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THE PREDICTORS OF SHARENTING ON FACEBOOK
BY PARENTS IN TURKEY

Hale Ögel-Balaban *
Bahçeşehir University, Turkey

Abstract
*Sharenting, parents' sharing of information about their children on social media, is a
common practice, but there is a limited number of studies focusing on its predictors. The
aim of the present study was to examine parents' sharing of their children's photos on
their Facebook account as a sharenting practice in Turkey with its demographic,
Facebook-use- and social-network-related predictors. Nine hundred eighty-four Turkish
parents who have at least one child who is 10 years or younger were contacted online to
complete the demographic information form, the social media use and sharenting form,
and the perceived social support scale. Data from 491 participants (264 female) who
reported to use Facebook and have shared at least one photo of their children on their
own account were analyzed. Special events (birthdays, celebrations), trips/holidays with
children, and activities with the family members/friends were found to be the most
reported contents of the shared photos. Age as a demographic factor; the frequency of
sharing on Facebook as a Facebook-use-related factor; the number of Facebook friends
and the perceived offline social support as social-network-related factors were
demonstrated to predict the frequency of sharenting. These findings were discussed in
terms of parents' motives for sharenting and cultural aspects of sharenting. The
implications of the findings for the identification of the target groups for the preventive
activities focusing on online safety and digital privacy were also mentioned.*

Keywords: sharenting; Facebook; parenting; Turkey

Correspondence concerning this paper should be addressed to:

* PhD, Bahçeşehir University, Department of Psychology, Istanbul Turkey. Address: Çırağan
cad. Osman Paşa Mektebi Sokak, No: 4-6. 34353, Beşiktaş Istanbul, Turkey. E-mail:
hale.ogelbalaban@eas.bau.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0002-3554-5989

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Introduction

Recently, sharenting defined as parents' sharing of information about their children on social network sites (SNSs) occurred as a concept related to parenting practices (Choi & Levallen, 2017). SNSs are "tools for (personal) storytelling and narrative self-presentation" (van Dijck 2013, p. 200). Many parents are using them to display their lives with their children and their children's lives (Bessant, 2018; Brosch, 2016). In a study with US parents of children aged 0-4 years, it was shown that 56% of mothers and 34% of fathers shared issues on parenting and their children's health on SNSs and 74% of parents reported that they knew parents who shared too much about their children including details such as identity, location or embarrassing moments (Davis, 2015). In another study with US parents, Morris (2014) reported that 96.5% of parents shared photos of their children on their own SNS account. In a study with 1000 parents in UK, it was demonstrated that half of parents did not engage in sharenting whereas 20% of them did at least once a month. A more recent study with parents in Czech Republic and Spain indicated that almost 80% of Czech parents and 90% of Spanish parents shared their children's photos on SNSs (Kopecky et al., 2020).

Through sharenting, parents exhibit their lives with their children and reflect themselves, their actions, and their feelings as a parent (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Davidson-Wall, 2018; Holiday et al., 2020). They also manage their impressions on others through creating a positive image of themselves, their children, and their families (Collett, 2005; Davidson-Wall, 2018; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015). The likes, positive comments, and advices from their online community provide emotional and informational support and improve their positive self-view and self-esteem (Bartholomew et al., 2012; Davis, 2015; Duggan et al., 2015; Latipah et al., 2020; McDaniel et al., 2012; Morris, 2014). Moreover, the interactions with the online network provide also a sense of belongingness to the community of parents and a sense of connectedness to the friends and family members (Haslam et al., 2017; Latipah et al., 2020; Lin et al., 1981). Moreover, via sharenting parents archive the memories of their children, allow their online network to follow the development of their children, and share with them their happiness and proud (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Brosch, 2016; Davis, 2015; Duggan et al., 2015; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015; Wagner & Gasche, 2018).

