2021/10/23/technology/facebook-india-misinformation.html.

Frey, Seth, P. M. Krafft, and Brian C. Keegan. 2019. "'This Place Does What It Was Built For': Designing Digital Institutions for Participatory Change." *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3 (CSCW): 32:1–31. https://doi.org/10.1145/3359134.

Fried, Charles. 2015. *Contract as Promise: A Theory of Contractual Obligation*. Second edition. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Frier, Sarah, and Kurt Wagner. 2020. "Facebook Needs Trump Even More Than Trump Needs Facebook." *Bloomberg Businessweek*, September 17, 2020. www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2020-09-17/facebook-and-mark-zuckerberg-need-trump-even-more-than-trump-needs-facebook.

Frischmann, Brett M., Michael J. Madison, and Katherine Jo Strandburg, eds. 2014. *Governing Knowledge Commons*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Fuller, Lon L. 1969. "Human Interaction and the Law." *American Journal of Jurisprudence* 14: 1–36.

———. 1978. "The Forms and Limits of Adjudication." Edited by Kenneth I. Winston. *Harvard Law Review* 92 (2): 353–409. https://doi.org/10.2307/1340368.

Fung, Archon, and Erik Olin Wright. 2003. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance. The Real Utopias Project*, volume 4. London: Verso.

Gadinis, Stavros, and Amelia Miazad. 2021. "A Test of Stakeholder Capitalism." *Journal of Corporation Law* 47 (1): 47–104.

Garcia, David. 2017. "Leaking Privacy and Shadow Profiles in Online Social Networks." *Science Advances* 3 (8): e1701172. https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.1701172.

Garcia, David, Pavlin Mavrodiev, and Frank Schweitzer. 2013. "Social Resilience in Online Communities: The Autopsy of Friendster." *Proceedings of the First ACM Conference on Online Social Networks – COSN '13*, 39–50. https://doi.org/10.1145/2512938.2512946.

Gates, Robert M. 2010. "Helping Others Defend Themselves: The Future of U.S. Security Assistance." *Foreign Affairs* 89 (3): 2–6.

Gelter, Martin, and Aurelio Gurrea-Martinez. 2020. "Addressing the Auditor Independence Puzzle: Regulatory Models and Proposal for Reform." *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 53 (3): 787–828.

Gergen, Mark P. 1999. "The Jury's Role In Deciding Normative Issues in the American Common Law." *Fordham Law Review* 68 (2): 407–85. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.193748.

Gilbert, David. 2022. "Inside the Far Right QAnon Plot to Overthrow the German Government." *Vice*, December 9, 2022. www.vice.com/en/article/qjk5k7/germany-far-right-qanon-coup-plot.

Gilles, Stephen G. 2001. "On Determining Negligence: Hand Formula Balancing, the Reasonable Person Standard, and the Jury Symposium: The John W. Wade Conference on the Third Restatement of Torts." *Vanderbilt Law Review* 54 (3): 813–62.

Gillespie, Tarleton. 2010. "The Politics of 'Platforms'." *New Media & Society* 12 (3): 347–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809342738.

  2018a. *Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions That Shape Social Media*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

  2018b. "Platforms Are Not Intermediaries." *Georgetown Technology Law Review* 2 (2): 198–216.

  2018c. "Regulation of and by Platforms." *In The Sage Handbook of Social Media, by Jean Burgess, Alice Marwick, and Thomas Poell*, 30. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

  2022. "Do Not Recommend? Reduction as a Form of Content Moderation." *Social Media + Society* 8 (3): 205630512211175. https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051221117552.

Giuliani, Elisa, and Chiara Macchi. 2014. "Multinational Corporations' Economic and Human Rights Impacts on Developing Countries: A Review and Research Agenda." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 38 (2): 479–517. https://doi.org/10.1093/cje/bet060.

Gleicher, Nathaniel. 2018. "Coordinated Inauthentic Behavior Explained." *Meta Newsroom* (blog), December 6, 2018. https://about.fb.com/news/2018/12/inside-feed-coordinated-inauthentic-behavior/.

Goldman, Eric. 2021. "Content Moderation Remedies." *Michigan Technology Law Review* 28 (1): 1–59.

Goldman, Eric, and Jess Miers. 2021. "Online Account Terminations/Content Removals and the Benefits of Internet Services Enforcing Their House Rules." *Journal of Free Speech Law* 1 (Symposium Issue): 191–226.

Goodin, Dan. 2018. "Widely Used Open Source Software Contained Bitcoin-Stealing Backdoor." *Ars Technica*, November 26, 2018. https://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2018/11/hacker-backdoors-widely-used-open-source-software-to-steal-bitcoin/.

Goodman, Ellen P, and Karen Kornbluh. 2021. "The Stakes of User Interface Design for Democracy." *The German Marshall Fund of the United States Policy Paper*. www.gmfus.org/publications/stakes-user-interface-design-democracy.

Gorwa, Robert. 2019a. "What Is Platform Governance?" *Information, Communication & Society* 22 (6): 854–71. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2019.1573914.

  2019b. "The Platform Governance Triangle: Conceptualising the Informal Regulation of Online Content." *Internet Policy Review* 8 (2): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.14763/2019.2.1407.

Gorwa, Robert, Reuben Binns, and Christian Katzenbach. 2020. "Algorithmic Content Moderation: Technical and Political Challenges in the Automation of Platform Governance." *Big Data & Society* 7 (1): 2053951719897945. https://doi.org/10.1177/2053951719897945.

Gotanda, Neil. 1991. "A Critique of Our Constitution Is Color-Blind." *Stanford Law Review* 44 (1): 1–68.

Gowder, Paul. 2014a. "Market Unfreedom." *Critical Review* 26 (3–4): 306–47.

2014b. "The Countermajoritarian Complaint." *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 23: 7–33.

2015. "Critical Race Science and Critical Race Philosophy of Science." *Fordham Law Review* 83 (6): 3155–77.

2016. *The Rule of Law in the Real World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

2018a. "Resisting the Rule of Men." *Saint Louis University Law Journal* 62 (2): 333–59.

2018b. "Transformative Legal Technology and the Rule of Law." *University of Toronto Law Journal* 68 (S1): 82–105.

2019. "Reconstituting We the People: Frederick Douglass and Jürgen Habermas in Conversation." *Northwestern University Law Review* 114 (2): 335–413.

2021. *The Rule of Law in the United States: An Unfinished Project of Black Liberation*. Oxford; New York: Hart.

Gowen, Annie, and Max Bearak. 2017. "Fake News on Facebook Fans the Flames of Hate against the Rohingya in Burma." *Washington Post*, 2017-12-08T06:00-500, sec. Asia & Pacific. www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/fake-news-on-facebook-fans-the-flames-of-hate-against-the-rohingya-in-burma/2017/12/07/2c1fe830-ca1f-11e7-b506-8a10ed11ecf5_story.html.

Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6): 1360–80.

Green, Jessica F. 2014. *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Greenwood, Justin. 2007. "Review Article: Organized Civil Society and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union." *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (2): 333–57.

Grewal, David Singh. 2008. *Network Power: The Social Dynamics of Globalization*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Guadagno, Rosanna E., Daniel M. Rempala, Shannon Murphy, and Bradley M. Okdie. 2013. "What Makes a Video Go Viral? An Analysis of Emotional Contagion and Internet Memes." *Computers in Human Behavior* 29 (6): 2312–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.04.016.

Gurley, Lauren Kaori. 2019. "Amazon Strikers Say Bezos' Climate Pledge Is 'Not Enough'." *Vice*, September 19, 2019. www.vice.com/en/article/wjwgg5/amazon-strikers-say-bezos-climate-pledge-is-not-enough.

Guynn, Jessica. 2021. "'Burn down DC': Violence That Erupted at Capitol Was Incited by Pro-Trump Mob on Social Media." *USA Today*, January 6, 2021. www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2021/01/06/trump-riot-twitter-parler-proud-boys-boogaloos-antifa-qanon/6570794002/.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. "Constitutional Democracy: A Paradoxical Union of Contradictory Principles?" *Political Theory* 29 (6): 766–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591701029006002.

Hadfield, Gillian, and Barry Weingast. 2013. "Law without the State: Legal Attributes and the Coordination of Decentralized Collective Punishment." *Journal of Law & Courts* 1 (1): 3–34.

2014. "Microfoundations of the Rule of Law." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 21–42.

Hagey, Keach, and Jeff Horwitz. 2021. "Facebook's Internal Chat Boards Show Politics Often at Center of Decision Making." *Wall Street Journal*, October 24, 2021, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/facebook-politics-decision-making-documents-11635100195.

