

# Emerging Ideas. Digital parenting advice: Online guidance regarding children's use of the Internet and social media

Lauren E. Harris<sup>1</sup>   | Jerry A. Jacobs<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>1</sup>Department of Human Development and Family Studies, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH

<sup>2</sup>Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA

## Correspondence

Lauren E. Harris, Department of Human Development and Family Studies, University of New Hampshire, 303 Pettee Hall, 55 College Road, Durham, NH 03824, USA.  
Email: [lauren.harris@unh.edu](mailto:lauren.harris@unh.edu)

## Abstract

**Objective:** This research explores online advice to parents for managing children's Internet and social media use to understand what courses of action are recommended for parents.

**Background:** Parents often play a protectionist role in parenting, including trying to limit their children's Internet use to reduce harms. However, little is known about the advice parents are provided about how to make these decisions.

**Methods:** We conducted a content analysis of 73 websites offering advice to parents on guiding their children's Internet use. These websites are sponsored by professional associations as well as magazines, blogs, and others.

**Results:** Privacy, monitoring, limiting use, parent-child communication, and safety were the most common topic areas. We find that sites emphasize the risks of being online roughly twice as often as the opportunities. Only approximately two fifths of the websites addressed the permanence of online sharing or how this may impact future college admissions or employment opportunities.

**Conclusion:** Advice given to parents focuses on protecting children (privacy, safety, monitoring) much more than teaching children how to navigate social media platforms for their benefit.

**Implications:** Given the proliferation of social media and the Internet and how online behavior affects opportunities, it is increasingly important to understand what guidance parents are provided to teach children how to develop digital cultural capital in a technologically advanced world.

## KEYWORDS

digital cultural capital, Internet, parenting, protectionism, social media

Internet and social media use are ubiquitous among adults, teens, and even young children. Mobile phones and other communication channels have quickly permeated social life (Wajcman, 2016), with 45% of teenagers reporting being online “almost constantly” (Anderson & Jiang, 2018). It is therefore unsurprising that 66% of parents believe parenting is harder today than 20 years ago, particularly because of technology and social media (Auxier et al., 2020).

Parents can sometimes fall back on their own experience as children as a guide, but with social media and the Internet, this type of personal experience is typically not available. Facebook, iPhones, Twitter, and Instagram were all created between 2004 and 2010. Thus, only younger parents had any experience with these technologies in their youth before having children. In many cases, parents began using social media concurrently with, or later than, their children.

The lessons parents teach their children about social media and Internet use are particularly important when viewed through a digital cultural capital lens. Borrowing from Bourdieu’s (1997) concept of cultural capital, *digital cultural capital* (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2019) is the idea that success in contemporary society requires familiarity and knowledge of digital skills and presentation and that these skills can be taught by or passed on through parents. Learning and developing digital skills, such as how one behaves and presents oneself online, can have direct consequences for such opportunities as college admission and occupational advancement, so what parents teach their children could have substantial implications. Children may require digital instruction and socialization to be successful later in life, so parents would need to balance traditional protectionist parenting styles (Zeicher, 2001) with teaching children about social media and the Internet to keep children both protected and informed.

Given the ubiquity of social media and Internet use and how online behavior impacts opportunities, it is increasingly important to understand what guidance parents are provided to teach children how to develop digital cultural capital in a technologically advanced world. Although parents frequently seek parenting advice online (Auxier et al., 2020), no recent comprehensive studies have been done on the content of digital advice for parents. Websites may have protectionist messages, given parents’ history of concern regarding new technologies, or websites may counteract parents’ concerns with the positive aspects, such as social connectivity.

This research addresses these issues through content analysis of online advice to parents about children’s use of the Internet and social media. We address two questions: What advice do websites provide for parents about how to manage children’s Internet and social media use? and How do these messages view the Internet and social media as a risk or as opportunities? We consider the implication of our findings for theories of parental protectionism and digital cultural capital. This study examines online advice geared toward parents; the methods used in this study do not allow us to ascertain the extent to which parents consulted these websites, accepted the suggestions available in these sites, or conveyed these pointers to their children. We also do not know whether children accepted or resisted any parental advice and whether their online behavior may have changed as a result of any parental effects to manage their choices.

## BACKGROUND

### Parenting advice and technology

In Western cultures, parents are expected to rely on expert advice over that given by family (Hidalgo, 2011) and so they have turned to experts for guidance, even when advice can be vague or contradictory (Hulbert, 2004). In recent years, parents have become accustomed to seeking advice online as well as from peers (Nikken & de Haan, 2015). As the Internet has become a prominent source of childrearing advice (Radey & Randolph, 2009), most parents have looked online to receive and exchange parenting information (Baker et al., 2017; Lupton et al., 2016;

Plantin & Daneback, 2009). Searching the Internet for parenting advice does vary by type of parent, with younger and single parents (Radey & Randolph, 2009) and pregnant women and new mothers more likely to seek parenting advice online, including websites and online forums (Brady & Guerin, 2010; Johnson, 2015; Lupton, 2016; Porter & Ispa, 2013). Similarly, the majority of parents—and mothers more than fathers—who use social media have received parenting support on social media (Duggan et al., 2015).

However, the content of advice intended for parents has received limited attention (Muñoz & Quirke, 2021). Parents tend to search for logistical or practical parenting advice on issues such as feeding, sleeping, or potty-training (Muñoz & Quirke, 2021; Porter & Ispa, 2013), but much less is known about advice on child socialization, particularly regarding the Internet or social media. Advice on broad matters of socialization may be less specific than advice on issues such as when to introduce solid foods, and parents may not seek this kind of advice because they feel they already know how to socialize their children. There is no research to our knowledge on the advice intended for parents regarding how to manage children's use of the Internet and social media, despite this being a growing and important issue. In short, although research on the process and destination of parenting advice is developing, the content of advice offered to parents online needs further investigation.

## Parenting, protectionism, and technology

Parental concerns over children's Internet use are often seen as protectionist. More than the state or children themselves, parents have authority to care for and be in charge of children (Wyness, 1996). This authority includes developing children's moral and cognitive maturity, keeping them safe, and protecting them from physical and psychological dangers (Zeiber, 2001), including predators, pedophiles, and pornography (Davis et al., 2019; Poblet et al., 2017). Although it is reasonable for parents to want to safeguard their children, protectionism is as much for adults as it is for children (Taylor, 2010). In attempting to protect children from threats, however realistic, parents sometimes project their anxieties onto children and, in some cases, limit children's agency (Castro & Clark, 2019; Zeiber, 2001). Generally, however, protectionist parenting is viewed as a normative and crucial parenting behavior stemming from the evolutionary need to keep children safe (Bakermans-Kranenburg & van IJzendoorn, 2017).