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Sharing children's photos on SNSs is one of the most frequent sharenting practices which has been socially normalized (Brosch 2016; Davidson-Wall 2018). Facebook as an online social media platform that is free, easily available, storing photos with their dates and other relevant details, and providing affordances to manage the disclosure of the shared contents has became a popular medium for this practice (Ammari et al., 2015; Brosch, 2016; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015). Among SNSs, it is the most popular one with the highest number of active users (Digital in 2019, 2019). In a study, Bartholomew et al. (2012) showed that 98% of new US mothers and 83% of new US fathers posted photos of their children on Facebook. Kumar and Schoenebeck (2015) reported that new US mothers shared cute and funny photographs of their children, photographs of firsts and developmental milestones, and photographs depicting their children with the family members. Brosch (2016) showed that 75.5% of photographs on Polish parents' Facebook accounts are containing their child aged between 0 and 8 years. Most of these photos were depicting daily life events like playing, sleeping or eating; outings such as holidays; and special events like birthday parties and Christmas. Moreover, more than half of the parents (67.3%) shared at least one photo that was categorized as embarrassing because of depicting the child nude, semi-nude, funny, or grimy. Marasli et al. (2016) looked also at the extent and the content of information shared by Turkish parents on their own Facebook account. Eighty-five percent of parents reported that they shared information about their children. Special days constituted the mostly shared topic followed by social activities done with the children.

Most studies on sharenting have been focused on the prevalence of sharenting, parents' motivations, and the content of shared information (*e.g*., Brosch, 2016; Holiday et al., 2020; Kumar & Schoenebeck; Morris, 2014). However, there is a need to understand the factors underlying sharenting (Ranzini et al., 2020).

A scarce number of studies have focused on the relationship between gender and sharenting. Bartholomew et al. (2012) showed no gender difference in the frequency of sharenting in new parents whereas Davis (2015) demonstrated that among parents of children aged 0-4 years more mothers shared information about their children than fathers. Considering the findings that age and education level are negatively related to parents' SNSs use whereas perceived financial status is positively related (Gibson & Hanson, 2013; Haslam

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et al., 2017; Madden et al., 2012; Ögel-Balaban & Altan, 2020; McDaniel et al., 2012), these demographic factors can be also expected to be related to sharenting.

Due to the fact that one of the motivations of sharenting is receiving support from the online social network (*e.g.*, Bartholomew et al., 2012; Brosch, 2016, Morris, 2014), the characteristics of parents' online social network might be predictive of their sharenting behaviors. Brosch (2016) demonstrated that the number of the Facebook friends is positively related to the number of shared photos. Kumar and Schoenebeck (2015) reported that parents who received positive responses such as likes and comments from their online friends continued to engage in sharenting practices. Moreover, Ranzini et al. (2020) claimed that parents' networks who are supportive of sharenting influence parents' sharenting practices positively.

Besides these factors, parents' general SNSs use was claimed to be a factor related to their sharenting (Ranzini et al., 2020). The frequency of using SNSs, the frequency of sharing on SNSs, and the length of time having an account, which are suggested to be the indicators of the attitude toward SNSs and the extent of surrendering to the norms of SNSs (Brosch, 2016; Haslam et al., 2017; Jang & Dworkin, 2014), might be positively related to sharenting practices.

Another factor might be the characteristics of parents' offline social network. There are two competing hypotheses on the effect of individual differences in offline social support on SNSs use. According to the social compensation hypothesis, individuals who have scarce offline relationships use SNSs to compensate for the lack of social support ('Poor gets richer') (Valkenburg et al., 2005; Zywica & Danowski, 2008). Alternatively, the social enhancement hypothesis states that individuals with many offline relationships increase their networks, support and popularity further through their online relationships ('Rich gets richer') (Kraut et al., 2002; Valkenburg et al., 2005). Based on the social compensation hypothesis, it can be claimed that parents with low offline social support might share more with their online social network to fulfill their need for social support. In contrast, based on the social enhancement hypothesis, parents who have much offline social support might share more on their online SNSs to further increase their social support.

Objective

The first aim of the present study was to combine the factors mentioned above and analyze them together as predictors of sharenting. The second aim was

to extend the findings of the previous studies which were mostly conducted with parents in Western cultures to a different cultural context, namely the context of Turkey. In Turkey, SNSs are widely used and Facebook is one of the most popular SNSs (Digital 2020, 2020). According to a research report, in Turkey there are 43 millions Facebook users whose 78% are in the child-bearing age range (Kemp, 2019) and sharenting on Facebook is a frequent activity (Marasli et al., 2016). In the present study, the relationship between its frequency and demographic (gender, age, education level, and perceived financial status), Facebook-use-related (the frequency of using Facebook, the frequency of sharing on Facebook, and the length of time having an account), and social-network-related (online social network: the number of friends, the likelihood of friends to like and comment on children's photos; offline social network: offline social support) factors was examined.