Haggard, Stephan, Andrew MacIntyre, and Lydia Tiede. 2008. "The Rule of Law and Economic Development." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 205–34.

Haggart, Blayne. 2020. "Global Platform Governance and the Internet-Governance Impossibility Theorem." *Journal of Digital Media & Policy* 11 (3): 321–39. https://doi.org/10.1386/jdmp_00028_1.

Haggart, Blayne, and Clara Iglesias Keller. 2021. "Democratic Legitimacy in Global Platform Governance." *Telecommunications Policy* 45 (6): 102152. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2021.102152.

Haggart, Blayne, Natasha Tusikov, and Jan Aart Scholte, eds. 2021. Power and Authority in Internet Governance: Return of the State? Routledge Global Cooperation Series. London; New York, NY: Routledge.

Haimson, Oliver L., and Anna Lauren Hoffmann. 2016. "Constructing and Enforcing 'Authentic' Identity Online: Facebook, Real Names, and Non-Normative Identities." *First Monday*, June. https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v21i6.6791.

Halliday, Josh. 2012. "Twitter's Tony Wang: 'We Are the Free Speech Wing of the Free Speech Party'." *The Guardian*, March 22, 2012. www.theguardian.com/media/2012/mar/22/twitter-tony-wang-free-speech.

Hao, Karen. 2021. "How Facebook Got Addicted to Spreading Misinformation." *MIT Technology Review*, March 11, 2021. www.technologyreview.com/2021/03/11/1020600/facebook-responsible-ai-misinformation/.

Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162 (3859): 1243–48.

Harnett, Sam. 2018. "Cities Made Millions Selling Taxi Medallions, Now Drivers Are Paying the Price." National Public Radio. October 15, 2018. www.npr.org/2018/10/15/656595597/cities-made-millions-selling-taxi-medallions-now-drivers-are-paying-the-price.

Harwell, Drew. 2021. "As GameStop Stock Crumbles, Newbie Traders Reckon with Heavy Losses." *Washington Post*, February 2, 2021. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/02/02/gamestop-stock-plunge-losers/.

———. 2022. "A Fake Tweet Sparked Panic at Eli Lilly and May Have Cost Twitter Millions." *Washington Post*, November 14, 2022. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/11/14/twitter-fake-eli-lilly/.

Harwell, Drew, and Nitasha Tiku. 2020. "Google's Star AI Ethics Researcher, One of a Few Black Women in the Field, Says She Was Fired for a Critical Email." *Washington Post*, December 3, 2020. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/12/03/timnit-gebru-google-fired/.

Hatmaker, Taylor. 2018. "Zuckerberg Denies Knowledge of Facebook Shadow Profiles." *TechCrunch* (blog). April 11, 2018. https://techcrunch.com/2018/04/11/facebook-shadow-profiles-hearing-lujan-zuckerberg/.

———. 2021. "Facebook Oversight Board Says Other Social Networks 'Welcome to Join' if Project Succeeds." *TechCrunch* (blog). February 11, 2021. https://social.techcrunch.com/2021/02/11/facebook-oversight-board-other-social-networks-beyond-facebook/.

Hayek, Friedrich A. 1945. "The Use of Knowledge in Society." *American Economic Review* 35 (4): 519–30.

Haynes, Brad. 2016. "Facebook Executive Jailed in Brazil as Court Seeks WhatsApp Data." *Reuters*, March 1, 2016, sec. Media and Telecoms. www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-brazil-idUSKCN0W34WF.

Hearn, Alex. 2017. "Google Acts against Fake News on Search Engine." *The Guardian*, April 25, 2017, sec. Technology. www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/apr/25/google-launches-major-offensive-against-fake-news.

Helberger, Natali, Jo Pierson, and Thomas Poell. 2018. "Governing Online Platforms: From Contested to Cooperative Responsibility." *The Information Society* 34 (1): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/01972243.2017.1391913.

Hern, Alex. 2020. "WhatsApp to Impose New Limit on Forwarding to Fight Fake News." *The Guardian*, April 7, 2020, sec. Technology. www.theguardian.com/technology/2020/apr/07/whatsapp-to-impose-new-limit-on-forwarding-to-fight-fake-news.

Herrman, John, and Mike Isaac. 2016. "Conservatives Accuse Facebook of Political Bias." *The New York Times*, May 10, 2016, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2016/05/10/technology/conservatives-accuse-facebook-of-political-bias.html.

Hibbing, John R., and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2008. "Voice, Validation, and Legitimacy." In *Cooperation: The Political Psychology of Effective Human Interaction*, edited by Brandon A. Sullivan, Mark Snyder, and John L. Sullivan, 123–42. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Hiller, Janine S., and Scott J. Shackelford. 2018. "The Firm and Common Pool Resource Theory: Understanding the Rise of Benefit Corporations." *American Business Law Journal* 55 (1): 5–51. https://doi.org/10.1111/ablj.12116.

Hofmann, Jeanette. 2016. "Multi-Stakeholderism in Internet Governance: Putting a Fiction into Practice." *Journal of Cyber Policy* 1 (1): 29–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/23738871.2016.1158303.

Hogan, Libby, and Michael Safi. 2018. "Revealed: Facebook Hate Speech Exploded in Myanmar during Rohingya Crisis." *The Guardian*, April 3, 2018, sec. World News. www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/03/revealed-facebook-hate-speech-exploded-in-myanmar-during-rohingya-crisis.

Hollister, Sean. 2021. "FCC Chairman Ajit Pai Gave up on His Legally Dicey Attempt to 'Clarify' Internet Law." The Verge. January 7, 2021. www.theverge.com/2021/1/7/22219677/fcc-ajit-pai-section-230-its-over.

Holpuch, Amanda. 2015. "Facebook Adjusts Controversial 'Real Name' Policy in Wake of Criticism." *The Guardian*, December 15, 2015, sec. Technology. www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/15/facebook-change-controversial-real-name-policy.

Hong, Lu, and Scott E. Page. 2004. "Groups of Diverse Problem Solvers Can Outperform Groups of High-Ability Problem Solvers." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 101 (46): 16385–89. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0403723101.

Horwitz, Jeff. 2021. "Facebook Says Its Rules Apply to All. Company Documents Reveal a Secret Elite That's Exempt." *Wall Street Journal*, September 13, 2021, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/facebook-files-xcheck-zuckerberg-elite-rules-11631541353.

Horwitz, Jeff, and Newley Purnell. 2021. "India Threatens Jail for Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter Employees." *Wall Street Journal*, March 5, 2021, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/india-threatens-jail-for-facebook-whatsapp-and-twitter-employees-11614964542.

Horwitz, Jeff, and Justin Scheck. 2021. "Facebook Increasingly Suppresses Political Movements It Deems Dangerous." *Wall Street Journal*, October 22, 2021, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/facebook-suppresses-political-movements-patriot-party-11634937358.

Horwitz, Jeff, and Deepa Seetharaman. 2020. "Facebook Executives Shut Down Efforts to Make the Site Less Divisive." *Wall Street Journal*, May 26, 2020, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/facebook-knows-it-encourages-division-top-executives-nixed-solutions-11590507499.

Hoseini, Mohamad, Philipe Melo, Fabricio Benevenuto, Anja Feldmann, and Savvas Zannettou. 2021. "On the Globalization of the QAnon Conspiracy Theory Through Telegram." *arXiv*. https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2105.13020.

Hovenkamp, Herbert. 2021. "Antitrust and Platform Monopoly." *Yale Law Journal* 130 (8): 1952–2050.

Huffman, Stephen. 2000. "The Navajo Code Talkers: A Cryptologic and Linguistic Perspective." *Cryptologia* 24 (4): 289–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/0161119008984247.

Hunt, Melissa G., Rachel Marx, Courtney Lipson, and Jordyn Young. 2018. "No More FOMO: Limiting Social Media Decreases Loneliness and Depression." *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 37 (10): 751–68. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2018.37.10.751.

Huth, Paul K. 1999. "Deterrence and International Conflict: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Debates." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1): 25–48. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.2.1.25.

India Times. 2020. "Meet Vijaya Gadde, an Indian-Born Twitter Head Who Decides on Blocking Tweets, Users," January 16, 2020.

Ingram, Mathew. 2019. "The Facebook Supreme Court Will See You Now." *Columbia Journalism Review*, September 19, 2019. www.cjr.org/the_media_today/facebook-supreme-court.php.

