SOCIAL MEDIA AND PARENTING SUPPORT: A SYSTEMATIC SCOPING REVIEW (2010-2019)

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ABSTRACT

The internet plays a central role in much of contemporary parenting, which includes parent participation in social media networks. When people use social media to support parenting activities, they may seek information as well as social support, and in turn may provide information and social support to others. This study presents a systematic scoping review of empirical research on social media use for parenting support activities, whether parent-initiated and organic in origin or externally-initiated and intervention-focused. This review identified 70 relevant empirical articles published across a decade (2010-2019) and explored research trends (e.g., trajectory, study populations, research type and social media platforms) and parenting support topics. Findings show that health-related parenting support has been studied most frequently, followed by general parenting support and school-related support. This study yields insights into research gaps and potential areas for further research of parenting support via social media.

KEYWORDS

Parents, Scoping Review, Support, Social Media

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

There is a proverb, “it takes a village to raise a child,” of debated provenance (Goldberg, 2016) but nonetheless often shared to stress the importance of community in child-rearing. The proverb reminds people that although parents are responsible for their children’s well-being, they do not navigate this process alone. Instead they rely on others in their community to help create a safe and positive local environment for children and to interact with children in developmentally appropriate ways. However, what if part of this village is online? Parenting may be a hands-on activity, but that does not mean that all parenting-related activity occurs in the physical realm. The internet has emerged as a space where parenting is performed, discussed, and debated. As a result, the community of parental support and socialization has grown from...
individuals with established relationships in the local arena to include people who have never
met in person at the national and international level.

Parents with questions unsurprisingly turn to search engines and their online networks for
answers. For example, a study of an online community for parents, babycenter.com, found that
it was frequented by parents looking for affirmation related to normative child development
(Jang & Dworkin, 2012). That behavior naturally extends from search engines and static online
information resources to private online communities and more open social media-based ones.
A 2015 survey of American parents by the Pew Research Center found that among the social
media users who constituted 75% of their sample, frequent activities included connecting with
friend networks to share and seek support, affirmation, and information (Duggan et al., 2015).
In this sense, social media is a positive presence in their lives.

For many parents, social media can lead to new online friendships and provide an
empowering outlet for sharing and receiving feedback on one’s parenting stories. This type of
social media use is common among the fraught-titled mommy bloggers (Chen, 2013), who share
glimpses of their parenting lives through brief online essays and photographs and, like bloggers
in other genres, build community through their comments (Dennen & Pashnyak, 2008). These
groups of bloggers offer support and validation (Petersen, 2015) and may even challenge
traditional discourses of motherhood (Powell, 2010). This phenomenon of finding community,
voice, and support online is not limited to bloggers. Another study found that parents of children
diagnosed with cancer benefited from reciprocal peer support when sharing updates about their
children, relevant resources, and medical information (Rehman et al., 2018). An earlier review
of literature found that for most parents online engagement with other parents is a satisfying
activity (Dworkin et al., 2013), although ‘parents’ most often means mothers in this context.
Fathers have been less frequently studied and when studied less likely to express satisfaction
with parenting resources that they find online (He & Dworkin, 2015/2016). Nonetheless, parents
continue to congregate online in a variety of spaces, presumably because it is a worthwhile
activity for them.

Despite these positive elements of social media use among parents, social media also has the
capacity to lead to detrimental interactions and outcomes. For instance, parents may use the
medium as a place for comparing themselves and their children to others, fostering unhealthy
expectations and leading to parent-child stress and unhappiness (Dawson, 2015). Alternately,
parents could be subject to a platform that functions as an echo chamber, which reinforces
pre-established and possibly inaccurate information. Misinformation is a paramount concern,
particularly with parents of younger children who are responsible for making social,
developmental, and medical decisions for their child. Misinformation about vaccinations and
infectious diseases is commonly shared on social media (Wang et al., 2019), particularly by
people who are epistemically naïve (Chua & Banerjee, 2017). Parents may be particularly
susceptible to this type of misinformation, and their good intentions can be detrimental to their
children.