Method

Participants

For the present study, 984 parents (450 mothers) living in Turkey were recruited. Most of them were contacted by the undergraduate students in the Psychology Department of Bahçeşehir University and Işık University. Students shared the online link of the study with their family members, relatives, friends, and other contacts. Moreover, the author and her research assistant announced the study in their social media accounts and three Facebook parenting groups. The only inclusion criterion was having at least one child who was 10 years or younger at the time of the study. Most of participants (65.75%) were living in one of the three big cities in Turkey, namely Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. To a nongovernmental organization providing educational opportunities for fatherless and/or motherless students, a donation was made anonymously for all participants. Other than that no incentive was provided to the participants.

Six hundred eighty-six participants (69.72 % of the sample, 342 women) reported to use Facebook. Five hundred fifty-eight of these participants (81.34%, 281 women) reported to have shared at least one photo of their child on their Facebook account and were included in the study. Table 1 provides their demographic characteristics. After two participants who did not report whether they had shared or not any photo of their children were excluded as missing cases, the included participants were compared with those participants who

reported not to have shared any photo of their children. These two groups were found not to differ in terms of their gender, education level and perceived financial status (χ^2(1, N=684)=.31, p>.05; χ^2(3, N=684)=5.90, p>.05; and χ^2(2, N=684)=1.22, p>.05 respectively).

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the participants who reported to have shared photos of their children on their Facebook account (N=558)

Variable	Female (n = 281)			Male (n = 277)		
	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range
Age	35.06	5.46	20-48	38.79	6.59	22-55
Mean age of children	6.57	3.84	1-18	6.86	4.12	0-20
Duration of marriage (in years)	9.96	5.26	2-26	11.26	6.06	1-32
Variable	*Mode*	*Range*		*Mode*	*Range*	
Number of children	1	1-5		2	1-5	
Variable	n	%		n	%	
Marital Status						
Married	267	95.02		271	97.83	
Single	14	4.98		6	2.17	
Education Level						
Primary-secondary	23	8.19		32	11.55	
High school	82	29.18		73	26.35	
University	138	49.11		148	53.43	
Postgraduate	38	13.52		24	8.66	
Employment						
Full-time	107	38.08		256	92.47	
Part-time	19	6.76		11	3.97	
Home office	16	5.69		6	2.17	
Not working	139	49.47		4	1.44	
Perceived Financial status						
Low	9	3.20		14	5.05	
Middle	148	52.67		142	51.26	
High	124	44.13		121	43.68	

Instruments

     Demographic Information Form. The demographic information form included questions about the age, the education level, the perceived financial status of the participants; and the number, age, and gender of the participants' children.

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Social Media Use and Sharenting Form. The first part of the form included items on the frequency of Facebook use (1- very rarely (few times a year or less) to 4- very frequently (once and more a day), the frequency of sharing posts on Facebook (1- very rarely (few times a year or less) to 4- very frequently (once and more a day), and the length of time having a Facebook account (1-0-3 years to 4- more than 10 years). The second part on sharenting consisted of items about the frequency of sharing photos of children on Facebook (1-less than few times a year to 4- few times a week or more) and the contents of the photos. The contents including special events such as birthdays and new year celebrations, trips/holidays with children, times with family and friends, sportive/social activities with children, and children's sportive/social activities, achievements, funny moments, firsts, daily routines, and unhappy moments were adapted from Brosch (2016) and Kumar and Schoenebeck (2015). The form also contained items on the online social network including the number of Facebook friends, the ratio of Facebook friends liking children's photos (1-less than half to 3-more than half), and the ratio of Facebook friends commenting on children's photos (1-less than half to 3-more than half).

Perceived Social Support Scale. The perceived social support scale was used to assess perceived offline social support received by the participants from their family, friends, and spouse. It included 12 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Six of them were modified from the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) developed by Zimet et al. (1988) and adapted to Turkish by Eker et al. (2001). They were on general social and emotional support from the family and the friends. Three items were constructed to measure the extent of support received from the spouse, the parents, and the friends with respect to parenting. The remaining three items were on the strength of the relationship with the spouse, the parents, and the friends after having children. The Cronbach's alpha of the scale was found to be .85. The sum of the scores on all items constructed the perceived offline social support score.