Worrying about age-appropriate content and children's technology use is nothing new, as the advents of the telephone, automobile, and television all raised new issues for parents to handle (Bryant & Bryant, 2001; Fischer, 1992; Heitman, 2018). With the Internet and social media, most parents (71%) believe widespread smartphone use could do more harm than good, and they seek to limit children's screen time (86%; Auxier et al., 2020). Although they do see the benefits of entertainment and learning opportunities in technology, parents are cognizant of the potential long-term impacts on children's development (Auxier et al., 2020).

Technological innovations represent a clear case in which parental advice needs to adapt to new circumstances. With the growing use of social media and the Internet among children, parents are again tasked with developing and redeveloping guidelines and advice for this new technology (Eastin et al., 2006). Parents turn to friends and professionals, including via websites and online forums, for guidance (Auxier et al., 2020; Baker et al., 2017; Nikken & de Haan, 2015), possibly because they do not have lessons from childhood to call on. Although there have been several studies of Internet usage, social media, and parenting, none have systematically examined the content of advice provided to parents regarding the use of the Internet and social media as envisaged in this study.

## Digital cultural capital

People perform technology management to control technology and use it in a way that aligns with their values (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2019). The term *digital cultural capital*, defined as “the combination of awareness, motivation, and skill needed to perform technology management as a form of cultural capital” (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2019, p. 432), borrows from Bourdieu (1997) the idea that success in contemporary society requires a sophisticated knowledge of the rules of the game. As technology advances and plays an even more influential role in society, digital cultural capital addresses how having the valued and rewarded knowledge and familiarity plays a growing role in individuals’ success in society. While parents perform this cultural side of technology management, they may teach these skills and strategies to their children, just as they would teach their children other skills they have developed. Values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors are passed down from one generation to the next through socialization (see Bourdieu 1997; Giddens et al., 2018; Henslin, 2019). In the context of digital cultural capital, the online realm is seen as another area in which social advantages are sought and the potential to promote social advancement is emphasized.

The intergenerational reproduction of values and beliefs, however, must confront the reality of a changing world. Parents cannot simply encourage their children to mimic their example if their children confront a new set of opportunities and challenges parents have not faced. In other words, socialization to social media and the Internet is distinctive in that parents cannot rely on their childhood socialization process to teach digital cultural capital to their children. This research addresses this issue by investigating what messages parents may find online about managing their digital cultural capital. We ask, “What information is available to parents on handling their child’s online activities, and does that information include the potential long-term impact of use of Internet and social media on children’s education and later employment opportunities?”

The concept of digital culture capital is broad enough to include viewing social media as a risk, as well as a benefit, with opportunities for exploring oneself and developing a personal brand (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2019), and so parents could be advised, depending on advice found, to address social media and the Internet from a protectionist perspective or assist their children in crafting a positive or beneficial online presence. Advice may also direct parents to vary their concerns and instruction to the age of the child, such as teaching young children to speak kindly with others on the Internet and teaching teens how to develop those communication skills into networking for an internship. Further, advice may assist parents in incorporating protectionist parenting strategies so that their children can learn to use the Internet and social media, but safely. In this context, it is important to investigate what advice is available to parents that emphasizes the potential risks and rewards of social media engagement.

## Current study

This study presents the findings of a content analysis of 73 websites. We investigated the kinds of advice that are presented for parents on how and what to teach their children about social media and Internet use. We build a foundation on past research, including theories of protectionism, parenting and technology, and digital cultural capital, to inform our understanding of the website content and to interpret advice geared toward parents. Through this lens, we might expect websites to emphasize protectionist parenting strategies in messages regarding social media and Internet usage. This could include advice to limit and monitor use to ensure children’s safety. On the other hand, it is also possible that parents may be encouraged to develop children’s digital cultural capital to make social media and Internet use a positive and helpful

experience. Given the widespread use of the Internet and social media, the important role of parenting, and parents not having grown up with these technologies, we imagine parents would seek advice about how to handle children's use of the Internet and social media. This study explores that advice to understand what parents seeking such advice are likely to find about their role as parental managers of their children's online lives.

## METHODS

We conducted a content analysis of 73 webpages to investigate what kinds of advice and guidance were available to parents regarding their children's use of the Internet and social media. This empirically grounded exploratory method allowed us to analyze material that was meaningful to readers, not just researchers (Krippendorff, 2019). A content analysis of publicly accessible website content was most appropriate to understand what advice is available to parents regarding the Internet and social media because Internet searches and webpages are so widely accessible.

We sought websites that fit a short list of criteria: The sites needed to be directed toward parents and provide advice on the use of the Internet, social media, or both by children of any age. Because [Google.com](https://www.google.com) is the most frequently used search engine (Krawczyk, 2014), we conducted data collection through this site between November 2018 and June 2019. The authors brainstormed searchable terms and selected the terms thought to produce websites fitting the criteria. We searched the terms "advice to parents on their children's use of social media," "advice to parents on their children's use of the Internet," "advice parents social media," "social media advice parents," "teach kids about social media," and "talking to kids about social media" to capture the specific information that is central to this research—advice for parents regarding the use of the Internet and social media by their children. We then reviewed each website listed on the first two pages of results (20 webpages) for each term, for a total of 120 webpages. Users rarely go to webpages posted on even the second page of results (Conversation Guru, 2017; Petrescu, 2014), so it is likely that we have reviewed some of the page content parents would visit with these or similar search terms. All websites meeting the search criteria were included in our review. We removed duplicate and irrelevant hits (such as instructions to teachers for using social media in the classroom) from our analysis, leaving a total of 65 unique webpages. That there was substantial overlap in the results, as measured by the number of duplicate websites, gives us confidence that these webpages are likely those parents would encounter when looking for advice on the topic.