Parent activity on social media has not gone unnoticed by various industries. The connection
between parenting and social media use had been discussed across mass media outlets
(e.g., Dawson, 2015; Jezer-Morton, 2020; Steinberg, 2017) and news articles about parenting
are widely shared on social media (Kalsnes & Larsson, 2017). Social media has been used to
market to parents (Arora et al., 2020), and parents who are social media influencers have turned
their social media posting into revenue streams for their families (Archer, 2019; Jezer-Morton,
2020). Online parent networks are also associated with political and social influence (Jensen,
2013). Health professions have taken notice of how parents use social media and in response
they have used social media to promote health education (e.g., Glanz et al., 2017), understand health-related online discourses (Tangherlini et al., 2016) and recruit study participants (Herbell & Zauszniewski, 2018) within the parent population. Across these different uses of social media, parents play both passive and active roles and are simultaneously influenced and influencers.

The intersection of parenting and social media is of interest to a broad spectrum of stakeholders, as noted above. While opinions and editorials on the topic abound, the body of empirical research is still developing and more dispersed. In this study we use a systematic approach to explore this research and identify trends and opportunities. Within this study, we define social media broadly as digital spaces wherein information is created, shared, or exchanged to a connected audience. This includes popular social networking platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, but also extends to blogs and other online forums where people congregate, develop networked connections, and interact with each other. We defined parent as an individual who engages in the caregiving and guidance of offspring, whether biological or otherwise, throughout the lifespan.

2. METHOD

The purpose of this study is to systematically review the empirical research trends about parenting support and social media and illuminate areas that would be appropriate for future research. As a secondary focus, we sought to explore what has been learned about how social media is used for parenting support across topical areas. The research questions guiding this review are:

1. What are the research trends related to social media use and parenting support?
   a. What is the trajectory of research on social media use and parenting support?
   b. What parent populations have been studied?
   c. What types of research have been conducted?
   d. What social media platforms have been studied?

2. On what topics do parents seek, offer, and receive support via social media?

The first research question and associated sub-questions focus on where the research emphasis has been, while the second research question seeks to explore and synthesize some of the major findings. We draw upon Arksey and O'Malley’s (2005) scoping review framework to guide the method. They indicated that among the four reasons for conducting a scoping review, one might seek to map the range of research previously conducted on a topic and summarize that research while answering research questions of a general nature (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). Scoping reviews represent a wide range of methodological rigor (Pham et al., 2014; Tricco et al., 2016), which has resulted in disagreement in the literature as to whether or not scoping reviews are a form of systematic literature review (Morris et al., 2016). A review’s purpose helps determine whether it is a systematic or scoping review, with the former seeking to answer targeted questions and the latter focused on mapping what is known about a topic (Munn et al., 2018). In this study we apply a systematic approach to the scoping review (Peters et al., 2015), using multiple reviewers and an a priori protocol to help map the literature.
2.1 Sampling

The article sampling procedure followed the PRISMA 2020 guidance for systematic reviews (Page et al., 2021). Articles were sampled via a search using Web of Science, focusing on four major journal indices (Social Science Citation Index, Science Citation Index, Arts & Humanities Citation Index and Emerging Sources Citation Index). The Web of Science Database is frequently used as a data source for review articles (Li et al., 2018), including scoping reviews (e.g., Dennen et al., 2020). A topical search was used, based on the following parameters:

- Topic = “parent*” AND “social media”
- Years = 2010-2019
- Language = English
- Type = journal article

The initial search was conducted on October 3, 2019, with a secondary search conducted on March 20, 2020 focused solely on 2019 publications to identify additional articles published during late 2019.

As shown in Figure 1, after an initial 845 articles were identified, 582 were removed during a screening for relevance. Relevant articles were those that focused on how parents use social media related to parenting. In these articles, social media is studied as a medium through which parents seek, offer, and receive support on a variety of topics.

Three team members independently screened each article, and when in doubt the full article was reviewed by the full team in a meeting. In some instances, articles that were screened out were about teenagers’ use of social media, and parents were mentioned as stakeholders. These articles represented adjacent research and did not focus on parenting support. In other instances the search terms merely appeared somewhere in the article but the overall topic was not relevant, or the focus was on using social media as a research recruitment or data collection method for studies of other parenting-related phenomena.