Procedure

The participants completed the consent form and the instruments anonymously online via a survey software. The instruments were presented in the following order: the demographic information form, the social media use and sharenting form and the perceived social support scale. The participants

were asked to answer the questions about their children through considering only their children who are 10 years old or younger.

Results

All statistical analyses were performed with SPSS 24. Prior to analysis, data were screened for the presence of univariate and multivariate outliers. The cases with standardized scores higher than 3.29 were treated as outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014). Twenty-nine cases with high z-scores on the number of Facebook friends and fifteen cases with high z-scores on the ratio of Facebook friends commenting on children's photos were identified as univariate outliers and removed. As shown in Table 1, the number of participants with the low perceived financial status was only 23. Because of the low size of this group of participants, their data were also excluded. Four hundred ninety-one participants (264 mothers) remained for the following analyses. The assumptions of the normality of the sampling distribution were met, thus no transformation was conducted (Field, 2009; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2014).

To explore the contents of the photos shared by the participants, descriptive statistics were run. Table 2 depicts the reported frequency of the contents of the shared photos. Table 3 displays the participants' responses on the items related to the frequency of sharenting and Facebook use. In addition, the mean number of friends was 328.82 (SD=225.90; *Range*=2-1050) and the mean of the offline social support score was 45.81 (SD=7.38; *Range*=14-60).

Table 2. Frequency of the reported content of the children's photos shared by the participants on their Facebook account (N=491)

Content	*n*	*%*
Special events (birthdays, new year celebration)	360	73.32
Trips/holidays with children	292	59.47
Times with family and friends	263	53.56
Sportive/social activities with children	182	37.07
Children's sportive/social activities	164	33.40
Children's achievements	140	28.51
Children's funny moments	130	26.48
Children's firsts (first smile, walk, tooth etc.)	121	24.64
Children's daily routines (sleeping, eating)	62	12.1
Children's unhappy moments	9	1.83

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Table 3. Frequencies and percentages for sharenting-, Facebook-use- and online-social-network-related items

Items	n	%
Frequency of sharenting		
Less than few times a year	137	28.07
Few times a year	192	39.34
Few times a month	122	25.00
Few times a week or more	37	7.58
Length of time having a Facebook account		
0-3 years	36	7.39
4-7 years	137	28.13
8-10 Ears	178	36.55
>10 years	136	28.27
Frequency of visiting Facebook account		
Very rarely (few times a year or less)	273	55.60
Rarely (few times a month)	42	8.55
Frequently (few times a week)	40	8.32
Very frequently (once and more a day)	136	28.27
Frequency sharing a post on Facebook account		
Very rarely (few times a year or less)	164	33.40
Rarely (few times a month)	181	36.86
Frequently (few times a week)	113	23.01
Very frequently (once and more a day)	33	6.72
Ratio of Facebook friends liking photos		
Less than half	172	35.39
Half	124	25.51
More than half	190	39.33
Ratio of Facebook friends commenting on photos		
Less than half	363	74.54
Half	82	16.94
More than half	42	8.62

To analyze whether age, gender, education level and perceived financial status had an effect on sharenting frequency, a 4 (education level) x 2 (perceived financial status) x 2 (gender) ANCOVA with age as the covariate; education level, perceived financial status, and gender as the independent between-subjects variables; and the frequency of sharing children's photos (1: less than a few times a year - 4: a few times a week or more) as the dependent variable was run. The effect of age as the covariate was found to be significant, $F(1, 471)=7.12$, $p<.008$, $\eta_p^2=.02$, observed power=.76. The effect of the education level was also significant, $F(3, 471)=6.20$, $p<.000$, $\eta_p^2=.04$, observed

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power=.96. Repeated contrasts indicated that there was no difference between primary-secondary school graduates and high school graduates. High school graduates shared more than university graduates who did not differ from the participants with an education level higher than university. The effect of gender and the effect of perceived financial status were not significant, $F(1, 471)=.03$, $p>.05$ and $F(1, 471)=.01$, $p>.05$, respectively. None of the two and three way interactions was significant.

