„Wychowanie w Rodzinie" t. XXXI (2/2024)

Alicja MIRONIUK[*]

Insta parenting – a few words on social media as a space for parental skills development

Instarodzicielstwo, czyli media społecznościowe jako przestrzeń rozwoju kompetencji rodzicielskich

Abstract

Aim. Social media is becoming an increasingly important space of activity in modern information societies. This phenomenon is perfectly illustrated by the specific evolution of Instagram – from a form of a visual, spontaneous, online "diary" and an entertainment medium – to a space for organizing political campaigns or the emancipation of minority groups. Among the diverse topics of Instagram narratives, from a pedagogical perspective, the content published by parents and those addressed to parents is of particular interest. This includes, for example, instamothers activity and sharenting. The aim of the article is to present an analysis of randomly selected Instagram accounts (by searching for the phrase #upbringing) in terms of the content published on them regarding upbringing. The aim of the article is to answer the following questions: How do Internet

---

[*] **e-mail: alicja.mironiuk@uwr.edu.pl**
University of Wroclaw, Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences, Institute of Pedagogy, Dawida 1, 54-238 Wrocław, Poland
Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Pedagogicznych, Instytut Pedagogiki, Dawida 1, 54-238 Wrocław, Polska
ORCID: 0000-0002-6587-4337

creators perceive upbringing? and What pedagogical (educational) content can parents find on Instagram?

Methods and materials. As part of the analysis of the desk research perspective (analysis of existing data – in this case, posts published on Instagram). Posts on accounts extracted in Instagram Search come from the source of the available content.

Results. The content of the analysed posts presents parenthood as a complex experience. On the other hand, the Instagram narrative about upbringing fits into the current pedagogical discourse. Posts on parenting accounts are primarily about understanding emotions and working constructively with them – of the child, the parent, and the parent in the relationship with the child. Another popular topic is supporting communication between parents and children, as well as looking for an alternative to upbringing without penalties and rewards (which is not the same as upbringing without setting any boundaries). The published posts included examples of sharenting and considerable advertising content.

Keywords: social media, Instagram, upbringing, parental competences, pedagogy, sharenting.

Abstrakt

Cel. Media społecznościowe stają się coraz ważniejszą przestrzenią aktywności we współczesnych społeczeństwach informacyjnych. Zjawisko to doskonale ilustruje ewolucja Instagrama – od formy wizualnego, spontanicznego „pamiętnika" online i medium rozrywki, po przestrzeń organizowania kampanii politycznych czy emancypacji grup mniejszościowych. Z perspektywy pedagogicznej szczególne zainteresowanie budzą treści publikowane przez rodziców, a także te do nich skierowane. Należą do nich, przykładowo, aktywność instamatek i *sharenting*. Celem artykułu jest zaprezentowanie analizy instagramowych kont, które zostały wybrane losowo (przez wyszukiwanie hasła #wychowanie), pod kątem publikowanych na nich treści dotyczących wychowania oraz odpowiedź na pytania: *Jak wychowanie postrzegają internetowi twórcy?* oraz *Jakie treści pedagogiczne (wychowawcze) mogą wyszukać na Instagramie rodzice?*

Metody i materiały. W badaniu przyjęto perspektywę *desk research* (analizę danych zastanych – w tym przypadku postów opublikowanych na Instagramie). Posty na kontach wyłonionych w wyszukiwarce Instagrama przeanalizowano w oparciu o metodę analizy treści.

Wyniki. Treści analizowanych postów prezentują rodzicielstwo jako złożone doświadczenie. Instagramowa narracja o wychowaniu dobrze wpisuje się w aktualny dyskurs pedagogiczny. Posty na kontach parentingowych dotyczą przede wszystkim rozumienia emocji i konstruktywnej pracy z nimi – dziecka, rodzica, a także rodzica w relacji z dzieckiem. Inny popularny temat to wspieranie komunikacji rodziców i dzieci, a także poszukiwanie alternatywy dla wychowania bez kar i nagród (co nie jest tożsame z wychowaniem bez

stawiania jakichkolwiek granic). Wśród publikowanych postów znalazły się przykłady *sharentingu* i liczne treści reklamowe.

Słowa kluczowe: media społecznościowe, Instagram, wychowanie, kompetencje rodzicielskie, pedagogizacja, *sharenting*.

The narrative on the importance of new media in education usually focuses on one group of users – school students. Observing their daily practices concerning the use of new media (most often via mobile devices), as well as the content they publish, prompts reflections on the undervalued importance of modern media education. Topics such as the tabletisation of childhood (see e.g., Gruszczyk-Kolczyńska, 2017), phonoholism, or cyberbullying are widely known and present in pedagogical discourse. Understanding the formative importance of new media for students is now standard, however, discussion of parents' digital practices is less common. An analysis of this phenomenon seems relevant for several reasons:

- parents as adults have virtually unlimited access to social media applications. In theory – according to the rules of TikTok, Facebook, or Instagram – this possibility is not available to children under the age of 13;
- parents are children's first intermediaries in the media world, and digital initiation usually takes place in the family home (see e.g., Rowicka, Bujalski, 2020). Thus, children's media (digital) practices are shaped by their parents' practices;
- parental practices of new media use are invisible in the school space and are thus less described in pedagogical discourse.