Isaac, Mike, and Kate Conger. 2021. "Reddit Bans Forum Dedicated to Supporting Trump, and Twitter Permanently Suspends His Allies Who Spread Conspiracy Theories." *The New York Times*, January 8, 2021, sec. U.S. www.nytimes.com/2021/01/08/us/politics/reddit-bans-forum-dedicated-to-supporting-trump-and-twitter-permanently-suspends-his-allies-who-spread-conspiracy-theories.html.

Isaac, Mike, Cecilia Kang, and Sheera Frenkel. 2020. "Zuckerberg Defends Hands-Off Approach to Trump's Posts." *The New York Times*, June 2, 2020, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2020/06/02/technology/zuckerberg-defends-facebook-trump-posts.html.

Isaac, T.M. Thomas, and Patrick Heller. 2003. "Democracy and Development: Decentralized Planning in Kerala." In *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, edited by Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, 77–110. The real utopias project, volume 4. London: Verso.

Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
    2016. *Vital Little Plans: The Short Works of Jane Jacobs*. Edited by Samuel Zipp and Nathan Storring. First edition. New York: Random House.

Jin, Dal Yong. 2013. "The Construction of Platform Imperialism in the Globalization Era." *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society* 11 (1): 145–72. https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v11i1.458.
    2017. *Digital Platforms, Imperialism and Political Culture*.

Kadens, Emily. 2012. "The Myth of the Customary Law Merchant." *Texas Law Review* 90 (5): 1153–1206.
    2015. "The Medieval Law Merchant: The Tyranny of a Construct." *Journal of Legal Analysis* 7 (2): 251–89. https://doi.org/10.1093/jla/lav004.

Kahneman, Daniel. 2013. *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. 1st pbk. ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Kaminski, Margot E. 2014. "The Capture of International Intellectual Property Law through the U.S. Trade Regime." *Southern California Law Review* 87 (4): 977–1052.

Kantrowitz, Alex. 2019. "Facebook Is Still Prioritizing Scale over Safety." *BuzzFeed News*, December 17, 2019. www.buzzfeednews.com/article/alexkantrowitz/after-years-of-scandal-facebooks-unhealthy-obsession-with.

Kaye, David. 2019a. "Legitimacy, Collective Authority and Internet Governance: A Reflection on David Caron's Study of the UN Security Council." *Ecology Law Quarterly* 46 (1): 135–48. https://doi.org/10.15779/Z38M902363.
    2019b. *Speech Police: The Global Struggle to Govern the Internet*. New York: Columbia Global Reports.

Keller, Clara Iglesias. 2022. "The Perks of Co-Regulation: An Institutional Arrangement for Social Media Regulation?" In *Constitutionalising social media*, edited by Edoardo Celeste, Amélie Heldt, and Clara Iglesias Keller, 217–34.

Keller, Daphne. 2021. "The Future of Platform Power: Making Middleware Work." *Journal of Democracy* 32 (3): 168–72. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2021.0043.

Kemp, Catherine. 1999. "Habermas among the Americans: Some Reflections on the Common Law Fifth Annual Legal Theory Symposium: Exploring Habermas on Law and Democracy." *Denver University Law Review* 76 (4): 961–76.

Kettemann, Matthias C., and Fertmann, Martin. 2021. "Platform-Proofing Democracy: Social Media Councils as Tools to Increase the Public Accountability of Online Platforms." *Friedrich Neumann Foundation for Freedom.* https://shop.freiheit.org/download/P2@1084/444384/2021_FNF_Platformräte_Social%20Media%20Councils_eng%20final.pdf.

Kiesler, Sara, Robert E. Kraut, Paul Resnick, and Aniket Kittur. 2011. "Regulating Behavior in Online Communities." In *Building Successful Online Communities: Evidence-Based Social Design*, edited by Robert E. Kraut and Paul Resnick, 125–77. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Kilgour, Marc D., and Frank C. Zagare. 1991. "Credibility, Uncertainty, and Deterrence." *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (2): 305–34. https://doi.org/10.2307/2111365.

Kim, Eugene. 2019. "Amazon Added a First-Ever Warning about Counterfeit Products to Its Earnings Report." *CNBC.* February 4, 2019. www.cnbc.com/2019/02/04/amazon-10k-warns-investors-about-counterfeit-problem-for-first-time.html.

Klein, Scott, and Jeff Kao. 2021. "Why We Published More Than 500 Videos Taken by Parler Users of the Capitol Riot." *ProPublica*, January 17, 2021. www.propublica.org/article/why-we-published-parler-users-videos-capitol-attack?token=Tu5C70R2pCBv8Yj33AkMh2E-mHz3d6iu.

Klijn, Erik Hans, and Jurian Edelenbos. 2013. "The Influence of Democratic Legitimacy on Outcomes in Governance Networks." *Administration & Society* 45 (6): 627–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399712454113.

Klonick, Kate. 2018. "The New Governors: The People, Rules, and Processes Governing Online Speech." *Harvard Law Review* 131 (6): 1598–1670.

   2019. "Does Facebook's Oversight Board Finally Solve the Problem of Online Speech?" Centre for International Governance Innovation. www.cigionline.org/articles/does-facebooks-oversight-board-finally-solve-problem-online-speech.

   2020. "The Facebook Oversight Board: Creating an Independent Institution to Adjudicate Online Free Expression." *Yale Law Journal* 129 (8): 2418–99.

Kohler-Koch, Beate. 2010. "Civil Society and EU Democracy: 'Astroturf' Representation?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 17 (1): 100–116. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760903464986.

Kolhatkar, Sheelah. 2019. "How Elizabeth Warren Came Up with a Plan to Break Up Big Tech." *The New Yorker*, August 20, 2019. www.newyorker.com/business/currency/how-elizabeth-warren-came-up-with-a-plan-to-break-up-big-tech.

Koontz, Tomas M., Divya Gupta, Pranietha Mudliar, and Pranay Ranjan. 2015. "Adaptive Institutions in Social-Ecological Systems Governance: A Synthesis Framework." *Environmental Science & Policy* 53 (November): 139–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2015.01.003.

Kosseff, Jeff. 2019. "First Amendment Protection for Online Platforms." *Computer Law & Security Review* 35 (2): 199–213. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clsr.2018.12.002.

Kraut, Robert E., Paul Resnick, and Sara Kiesler. 2011. *Building Successful Online Communities: Evidence-Based Social Design*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kulp, Patrick. 2019. "Disney, Nestle and Fortnite Publisher Pull YouTube Ads Following Child Predator Controversy." *Adweek*, February 20, 2019. www.adweek.com/programmatic/fortnite-publisher-pulls-pre-roll-ads-on-youtube-following-child-exploitation-controversy/.

Kuran, Timur. 1989. "Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution." *Public Choice* 61 (1): 41–74.

1991. "The East European Revolution of 1989: Is It Surprising That We Were Surprised?" *The American Economic Review* 81 (2): 121–25.

Kwet, Michael. 2019. "Digital Colonialism: US Empire and the New Imperialism in the Global South." *Race & Class* 60 (4): 3–26.

Kymlicka, Will. 2015. "Solidarity in Diverse Societies: Beyond Neoliberal Multiculturalism and Welfare Chauvinism." *Comparative Migration Studies* 3 (1): 17. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-015-0017-4.

Land, Molly K. 2013. "Toward an International Law of the Internet." *Harvard International Law Journal* 54 (2): 393–458.

2019. "Against Privatized Censorship: Proposals for Responsible Delegation." *Virginia Journal of International Law* 60 (2): 363–431. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3442184.

Landemore, Hélène. 2013. "Deliberation, Cognitive Diversity, and Democratic Inclusiveness: An Epistemic Argument for the Random Selection of Representatives." *Synthese* 190 (7): 1209–31. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-012-0062-6.

2020. *Open Democracy: Reinventing Popular Rule for the Twenty-First Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Landemore, Hélène, and Isabelle Ferreras. 2016. "In Defense of Workplace Democracy: Towards a Justification of the Firm–State Analogy." *Political Theory* 44 (1): 53–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591715600035.

Lange, Ann-Christina, Marc Lenglet, and Robert Seyfert. 2016. "Cultures of High-Frequency Trading: Mapping the Landscape of Algorithmic Developments in Contemporary Financial Markets." *Economy and Society* 45 (2): 149–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2016.1213986.

Langston, Jennifer. 2018. "How PhotoDNA for Video Is Being Used to Fight Online Child Exploitation." *Microsoft/On the Issues* (blog). September 12, 2018. https://news.microsoft.com/on-the-issues/2018/09/12/how-photodna-for-video-is-being-used-to-fight-online-child-exploitation/.

Langvardt, Kyle. 2021. "Can the First Amendment Scale?" *Journal of Free Speech Law* 1 (Symposium Issue): 273–302.