To analyze the relationship between the frequency of sharenting and Facebook-use- and social-network-related factors, first correlation analyses were conducted. The frequency of sharing children's photos on Facebook was found to be positively correlated with the frequency of sharing a post on Facebook, the number of Facebook friends, the ratio of friends liking children's photos, the ratio of friends commenting on children's photos, and perceived offline social support score (*see* Table 4).

Table 4. Correlations between the frequency of sharing children's photos on Facebook account, Facebook-use-, offline-relationship-related factors

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.Frequency of sharenting	1	.00	.17***	-.03	.54***	.12*	.14**	.17***
2. Length of account		1	.26***	-.05	-.05	-.20***	-.14**	-.07
3. Number of friends			1	.15**	.12*	-.18***	-.08	.09
4. Frequency of using				1	.03	.08	.11*	.18***
5. Frequency of sharing					1	.07	.12**	.09
6. Ratio of likes						1	.52***	.14**
7. Ratio of comments							1	.16**
8. Social support score								1

Note: $^*p<.05$, $^{**}p<.01$, $^{***}p<.001$

The predictive effect of the significantly correlated variables was analyzed further via hierarchical regression analysis. The sample size was suitable for the regression analysis considering the number of possible predictors (Field, 2009). The demographic factors were entered in the first step, the Facebook-use related factors in the second step, and the social-network-related factors in the third step. The variance inflation factor (VIF) values were close to 1 (ranging between 1.02 and 1.29 in different steps of the analyses) and the tolerance statistics were above 0.2 indicating no multicollinearity.

Table 5. Summary of hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting the frequency of sharing children's photos on Facebook

	Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficient		
	B	SE	ß	t	p
1 (Constant)	3.13	.30		10.30	.000
Age	-.02	.01	-.11	-2.36	.019*
Education	-.16	.05	-.15	-3.02	.003**
2 (Constant)	1.94	.27		7.14	.000
Age	-.02	.01	-.13	-3.28	.001**
Education	-.07	.05	-.07	-1.61	.109
Frequency of sharing	.53	.04	.54	13.15	.000***
3 (Constant)	1.16	.35		3.37	.001
Age	-.02	.01	-.14	-3.49	.001**
Education	-.08	.05	-.07	-1.71	.089
Frequency of sharing	.49	.04	.51	12.36	.000***
Number of friends	.00	.00	.11	2.56	.011*
Ratio of likes	.02	.05	.02	.31	.754
Ratio of comments	.11	.07	.08	1.58	.114
Social support score	.15	.06	.11	2.60	.010*

Note: $^*p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

As shown in Table 5, in the first step of the regression analysis, the predictive effect of age and education level were tested through the enter method. The model was found to be significant, $R^2=.03$, Adjusted $R^2=.03$, $F(2, 421)=7.10$, p<.001. Age and education level were found to be significant predictors. In the second step, the frequency of sharing a post was included through the enter method. The model was found to be significant, $R^2=.32$, Adjusted $R^2=.31$, $F(3, 420)=64.29$, p<.000. Age and the frequency of sharing a post on Facebook were shown to be the significant predictors. In the last step, the number of Facebook friends, the ratio of friends liking children's photos, the ratio of friends commenting on children's photos, and the total support score were included through the enter method. The model was found to be significant, $R^2=.35$, Adjusted $R^2=.34$, $F(7, 416)=31.49$, p<.000. Age, the frequency of sharing a post, the number of Facebook friends, and the perceived offline social support score were found to be significant predictors.

Discussion

The present study examined parents' sharing of their children's photos on Facebook as a sharenting practice in Turkey with its predictors. It demonstrated that 81% of parents who have a Facebook account have shared at least one photo of their children on their own account. Supporting previous studies (*e.g.*, Barholomew et al., 2012; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015; Morris, 2014), this finding showed the high prevalence of sharing children's photos as a sharenting practice. Mothers and fathers did not differ in having shared their children's photos and how often they have shared their children's photos. Extending previous finding of Bartholomew et al. (2012) on new parents, the present study suggested that mothers and fathers of children aged between 0 and 10 years are engaging in this sharenting practice to the same extent and supported the idea that "sharenting is not gender specific" (Fox & Hoy, 2019, p. 414).