Some parents may rely on trusted experts, so we extended our sample to include websites of professional and scholarly organizations. We explored the websites of the American Psychological Association, American Academy of Pediatrics, American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, National Association for the Education of Young Children, and Federal Bureau of Investigation for advice to parents regarding children's Internet use. Many pages were directed at professionals, such as psychologists and pediatricians, including those teaching practitioners how to use social media in their practices, or were research studies published for practitioners and academics. These pages were excluded from this review. From each of these organizations' websites, we included the one or two parent-oriented webpages that fit the search criteria, bringing the total number of analyzed websites to 73.

We recorded the web address, publication title and date, format of the information, and the perceived intended audience. We created PDFs of each website to ensure the reliability of reviewing each page and avoid rereviewing an updated page. The reviewed websites include a variety of media outlets (National Public Radio, *U.S. News and World Report*), government

agencies (the U.S. Justice Department), research organizations (the Pew Foundation), and others. Each website date is included when available; otherwise the material cited is accurate as of November 2018 or June 2019 when these websites were accessed for this research. In additional analyses (not shown), we classified the websites into mutually exclusive categories: (a) news/media, (b) government/professional organizations, (c) nonprofit/research/advocacy, and (d) private organization/other. Although these groups vary in the extent to which scientific expertise was deployed, there was considerable commonality in the substantive themes. Webpage names and links can be found in Supplemental Table 1.

We reviewed the content of each unique webpage that resulted from the searches. Many of these pages included links to other webpages, both internal and external to the website. Although parents may click through internal links to browse the pages of the websites, we reviewed only the page linked by the Google search. We did not follow the links on these webpages unless the page produced by the Google search was only a page with links to the content. For example, a Google result for [Internetmatters.org](http://Internetmatters.org) was a table of contents page with links to age-specific advice. These additional pages were reviewed but counted as part of the main page.

We conducted an initial review of the webpages and discovered common topics between pages, such as the frequent mention of “safety” issues. Subject matter was occasionally as explicit as to be paragraph headings or a bulleted list of topics parents needed to be aware of. In other instances, they were woven into the webpage discussion. We conducted a second review using a list of topics generated by the first review, as well as any new themes that arose. We then solicited an independent evaluation of these websites to ensure accuracy. Coders rereviewed webpages to confirm initial codes and to ensure later emerging topics, such as health and role-modeling, were included in coding. Much of the coding centered on the presence of key terms, such as *security*, *safety*, *limiting use*, and *monitoring*, among others, because these terms were more prevalent and used more frequently across webpages than other terms. Both coders coded all webpages independently and then compared codes. There was an interrater reliability level of 76% after the initial coding, which is considered the upper level of “substantial” strength of agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977). In cases of disagreement, coders discussed the discrepant cases until consensus was reached.

The advice was remarkably consistent across webpages. We found that all pages addressed at least one of nine topics, with most focusing on at least one of five (see Table 1). There are instances of variation, but these tended to occur within a narrow range. For example, websites may conflict on how closely a parent should monitor a child’s Internet use, but the suggestion to monitor in some capacity is large uncontested. Although Hulbert (2004) suggested that parenting books offered vague or contradictory advice, our research finds parenting advice to be almost duplicative across sources.

Similarly, the areas of advice were also consistent across children’s age ranges. Some sites noted that the advice was appropriate for children of a particular age range or school level (elementary, middle, high school), but it was the specifics of the advice rather than the topic addressed that varied. A site may suggest having open communication with a middle-schooler about treating others nicely online whereas communication with high-schoolers should include sexting and pornography. The consistency of advice across websites and across ages gives us confidence in the findings reported here that this is the advice parents would encounter online regarding these issues.

## RESULTS

The most common topics discussed in the reviewed websites are presented in Table 1. Most sites included many, but not all, issues discussed here and proposed a variety of suggestions for

**TABLE 1** Most common website themes, by commonality

Theme	No. of sites (N = 73)	Description	Key Terms	Example
Privacy	55	Privacy issues focus on oversharing or communicating personal information online. This usually includes teaching children not to share one's address or full name.	Privacy, sharing personal information/photos, privacy settings, sexting	"One other idea might be for parents encourage their children to use privacy settings to ensure their posts are going out to a select set of friends" ( <a href="#">Psychologytoday.com</a> ).
Monitoring	51	Parents are advised to watch children's online and social media activities more closely, with some sites noting this should change as children age. Many discuss having computers and electronics in common areas in the home.	Monitor use, browsing (un)accompanied, supervise, monitoring software, using in a public space/municipal area, keep an eye on activities	"When you do decide to let your kid make his first foray into social media, approach it as if you're taking a new swimmer to the adult pool: Go in together at first, and keep a watchful eye on him as he finds his way" ( <a href="#">Parents.com</a> ).
Limiting use	47	Many sites suggest parents put time limitations on children's social media and Internet use. This is often in the context of how too much time online is harmful for children's success or health.	Limit use/screen time, amount of time/time limit, restrict time/use, set boundaries, when/how long/where they can be online	"Establishing a set of guidelines or rules is a great way to instill positive social media habits in your child. For example, set a time limit for how long your child spends on social media during the week" ( <a href="#">Mashable.com</a> ).
Communication	46	Talking to or explaining situations to children is highlighted. This is often connected to issues of privacy or limitations, but content centers open communication as an important element.	(Open, honest) communication, talk to/inform children, discussions/chats, conversation	"Controls are not a single solution to staying safe online; talking to your children and encouraging responsible behaviour is critical" ( <a href="#">Parentinfo.org</a> ).
Safety	41	The child's (physical) safety is the focus, which may include discussion of the consequences. This may include safety issues regarding meeting strangers online and in person or posting one's location.	Safety, (meeting) strangers, block (inappropriate) websites, parental controls/password protection, geotagging/posting location	"Talk about the importance of keeping online friendships in the online world. Make it clear that if your child wants to meet an online friend in person, it must be in a public place and with a trusted adult" ( <a href="#">Caringforkids.cps.ca</a> ).
Kindness/ Cyberbullying	33	Parents are warned of the possibility that their child may be the perpetrator or victim of cyberbullying. Sites stress teaching children to be kind online.	(Cyber)bullying, being kind/nice/respectful, harassment, trolling, abuse, hurting feelings	"Encourage respect for others. As in everyday life, there are informal ethical rules for how to behave when relating to other people on the Internet. These include being polite, using correct language and not harassing others. Make your children aware that despite the perceptions to the contrary, online bullying is easier to detect and trace than offline bullying" ( <a href="#">www.Webwise.ie</a> ).