The 263 relevant articles were retrieved and reviewed independently by two team members with the third and fourth team member weighing in where discrepancies arose. In this secondary screening process, 139 non-empirical articles were removed, along with 54 articles that were empirical studies at the intersection of parents and social media but looking at other topics (e.g., how parents monitor their children’s social media use and how social media mediates the parent-child relationship). The remaining 70 empirical articles all focused on some aspect of how social media is used to support parenting. References for the full sample can be found at https://studentssocialmediaschools.files.wordpress.com/2021/07/wbc2021-reviewsamplereferences.pdf.
2.2 Coding and Analysis

The final sample of 70 studies were coded by year, country of study, data collection method(s), data sources (parents, children), and age of parents’ children. Frequency distributions were created for each of these areas. Then each study was reviewed and classified into four categories:

1. Parenting – health-related: This category included empirical studies related to parenting and physical, mental, and behavioral health topics and issues. The health topic or issue needed to be a primary focus for the study to be included in this category.
(2) Parenting – school-related: This category included empirical studies that focused on some element of parents using social media for support related to their child’s school experience. This included direct interaction with a school or social media interactions about schools or school experiences.

(3) Parenting – general support: This category included empirical studies that examine how parents use social media for general parenting support, which might include camaraderie and general parenting advice.

(4) Parenting – other: This category was used for empirical studies that examine some aspect of parenting and social media but do not fit the other three categories

Within each category, the articles were examined by research method and sub-topic to identify areas where most research is focused.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 Overview of Research Trends

3.1.1 Publication Trajectory

Findings show that publications about parent social media use have steadily risen since 2015 (see Figure 2), and that trajectory is expected to continue to increase. Of the 70 articles in the sample, 49 (70%) of the articles were situated in the United States. An additional 5 were situated in Canada, and the remaining 16 were from Australia (3), the UK (2), Israel (2), Germany, Italy, Lebanon, South Africa, Switzerland, Taiwan, and Turkey. Twelve of these articles from outside North America were from 2019, the last year included in this study, and two were from 2018. This shows how interest in this research area has increased globally.

3.1.2 Study Populations

In terms of participants, all 70 studies had parents as research participants, and 4 studies (5.7%) also included children as participants. Parents of younger children (age 0-4) were the most common participants, with 37 (53%) of the studies focusing on them (see Figure 3). Some studies longitudinally tracked parents over time, from prior to the birth of a child until several months after birth, to examine the impact of interventions on vaccination attitudes and behaviors.
SOCIAL MEDIA AND PARENTING SUPPORT: A SYSTEMATIC SCOPING REVIEW (2010-2019)

(Daley et al., 2018; Glanz et al., 2017) and obesity and feeding behaviors (Fiks et al., 2017). Only four studies included parents of adult-age children, none focusing exclusively on this age group, and 15 (36%) did not specify a child’s age. Studies that did not specify age tended to draw data from social media content (e.g., Facebook posts or tweets), in which child age may not be relevant to the research question or possible to discern (e.g., Gage-Bouchard et al., 2017a; Gage-Bouchard et al., 2018).

![Figure 3. Age of Children](image)

When parent gender was specified (26 studies; 37%), the focus was overwhelmingly on mothers (24 studies; 33%). Only two studies focused solely on fathers, both looking at how fathers seek support online. One examined the paternal experience of having a premature infant and seeking support online (Kim et al., 2016) and the other looked at the phenomenon of dad bloggers (Scheibling, 2019). Only one study explicitly compared the social media support behaviors of mothers and fathers (Laws et al., 2019). The remainder of the articles (44; 63%) mentioned parents as a unified group, sometimes using more inclusive language such as “caregiver” as well. These studies oriented toward parents as an overall population tended to focus on health-related topics and interventions.

3.1.3 Types of Research

The studies in this sample represent a combination of self-report (31; 44%), naturalistic (24; 34%), and intervention-based (15; 21%) research. Surveys were the most common form of data collection, followed by social media archives, and interviews (See Figure 5). About one-third of the studies used multiple data collection methods. Survey and interview methods were commonly used to collect data about parents’ social media habits and attitudes (Barton et al., 2019), their interest in using new social media resources (Swindle et al., 2014) or their perceptions of existing social media resources (Külhaş Çelik et al., 2019), and their actions after encountering social media information resources (Hwang & Shah, 2019). In contrast, social media archives were used to conduct content analyses of parents’ online conversations and the resources they use. Through these content analyses, researchers explored issues such as the quality and accuracy of parenting content online (Kallem et al., 2018; Turner et al., 2011) and the nature of support and interactions offered to parents online (Zhao et al., 2019).
3.1.4 Social Media Platforms