Law, David S. 2009. "A Theory of Judicial Power and Judicial Review." *Georgetown Law Journal* 97 (3): 723–802.

Leader Maynard, Jonathan, and Susan Benesch. 2016. "Dangerous Speech and Dangerous Ideology: An Integrated Model for Monitoring and Prevention." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 9 (3): 70–95. http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1911-9933.9.3.1317

Leary, Alex, and John D. McKinnon. 2020. "Trump Considers Forming Panel to Review Complaints of Online Bias." *Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 2020, sec. Politics. www.wsj.com/articles/trump-considers-forming-panel-to-review-complaints-of-online-bias-11590238800.

Lee, Ronan. 2019. "Extreme Speech in Myanmar: The Role of State Media in the Rohingya Forced Migration Crisis." *International Journal of Communication* 13: 3203–24.

Lessig, Lawrence. 1999. *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace*. New York: Basic Books.

2003. "Dunwody Distinguished Lecture in Law: The Creative Commons." *Florida Law Review* 55 (3): 763–78.

Levy, Jacob T. 2017. *Rationalism, Pluralism, and Freedom*.

Levy, Steven. 2020a. *Facebook: The Inside Story*. New York: Dutton.

2020b. "Why Mark Zuckerberg's Oversight Board May Kill His Political Ad Policy." *Wired*, January 28, 2020. www.wired.com/story/facebook-oversight-board-bylaws/.

Lima, Lucas, Julio C. S. Reis, Philipe Melo, Fabricio Murai, Leandro Araújo, Pantelis Vikatos, and Fabrício Benevenuto. 2018. "Inside the Right-Leaning Echo Chambers: Characterizing Gab, an Unmoderated Social System." *arXiv:1807.03688 [Cs]*, July.

Liu, Lizhi, and Barry R. Weingast. 2018. "Taobao, Federalism, and the Emergence of Law, Chinese Style." *Minnesota Law Review* 102 (4): 1563–90.

Liu, Yi, Pinar Yildirim, and Z. John Zhang. 2021. "Social Media, Content Moderation, and Technology." *arXiv:2101.04618 [Econ, q-Fin]*, January.

Lobel, Orly. 2016. "The Law of the Platform." *Minnesota Law Review* 101 (1): 87–166.

Loo, Rory van. 2020. "The New Gatekeepers: Private Firms as Public Enforcers." *Virginia Law Review* 106 (2): 467–522.

Looft, Chris, and Layla Ferris. 2021. "Facebook Whistleblower Documents Offer New Revelations about Jan. 6 Response." *ABC News*, October 24, 2021. https://abcnews.go .com/Technology/facebook-whistleblower-documents-offer-revelations-jan-response/ story?id=80694096.

Loos, Marco, and Josia Luzak. 2021. "Update the Unfair Contract Terms Directive for Digital Services." PE 676.006. EPRS Studies. European Parliament. www.europarl.europa.eu/ thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL_STU(2021)676006.

Lundgren, Björn, and H. Orri Stefánsson. 2020. "Against the De Minimis Principle." *Risk Analysis* 40 (5): 908–14. https://doi.org/10.1111/risa.13445.

Lux, Dottie. 2017. "Facebook's Hate Speech Policies Censor Marginalized Users." *Wired*, August 14, 2017. www.wired.com/story/facebooks-hate-speech-policies-censor- marginalized-users/.

Lymperopoulos, Ilias N., and George D. Ioannou. 2016. "Understanding and Modeling the Complex Dynamics of the Online Social Networks: A Scalable Conceptual Approach." *Evolving Systems* 7 (3): 207–32. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12530-016-9145-9.

Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Lyons, Tessa. 2018. "Hard Questions: How Is Facebook's Fact-Checking Program Working?" Facebook Newsroom. June 14, 2018. https://about.fb.com/news/2018/06/hard-questions- fact-checking/.

Mac, Ryan, and Craig Silverman. 2021. "'Mark Changed the Rules': How Facebook Went Easy on Alex Jones and Other Right-Wing Figures." *BuzzFeed News*, February 21, 2021. www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ryanmac/mark-zuckerberg-joel-kaplan-facebook-alex- jones.

Mac, Ryan, Craig Silverman, and Jane Lytvynenko. 2021. "Facebook Stopped Employees from Reading an Internal Report about Its Role in the Insurrection. You Can Read It Here." *BuzzFeed News*, April 26, 2021. www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ryanmac/full- facebook-stop-the-steal-internal-report.

MacPhail, James R. N. 1926. "The Royal Revenues of England, 1066-1399 (Book Review)." *The Scottish Historical Review* 23 (92): 250–53.

Madrigal, Alexis C. 2017. "What Facebook Did to American Democracy." *The Atlantic*, October 12, 2017. www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2017/10/what-facebook- did/542502/.

Mahtani, Shibani, and Regine Cabato. 2019. "Why Crafty Internet Trolls in the Philippines May Be Coming to a Website Near You." *Washington Post*, July 26, 2019. www .washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/why-crafty-internet-trolls-in-the-philippines- may-be-coming-to-a-website-near-you/2019/07/25/c5d42ee2-5c53-11e9-98d4-844088d135f2_ story.html.

Marantz, Andrew. 2020. "Why Facebook Can't Fix Itself." *The New Yorker*, October 19, 2020. www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/10/19/why-facebook-cant-fix-itself.

Marcello, Maria Carolina. 2021. "Brazil Senate Leader Kills Bolsonaro Decree Criticized by Tech Firms." *Reuters*, September 15, 2021, sec. *Americas*. www.reuters.com/world/amer icas/brazil-senate-president-kills-bolsonaros-social-media-decree-source-says-2021-09-14/.

March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1984. "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life." *The American Political Science Review* 78 (3): 734–49. https://doi.org/10.2307/1961840.

Marks, Gary. 1996. "An Actor-Centred Approach to Multi-Level Governance." *Regional & Federal Studies* 6 (2): 20–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/13597569608420966.

Marsden, Chris, Trisha Meyer, and Ian Brown. 2020. "Platform Values and Democratic Elections: How Can the Law Regulate Digital Disinformation?" *Computer Law & Security Review* 36 (April): 105373. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clsr.2019.105373.

Martin-Laborda, Antonio Robles. 2017. "Merger Control and Online Platforms: The Relevance of Network Effects." *Market and Competition Law Review* 1 (2): 69–100.

Marwick, Alice E., and danah boyd. 2011. "I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately: Twitter Users, Context Collapse, and the Imagined Audience." *New Media & Society* 13 (1): 114–33. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810365313.

Massachi, Sahar. 2021. "How to Save Our Social Media by Treating It Like a City." *MIT Technology Review*, December 20, 2021. www.technologyreview.com/2021/12/20/1042709/how-to-save-social-media-treat-it-like-a-city/.

Mattei, Ugo, and Laura Nader. 2008. *Plunder: When the Rule of Law Is Illegal*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Pub.

Mattioli, Dana. 2020. "Amazon Scooped Up Data from Its Own Sellers to Launch Competing Products." *Wall Street Journal*, April 24, 2020, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/amazon-scooped-up-data-from-its-own-sellers-to-launch-competing-products-11587650015.

May, Christopher. 2004. "Capacity Building and the (Re)production of Intellectual Property Rights." *Third World Quarterly* 25 (5): 821–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/0143659042000231974.

Márkus, György. 1983. "Concepts of Ideology in Marx." *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 7 (1-2): 84–103.

McClean, Emma. 2008. "The Responsibility to Protect: The Role of International Human Rights Law." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 13 (1): 123–52. https://doi.org/10.1093/jcsl/krn012.

McGregor, Shannon C., and Daniel Kreiss. 2019. "Conservatives Say Google and Facebook Are Censoring Them. Here's the Real Background." *Washington Post/Monkey Cage Blog*, August 1, 2019. www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/08/01/are-google-facebook-censoring-conservatives-problem-is-more-widespread-than-that/.

McPherson, Poppy. 2020. "Facebook Rejects Request to Release Myanmar Officials' Data for Genocide Case." *Reuters*, August 6, 2020. www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-facebook-idUSKCN2521PI.

Meade, Amanda, Josh Taylor, and Daniel Hurst. 2021. "Facebook Reverses Australia News Ban After Government Makes Media Code Amendments." *The Guardian*, February 23, 2021, sec. Media. www.theguardian.com/media/2021/feb/23/facebook-reverses-australia-news-ban-after-government-makes-media-code-amendments.