Special events such as birthdays, trips/holidays with the children, and activities with family members and friends were demonstrated to be the most reported contents of the shared photos. Previous analyses of the content of the photos posted by US and Polish parents demonstrated similar frequently shared contents (Brosch, 2016; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015). However, they have also demonstrated that children's daily activities, firsts, and developmental milestones are among the most frequent contents of the shared photos (Brosch, 2016; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015). In the present study with parents in Turkey, these contents were not found to be as frequent as the activities done with parents, family members, and friends. Trying to control their impressions on others, parents might engage in sharenting to represent themselves, their children, and their families in a positive way; and probably in accordance with the cultural norms and expectations. Because of the fact that in Turkish culture having intimate relationships with the family members and friends is valued (Hofstede, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), Turkish parents might be motivated to present these relationships online to create a positive image of themselves and their children. On the other hand, due to the fact that in Western cultures like US and Polish autonomy and self-actualization are valuable, parents in these cultures may be motivated to portray their children reaching developmental milestones and achieving daily activities individually. One common feature of the contents of the shared photos across studies in different

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cultures is that they depict children mostly in happy moments compared to unhappy ones (Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015). This might be because of parents' self-presentation motive. Through presenting their children as happy, they might control directly their children's impression and indirectly their own impression as a parent (Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015, Pauwels, 2008). A study by Park et al. (2011) demonstrated that the positivity of the information disclosed on Facebook contributes to the relational intimacy. The preference for sharing happy instances can be explained with regards to this finding. Through sharing happy moments, parents might be trying to feel connected to their online social network (Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015).

Among the demographic factors, age was found to be a significant predictor of the sharenting frequency. Younger parents were demonstrated to share their children's photos more. This negative relationship is in line with the findings of the previous studies on parents' SNS use (*e.g.*, Haslam et al., 2017; Madden et al., 2012; Ögel-Balaban & Altan, 2020). One reason for this relationship might be that younger parents have younger children and are less experienced compared to the older ones; therefore they might need more their online network for the reassurance of their parenting and the development of their children. Another possible reason might be the higher familiarity with and more positive attitude toward SNSs of younger parents compared to the older ones (Gibson & Hanson, 2013; Haslam et al., 2017). The education level was found to be another demographic factor related to the sharenting frequency. Parents with higher education level were found to engage less frequently in sharenting behaviors. They might be more aware of the risks of sharenting for their children or might have more concerns for their children's privacy compared to parents with lower education level. Future research might explore these possibilities further. The predictive effect of education level disappeared in the regression analysis after the Facebook-use- and social-network-related factors were included. This indicated that the effects of these other factors are more important than the effect of education.

Among the Facebook-use related factors, the frequency of sharing on Facebook was demonstrated to be a predictor of sharenting frequency. This finding is consistent with Ranzini et al.'s (2020) finding on sharenting practices of parents in the United Kingdom on a different SNS, namely Instagram. Research has demonstrated that the attitude toward and the comfort with technology, and internet self-efficacy are related to the frequency of social

media use (Haslam et al., 2017; Jang & Dworkin, 2014). Parents who share more on their Facebook account might be more familiar with this particular social media platform, have a more positive attitude toward it, and feel more comfortable on it. Thus, they might also prefer to share their children's photos more on it. Another explanation of the relationship between the general Facebook sharing and sharenting might be based on the idea that through sharenting parents do not narrate about their children, but about themselves via depicting their children in their posts as an extension of themselves (Holiday et al., 2020). Holiday et al. (2020) claimed that because parents think of their children as objects of possession, they did not consider any difference in their posts with or without their children and by using their children as supplementary for their identity as a parent, they share the photos including their children as frequently as the ones without them.

The perceived offline social support was found to be one of the social-network-related predictors of the frequency of sharenting. The positive relationship between the sharenting frequency and the perceived offline social support suggested that parents with higher offline social support shared their children's photos more frequently. The perceived offline social support was also found to be related positively to the ratio of friends commenting on and liking the photos of children. These findings supported the social enhancement hypothesis and suggested that for parents with high level of offline social support sharenting is a way of increasing further their social support in online platforms.