(Continues)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Theme	No. of sites (N = 73)	Description	Key Terms	Example
Permanence or Future	30	Parents are encouraged to teacher their children that what they share or post online is permanent and that once it is shared it can never be completely removed. Fewer sites connect this to negative consequences for college admissions or employment.	Permanence, digital footprint, cannot delete/remove, online forever, lose control of posts, etc., reputation, image, future/long-term consequences, employers/jobs/colleges	“Teach kids not to share anything on social media that they wouldn’t want their teachers, college admissions officers, future bosses—and yes, grandma—to see” ( <a href="http://Kidshealth.org">Kidshealth.org</a> ).
Health	23	Whether emotional or psychological health, some sites suggest parents look out for signs of unhealthy use or impact of the Internet and social media.	(Mental, physical) health, obesity, physical activity, depression, self-worth/esteem, self-image, addiction, attention span	“If they are deeply affected by the posts, consider advising them to take a break from the social network and concentrate on other activities that might make them happier” ( <a href="http://Internetmatters.org">Internetmatters.org</a> ).
Role-Modeling	20	A few sites suggested setting a good example, often including other advice. This includes teaching privacy by not posting personal information or teaching the importance of limiting use by putting down phones when having a conversation.	Role model, set an/lead by example	“Be a good role model. Teach and model kindness and good manners online. Because children are great mimics, limit your own media use” ( <a href="http://HealthyChildren.org">HealthyChildren.org</a> ).
Other	Various	Several other suggestions are made, including blocking particular websites or content, making a written list of rules, or drawing up a social media use contract. These pieces of advice are far less common than the preceding recommendations.	Various	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Benefits of social media</li> <li>• Blocking websites</li> <li>• Community</li> <li>• Content blockers</li> <li>• Dangers on the Internet</li> <li>• Good decision-making</li> <li>• Internet addiction</li> <li>• Parental controls</li> <li>• Promote in-person time</li> <li>• Rules for children’s use</li> <li>• Sexting</li> <li>• Social bonding</li> <li>• Social media contract</li> <li>• Software programs</li> </ul>



parents. Overall, webpages focused on a few main issues regarding children's use of social media and the Internet. The most common topics addressed were privacy (75%, or 55 webpages), monitoring (70%, 51 webpages), limiting use (68%, 50 webpages), communication (66%, 48 webpages), safety (58%, 42 webpages), and cyberbullying/kindness (47%, 34 webpages). About two fifths (41%, 30 webpages) of the webpages addressed permanence/long-term consequences, such as how sharing content online may have an impact on future college admissions or employment opportunities. Topics such as Role Modeling Use, Health, and others were mentioned often, but not nearly as much as the six aforementioned subject areas and so are not discussed further.

We also classified websites by the age of the child addressed in the advice. However, aside from a few specific patterns discussed in the results, there was not a clear pattern (results not shown). A lack of pattern may be because websites' formats varied, they provided advice about children in general, they provided advice for children of many ages, or they focused on a developmental, chronological, or school-stage form of classification.

## Privacy

Privacy was the most common topic appearing in the reviewed websites (75%, or 55 webpages). Webpages providing clear, concrete instruction for protecting children from the hazards of sharing personal information online and instructed them to share information on these dangers with their children. Webpages instructed parents to communicate to their children what kind of information is inappropriate or unsafe to share, offering, for example: "A simple rule could be that your child should not give out any information or photos online that they wouldn't be prepared to give to a stranger on the street" (Webwise).

The issue of privacy is not only about limiting what a child chooses to share but also limiting what a website or individual may access. Webpages suggested parents take the extra step to check the privacy settings on the social media sites their children use, such as, "Make sure your child has secure privacy settings. When setting up social media profiles and giving kids access to computers, tablets, or smartphones, it's important to keep the settings to 'private' and not allow people access to too much information" (Experian, December 1, 2017). Websites advised parents to both communicate behavioral boundaries with their children to foster proper use of the Internet and social media and create technological boundaries to ensure proper use by children. Some websites focused on teaching children appropriate behavior so that they would learn to make good decisions about privacy, while others instructed parents not to leave these decisions to children but to ensure privacy through technology settings.

## Monitoring

Monitoring children's Internet and social media use was also a common topic. Fifty-one (70%) websites suggested parents oversee their children's use, including physically sitting with a child while they use Internet-connected devices or follow their accounts online to monitor posts and behavior. Webpages encouraged parents to require electronic devices be used in common areas of the home: "Keep all laptops, cellphones, and computers, in a public place where kids can use them in the presence of their family" (Net Nanny, August 28, 2018). In the area of monitoring, advice focused on parents having control, both on how much children use social media and the Internet and the kinds of material they access when using them.

Some webpages addressed the issue of monitoring as it related to children's age. *U.S. News & World Report* (November 6, 2017) stated: "At younger ages, it's more important that parents mentor and supervise," whereas Child Development Info speaks of older children: "Towards

the fifth or sixth grade, children may start to use the Internet to do research for school projects. This is when it is really important to start monitoring your child's use of the Internet." MediaSmarts was clear about the limits to monitoring for older children: "Too much monitoring—friending them or going into their accounts—creates resentment. Talk to them about what they're doing. Stay out of conversations with their friends. Get their log-in information, but store it so you're not using it often but could log in if necessary." This variety of advice illustrates that monitoring is important, but what that means differs by the age of the child.

## Limiting use

Limiting a child's social media and Internet use was mentioned by 50 webpages (68%), often in conjunction with other advice, such as monitoring or encouraging in-person activities. Most sites did not discuss the benefits to limiting use, although some did inform parents that they "can help keep kids grounded in the real world by putting limits on media use ... set some rules on the use of technology (such as no devices at the dinner table)" (KidsHealth). Others suggested specifics, including "focusing on times of day; for example no screens before school, no screens at mealtimes, no screens at bedtime" (*The Telegraph*, January 4, 2018). When a source recommended limiting social media or Internet use, the variation in advice was narrow. All sites explicitly stated or implied that parents should not allow unfettered access, that doing so was harmful to children. Some sites suggested a specific number of hours whereas others focused on providing alternative activities to children, but the most common suggestion was simply limiting use.