Meng, Anne. 2020. *Constraining Dictatorship: From Personalized Rule to Institutionalized Regimes*. Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions. Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Menkhaus, Ken. 2014. "State Failure, State-Building, and Prospects for a 'Functional Failed State' in Somalia." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 656 (1): 154–72. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716214547002.

Mezrich, Ben. 2021. *The Antisocial Network: The GameStop Short Squeeze and the Ragtag Group of Amateur Traders That Brought Wall Street to Its Knees*. First edition. New York: Grand Central Publishing.

Mérieau, Eugénie. 2019. "Thailand's Lèse-Majesté Law: On Blasphemy in a Buddhist Kingdom." *Buddhism, Law & Society* 4: 53–92.

2021. "A History of the Thai Lèse-Majesté Law." In *Thai Legal History*, edited by Andrew Harding and Munin Pongsapan, 1st ed., 77–88. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108914369.007.

Milgrom, Paul R., Douglass C. North, and Barry R. Weingast. 1990. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics & Politics* 2 (1): 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0343.1990.tb00020.x.

Miller, John H., and Scott E. Page. 2007. *Complex Adaptive Systems: An Introduction to Computational Models of Social Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2002. "Incentives, Governance, and Capacity Development in Africa." *African Issues* 30 (1): 15–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1548450500006247.

Moe, Terry M. 1984. "The New Economics of Organization." *American Journal of Political Science* 28 (4): 739–77. https://doi.org/10.2307/2110997.

Molitorisz, Sacha, James Meese, and Jennifer Hagedorn. 2021. "From Shadow Profiles to Contact Tracing: Qualitative Research into Consent and Privacy." *Law, Technology and Humans* 3 (2): 46–60.

Moog, Sandra, André Spicer, and Steffen Böhm. 2015. "The Politics of Multi-Stakeholder Initiatives: The Crisis of the Forest Stewardship Council." *Journal of Business Ethics* 128 (3): 469–93. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-013-2033-3.

Morell, Mayo Fuster. 2014. "Governance of Online Creation Communities for the Building of Digital Commons: Viewed through the Framework of Institutional Analysis and Development." In *Governing Knowledge Commons*, edited by Brett M. Frischmann, Michael J. Madison, and Katherine Jo Strandburg, 281–311. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Moroni, Stefano. 2016. "Urban Density after Jane Jacobs: The Crucial Role of Diversity and Emergence." *City, Territory and Architecture* 3 (1): art. 13. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40410-016-0041-1.

Morozov, Evgeny. 2013. *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Mozilla Foundation. 2021. "Mozilla Investigation: YouTube Algorithm Recommends Videos That Violate the Platform's Very Own Policies." Mozilla Foundation. July 7, 2021. https://foundation.mozilla.org/en/blog/mozilla-investigation-youtube-algorithm-recommends-videos-that-violate-the-platforms-very-own-policies/.

Mozur, Paul. 2018. "A Genocide Incited on Facebook, with Posts from Myanmar's Military." *The New York Times*, October 15, 2018, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2018/10/15/technology/myanmar-facebook-genocide.html.

Mughan, Siân. 2021. "Municipal Reliance on Fine and Fee Revenues: How Local Courts Contribute to Extractive Revenue Practices in US Cities." *Public Budgeting & Finance* 41 (2): 22–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/pbaf.12277.

Murphy, Hannah. 2019. "Inside Facebook's Information Warfare Team." *Financial Times*, July 6, 2019.

Müller, Jan-Werner. 2007a. *Constitutional Patriotism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

2007b. "Is Europe Converging on Constitutional Patriotism? (And if So: Is It Justified?)." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 10 (3): 377–87.

Myers, Steven Lee, and Sheera Frenkel. 2022. "How Russian Propaganda Is Reaching Beyond English Speakers." *The New York Times*, August 9, 2022, sec. Business. www.nytimes.com/2022/08/09/business/russia-propaganda-spanish-social-media.html.

Naīm, ʻAbd Allāh Aḥmad. 2021. *Decolonizing Human Rights*. Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Napoli, Philip M. 2014. "Automated Media: An Institutional Theory Perspective on Algorithmic Media Production and Consumption: Automated Media." *Communication Theory* 24 (3): 340–60. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12039.

——— 2015. "Social Media and the Public Interest: Governance of News Platforms in the Realm of Individual and Algorithmic Gatekeepers." *Telecommunications Policy, SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE GOVERNANCE OF SOCIAL MEDIA,* 39 (9): 751–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2014.12.003.

Newbury, Catharine. 1998. "Ethnicity and the Politics of History in Rwanda." *Africa Today* 45 (1): 7–24.

Newton, Casey. 2019. "The Trauma Floor: The Secret Lives of Facebook Moderators in America." *The Verge*, February 25, 2019. www.theverge.com/2019/2/25/18229714/cognizant-facebook-content-moderator-interviews-trauma-working-conditions-arizona.

——— 2022. "How Facebook Undercut the Oversight Board." *The Verge*, May 12, 2022. www.theverge.com/23068243/facebook-meta-oversight-board-putin-russia-ukraine-decision.

Nicholson, Helen J. 2021. *The Knights Templar*. Stroud, UK: Sutton.

Nix, Naomi. 2022. "Facebook Bans Hate Speech but Still Makes Money from White Supremacists." *Washington Post*, August 10, 2022. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/08/10/facebook-white-supremacy-ads/.

North, Douglass C., and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Journal of Economic History* 49 (4): 803–32. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050700009451.

North, Douglass C., Barry R. Weingast, and John Joseph Wallis. 2009. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nozick, Robert. 1974. *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York: Basic Books.

Nunez, Michael. 2016. "Former Facebook Workers: We Routinely Suppressed Conservative News." *Gizmodo* (blog). May 9, 2016. https://gizmodo.com/former-facebook-workers-we-routinely-suppressed-conser-1775461006.

O'Kane, Caitlin. 2020. "Facebook Page That Copies President Trump's Posts Gets Flagged for Violence – When the President's Didn't." CBS News, June 12, 2020. www.cbsnews.com/news/facebook-donald-trump-copy-account-flagged-inciting-violence/.

O'Reilly, Tim. 2011. "Government as a Platform." *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization* 6 (1): 13–40. https://doi.org/10.1162/INOV_a_00056.

Ober, Josiah. 2008. *Democracy and Knowledge: Innovation and Learning in Classical Athens. Innovation and Learning in Classical Athens*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Okin, Susan Moller. 1999. *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Olshan, Jeremy. 2006. "Taxi Tycoon Pays $25m Fare for Medallion Battalion." *New York Post*, June 17, 2006. https://nypost.com/2006/06/17/taxi-tycoon-pays-25m-fare-for-medallion-battalion/.

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *The American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567–76. https://doi.org/10.2307/2938736.

Ostrom, Elinor. 2003. "How Types of Goods and Property Rights Jointly Affect Collective Action." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15 (3): 239–70. https://doi.org/10.1177/0951692803015003002.

2009. "A Polycentric Approach for Coping with Climate Change." *Background Paper to the 2010 World Development Report Policy Research Working Paper* 5095. World Bank.

2010a. "Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems." *American Economic Review* 100 (3): 641–72.

2010b. "Polycentric Systems for Coping with Collective Action and Global Environmental Change." *Global Environmental Change* 20 (4): 550–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2010.07.004.

2015. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Canto Classics. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Pahwa, Nitish. 2021. "The Facebook Crisis in India Might Be the Worst Facebook Crisis of All." *Slate Future Tense*, October 26, 2021. https://slate.com/technology/2021/10/facebook-papers-india-modi-misinformation-rss-bjp.html.

Pasquale, Frank. 2018. "Tech Platforms and the Knowledge Problem." *American Affairs* 2 (2): 3–16.

Passini, Stefano. 2012. "The Facebook and Twitter Revolutions: Active Participation in the Twenty-First Century." *Human Affairs* 22 (3): 301–12. https://doi.org/10.2478/s13374-012-0025-0.

Patten, Alan. 2012. "Liberal Neutrality: A Reinterpretation and Defense*." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 20 (3): 249–72. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2011.00406.x.

Pearson, Erika, and Adon C. M. Moskal. 2017. "U Tried!: Failure in a University Social Network Site." In *Studying Digital Media Audiences: Perspectives from Australasia*, edited by Ramaswami Harindranath and Craig Hight, 116–32. New York, NY: Routledge.

Percy, Sarah, and Anja Shortland. 2013. "The Business of Piracy in Somalia." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36 (4): 541–78. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2012.750242.

Perel, Maayan, and Niva Elkin-Koren. 2016. "Accountability in Algorithmic Copyright Enforcement." *Stanford Technology Law Review* 19 (3): 473–532.