Similar to traditional media (radio, television), new media are also constantly evolving, which has meant that they have long ceased to be solely a space for communication, community building, or an entertainment medium to transform into a tool for promoting chosen lifestyles, building personal brands and even political campaigning (Kampka, 2020). Interestingly, the social media space appears to be a source of substantive discourse on (informed) parenting – in other words – parents are increasingly defining their social role and looking online for information on how to be a good parent. The object of this article will therefore be to analyse the discourse of parenting on Instagram.

Instagram – from visual medium to information source

What is Instagram? This seemingly simple question is accompanied by a palette of constantly changing (updating) answers. This definitional elusiveness points to the evolution of the medium from the service's inception in 2010 as a tool aimed at iPhone users (Mieczkowska, 2021) to an app with 2 billion monthly active users. According to Search Engine Journal (Walsh, 2024), Instagram is the third most popular social media platform, second only to Facebook and YouTube (3 billion and 2.5 billion users respectively). Interestingly, the medium whose number of users approaches Instagram's statistics is TikTok (1.5 billion). As Agnieszka Kampka (2020) points out, although all the aforementioned services share attributes such as persistence, repetition, scalability and searchability, each is based on a unique combination of aesthetics, grammar and logic, creating a specific communication model. According to the researcher: "[...] while Twitter [now X] is for link and information exchange, Facebook for social communication, Flickr for photo archiving, Instagram is for aesthetic visual communication" (Kampka, 2020, p. 89).

Instagram is a free app and social network where users (after creating an account) can publish and comment on content. Sharing and searching for original material is facilitated through the use of keywords – *hashtags* (#), *likes,* and *shares* that determine the visibility of the content. Instagram's logo, inspired by the look of a Polaroid camera, in addition to acting as a visual identity, suggests a form of narrative – spontaneous, everyday, imperfect. As the "Polaroid of the Internet 2.0," Instagram initially encouraged users to publish posts in a form that was the virtual equivalent of an instant photo. Today, Instagram posts include not only photos but also video (testimonials, live video broadcasts, or reels), reminiscent of the narrative of its biggest competitor, TikTok. Furthermore, although Instagram by design promotes spontaneity in content, it does not have to be imperfect or unsightly – with the possibility of numerous filters and background music, Instagram posts become multimedia clips.

The aforementioned changes in social media outline the challenges of studying Instagram discourse. Although it originated as a form of mobile photography (Manovich, 2017), a methodology for analysing images is not sufficient in the case of Instagram for a very mundane reason – due to the amount of content published, its content is impossible to describe accurately; moreover, posts (both globally and locally[*]) are growing at an exponential rate. Furthermore, the way the photos are presented (also in terms of the filters used) or their subject matter exemplifies the visual poetics of the "here and now," which points to another important feature of Instagram – its communicativeness.

---

[*] Distinguished, for example, by hashtags in national languages.

The mentioned feature of the medium in question is realised through a unique combination of image and description. Although the publication of a post is legitimised by a photo (and sometimes by a slide with text), the entire narrative of the message is very often complemented by a description – visual (*emoji*), interactive (*hashtag*), or linear (*text*). According to Marta Jarosz, it is the description and also the comments (*discussion*) under the posts that determine the interaction of the audience:

> That this is the case may be convinced by the fact that many of the photo descriptions end with a direct turn to the observers – a clearly worded question or a request to comment on the indicated topic – which gives rise to the discussion taking place in the comments (Jarosz, 2019, p. 55).

Users (*influencers*), especially popular ones (observed by others), form communicative communities – "social groups whose members feel the need to exchange information and fulfil this need" (Jarosz, 2019, p. 55). The tools for communication and interaction between creators and audiences are taking on more and more new forms – these can include Q&A (*questions and answers*) sessions, as well as reels that are Instagram's response to the popularity of the aforementioned TikTok.

Instagram's communicativeness and interactivity make it an increasingly popular tool for moderating reality, providing a medium for sharing the private lives of its users (Rybacka, 2018). This authenticity, although increasingly consciously created for influencer accounts, causes users to perceive the published content as friendly advice, honest opinions or proven solutions. The described phenomenon perfectly complements the evolution of Instagram as a space for visual communication (publishing spontaneous photos and videos), interactive communication (discussions and integrations between community members gathered around selected influencers) to commercial and professional communication (related to the transmission of substantive content, some of which justifies the promotion of selected products). The combination of these three dimensions results in a clash between two perspectives of critical analysis of Instagram. As Miłosz Babecki (2018) points out, the first group – social media critics – sees the Internet as a postmodern information dump, overflowing with "cute cats" and "happy dogs" and an essential pillar of "trash culture." The second group considers Instagram as a medium equivalent to television or radio, a virtual advertising communication tool. In this sense, it is impossible to ignore "[…] the transformative potential of a medium which, having a virtual form, can, under certain defined conditions, serve to achieve real objectives and the effects" (Babecki, 2018, p. 12).