## Communication

Two thirds of webpages (48; 66%) suggested parents maintain an open line of communication with their children about Internet and social media use. Often, webpages incorporated this advice with subject-specific advice, such as, "one of the key things is to start the process of discussing online safety with your children at an early age, when they start to do anything that involves the Internet" (*The Guardian*, August 11, 2014). Mainly, webpages recommended establishing good communication early, remaining open to children's comments and questions, and making it an ongoing conversation. As Melbourne Child Psychology explained,

Take the time to sit down with them [children] and discuss all the issues addressed above in age-appropriate terms. ... When having these early conversations with your kids, make sure they also know they can come to you with any concerns, and that you won't judge them, be angry, or share the information without their consent.

For parents who may avoid conversations with uncooperative children, Safe Search Kids offered the following encouragement: "you should lead by example and initiate those difficult discussions with your teen. Even if you only get one-word responses, they are still listening ... and it establishes a comfortable environment for open communication in your home." The consistent message was that parents needed to engage in communication about Internet and social media, on a variety of issues, but consistently, nonjudgmentally, and at all ages.

## Safety

Forty-two webpages (58%) discussed safety issues, often regarding strangers on the Internet. Webpages suggested that parents instruct children to interact online with people whom they

know. As Norton stated clearly, “Advise your child never to approve friend requests or add people that they don’t know in real life.” Some webpages gave advice for managing online-only friends: “Talk about the importance of keeping online friendships in the online world. Make it clear that if your child wants to meet an online friend in person, it must be in a public place and with a trusted adult” (CaringForKids, February 2018).

Many mentions of safety were linked with privacy, connecting the potential harm that may befall a child by sharing personal information. Experian (December 1, 2017) connected the two, stating: “Teach [children] to not give out personal information—as this can put them at risk for fraud or theft.” A few websites discuss how sharing personal information, such as one’s location or that one is away from home, may invite robbers to target one’s home. In these cases, privacy is not about protecting one’s image but about physical safety. These websites illustrate how the digital world may be able to enter the real world through children sharing personal information or meeting strangers in person.

## Cyberbullying and kindness

Nearly half of websites (34, or 47%) addressed how children should treat each other online, particularly by being kind to each other and not cyberbullying. Webpages included advice for teaching children to be kind to others online, as well as about bullying other children and how to handle situations of their own child being bullied. The American Psychological Association encouraged parents to “teach good online behavior. People often say things online that they’d never say to someone’s face. Talk to you children about the importance of being respectful in their digital interactions.” The American Academy of Pediatrics (May 31, 2013) more explicitly instructed parents to discourage children from becoming bullies by listing types of bullying: “Remember to make a point of discouraging kids from gossiping, spreading rumors, bullying or damaging someone’s reputation using texting or other tools.” Advice for when one’s child becomes the victim rather than the perpetrator of bullying was far less common.

Similar to monitoring, some webpages addressed how cyberbullying differs by the child’s age. This can be in the form of telling parents to “discuss the concept of good judgment—tailoring the conversation to your children’s age” (Identity) or telling parents how age is related to bullying scenarios:

Online harassment is another common problem that children, namely junior high school and high school students, face. ... When friends have a falling out or even just a simple disagreement, many turn to the Internet to seek revenge, as it is easy to high behind a computer. (Child Development Institute)

Internet Matters provides age-specific advice—for parents of children aged 6 to 10 years to “Talk to them about being a good friend online,” whereas parents of children aged 14 and older should “teach them to always have respect for themselves and others online.” Each of these sites recognize that the context and the advice shift as children get older.

## Permanence and long-term consequences

Webpages advised parents on how to think and teach children about online behaviors as lasting longer than just the moment the child experiences them. To illustrate how online behaviors were not fleeting, webpages focused primarily on the permanence and long-term consequences of children’s online decisions. However, while the immediate concerns about safety, privacy, and overuse were common, advice regarding the long-term implications of social media use to

children was less common and less extensive. Only 30 sites (41%) made any reference to the permanence of online posts or how these may have a negative impact on future prospects. Sites directed toward parents of older children (high-schoolers, teenagers, etc.) mentioned permanence and long-term consequences slightly more often than sites directed toward parents of younger children.

When a website discussed the permanence of online material, it often included how this could have long-term implications. However, some websites only noted that once material was posted online, the child would no longer have control over it and it could never be completely deleted. The Family Online Safety Institute (May 23, 2017) simply stated: “Your kids need to realize that once content has been uploaded, they may have little control over its use.” Of the 30 pages that addressed permanence, only 11 (37%) addressed the issue of permanence, including specifics regarding consequences for opportunities such as college acceptance or employment offers. Instead, the majority of websites framed the issue as a lack of control and the importance of thinking before posting. These websites convey that anything posted online is essentially eternal, even when children believe it was only temporarily available, in the case of SnapChat, or believe it can be removed, and encourage parents to convey this understanding to their children.

Of these 30 websites, 19 (63%) went beyond simple permanence to reference how online behavior may have long-term implications for children. (Only nine websites mentioned both permanence and long-term consequences.) A few sites simply stated that there could be long-term consequences without discussing what those consequences were. For example, the FBI (August 8, 2018) stated “One sexually explicit photo can change a life forever” without detailing in what ways one’s life might be permanently altered. Slightly more common were websites that specifically mention the possible negative impressions online behavior could make on college admissions officers and potential employers. *The Guardian* (August 11, 2014) makes clear to parents that the online behavior of their children, particularly teens, could be used against them when applying for colleges or jobs: “Mid to late teens need to remember that everything they do over the web is captured forever and could come back to haunt them. Many employers and university admissions offices look at social media profiles when researching candidates.” These websites stressed to parents that what their child does or shares online is not only imprinted on the Internet indefinitely, but that it could harm their chances of being accepted to a college or hired by an employer.

Websites that addressed these topics sometimes included “digital footprints”—all the information about an individual found online from their social media and Internet use—to illustrate that when someone posts a status, shares a photo, or posts a comment, it is forever imprinted on the Internet. Internet Matters directed parents to let children,

know that anything they upload, email or message could stay around forever online. Remind them they should only do things online that they wouldn’t mind you, their teacher or a future employer seeing. Get them to think about creating a positive digital footprint.