Pham, J. Peter. 2010. "Putting Somali Piracy in Context." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28 (3): 325–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2010.499233.

Phandeeyar, Mido, Burma Monitor, Center for Social Integrity, Equality Myanmar, and Myanmar Human Rights Education Network. 2018. "Open Letter to Mark Zuckerberg." April 5, 2018. https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/4432469/Myanmar-Open-Letter-to-Mark-Zuckerberg.pdf.

Post, David G. 1995. "Anarchy State and the Internet." *Journal of Online Law, Art.* 3.

Postema, Gerald J. 1982. "Coordination and Convention at the Foundations of Law." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 11 (1): 165–203. https://doi.org/10.1086/467697.

Pottinger, Nicole E. 2018–2019. "Don't Forget to Subscribe: Regulation of Online Advertising Evaluated through YouTube's Monetization Problem." *Kentucky Law Journal* 107 (3): 515–46.

Purnell, Newley, and Jeff Horwitz. 2020. "Facebook's Hate-Speech Rules Collide with Indian Politics." *Wall Street Journal*, August 14, 2020, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/facebook-hate-speech-india-politics-muslim-hindu-modi-zuckerberg-11597423346.

Radu, Roxana, Nicolo Zingales, and Enrico Calandro. 2015. "Crowdsourcing Ideas as an Emerging Form of Multistakeholder Participation in Internet Governance: Crowdsourcing Participation in Internet Governance." *Policy & Internet* 7 (3): 362–82. https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.99.

Ramsay, James Henry. 1925. *A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, 1066-1399*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Rawls, John. 1985. "Justice as Fairness: Political Not Metaphysical." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 14 (3): 223–51.

1999. *A Theory of Justice. Rev*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Raymond, Mark, and Laura DeNardis. 2015. "Multistakeholderism: Anatomy of an Inchoate Global Institution." *International Theory* 7 (3): 572–616. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752971915000081.

Reich, Rob, Mehran Sahami, and Jeremy M Weinstein. 2021. *System Error: Where Big Tech Went Wrong and How We Can Reboot*. London, UK: Hodder & Stoughton.

Reidenberg, Joel R. 1998. "Lex Informatica: The Formulation of Information Policy Rules Through Technology." *Texas Law Review* 76 (3): 553–93.

Riedl, Martin J., Sharon Strover, Tiancheng Cao, Jaewon R. Choi, Brad Limov, and Mackenzie Schnell. 2021. "Reverse-Engineering Political Protest: The Russian Internet Research Agency in the Heart of Texas." *Information, Communication & Society* 25 (15): 2299–316. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2021.1934066.

Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism: A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Ripstein, Arthur. 2004. "Authority and Coercion." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 32 (1): 2–35.

Roberts, Sarah T. 2019. *Behind the Screen: Content Moderation in the Shadows of Social Media*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Robertson, Adi. 2018. "Mark Zuckerberg Wants to Democratize Facebook — Here's What Happened When He Tried." *The Verge*, April 5, 2018. www.theverge.com/2018/4/5/17176834/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-democracy-governance-vote-failure.

Robinson, Greg, and Toni Robinson. 2005. "Korematsu and Beyond: Japanese Americans and the Origins of Strict Scrutiny Judgments Judged and Wrongs Remembered: Examining the Japanese American Civil Liberties Cases on Their Sixtieth Anniversary." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 68 (2): 29–56.

Rodriguez, Katitza. 2021. "Indonesia's Proposed Online Intermediary Regulation May Be the Most Repressive Yet." *Electronic Frontier Foundation Deeplinks* (blog). February 16, 2021. www.eff.org/deeplinks/2021/02/indonesias-proposed-online-intermediary-regulation-may-be-most-repressive-yet.

Romm, Tony, and Rachel Lerman. 2021. "Amazon Suspends Parler, Taking Pro-Trump Site Offline Indefinitely." *Washington Post*, January 11, 2021. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/01/09/amazon-parler-suspension/.

Roose, Kevin, Mike Isaac, and Sheera Frenkel. 2020. "Facebook Struggles to Balance Civility and Growth." *The New York Times*, November 24, 2020, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2020/11/24/technology/facebook-election-misinformation.html.

Rosenthal, Brian M. 2019. "'They Were Conned': How Reckless Loans Devastated a Generation of Taxi Drivers." *The New York Times*, May 19, 2019, sec. New York. www.nytimes.com/2019/05/19/nyregion/nyc-taxis-medallions-suicides.html.

Rozenshtein, Alan Z. 2021. "Silicon Valley's Speech: Technology Giants and the Deregulatory First Amendment." *Journal of Free Speech Law* 1 (Symposium Issue): 337–76.

Ruhl, J.B. 2011. "General Design Principles for Resilience and Adaptive Capacity in Legal Systems—With Applications to Climate Change Adaptation." *North Carolina Law Review* 89 (5): 1373–403.

Samuelson, Pamela. 2021. "The Push for Stricter Rules for Internet Platforms." *Communications of the ACM* 64 (3): 26–28. https://doi.org/10.1145/3447251.

Sances, Michael W., and Hye Young You. 2017. "Who Pays for Government? Descriptive Representation and Exploitative Revenue Sources." *The Journal of Politics* 79 (3): 1090–94. https://doi.org/10.1086/691354.

Sarno, David. 2009. "Facebook Governance Vote Is a Homework Assignment No One Did." *Los Angeles Times Technology Blog* (blog). April 23, 2009. www.latimes.com/archives/blogs/technology-blog/story/2009-04-23/facebook-governance-vote-is-a-homework-assignment-no-one-did.

Satariano, Adam, and Mike Isaac. 2021. "The Silent Partner Cleaning Up Facebook for $500 Million a Year." *The New York Times*, August 31, 2021, sec. Technology. www.nytimes .com/2021/08/31/technology/facebook-accenture-content-moderation.html.

Satz, Debra. 2010. *Why Some Things Should Not Be For Sale: The Moral Limits of Markets*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio. 2017. "From a Deficit of Democracy to a Technocratic Order: The Postcrisis Debate on Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 351–69. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-061915-110623.

Schauer, Frederick. 1991. "Rules and the Rule of Law." *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 14 (3): 645–94.

Schechner, Sam. 2021. "Facebook Is Rebuked by Oversight Board over Transparency on Treatment of Prominent Users." *Wall Street Journal*, October 21, 2021, sec. Tech. www .wsj.com/articles/facebooks-oversight-board-says-company-wasnt-fully-forthcoming-on-treatment-of-high-profile-users-11634817601.

Schiffer, Zoe. 2021. "Watch a Police Officer Admit to Playing Taylor Swift to Keep a Video Off YouTube." *The Verge*, July 1, 2021. www.theverge.com/2021/7/1/22558292/police-officer-video-taylor-swift-youtube-copyright.

Schmitt, Carl. 1996. *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

    2005. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Translated by George Schwab. University of Chicago Press ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

    2014. *Dictatorship: From the Origin of the Modern Concept of Sovereignty to Proletarian Class Struggle*. Translated by Michael Hoelzl and Graham Ward. English edition. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Schreckinger, Ben. 2022. "Elon Musk's Release of Twitter Documents on Hunter Biden Has Slowed. Here's Why." *Politico*, December 8, 2022. www.politico.com/news/2022/12/08/twitter-files-hunter-biden-laptop-00072919.

Schulz, Wolfgang. 2022. "Changing the Normative Order of Social Media from Within: Supervisory Bodies." In *Constitutionalising social media*, edited by Edoardo Celeste, Amélie Heldt, and Clara Iglesias Keller, 237–50. New York: Bloomsbury.

Schwarz, Jonas Andersson. 2017. "Platform Logic: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Platform-Based Economy." *Policy & Internet* 9 (4): 374–94. https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.159.

Scola, Nancy, and Mohana Ravindranth. 2021. "Biden Looks Past Anger at Silicon Valley to Get Help on Vaccines." *Politico*, February 16, 2021. www.politico.com/news/2021/02/16/biden-silicon-valley-vaccine-help-468995.

Scott, James C. 2008. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. Yale Agrarian Studies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Scott, Mark, and Mike Isaac. 2016. "Facebook Restores Iconic Vietnam War Photo It Censored for Nudity." *The New York Times*, September 9, 2016, sec. Technology. www .nytimes.com/2016/09/10/technology/facebook-vietnam-war-photo-nudity.html.

Scott, W. Richard. 2004. "Reflections on a Half-Century of Organizational Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30 (1): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110644.

Seetharaman, Deepa. 2018. "Facebook's Lonely Conservative Takes on a Power Position." *Wall Street Journal*, December 23, 2018, sec. Tech. www.wsj.com/articles/facebooks-lonely-conservative-takes-on-a-power-position-11545570000.