E-parents or a few words about the practices of Polish parents on Instagram

In early 2024, there were 31.1 % of Polish internet users logged on to Instagram, of which 59.7 % were women and 40.3 % were men (Kemp, 2024). The cited data confirm the continued numerical predominance of women as social media users (Krasnova, Mizera-Pęczek, 2022), so it is no coincidence that one of the most popular contents on the Polish Internet concerns parenting topics.

One of the more interesting phenomena fitting into the aforementioned trend is the activity of parenting Instagrammers (otherwise also referred to as "instamothers"), understood as mothers documenting the experience of motherhood on Instagram. Aleksandra Maria Rybacka (2018), describing the activity of instamothers, pointed to an exponential increase in the number of posts bearing the hashtag #instamatka [#instamother] – in 2016, there were 1,478 posts, while in 2017, there were 13,356 posts. Complementing the statistics provided by A. Rybacka, we see that in July 2024, already 579,000 posts were tagged with the aforementioned label.

The instamother image is an example of moderating (or creating) reality for several reasons. Firstly, it creates an image of an ideal or "aesthetic" motherhood, to attract the attention of other users and build a community – from the perspective of a group of potential recipients of advertising content[*]. The second reason for consciously publishing posts is to try to maintain privacy – their own and their children's. For security reasons, instamothers are increasingly aware of the consequences of sharing both images of their children and information about the habits of the family or the health of its members. An example of overstepping the boundaries of privacy is photos of (partially) undressed children, whose hygienic (such as bathing) or physiological activities (such as weaning) are documented in the form of an Instagram "diary'" of the parents. However, it seems that more and more instamothers are aware that this type of content can be exploited by cybercriminals, including those with paedophilic tendencies.

Analysing the profiles of instamothers, A. Rybacka (2018) points to five expressive models:

– Model I – involves an analysis of account descriptions. In each of them, it is indicated that the person running it is a mother, at the same time suggesting the topic of the published content.
– Model II – concerns the analysis of photographs, most of which feature children alone or with their mothers (the authors of the profile). This procedure

---

[*] It is worth noting that posts showing motherhood with a wink are also growing in popularity on Instagram. An example is the hashtag *matkawariatka* [#crazymother], which has been used to label 360,000 posts.

is intended, according to the researcher, to define women as mothers, for whom motherhood is a central and identity-building experience.

– Model III – the photos published on the account are posed and studied, rarely of a spontaneous nature. The photos, often so-called "selfies," present smiling instamothers, their children and (less frequently) their husbands.

– Model IV – photos presenting a positive image of motherhood, e.g., smiling mothers and their children. In the aforementioned photos, the natural difficulties experienced by parents and children are passed over as content that does not fit into the narrative of success or, worse, deters observers. In this view, models III and IV intertwine.

– Model V – lifestyle photos: depicting meals, home *décor* or clothing with selected brand names highlighted. This builds the image of the "inspirational mother," whose actions can provide the impulse for others. This model is characterised by a question at the end of the post, the aim of which is to start a discussion in the comments and engage observers.

Anna Krasnova and Patrycja Mizera-Pęczek (2022) indicate another dimension of instamothers activity in their study. The authors investigated posts published by female users with a diverse range of reach (from very popular to not so popular), tagged with the hashtag *#mamawracadopracy* [#mumbacktowork] in the linguistic and visual spheres using a qualitative study of the analysis of the data found. Although, as they point out, it is difficult to draw clear-cut conclusions from the study, which primarily becomes an impulse to "reflect on women's freedom to decide what their motherhood should look like" (Krasnova, Mizera-Pęczek, 2022, p. 51), the researchers formulate three groups of conclusions:

1. In the analysed Instagram posts, returning to work appears to be a stressful situation, more often described with negative hashtags *(#będzieciezko, #bedziebolalo, #trudnewybory, #trudnechwile* [(#willbehard, #willhurt, #difficultchoices, #difficultmoments]) than positive ones (only three authors used the hashtag *#bedziedobrze* [#willbefine]). In the users' posts, however, the short-term concerns mentioned are combined with a positive long-term perspective, in which the women emphasise the importance of returning to work (so-called "reboarding") for their well-being and sense of agency, and competence.

2. Among the main difficulties, the authors of the posts point to the provision of childcare, the process of adaptation to a new rhythm of functioning by both mothers (to work) and the child (to the childminder, nursery, or kindergarten), the need for effective time management and reorganisation of family life, and the substantive challenges of reintegrating into the work environment.