This website, unlike other webpages analyzed here, suggested that there may be a benefit to a digital footprint, meaning that a well-cultivated online presence that is seen favorably by college admissions or employers may have a positive impact on future opportunities, but it does not explain how to create this positive digital footprint.

While the average website focused on five themes, websites that mentioned permanence or consequences covered more than seven themes. Websites rarely included permanence or long-term consequences as the main focus of their advice but couched these in a longer list of issues parents should be aware of. Even when permanence or long-term consequences are discussed, more common topics such as privacy and monitoring take precedence.

## Positive and negative perspectives of the Internet and social media

Webpages often took a position on the value of social media and the Internet, arguing that social media has a place in a child's world, illustrating the harms of social media, or, in many cases, both. Although this was not a categorical theme, as Privacy or Safety, the tone of the articles or specific pieces of advice within the articles contributed greatly to the types of messages they were sending parents and signals the role of protectionism in parenting.

Sixty-seven webpages (91%) included a statement that highlighted the various dangers that may befall a child, particularly pornography and predators. For example, [Parenting.com](#) (Keeping Your Child Safe on the Internet—Parenting) asserted:

As with the real world, the Internet has its seamy side—and it's all too easy for kids to stray into it. Click-click and a Peter Cottontail fan's search for "bunnies" turns up raunchy pictures of women wearing fuzzy white ears and not much else. Porn, questionable characters, hate groups, and misinformation flourish online.

A few pages connected Internet use and addiction: "Social media is an addictive form of screen entertainment. ... [E]arly use can set up future addiction patterns and habits" ([PsychologyToday.com](#), March 26, 2017). Negative elements of the Internet and social media tended to focus on the presence of predators, pornography, poor health outcomes, or cyberbullying.

Statements in support of a child's use of social media and the Internet were half as common (34, or 47%) and expressed the value of social connection and communication. One webpage noted, "Positive, supportive online communities can make a world of difference to kids who have moved to a new area, or who don't feel particularly connected to their school community, or who aren't able to attend school because of illness" (*The Washington Post*, January 9, 2018). Other webpages linked the ability to connect with others to the opportunity to be creative, such as, "The Internet can be wonderful for kids. They can use it to research school reports, communicate with teachers and other kids, and play interactive games" ([KidsHealth.org](#)). When websites did include support of social media and the Internet, the messages were uniform. The focus remained on social connection and interaction, research and learning, and expressing creativity.

Many webpages included both positive and negative statements about the Internet and social media, sometimes by suggesting parents take steps to protect children from the negative elements of the Internet and social media so children could benefit from the positive aspects. In many places, the positive messages, such as connecting with friends or accessing information for a school project, were often truncated by warnings of danger or harm. A [KidsHealth.org](#) webpage listed the benefits of social media, including how young people could "stay connected with friends and family, volunteer ..., [and] enhance their creativity." The website continued, "The flipside is that social media can be a hub for things like cyberbullying and questionable activities. Without meaning to, kids can share more online than they should." Negative messages are so ubiquitous that even when a website included positive messaging, it is quickly followed by pessimistic assertions. Whereas many websites were uniformly alarmist or negative, no websites were uniformly encouraging or positive.

## DISCUSSION

Parenting advice is widely available in contemporary American society, and there are good reasons to believe that parents are particularly interested in advice regarding how best to manage their children's Internet and social media use. Upon review of 73 webpages aimed at providing

advice to parents on these issues, we find the most common issues these sites address are privacy (55 webpages), monitoring (51 webpages), limiting use (50 webpages), communication (48 webpages), safety (42 webpages), and cyberbullying/kindness (34 webpages). Most sites addressed more than one topic, and often in conjunction, such as discussing how breaches of privacy could make a child unsafe or how monitoring was an important element of limiting a child's use of social media and the Internet. Additional topics, such as parents role-modeling best practices and the mental and emotional health of children, were featured to a lesser extent.

In contrast, issues of permanence and the potential consequences of social media and online activity for future opportunities were not as widespread, featured on a total of 30 webpages. Just one in four (19 of 73) pages specifically mentioned the permanence of online posts and behavior, such as noting that content may still be accessible or may have been printed even when a child believes they have deleted the content. Similarly, 19 webpages noted that online behavior could have an impact on future opportunities, such as college admissions and internship or job offers.

In a culture where protectionist parenting is often accepted as a norm, if not necessarily a routine practice, the advice we found for parents on how to manage their children's social media and Internet use seems to support and perpetuate these norms. This finding supports prior literature on protectionist parenting, which has shown that parents forefront issues of safety and protection in parenting behaviors and decisions (Taylor, 2010; Valentine, 1996; Wyness, 1996; Zeiher, 2001). This priority is mirrored in online advice for parents about how they should address their children's use of technologies by focusing first on advice to keep children safe. Protectionism helps to explain why websites focus on issues of privacy, safety, and monitoring (Zeiher, 2001) and developing moral and cognitive maturity (Wyness, 1996). The bulk of advice given to parents is focused on how to protect children rather than teaching children the tools to navigate or even harness the platforms for their benefit. In addition, Taylor's (2010) assertion that protectionism is more for adults than children would further explain the lack of discussion of long-term consequences of social media and Internet activities. Parents may be seeking advice to quell their personal fears, as stoked by alarmist news stories (Glassner, 1999; Valentine, 1996), rather than develop their child's future prospects.

It is worth noting that protecting children and showing them how to use the Internet and social media to their benefit are not mutually exclusive; a parent can aim to both keep a child safe and show them the benefits of online activities. The webpages analyzed here, however, centered advice on keeping children safe more so than advising parents how to teach their children about using the Internet and social media to their advantage, like searching for information or creating a positive digital footprint. There were some webpages, as noted earlier, that discussed the benefits of online activities, such as connecting with friends or learning new information, but most pages did not discuss these kinds of benefits. In short, a parent can both protect a child and show them the benefits, but because webpages tend to focus on the safety aspect of being online, websites are less often giving advice on how to teach children about the benefits. This suggests that the advice parents receive may be one-sided and that parents would benefit from learning how to teach children about the positive, helpful, or useful parents of the Internet and social media.