Facebook was by far the most studied platform, with 23 (33%) studies focused specifically on parenting support through Facebook networks and groups. These studies alternated between examining Facebook use for parenting purposes in general (e.g., Harpel, 2018), support seeking on personal Facebook pages (e.g., Gage-Bouchard et al., 2017a) and Facebook use within specific groups (e.g., Holtz et al., 2015). The studied Facebook groups included ones that formed organically (e.g., Holtz et al., 2015) and groups that were formed to support specific parenting interventions (e.g., Kallem et al., 2018). In seven studies (10%), proprietary social media platforms were used for parenting intervention-based studies. The majority of studies (29; 41%) did not focus on a single platform, but rather surveyed parents about social media use more generally or asked specific questions about a wide array of platforms. Only two studies from the sample compared platforms. In both instances the comparison was between Facebook and another platform.
3.2 Social Media Parenting Support Topics

The studies were categorized into three main topical areas based on the type of parenting support studied. Most prominent was research on parenting in a health-related context (see Figure 6), which was comprised of 44 studies (63% of the sample) and shows a steadily building upward trajectory of research from 2016-2019. More general parenting support research was explored in 15 articles (21.4%), and finally six studies (8.6%) focused on school-related support topics. Five studies stood alone, not fitting in a category with other studies.

NOTE: There were no publications in 2010
3.2.1 Health-related Uses

Parents use social media to access information about a diverse array of health-conditions, ranging from the general topics such as healthy behaviors (Laws et al., 2019) to specific health conditions like leukemia (Gage-Bouchard et al., 2017b). These two articles investigate differences in who accesses health-related information online (Laws et al., 2019) and how social media spaces can unite parents with others who have similar parenting experiences for mutual information-sharing and support (Gage-Bouchard et al., 2017b). Other health conditions that were studied include asthma (Panzera et al., 2013), Fanconi anemia (Haude et al., 2017) and food allergies (Külhaş Çelik et al., 2019). In this area, parent use of social media use for support and information related to a child’s health condition was most often the main focus, but some studies looked at social media as part of a larger system of parent information and support (e.g., Haude et al., 2017).

Parents not only form their own support networks online, but also are targeted by health professionals for interventions. Several studies were interested in how and why parents are independently use social media for health-related parenting support. Findings such as those of Moon et al. (2019) suggest that parents appreciate the immediacy and personalization that social media platforms offer them. These findings in turn can be used to help develop interventions. In this vein, social media has been tested as a means of helping parents navigate childhood obesity (Fiks et al., 2017) and pediatric palliative care (Levy et al., 2019) as well as their own postpartum depression (Boyd et al., 2019), and shows promising results.

Among the health-related parenting articles, one health topic stands out: vaccination. Vaccination rates are a public health concern, and social media has been a space where anti-vaccination groups have frequently spread misinformation. Articles in this area explored the nature and quality of information parents encounter in social media spaces along with how this information shapes their vaccination decisions for their children (Deas et al., 2019; Modanloo et al., 2019). Of particular concern is the accuracy of information available to parents when they search online for vaccine information. Not surprisingly, expert-moderated forums are preferable support forums in terms of both tone and content (Shoup et al., 2019). As with other health-related topics, supporting parents via health education interventions is of great interest (Daley et al., 2018; Glanz et al., 2017; Shoup et al., 2015).

3.2.2 General Parenting Support

Most of the general parenting support articles focused on parenting of young children or parenting concerns prior to giving birth. They include studies about mommybloggers (Steiner & Bronstein, 2017) and parenting Facebook groups (Das, 2019; Holtz et al., 2015), demonstrating the powerful influence of stories shared online. Many of these articles are closely related to the health-related articles, with the main difference being the locus of information and the degree to which health information is a main or tertiary focus of conversation. Whereas health-related parenting support involves accessing information about health conditions from medical professionals or crowdsourcing health information with parents who have shared experiences caring for children with medical conditions, the general parenting support articles are situated in spaces where parents gather for camaraderie and to find other parents with similar philosophies and life choices. Health topics that arise in more general parenting forums could include pregnancy (Harpe, 2018), childbirth (Harpe, 2018), and breastfeeding (Regan & Brown, 2019). These studies explore how parents use social media to share their stories and perform their personal choices about birthing and raising children. Topics raised in the general
parenting support category also may touch on issues like mental health, but in the sense that participation in parenting forums may provide support that in turn helps parents feel more connected (McDaniel et al., 2012) but can also have a darker side and result in unhealthy social comparison (Coyne et al., 2017). Among these articles are ones that demonstrate the power of social media to unite parents with specific backgrounds, such as immigrant mothers (Lee & Chen, 2018) and women who identify as lesbian, bisexual and queer (Ruppel et al., 2017).