3. The return to work is accompanied by a whole range of feelings. Although, as mentioned, it causes stress and anxiety, the family, especially the relationship with the child, is a source of positive emotions. Despite the anxiety, returning to work has a positive effect on self-esteem and a sense of self-acceptance. The three main groups of tasks of mothers returning to work according to the authors of Instagram posts are: related to the child, housekeeping and their own person (Krasova, Mizera-Pęczek, 2022).

Interestingly, parenting content on Instagram is also of interest to expectant parents. Paulina Mieczkowska's (2021) study explored how mothers-to-be, who are also pedagogy students, use Instagram as a tool to influence their lives. This is an interesting perspective because parents and family are, by definition, intentional but unprofessional parenting environments; the research group selected by P. Mieczkowska, on the other hand, somewhat imposes the filter of professionalism resulting from the specialisation studied on this perspective. Of the 31 female respondents, 4 stated that they changed their perception of Instagram during pregnancy by seeking knowledge on the profiles of people who had already become parents. The largest number – 22 of the respondents looked to this medium for broad inspiration and 16 for motivation for their future life roles. As many as 22 respondents drew information from Instagram about how to take care of their bodies during pregnancy and after childbirth, followed by 14 respondents who indicated that Instagram was a source of their fashion inspiration during pregnancy. In addition, half of the respondents indicated that pregnancy has influenced them to change the profiles they follow, with 71% of them following the profile of Dr Nicole Sochacki-Wójcicka (*Mama Ginekolog* [Mama Gynaecologist]). Interestingly, 41.9% of respondents said that Instagram is a source of knowledge for them about pregnancy, with a further 29% referring negatively to the informative function of the said medium.

Another phenomenon observed in parents' social media activity is *sharenting*. This term is a combination of the two English words *share* and *parenting* meaning to perform a parental role (the fact of being a parent itself, meanwhile, describes the word *parenthood*) (Brosch, 2017). According to Anna Borkowska, it is:

[...] regular posting by parents on the Internet, mainly on social networks (such as Facebook, Instagram or TikTok, which has been gaining popularity in recent years), blogs, discussion forums, of detailed information, photos and videos of their children's lives (Borkowska, 2020, p. 7).

Research by Marta Bierca and Alicja Wysocka-Świtała (2019) reveals that 40% of Polish parents document their children's adolescence on social media, with 81% of them rating this activity as positive or neutral. In contrast, 52% of parents who do

not publish photos of their children rate the phenomenon of *sharenting* negatively. According to the survey, parents who publish photos of their children do so with varying frequency – from several times a day (3%) to once every few months (the highest number, 33% of respondents). The most popular subject of the published photos is special events, e.g., the child's birthday or the end of the school year (75% of published content), followed by everyday situations (46%), the child's successes and achievements (44%), the child's next developmental stage, e.g., the first step (34%) or funny life situations (30%). In the case of 37% of parents, the aforementioned content is published to a small group of close friends, i.e., up to 20 people, 42% of parents present content with their child's image to a group of up to 200 friends and 20% to a group of more than 200 people (further friends and strangers). The diversity of parents' *sharenting* activity translates into its types, which, according to Wiktoria Grabalska and Rafał Wielki (2022), include:

- *oversharenting* – excessive sharing of child-related content on social media. It is very common for parents to run their children's profiles "on their behalf," with content posted on them directed at other children and parents;
- *parental trolling* – sharing content that shows children in compromising or difficult situations. By publishing such hurtful material, parents appear to show a distance from parenting and an inappropriate sense of humour. This example of *sharenting* can have legal consequences, as evidenced by a 2017 ruling by a Polish court to restrict the freedom of a father who published a photo of his son in a "funny" situation;
- *commercial sharenting* – typical in particular of online creators (influencers) and involving the preparation of advertising content using a child's image. Parents practising this type of *sharenting* explain that the money raised in advertising is to secure the child's material future (including education). In addition to the financial controversy, the right of parents to dispose of their children's image is also questionable, as they are usually not asked for their consent (or are unable to give it knowingly) or their objection is not respected by the parents. In contrast to *parental trolling*, there are no clear legal tools here, not least because of the scope of parental custody (authority);
- *prenatal sharenting* – the initiation of a digital footprint of the child even before birth by publishing ultrasound images. For some parents-to-be, the publication of a fetal image constitutes a form of pregnancy announcement. To make matters worse, very often the ultrasound images published (or, as the parents claim, the 'first selfie') contain sensitive data on the health of the mother and child;
- *family sharenting* – involves the publication of an image of the child not by the parents, but by family members. Interestingly, very often parents do not see *family sharenting* as a harmful or dangerous practice.

An unusual example of *sharenting*, motivated by parental benefit, is the use of a child's image by a father making public the conflict with his mother and the resulting difficulties in contact with his child (Brosch, 2017).