Seitz, Amanda. 2021. "America 'on Fire': Facebook Watched as Trump Ignited Hate." *Associated Press*, October 28, 2021. https://apnews.com/article/the-facebook-papers-trump-george-floyd-hate-speech-violence-b0f6f26f3fdf889c090703cc2fa8dce0.

Shaw, Aaron, and Benjamin M. Hill. 2014. "Laboratories of Oligarchy? How the Iron Law Extends to Peer Production." *Journal of Communication* 64 (2): 215–38. https://doi .org/10.1111/jcom.12082.

Siapera, Eugenia, and Paloma Viejo-Otero. 2021. "Governing Hate: Facebook and Digital Racism." *Television & New Media* 22 (2): 112–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476420982232.

Silverman, Craig, and Ryan Mac. 2021. "New York Times Columnist David Brooks Wrote a Blog Post For Facebook's Corporate Website." *BuzzFeed News*. February 26, 2021. www.buzzfeednews.com/article/craigsilverman/nyt-david-brooks-blogs-for-facebook.

Silverman, Craig, Craig Timberg, Jeff Kao, and Jeremy B. Merrill. 2022. "Facebook Hosted Surge of Misinformation and Insurrection Threats in Months Leading Up to Jan. 6 Attack, Records Show." *ProPublica*, January 4, 2022. www.propublica.org/article/facebook-hosted-surge-of-misinformation-and-insurrection-threats-in-months-leading-up-to-jan-6-attack-records-show.

Simon, William H. 2010. "New Governance Anxieties: A Deweyan Response." *Wisconsin Law Review* 2010 (2): 727–36.

Slemrod, Joel, and John D. Wilson. 2009. "Tax Competition with Parasitic Tax Havens." *Journal of Public Economics* 93 (11-12): 1261–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2009.08.004.

Smith, Matthew. 2020 "Facebook Wanted to Be a Force for Good in Myanmar. Now It Is Rejecting a Request to Help with a Genocide Investigation." *Time*. Accessed May 6, 2021. https://time.com/5880118/myanmar-rohingya-genocide-facebook-gambia/.

Solon, Olivia. 2017. "Google's Bad Week: YouTube Loses Millions as Advertising Row Reaches US." *The Guardian*, March 25, 2017. www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/mar/25/google-youtube-advertising-extremist-content-att-verizon.

———. 2020. "Sensitive to Claims of Bias, Facebook Relaxed Misinformation Rules for Conservative Pages." *NBC News*. August 7, 2020. www.nbcnews.com/tech/tech-news/sensitive-claims-bias-facebook-relaxed-misinformation-rules-conservative-pages-n1236182.

Spangler, Todd. 2021. "OnlyFans Drops Planned Porn Ban, Will Continue to Allow Sexually Explicit Content." *Variety* (blog). August 25, 2021. https://variety.com/2021/digital/news/onlyfans-drops-porn-ban-sexually-explicit-policy-1235048705/.

Srivastava, Swati. 2021. "Algorithmic Governance and the International Politics of Big Tech." *Perspectives on Politics*, November 1–12, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592721003145.

———. 2022. *Hybrid Sovereignty in World Politics. Cambridge Studies in* International Relations 160. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Srnicek, Nick. 2016. *Platform Capitalism*. Theory Redux. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity.

Stamos, Alex. 2018. "How Does Facebook Investigate Cyber Threats and Information Operations?" *Meta Newsroom (blog)*. November 14, 2018. https://about.fb.com/news/2018/11/investigating-threats/.

Stanford Global Digital Policy Incubator. 2019. "Social Media Councils: From Concept to Reality." Stanford Global Digital Policy Incubator Conference Report.

Stecklow, Steve. 2018. "Why Facebook Is Losing the War on Hate Speech in Myanmar." *Reuters*, August 15, 2018. www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/myanmar-facebook-hate/.

Steffek, Jens, Claudia Kissling, and Patrizia Nanz, eds. 2008. *Civil Society Participation in European and Global Governance: A Cure for the Democratic Deficit?* Transformations of the State. Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stokel-Walker, Chris. 2020. "What It's Like to Get Locked Out of Google Indefinitely." *Business Insider*, October 31, 2020. www.businessinsider.com/google-users-locked-out-after-years-2020-10.

Stone, Brad. 2009. "Amazon Erases Orwell Books From Kindle." *The New York Times*, July 18, 2009, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2009/07/18/technology/companies/18amazon.html.

Streckfuss, David. 1995. "Kings in the Age of Nations: The Paradox of Lèse-Majesté as Political Crime in Thailand." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37 (3): 445–75. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500019769.

Subramanian, Samanth. 2017. "Meet the Macedonian Teens Who Mastered Fake News and Corrupted the US Election." *Wired*, February 15, 2017. www.wired.com/2017/02/veles-macedonia-fake-news/.

Sullivan, Becky. 2021. "Kyle Rittenhouse Is Acquitted of All Charges in the Trial over Killing 2 in Kenosha." *NPR*, November 19, 2021, sec. Law. www.npr.org/2021/11/19/1057288807/kyle-rittenhouse-acquitted-all-charges-verdict.

Sullivan, Mark. 2019. "Exclusive: The Harvard Professor behind Facebook's Oversight Board Defends Its Role." *Fast Company*, July 8, 2019. www.fastcompany.com/90373102/exclusive-the-harvard-professor-behind-facebooks-oversight-board-defends-its-role.

Suzor, Nicolas P. 2019. *Lawless: The Secret Rules That Govern Our Digital Lives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Suzor, Nicolas P., Sarah Myers West, Andrew Quodling, and Jillian York. 2019. "What Do We Mean When We Talk about Transparency? Toward Meaningful Transparency in Commercial Content Moderation." *International Journal of Communication* 13: 1526–43.

Swan, Jonathan. 2020. "Trump Privately Scolded, Warned by Allies over Violent Protest Rhetoric." *Axios*, May 31, 2020. www.axios.com/2020/05/31/trump-protests-riots.

Swann, Thomas. 2018. "Towards an Anarchist Cybernetics: Stafford Beer, Self-Organisation and Radical Social Movements." *Ephemera: Theory & Politics in Organization* 18 (3): 427–56.

Teachout, Zephyr. 2020. *Break 'Em up: Recovering Our Freedom from Big Ag, Big Tech, and Big Money*. First edition. New York: All Points Books.

Thomas, June Manning, and Julia Darnton. 2006. "Social Diversity and Economic Development in the Metropolis." *Journal of Planning Literature* 21 (2): 153–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412206292259.

Thompson, Edward P. 1975. *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act*. London: Allen Lane.

Tiku, Nitasha. 2020. "A Top Google Exec Pushed the Company to Commit to Human Rights. Then Google Pushed Him Out, He Says." *Washington Post*, January 2, 2020. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/01/02/top-google-exec-pushed-company-commit-human-rights-then-google-pushed-him-out-he-says/.

Timberg, Craig. 2021. "New Whistleblower Claims Facebook Allowed Hate, Illegal Activity to Go Unchecked." *Washington Post*, October 22, 2021. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/10/22/facebook-new-whistleblower-complaint/.

Timberg, Craig, Elizabeth Dwoskin, and Reed Albergotti. 2021. "Inside Facebook, Jan. 6 Violence Fueled Anger, Regret over Missed Warning Signs." *Washington Post*, October 22, 2021, sec. Technology. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/10/22/jan-6-capitol-riot-facebook/.

Titheradge, Noel. 2021. "OnlyFans: How It Handles Illegal Sex Videos – BBC Investigation." *BBC News*, August 19, 2021, sec. UK. www.bbc.com/news/uk-58255865.

Tomz, Michael. 2007. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61 (4): 821–40. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818307070282.

Traill, John S. 1975. "The Political Organization of Attica: A Study of the Demes, Trittyes, and Phylai, and Their Representation in the Athenian Council." *Hesperia Supplements* 14: i–169. https://doi.org/10.2307/1353928.

Tromholt, Morten. 2016. "The Facebook Experiment: Quitting Facebook Leads to Higher Levels of Well-Being." *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* 19 (11): 661–66. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2016.0259.

Tucker, Joshua A., et al. 2018. "Social Media, Political Polarization, and Political Disinformation: A Review of the Scientific Literature." *ID 3144139*. Rochester, NY: Hewlett Foundation. www.hewlett.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Social-Media-Political-Polarization-and-Political-Disinformation-Literature-Review.pdf.