The number of Facebook friends was another predictor of Facebook sharenting. Consistent with Brosch's (2016) study, the present study indicated that parents with more friends share their children's photos more frequently. The ratio of friends liking or commenting on these photos was not found to be a predictor of sharenting frequency. Taken together, these findings suggested that the sole presence of friends, who see the photos; but not an active interaction with them, influences the frequency of sharenting practice. Only the declaration of the parenthood and the presentation of the completion of the related tasks might be enough for the parents to fulfill their self-expression; thus no feedback from the online friends might be necessary. However, Kumar and Schoenebeck (2015) have demonstrated that receiving likes and comments on their children's photos from their Facebook network is an important type of validation of parenthood for U.S. parents. The difference between the present study and

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Kumar and Schoenebeck's study implies that the lack of the predictive effect of active feedback from the online networks on the frequency of sharenting practice might be specific to the Turkish culture. In Turkey, parents support their children even in their adulthood (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca 2005). Close relationships between relatives are important for the functioning of the families and tasks such as child-rearing are performed together via emotional and instrumental support in the kin networks (Ataca et al., 2005). In other words, Turkish parents received parenting related feedback from their own parents or close relatives; thus feedback from their online networks might not be significant for them. Future cross-cultural studies are necessary in order to reveal culture-general and culture-specific patterns of and motivations for sharenting.

The present study has several limitations. First, it operationalized sharenting only as sharing children's photos on Facebook which has been shown as a frequent sharenting practice. Parents also share their children's experiences, behavioral or emotional problems and personal identification information on Facebook and other social media platforms via contents like status updates and comments (Ammari et al., 2015; Choi & Lewallen, 2017; Fox & Hoy, 2019; Gibson & Hanson, 2013; Marasli et al., 2016; Morris, 2014). Future research examining other sharenting practices on different social media platforms will provide more insight into sharenting. Secondly, because of the lack of quantitative studies on sharenting (Ranzini et al., 2020), the current study aimed to bring together the predictors related to the different aspects of SNSs use in an explanatory way. However, studies based on prominent theories will provide a better understanding of the mechanisms underlying sharenting (Ranzini et al., 2020). Thirdly, the present data are based on the self-report of the parents and the correlational design of the study does not allow any inferences about the causal relationships. Further longitudinal studies combining multiple methodologies such as content analysis, interviews, observations and questionnaires might shed additional insight into sharenting behaviors. Moreover, although the size of the present sample was high, it consisted of mostly middle-class, computer literate parents. This limits the generalizability of the findings.

In conclusion, the present study contributes to the growing field of research on sharenting via offering insight into the predictors of sharenting. It combined the demographic, Facebook-use related, and social- network-related

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antecedents of sharenting on Facebook; and demonstrated that age as a demographic factor; the frequency of sharing on Facebook as a Facebook-use-related factor; and perceived offline social support and the number of Facebook friends as offline-relationship-related factors predicted the frequency of sharenting. Although the present study focused on parents' sharenting practices, there are serious child-related issues with respect to sharenting. Sharenting creates critical security risks such as sharing of children's photos further by known or unknown audiences without parents' permission or stealing of the photos and identity information of the children without parents' knowledge (Ammari et al., 2015; Brosch, 2016; O'Neill, 2015). Furthermore, through sharenting without their children's consent and sharing too much or inappropriate information about their children, parents disrespect their children's privacy (Ammari, Kumar, Lampe, & Schoenebeck, 2015; Kopechky et al., 2020; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015). Children get an online identity or digital image long before they themselves are ready to construct it. Whether they will like or dislike it in the future and how it will influence their self-image and their perception of privacy are critical questions to be considered by parents (Brosch, 2016). Because of these issues, there is a need for public policies and preventive activities such as lectures or seminars focusing on risks of sharenting and other aspects of online safety and digital privacy such as the use of SNSs and internet addiction (Fox & Hoy, 2019; Kopecky et al., 2020). The present study provides some implications for the identification of the target groups and contents of these preventive strategies.

Ethics statement

This study was carried out in accordance with the recommendations of the Research Ethics Committee of Bahçeşehir University. The protocol was approved by Bahçeşehir University. In accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki, all participants gave written informed consent for their participation in the study.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author declares no potential conflicts of interest.

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