Paradoxically, despite the negativity of *sharenting* itself, it is dictated by parental pride – this is how the publication of photos is justified by 65% of respondents. For parents, it is also a way to share the latest news with their loved ones (57%), a "virtual diary" through which they can revisit memories (35%), a form of initiating online discussions with other parents (12%) or fun (5%). Some of those posts (9%) indicate that *sharenting* shows the hardships of parenting. In addition to these motivations, there is also a group of parents (10%) who publish an image of their child simply because others practice it (Bierca, Wysocka-Świtała, 2019), which is particularly worrying as it implies a certain unreflectiveness. At the same time, the causes of *sharenting* point to the complexity of this problem, which is conditioned by a certain thoughtlessness on the one hand and a specific mixture of narcissism and self-esteem as a parent on the other. As Anna Sobczak (2023, p. 97) points out, "the reason for *sharenting* may be the need to obtain information about other parents and their behaviour, which provides a reference point for self-evaluation." However, the researcher also points out how the ideal breeding ground for narcissistic behaviour is the visual culture of social media, involving, among other things, the aforementioned moderation of reality by instamothers: "[…] one can venture to say that having children and sharing material featuring them has become, in this culture, one of the means of promoting oneself and one's 'happiness'" (Sobczak, 2023, p. 97).

As mentioned, *sharenting* although it is usually conditioned by a positive parenting experience (and the desire to share it), is also characterised by a certain unreflectiveness (Gadamska-Kyrcz, 2023), as despite publicising its consequences in the public debate, many parents are still unaware of the online "life" of the content they publish. Meanwhile, it is a fact that parents, by publishing their child's image, realistically lose control over it and have no influence over how other users will use easily obtained (downloaded, copied, e.g., by screenshotting or sharing) and at the same time public data. A. Brosch points out that by analysing parents' social media profiles, she was able to "easily determine the age, name and location of the child, with all mothers and one father studied [...] posting the children's name, date of birth and even birth weight directly on the timeline" (Brosch, 2017, p. 383). Childhood in the shadow of *sharenting* becomes a time of datification and dataveillance (Grabalska, Wielki, 2022).

Other negative effects of *sharenting* include the violation of the right to forgetting (i.e., the personal shaping of a private sphere of life), cyberbullying (drawing on social media for content used by people with paedophilic tendencies), hegemony (realised by using the content published by parents to create memes and jokes exploiting the child's

image), identity theft and even digital kidnapping, i.e., the creation of a profile on social media on which a child's image is displayed. the creation of a social media profile that uses stolen images; adults running such accounts impersonate parents) (Grabalska, Wielki, 2022). Furthermore, the challenge of analysing and assessing *sharenting* stems from the fact that it is a dynamically changing phenomenon and that its long-term effects are as yet unknown to researchers – as current observations are based on short-term effects.

Theoretical and empirical inspiration of own studies

To summarise the considerations on *sharenting*, it is worth noting that:

> [...] parenting on the 21st century's threshold has reached a different dimension than in years passed. As it turns out, modern parents seek role models and support not among immediate family members or friends, but through mediated contacts in the global social network (Brosch, 2017, p. 382).

The COVID-19 pandemic further exacerbated this phenomenon. Parents justifying *sharenting* practices, indicated a desire to maintain social contact and build virtual support groups (Kierzkowska, 2022).

The steadily increasing activity of parents on social media is not only related to the development of the information society but also technological advances. It is also due to the increased awareness of parents and the content search (including advice) to improve parenting competences, as parenting – from a natural and intuitive activity – has become professionalised, becoming a challenging experience in contemporary public discourse, and "parents who lack the support of a multigenerational family perceive parenting as a traumatic experience" (Kusio, 2004, p. 42). The search for information on parenting leads one to come across both factual pedagogical content prepared by professionals, content published by other parents and content published by people taking on the roles of experts – celebrities (Kierzkowska, 2022). Moreover, the parenting experience has moved from the private, even intimate, space into the public sphere – shared and "liked" on social media.

It can be argued that parents seeking support on upbringing issues, instead of using the opinions of Instagram experts, need to seek help from professionals, i.e., trained educators. The phenomenon of a preference for online pedagogy over offline pedagogy, however, seems to be conditioned by several considerations:

- online pedagogy is more convenient because it is available to users around the clock, and specific information (including saved reels) can be returned repeatedly,
- the information is provided in an accessible, visually appealing way, in plain language and in the form of understandable messages,
- parents, especially those new to this role, have quicker and more direct contact (online) with Instagram experts than those associated with selected educational institutions.

It is worth mentioning that searching on Instagram for information on child-rearing is a natural consequence of the popular practice of searching for what users believe to be reliable information on the Internet (see e.g., Westerman, Spence, van der Heide, 2014; Bartosik-Purgat, 2016; Gumpo, Maziriri, Chuchu, & Madinga, 2020; Jasielska, Maksymiuk, 2018). Moreover, pedagogical trends and innovations appear on Instagram faster than they will be implemented in a functioning educational system.