As some webpages illustrated, a child's age can drastically change parenting advice. Although some pages explicitly focused on children of a certain age, such as advising parents to discuss kindness with middle-school children or to give teens more privacy in their Internet use, parents were often left to decipher which advice applied to children of what ages. In many cases, the main themes applied to all children, but the specific advice within that theme differed by age. In the case of limiting use, webpages advised parents to set strict limits on screen time for toddlers. For older teens, the advice was to confiscate cell phones at bedtime or ban cell phones at the dinner table. In other instances, lessons for older children could be built on lessons for younger children. Safety advice for young children about not sharing your home address online

can build a foundation for lessons about not geotagging social media posts as a teen. In these cases, the advice develops and advances with the development of the child, so not all advice included here is relevant for all parents.

This research is not without its limitations. Google search terms all used “advice,” which may be more likely to produce protectionist-centered results. Search terms with “encouraging,” “supporting,” or “guiding” Internet use may have produced more positive webpages. These may also not be the terms parents would search, so it is possible we curated websites that parents would not see and missed the ones they would find in their searches using other terms. Additionally, the advice discussed here is just that—advice. The purpose of this research is to understand what parents are advised to do, rather than what they actually do. It is beyond the scope of the research to conclude how parents interpreted or used the advice, or even if parents agreed with it. The websites’ suggestions may seem too lax, too strict, or not feasible. The extent to which parents vary in accessing, interpreting, and deploying digital advice by social class, gender, race, or ethnicity are not directly evident from the websites themselves. We also cannot concretely state whether websites influence beliefs about parenting or if websites are influenced by parenting beliefs and practices. In addition, children’s reaction to parents’ concerns, advice, and rules is not addressed. Children may resist parents’ efforts to monitor and set boundaries on Internet use, as research has shown that children and their parents have different perceptions of monitoring (Wang et al., 2005). On the other hand, some children may seek their parents’ advice on issues of cyberbullying, privacy, and other issues in their online lives.

## Implications

The results presented here have implications for grasping how an understanding of the digital world is conveyed from one generation to the next. This study also points to the need for further research in this area.

The growing importance of “digital cultural capital” (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2019) suggests that parenting on matters of Internet and social media use will become increasingly important over time as the role of these technologies continues to grow. At present, advice on the issue focuses on the risks that these technologies pose rather than the opportunities they present. Even when websites do discuss teaching children about self-presentation online, the focus is on the present moment, such as how a teacher may perceive a student or if their behavior is bullying, rather than on long-term risks or the long-term project of building an online identity. Although some sites note that social media can be a positive tool for communicating and socializing with friends, social media was rarely suggested as a networking tool or a means of developing a “brand.” Some young adults are encouraged to build thorough LinkedIn pages and connect with potential mentors or employers, but this is not at all a common piece of advice on the reviewed webpages. Again, this indicates a lack of information on the potential of social media and the Internet as a means of cultivating digital cultural capital.

As Bourdieu (1997) described, cultural capital is a vital mechanism of success in current society. Given the proliferation of social media and Internet use and the contemporary instances of online behavior influencing educational and occupational opportunities, the issue of digital cultural capital is becoming increasingly relevant to understanding social reproduction in a technologically advanced world. This research finds that the Internet as a site of opportunity rather than risk is mostly absent from websites that offer parents information about their children’s use of these technologies. It would appear both parents and children must seek other sources of information to learn the difference between navigating social media and the Internet with skill and aplomb (high digital cultural capital) and viewing the Internet as a risky tool to be used sparingly (low digital cultural capital).

Although this research makes clear the wide variety of Internet issues addressed in advice to parents and the growing importance of understanding how parents convey digital cultural capital in an advancing society, its limitations need to be acknowledged. More research is needed that connects the sources parents rely on for information and their behavior as parents. Understanding parents' use of advice by socioeconomic background or position is worthwhile research that could further illuminate the questions posed here.

Second, questions regarding information transfer from children to parents need to be examined more systematically. Parents may be learning Internet safety rules and skills from their children. "Reverse socialization" (Grossbart et al., 2001), where in this case older children and teens are more knowledgeable of and connected to the Internet and social media than their parents, may mean that children are teaching parents how to navigate the systems. Older children may be influencing parents' use and perceptions of the benefits of the Internet and social media (Thaichon, 2017) rather than parents teaching children, meaning parents do not need to seek this information online. There are important questions in this area that warrant further attention.

Finally, trend data on these questions could help to illuminate how these issues are changing as the Internet and social media use become ever more central to contemporary society. The data analyzed here were collected in 2018 and 2019, before the COVID-19 pandemic. Pandemic experiences may change the type of advice websites provide as well as the number of and which parents seek advice. Most parents (72%) report children are spending more time in front of screens than before the pandemic, so more parents may be seeking advice on what is safe and healthy for children (McClain et al., 2021). These developments point to a need for additional research to understand who is seeking advice, how that advice may change in an extraordinary context, and how that may change parental behaviors.

A fuller theory of socialization will incorporate a dynamic understanding of the changing landscape of advice, including changes in the technological, educational, employment, and cultural landscape, as well as children's acceptance and resistance to their parent's verbal advice and behavioral examples.

## ORCID

Lauren E. Harris  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5538-2518>

Jerry A. Jacobs  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0809-422X>

## TWITTER

Lauren E. Harris  @lauren\_e\_harris

## REFERENCES

- Anderson, M., & Jiang, J. (2018, May 31). Teens, social media and technology 2018. Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewinternet.org/2018/05/31/teens-social-media-technology-2018/>.
- Auxier, B., Anderson, M., Perrin, A., & Turner, E. (2020, July 28). Parenting children in the age of screens. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2020/07/28/parenting-children-in-the-age-of-screens/>.
- Baker, S., Sanders, M. R., & Morawska, A. (2017). Who uses online parenting support? A cross-sectional survey exploring Australian parents' internet use for parenting. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 26(3), 916–927. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-016-0608-1>
- Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & van IJzendoorn, M. H. (2017). Protective parenting: Neurobiological and behavioral dimensions. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 15, 45–49. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.02.001>
- Bourdieu, P. (1997). The forms of capital. In A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, & A. M. Wells (Eds.), *Education, culture, and society* (pp. 46–58). Oxford University Press.
- Brady, E., & Guerin, S. (2010). "Not the romantic, all happy, cooey coo experience": A qualitative analysis of interactions on an Irish parenting web site. *Family Relations*, 59(1), 14–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2009.00582.x>
- Bryant, J., & Bryant, J. A. (Eds.). (2001). *Television and the American family*. Routledge.
- Castro, I. E., & Clark, J. (Eds.). (2019). *Representing agency in popular culture*. Lexington Books.