3.2.3 School-Related Parenting Uses
The six articles related to parenting and schools included one Israeli studies and one American study of how parents used social media as a leveraging tool for protest (Avigur-Eshel & Berkovich, 2018; Schroeder et al., 2018). Three others looked at social media as a tool for facilitating parent-school communications or parent communications about schools (Addi-Raccah & Yemini, 2018; Fan & Yost, 2018; Vigo-Arrazola & Dieste-Gracia, 2018). The final article examined how social media was used to gather information during a school crisis (Mazer et al., 2015). Collectively these six articles demonstrate how parents alternate between using social media to have a voice and to gather information about school events and topics.

3.2.4 Other Studies
In this category were studies that did not pair with others in the sample in terms of content. These were studies that we debated for inclusion in the sample, but ultimately felt provided insight into how social media relates to parenting even if they did not look explicitly at interactions or topics discussed in support forums. One study focused on how fathers’ identity exploration is manifest through their parenting support and connections as bloggers (Scheibling, 2019), and another on how parent happiness is evident in tweets (Mencarini et al., 2019). Two considered maternal mental health as it relates to Facebook use in general (Kaufmann et al., 2017; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2017). Finally, one article reported on the pilot of a social media gaming intervention to support at-risk parents (Love et al., 2016). These five studies further show the diversity of uses and effects of social media among parents.

4. DISCUSSION
The heavy emphasis on health-related parenting support in social media settings was not a surprising finding. A recent literature review about social media use by healthcare providers similarly identified health care promotion and education as important uses of the medium (Farsi, 2021). Based on this literature, it appears that both parties – parents and medical professionals – have a mutual interest in maintaining online forums with accurate information and support for children’s healthcare needs. Vaccination-focused studies aside, most of these articles investigate health conditions and communities in isolation. Pooling their knowledge across conditions and communities, researchers could help health professionals better meet their patients’ needs by fostering helpful, positive online support spaces and identifying appropriate levels of their presence and intervention in these environments. At the same time, medical professionals and researchers need to learn to become critical consumers of data collected via social media (D’Souza et al., 2021) and health professionals who plan to use social media to educate parents should at the same time consider their own role and professionalism in this context (O’Connor et al., 2021).
A key takeaway from this collection of studies is that parents use social media because they perceive value in the activity and it empowers them in at least some aspects of their lives. Most parents are exploiting their children online in the form of Honey Boo Boo (Goodman, 2012), but instead genuinely seek support and friendship from their online social networks (Haslam et al., 2017). In the realm of health education, it is important to find a balance between accurate information and peer interaction. Parents may look to social media networks because they provide alternate perspectives and a broader or more relatable view on parenting and health conditions than their own healthcare providers. The risk of misinformation is always present, but at the same time parents who pool knowledge and learn from each other often have positive outcomes.

Through collective knowledge and shared learning experiences, whether discussing health topics or parenting more generally, a lot of personal information appears in online forums. This sharing may be done in the interest of supporting parents or meeting children’s health needs, but at the same time it potentially makes families vulnerable. Parenting online raises concerns about children’s privacy and digital footprints, affecting them before they are born (Seko & Tiidenberg, 2016) or go on the Internet themselves (Dennen, 2016). This phenomenon of discussing one’s children online has been dubbed sharenting and is often engaged in naively, with little consideration of the potential perils (Cino & Formenti, 2021). Although parents do it freely, they may object when others, like teachers and schools, post about their children online (Cino & Dalledonne Vandini, 2020). Given the personal nature of health information, more research on the risks within health-related parenting communities is warranted, including longitudinal studies to determine if any material or emotional harm has come to children through their parents’ social media activities.