The final inspiration for the search for pedagogical content on social media is a situation observed in one public kindergarten. The mother of a child who had long-standing difficulties in group functioning and was displaying aggressive behaviour suggested to the teacher during a consultation with the educator that she should take advice from a well-known parenting Instagrammer in her work – then she would be able to deal with her son. Of course, it is difficult to identify a wider phenomenon based on one such situation. Still, the quoted conversation indicates the attitude of a mother for whom an educated teacher, who has been working with her child for several years, is less of an authority and educational support than an online creator. This makes one wonder whether the reduced trust in teachers has caused parents to look for pedagogical content on the Internet and is thus the result of a long-term crisis in Polish systemic education (weakened by the teachers' strike, reforms and remote teaching). Perhaps the phenomenon is going in the opposite direction and the activities of online experts are making the authority of teachers less and less significant for parents. The aforementioned observation, while interesting, requires a separate empirical study of parents' online practices. Instead, the purpose of this study is to identify the content that users interested in pedagogy find on Instagram.

Exploring Instagram content – a methodology for own studies

The scientific study of Instagram is a constantly updating cognitive challenge. This is for several reasons. Firstly, the Internet, including social media, is a space of diverse user practices, the content published is constantly updating and there is probably no

field that is not affected by online content. Due to the aforementioned diversity and variability, current social research methodologies require creative adaptation for online research – from transferring already known methods, techniques and tools to the virtual space, to the search for new research procedures. Moreover, in the case of Instagram, research analysis requires a multimodal perspective (Kampka, 2020) – the interpretation of text and image/video and the meanings that emerge at their interface.

Currently, we observe a number of interesting and groundbreaking methodological approaches in Polish Instagram research. They concern visual discourse analysis in both quantitative and qualitative perspectives (Kampka, 2020), analysis of online creators' communication styles (Rybacka, 2018; Jarosz, 2019), analysis of posts tagged with a selected hashtag (Krasnova, Mizera-Pęczek, 2022) or netnographic analysis of rolls (Kot, 2022).

When investigating Instagram, it is worth remembering that it is not a neutral space, but, as pointed out earlier, a medium of community creation. Thus, the researcher not only analyses the multimodal layer of published content, but also inevitably becomes the recipient of the values, attitudes and information recorded in these posts. Following Agnieszka Kampka, we see that

> [...] the expectation of being able to create a textbook model, a universal recipe for how to study visual materials in the context of civic or political action, is on the one hand understandable, on the other utopian. [...] What is certain, however, is that when it comes to image analysis and discourse analysis, no single right way can be indicated, even if researchers work on the same material or ask about similar phenomena. In fact, there is not the slightest need to develop and present as the only valid catalogue of research procedures, as situationality and context are crucial in the analysis of communication in general (Kampka, 2020, p. 98).

For the own research, one of the non-reactive methods was adopted – content analysis from a *desk research* perspective ("from behind the desk") (Bednarowska, 2015). Thus, the subject of the research is an analysis of the foundational data concerning the posts of creators identified by searching the hashtag *#wychowanie* [#upbringing]. The search keyword was deliberately chosen to be specific enough to elicit pedagogical content, yet general enough to explore the colloquial understanding of the term "upbringing." This perspective stems from the popular stereotype according to which "everyone" has experienced parenting (has been parented and/or is parenting children), with the result that "everyone" can feel like an expert in the field. This stereotype, combined with the Instagram activity of both professionals and self-proclaimed "experts," builds up a very interesting cognitive perspective. Understandably, however, the results obtained in this way are partial – as it is impossible to examine the "whole" of Instagram.

From the above inspirations, the research questions arise: How do online creators perceive parenting? and What pedagogical (educational) content can parents search for on Instagram? The method of obtaining accounts for analysis was random and used a mechanism that is natural for most internet users – typing a search term into a browser search engine (Mider, Garlicki, Mincewicz, 2019). After entering the hashtag *#wycho-wanie* [#upbringing], posts of a pedagogical nature were selected in an order imposed by the Instagram search browser. In this way, the accounts of the creators were selected and then the posts published by them in June 2024 were analysed. The material thus obtained was analysed using qualitative textual and visual content analysis. The table below presents a brief overview of the analysed accounts – the order of the accounts follows the sequence of posts indicated in the Instagram search browser. The number of posts analysed in the study represents the activity of the accounts in June 2024.