- Conversation Guru. (2017). 90% of people don't go past page 1 of the Google Search results when searching for you. <https://www.conversionguru.co.za/2017/05/29/dont-teople-dont-go-past-page-1-google-search-results-searching/>.
- Davis, A. C., Wright, C., Curtis, M., Hellard, M. E., Lim, M. S. C., & Temple-Smith, M. J. (2019). "Not my child": Parenting, pornography, and views on education. *Journal of Family Studies*, 27(4), 537–588. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2019.1657929>
- Duggan, M., Lenhart, A., Lampe, C., & Ellison, N. (2015, July 16). Seeking parenting advice on social media. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2015/07/16/seeking-parenting-advice-on-social-media/>.
- Eastin, M. S., Greenberg, B. S., & Hofschire, L. (2006). Parenting the internet. *Journal of Communication*, 56(3), 486–504.
- Fischer, C. (1992). *America calling: A social history of the telephone to 1940*. University of California Press.
- Giddens, A., Duneier, M., Appelbaum, R. P., & Carr, D. (2018). *Introduction to sociology*. W.W. Norton & Company.
- Glassner, B. (1999). The construction of fear. *Qualitative Sociology*, 22(4), 301–309.
- Grossbart, S., McConnell Hughes, S., Okleshen, C., Nelson, S., Carlson, L., Laczniak, R. N., & Muehling, D. (2001, Winter). Parents, children, and the Internet: Socialization perspectives [Conference proceedings]. *American Marketing Association*, 12(2001), 379–385. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/199491928?accountid=26156>.
- Heitman, J. (2018). *The automobile and American life* (2nd ed.). McFarland & Company.
- Henslin, J. M. (2019). *Essentials of sociology: A down-to-earth approach* (13th ed.). Pearson.
- Hidalgo, L. (2011, August 23). *Dr Spock's baby and child care at 65*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-14534094>.
- Hulbert, A. (2004). *Raising America: Experts, parents and a century of advice about children*. Vintage.
- Johnson, S. A. (2015). "Intimate mothering publics": Comparing face-to-face support groups and Internet use for women seeking information and advice in the transition to first-time motherhood. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 17(2), 237–251. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2014.968807>
- Krawczyk, K. (2014). Google is easily the most popular search engine, but have you heard who's in second? <https://www.digitaltrends.com/web/google-baidu-are-the-worlds-most-popular-search-engines/>.
- Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Landis, J. R., & Koch, G. G. (1977). The measurement of observer agreement for categorical data. *Biometrics*, 33(1), 159–174. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2529310>
- Lupton, D. (2016). The use and value of digital media for information about pregnancy and early motherhood: A focus group study. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth*, 16(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12884-016-0971-3>
- Lupton, D., Pedersen, S., & Thomas, G. M. (2016). Parenting and digital media: From the early web to contemporary digital society. *Sociology Compass*, 10(8), 730–743. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12398>
- McClain, C., Vogels, E. A., Perrin, A., Sechopoulos, S., & Rainie, L. (2021, September 1). The Internet and the pandemic. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2021/09/01/parents-their-children-and-school-during-the-pandemic/>.
- Muñoz, V. L., & Quirke, L. (2021). The joy of foodwork: Allergies, gendered foodwork and emotion work in parenting advice, 1991–2020. *Food, Culture and Society*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2021.1940688>
- Nikken, P., & de Haan, J. (2015). Guiding young children's Internet use at home: Problems that parents experience in their parental mediation and the need for parenting support. *Cyberpsychology*, 9(1), Article 3. <https://doi.org/10.5817/CP2015-1-3>
- Ollier-Malaterre, A., Jacobs, J. A., & Rothbard, N. P. (2019). Technology, work and family: Digital cultural capital and boundary management. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 45(1), 425–447.
- Petrescu, P. (2014). Google organic click-through rates in 2014. <https://moz.com/blog/google-organic-click-through-rates-in-2014>.
- Plantin, L., & Daneback, K. (2009). Parenthood, information and support on the internet. A literature review of research on parents and professionals online. *BMC Family Practice*, 10(1), 34.
- Poblet, M., Teodoro, E., González-Conejero, J., Varela, R., & Casanovas, P. (2017). A co-regulatory approach to stay safe online: Reporting inappropriate content with the MediaKids mobile app. *Journal of Family Studies*, 23(2), 180–197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2015.1106337>
- Porter, N., & Ispa, J. M. (2013). Mothers' online message board questions about parenting infants and toddlers. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 69(3), 559–568. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2012.06030.x>
- Radey, M., & Randolph, K. A. (2009). Parenting sources: How do parents differ in their efforts to learn about parenting? *Family Relations*, 58(5), 536–548. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2009.00573.x>
- Taylor, A. (2010). Troubling childhood innocence: Reframing the debate over the media sexualization of children. *Australian Journal of Early Childhood*, 35(1), 48–57.
- Thaichon, P. (2017). Consumer socialization process: The role of age in children's online shopping behavior. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 34(3), 38–47. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2016.09.007>
- Valentine, G. (1996). Angels and devils: Moral landscapes of childhood. *Environmental and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14(5), 581–599.

- Wajcman, J. (2016). *Pressed for time: The acceleration of life in digital capitalism*. University of Chicago Press.
- Wang, R., Bianchi, S. M., & Raley, S. B. (2005). Teenagers' Internet use and family rules: A research note. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(5), 1249–1258.
- Wyness, M. G. (1996). Policy, protectionism and the competent child. *Childhood*, 3(4), 431–447.
- Zeihner, H. (2001). Children's islands in space and time: The impact of spatial differentiation on children's ways of shaping social life. In M. Du Bois-Reymond, H. Sünker, & H.-H. Krüger (Eds.), *Childhood in Europe: Approaches—trends—findings* (pp. 139–159). Peter Lang, Inc.

## SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

**How to cite this article:** Harris, L. E., & Jacobs, J. A. (2023). Emerging Ideas. Digital parenting advice: Online guidance regarding children's use of the Internet and social media. *Family Relations*, 72(5), 2551–2568. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12813>