4.1 Limitation

A major limitation is the sampling approach used in this study. By focusing solely on the Web of Science database, the sample was not inclusive of international journals (Mongeon & Paul-Hus, 2015). To some degree, this limitation was mitigated by our focus on English language journals. Additionally, we make no claim to provide a comprehensive overview of journal articles on our topic, but instead use Web of Science indexed journals as a proxy for overall research and publishing trends. Additionally, although this paper summarizes research trends and describes the types of parenting support that can be supported by social media, these trends should not be considered exhaustive or fully representative of the ways parents use social media as a tool to connect to other parents and gain information and support.

5. CONCLUSION

Twenty-first century parents have a powerful tool at their fingertips 24 hours a day: the Internet. Although the Internet is a vast and easily searchable digital library, it also is a space where two-way communication can occur and relationships can be fostered. For parents who may find that they have questions about child health and development, or who feel isolated and alone, social media can be alluring. A clear advantage of social media over static information sources is the ability to interact with others. Parents can either use their social media profiles to reach out to their regular networks, or use social media to make new contacts and discover communal
virtual spaces inhabited by other parents with similar interests, needs, and experiences. Across the articles sampled in this study were instances of professionals (e.g., in healthcare or education) using social media to push information to and develop connections with parents; more experienced parents sharing with less experienced parents; and parents more generally developing community and sharing their stories with each other. Each of these approaches helps unite people and share information in more dynamic and flexible ways and build relationships that would likely not be possible if parents were constrained to interactions with people encountered through their physical networks.

The studies found in this review focus most heavily on parents of younger children and parents seeking health-related support. This could represent a greater need for online support among these groups, or it could represent targeted areas of interest within specific disciplines. Both parents of young children and parents of children with medical conditions are likely to interact with medical professionals about their children’s’ development milestones or health needs on a regular basis, and healthcare professionals are concerned about how social media can be used to provide accurate information and how misinformation spreads online as well. However, these findings should not be taken to mean that parents are most likely to seek social media-based parenting support when their children are young or have healthcare needs. We do not currently have an empirically supported depiction of how widespread the practice of seeking parenting support via social media is, nor of the platforms that best support these activities and the topical areas around which parents are most likely to connect. These areas constitute a research gap.

Some of this research gap is already beginning to be addressed, and research in this area is growing at a fast pace. A replication of our keyword search in Web of Science for publication year 2021 yielded 375 records, which is equal to 44% of the total records returned for the same search in the decade prior (see Figure 2) and 124 more records than the year prior (2019). Although we did not screen and narrow this search for relevance, we are confident that this is an indicator of exponential growth of research on parenting and social media.

The most recent research in this area not only continues and extends earlier investigations, but has also been responsive to world events. The COVID-19 pandemic quickly became the center of international discourse and research initiatives in 2020. With the need to maintain social distancing and many uncertainties about both health and education, parents continued to use the Internet and social media as a tool for information, support, and social connection. One study found that parents used technology as a personal distraction during the pandemic, creating ‘technoference’ which negatively impacted their children (Merkaš et al., 2021). Another study showed a connection between parent anxiety and frequency of social media use during the early months of the pandemic (Drouin et al., 2020). However, there may be generational differences, and younger parents who are considered part of generation Z may be experience information overload from social media use during the pandemic (Liu et al., 2021). Concerns about social media, misinformation, and vaccination have become even greater, and a study from Italy suggests that parents who rely heavily on social media for information will be the most hesitant to vaccinate their children against the virus when the vaccine becomes available to them (Montalti et al., 2021).

Beyond these pandemic-related concerns, the field would benefit from studies that help establish a baseline for understanding parent use of social media, in which the more specific and context-based studies included in this sample might be situated. Future research might focus on how parents use social media across their child-rearing years, considering how their needs for different types of information and support change as their children age and they become more
secure as parents. Additionally, such research might look for differences in parenting social media behaviors between first time parents and more experienced parents. With a stronger sense of when and how parents seek support and build networks on social media, researchers will have greater direction for specific sub-topics that might be investigated. Similarly, professions that support parenting, including the education and health fields, might be able to better design interventions and opportunities for parents with greater understanding of their social media interests and needs.

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