Table 1

Presentation of the accounts analysed in the study

Profile name (code created for the study)	Description in profile bio	Number of posts published / number of observers/number of followers	Number of posts analysed in the study
wychowanie_ dzieci_bez_lukru (P_WDBL_)	Parenting and child development – parenting advice Magda Wiechna – Kuba's Mum - I promote healthy habits in children – together with experts I teach how to support children in their development: learning, health, movement, sleep, emotions, - biohacking.	767 / 133 000 / 589	88
emocje_na_ warsztat (P_ENW_)	Emotions for the workshop – Aleksandra Murawska. Mental health services: - psychologist, - psychotraumatologist, - working with children and parents, - work with adolescents and adults.	103 / 2129 / 436	10
Mamadu.pl (P_MMD_)	Parenting service with information for parents. Mums who want to know more.	1192 / 19 800 / 358	38

Profile name (code created for the study)	Description in profile bio	Number of posts published / number of observers/number of followers	Number of posts analysed in the study
Przedszkojak (P_PJ_)	Patrycja Nowak – upbringing – pre-school – development. - I will make it easier for you to be a parent of a preschooler, - keep your toddler occupied with audiobooks.	534 / 60 600 / 350	11
Kasiaugustyniak (P_KA_)	Kasia Augustyniak – coffee games, - blogger, - shows how to understand children better and make parenting easier, - Mum and owner of @zabawydokawy_en, - psychology student.	873 / 114 000 / 362	12
ola_pedagog (P_OP_)	Education, play, and upbringing, - parental and teacher inspiration, - teaching how (to) learn, - educational aids, - mum of girls.	522 / 9464 / 842	10
godzinadlasiebie (P_GDS_)	Justyna Rokicka – Psychologist, Psychotherapist. - wife and mother of three children (12, 9 and 7), - From anger to love – I will help you to understand your child.	656 / 127 000 / 218	14
kreatimo (P_K_)	Monika Bednarek – special educator - with me, you will feel more confident in parenting, - step-by-step self-reliance course already in the shop, - a lot of private – for balance.	1108 / 49 800 / 850	16
pomogecimamo (P_PCM_)	Dominika Słowikowska – psychologist - Miłosz's mum, - a specialist in emotions, communication and relationships, - author of a book on parenting, - consultations, webinars, and workshops.	698 / 90 500 / 37	4

Profile name (code created for the study)	Description in profile bio	Number of posts published / number of observers/number of followers	Number of posts analysed in the study
mamologia (P_ML_)	Aleksandra Belta-Iwacz – child and parent psychologist. Blogger. - I will help you to understand your child, - I support you in the idyll and the middle of a drama, - check out the game "A Day with Kazik" and teach your child to deal with emotions.	596 / 145 000 / 258	10
(playou.pl P_PY_)	Motherhood – Kamila Bazela-Szewczyk – toys/games. - I help parents with parenting, - Practical tips and tricks for everyday life, - mother with pedagogical training, - toys that make your life easier.	–	37

Source: Author's own study.

Results of own studies

All the profiles presented in Table 1 indicate a chosen form of parental support – they refer to parenting or the experience of parenting, and one of them also refers to the importance of supplementation and healthy nutrition needed for children's well-being (which also indirectly supports the parenting process, as intended). From the descriptions, the so-called "bio," and the content of the profile, it appears that, apart from one of the profiles (mamadu.pl, run as an Instagram version of the portal), only one of the authors describes herself exclusively as a mum, two Instagrammers indicate only her education, and the largest group – six authors – indicate their combined experience as a mum and a specialist – psychologist/psychotherapist (including psychology students) or educator. The authors of four profiles indicate in their bio the services offered or encourage them to find out more about products aimed at parents.

The largest group of posts is dedicated to being a conscious parent and a role model for children. Their content is about: conscious adult behaviour, caution with words, positive reinforcement, healthy habits and openness to mistakes (P_WDBL_03 – number

of likes: 744[*]) or bringing up children by presenting a positive model as a basis for imitation (P_WDBL_36 – number of likes: 1929). An interesting theme in this category of posts concerned parents' work with their own emotions and previous experiences in terms of their impact on their parenting style (P_WDBL_22 – number of likes: 4004), and their child's emotions (P_WDBL_26 – number of likes: 237). These are also reflections on controlling one's own emotions, outbursts of anger or shouting at a child (P_GDS_10 – number of likes: 1145). Another group of posts fitting into this theme dealt with the apparent satisfaction of the child's needs while actually meeting the parents' unarticulated needs (P_WDBL_27 – number of likes: 1,429), as well as parenting mistakes resulting from a lack of empathy and knowledge of child development (in other words, accepting that children are just children; P_GDS_02 – number of likes: 1906). Posts of a motivational nature, accompanied by atmospheric illustrations presenting quotes from selected authorities or thoughts of online authors, also fall into this category (P_MMD_02 – number of likes: 103). It seems that the purpose of publishing posts in this category is to encourage parents to reflect independently – on their relationship with their child, on the role of the parent (and, more specifically, on the role of the mother and father, the importance of the experience of parenthood in the life of the individual), on how to prepare the child for independence in the world, and on raising the child to be a so-called "good person."