Tussey, Deborah. 2014. "Facebook: The New Town Square." *Southwestern Law Review* 44 (2): 385–410.

Tworek, Heidi. 2019. *Social Media Councils*. Waterloo, ON: Centre for International Governance Innovation. www.cigionline.org/articles/social-media-councils/.

Tworek, Heidi, Ronan Ó Fathaigh, Lisanne Bruggeman, and Chris Tenove. 2020. "Dispute Resolution and Content Moderation: Fair, Accountable, Independent, Transparent, and Effective." *Translatlantic Working Group*. www.ivir.nl/publicaties/download/Dispute_Resolution_Content_Moderation_Final.pdf.

Tyler, Tom R. 1990. *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

    1997. "Procedural Fairness and Compliance with the Law." *Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics* 133 (2): 219–40.

    2006. "Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation." *Annual Review of Psychology* 57 (1): 375–400. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.57.102904.190038.

    2009. "Legitimacy and Criminal Justice: The Benefits of Self-Regulation." *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 7 (1): 307–60.

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. 2020. "IPR Center, Amazon Launch 'Operation Fulfilled Action' to Stop Counterfeits." *ICE Newsroom (blog)*. November 24, 2020. www.ice.gov/news/releases/ipr-center-amazon-launch-operation-fulfilled-action-stop-counterfeits.

United Nations. 2008. "Arab Rights Charter Deviates from International Standards, Says UN Official." *UN News*. January 30, 2008. https://web.archive.org/web/20220120164141/https://news.un.org/en/story/2008/01/247292-arab-rights-charter-deviates-international-standards-says-un-official.

United Nations Human Rights Council. 2018. "Report of the Detailed Findings of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar." A/HRC/39/CRP.2. www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/FFM-Myanmar/A_HRC_39_CRP.2.pdf.

Van der Spuy, Anri. 2017. *What if We All Governed the Internet?: Advancing Multistakeholder Participation in Internet Governance*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Van Loo, Rory. 2016. "The Corporation as Courthouse." *Yale Journal on Regulation* 33 (2): 547–602.

    2021. "Federal Rules of Platform Procedure." *University of Chicago Law Review* 88 (4): 829–94.

VanLandingham, Rachel E. 2017. "Jailing the Twitter Bird: Social Media, Material Support to Terrorism, and Muzzling the Modern Press." *Cardozo Law Review* 39 (1): 1–55.

Vlamis, Kelsey. 2022. "Twitter's Former Trust and Safety Chief Said It Was a Mistake to Censor the Hunter Biden Laptop Story: 'We Didn't Know What to Believe'." *Business Insider*, November 30, 2022. www.businessinsider.com/yoel-roth-twitter-censor-hunter-biden-laptop-story-was-mistake-2022-11.

Wagner, Kurt. 2021. "Facebook Says It Has Spent $13 Billion on Safety and Security Efforts Since 2016." *Fortune*, September 21, 2021. https://fortune.com/2021/09/21/facebook-says-it-has-spent-13-billion-on-safety-and-security-efforts-since-2016/.

Wakabayashi, Daisuke, and Scott Shane. 2018. "Google Will Not Renew Pentagon Contract That Upset Employees." *The New York Times*, June 1, 2018, sec. Technology. www.nytimes.com/2018/06/01/technology/google-pentagon-project-maven.html.

Waldman, Ari Ezra. 2021. *Industry Unbound: The Inside Story of Privacy, Data, and Corporate Power*. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press.

Warofka, Alex. 2018. "An Independent Assessment of the Human Rights Impact of Facebook in Myanmar." *About Facebook (blog)*. November 6, 2018. https://about.fb.com/news/2018/11/myanmar-hria/.

Weber, Max. 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Edited by Hans Heinrich Gerth and Charles Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weingast, Barry R., and William J. Marshall. 1988. "The Industrial Organization of Congress; or, Why Legislatures, Like Firms, Are Not Organized as Markets." *Journal of Political Economy* 96 (1): 132–63. https://doi.org/10.1086/261528.

Weiser, Philip J. 2009. "The Future of Internet Regulation." *UC Davis Law Review* 43: 529–90.

Wennerberg, Hjalmar. 1967. "The Concept of Family Resemblance in Wittgenstein's Later Philosophy." *Theoria* 33 (2): 107–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1755-2567.1967.tb00614.x.

Westley, Frances. 1995. "Governing Design: The Management of Social Systems and Ecosystems Management." In *Barriers and Bridges to the Renewal of Ecosystems and Institutions*, edited by Lance H. Gunderson, Crawford S. Holling, and Stephen S. Light, 391–427. New York: Columbia University Press.

Whelan, Frederick G. 1983. "Prologue: Democratic Theory and the Boundary Problem." In *Nomos 25: Liberal Democracy*, edited by James Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman, 13–47. New York: New York University Press.

Williamson, Oliver E. 1996. "Economics and Organization: A Primer." *California Management Review* 38 (2): 131–46. https://doi.org/10.2307/41165836.

2005. "Why Law, Economics and Organization?" *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 1 (1): 369–96. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.1.031805.111122.

Wilson, Richard Ashby. 2015. "Inciting Genocide with Words." *Michigan Journal of International Law* 36 (2): 277–320.

Wilson, Richard Ashby, and Molly K. Land. 2021. "Hate Speech on Social Media: Towards a Context-Specific Content Moderation Policy." *Connecticut Law Review* 52 (3): 1029–76.

Wofford, Benjamin. 2022. "The Infinite Reach of Joel Kaplan, Facebook's Man in Washington." *Wired*, March 10, 2022. www.wired.com/story/facebook-joel-kaplan-washington-political-influence/.

Wu, Tim. 2018. *The Curse of Bigness: Antitrust in the New Gilded Age*. New York, NY: Columbia Global Reports.

Wymant, Chris, et al. 2021. "The Epidemiological Impact of the NHS COVID-19 App." *Nature* 594 (7863): 408–12. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-021-03606-z.

Yanagizawa-Drott, David. 2014. "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129 (4): 1947–94. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qju020.

Young, Iris Marion. 2001. "Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy." *Political Theory* 29 (5): 670–90. https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591701029005004.

Young, Oran R. 2002. "Institutional Interplay: The Environmental Consequences of Cross-Scale Interactions." In *The Drama of the Commons*, edited by Elinor Ostrom, Thomas Dietz, Nives Dolšak, Paul C. Stern, Susan Stonich, and Elke U. Weber, 263–91. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Yu, Peter K. 2006. "TRIPS and Its Discontents." *Marquette Intellectual Property Law Review* 10 (2): 369–410.

Zakrzewski, Cat, Gerrit De Vynck, Niha Masih, and Shibani Mahtani. 2021. "How Facebook Neglected the Rest of the World, Fueling Hate Speech and Violence in India." *Washington Post*, October 24, 2021, sec. Tech Policy. www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/10/24/india-facebook-misinformation-hate-speech/.

Zannettou, Savvas, Barry Bradlyn, Emiliano De Cristofaro, Haewoon Kwak, Michael Sirivianos, Gianluca Stringini, and Jeremy Blackburn. 2018. "What Is Gab: A Bastion of Free Speech or an Alt-Right Echo Chamber." In Companion *of The Web Conference 2018 on The Web Conference 2018 – WWW '18*, 1007–14. Lyon, France: ACM Press. https://doi.org/10.1145/3184558.3191531.

Zhuravskaya, Ekaterina, Maria Petrova, and Ruben Enikolopov. 2020. "Political Effects of the Internet and Social Media." *Annual Review of Economics* 12 (1): 415–38. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-081919-050239.

Ziady, Hanna. 2019. "Twitter Explains Why It Hasn't Suspended Trump's Account." *CNN Business*, October 16, 2019. www.cnn.com/2019/10/16/tech/twitter-trump-rules/index.html.

Zittrain, Jonathan. 9-24-21. "The Inexorable Push For Infrastructure Moderation." *Techdirt.* (blog). 9-24-21. www.techdirt.com/articles/20210924/12012347622/inexorable-push-infrastructure-moderation.shtml.

Zuboff, Shoshana. 2019. *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. First edition. New York: PublicAffairs.

Zurth, Patrick. 2021. "The German NetzDG as Role Model or Cautionary Tale? – Implications for the Debate on Social Media Liability." *Fordham Intellectual Property, Media & Entertainment Law Journal* 31 (4): 1084–1153. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3668804.

Zuylen-Wood, Simon van. 2019. "'Men Are Scum': Inside Facebook's War on Hate Speech." *Vanity Fair*, February 26, 2019. www.vanityfair.com/news/2019/02/men-are-scum-inside-facebook-war-on-hate-speech.