The authors of many of the posts discuss the topic of boundary-setting and parental assertiveness. One of the more interesting threads relates to boundary-setting and its long-term impact on a child's development. It compares (P_WDBL_09 – number of likes: 627) catering to a child's current cravings (*childhood with McDonald's*^{**}) to less attractive (*boring*) activities that have long-lasting positive effects (doing homework, eating broccoli). The posts also touch on the theme of being a "super parent" who gives children time and attention and creates a safe space for them to develop – "remember, a super parent prepares a child for an independent, happy life, not one who fulfils every whim" (P_WDBL_79 – number of likes: 1186). Another example concerns children's testing of boundaries (P_WDBL_37 – number of likes: 3081) and mothers' social support (P_WDBL_48 – number of likes: 112). The theme of parents' mental well-being is also touched upon in the context of finding personal balance (P_ENW_01 – number

---

[*] The selected observations are connected to the accounts from which they originated. The description in brackets has been prepared according to the scheme: P_XYZ_01 – number of likes: 123, where P – stands for the post, XYZ – the abbreviated profile name, 01 – the number of the analysed post – only on the indicated profile, only in June 2024, together with the number of likes.

^{**}The italicised sections of text in the self-reported findings section are quotes from selected profiles on Instagram.

of likes: 27), creating a personal safe place (P_ENW_02 – number of likes: 25) or taking care of quality leisure (P_ML_10 – number of likes: 451). Instagrammers also promote parents' assertiveness in difficult social situations, e.g., in the face of good advice from strangers, suggesting ways to cut down on public discussion of parenting methods (P_WDBL_44 – number of likes: 77). An important theme of one post is developing parents' awareness of so-called *cute aggression*, i.e., situations where people around the child cross the child's boundaries (e.g.' "fondling" the child's cheeks) and how to respond to said abuse (P_MMD_36 – number of likes: 42).

A theme often raised in the context of parental competence is the search for alternatives to punishment- and reward-based parenting as an example of developing an externalised "morality" - Instagrammers postulate that children should be taught why they should do good for the sake of doing good (P_WDBL_66 – number of likes: 68), and justify the low long-term effectiveness of using punishment (P_KA_01 – number of likes: 808; P_ML_07 – number of likes: 1611). This theme is also developed in the form of a comparison between punishments and their postulated alternative – natural consequences (P_KA_02 – number of likes: 2443; P_KA_03 – number of likes: 928; P_ML_06 – number of likes: 333).

One of the topics discussed on the Instagram profiles is the time parents spend with their children, especially in the context of parental phone addiction. For example, we can read:

Parent, it's not a big deal to put your phone down for 3 minutes when your child: asks you for something, shows you a drawing, asks you an important question, or just says something important to you. This is really important. Your child will remember you – with their nose in the phone or they will know that they are being listened to and heard (P_WDBL_01 – number of likes: 4335).

This topic is developed in the context of the negative behaviour of a child competing in this way for a parent's attention with their phone (P_WDBL_53 – number of likes: 561). One post's interesting post is about encouraging parents to put their phones away during their children's performances – being actively involved in the performance rather than focused on recording the celebration. The recording in question was accompanied by an extensive description with specific arguments and suggestions for increasing parental presence during the performance (P_PJ_05 – number of likes: 3548). The posts also indicate the opposite perspective – the importance of the phone in children's lives and the impact on the way they perceive the world (P_WDBL_78 – number of likes: 794).

Another popular theme of the posts was to develop parental openness and attentiveness to children's needs (P_WDBL_17 – number of likes: 3650, P_ENW_10 – number of likes: 26) or to support children who are shy (P_WDBL_18 – number of likes:192). Another important request is to encourage parents to attribute good in-

tentions to the child even in situations that are difficult for adults – "therefore if they believe that the child is good, it will be easier for the child to behave better and better" (P_WDBL_54 - number of likes: 248) or to encourage the child's perspective in difficult situations (P_KA_07 – number of likes: 3202, P_PCM_03 – number of likes: 2163). Often, posts with the aforementioned themes present specific messages that parents can use with their children (P_WDBL_38 – number of likes: 273; P_ENW_07 – number of likes: 43), an example of which is the list of "12 things a father needs to say to his son" (P_WDBL_31 – number of likes: 1107), messages to initiate a conversation about the conduct of Children's Day - following the pattern of message and justification of its meaning – directed at the adult (P_PJ_01 – number of likes: 492; P_KA_12 – number of likes: 4267) or messages to avoid – negative comments (P_WDBL_33 – number of likes: 218) and criticism (P_GDS_03 – number of likes: 1346). The posts in this category are a series of slides presenting a comparison of misinformative messages and their constructive alternatives (P_KA_06 – number of likes: 1896; P_OP_03 – number of likes: 597; P_GDS_07 – number of likes: 1515). Selected accounts also show a reverse perspective on not so much how to speak to children, but primarily how to listen to them (LISTEN), including recognising needs or emotions that children cannot communicate directly (P_OP_02 – number of likes: 189). The posts also include examples of ways to implement safe outdoor play for children without excessive warnings or "dark visions" (P_PJ_11 – number of likes: 873).

Another topic, also based on messages, relates to building an informed parent-child relationship (P_WDBL_34 – number of likes: 232), as well as the importance of the impact of parents' conversations, including arguments, on the child's mechanism of blaming the child for family conflicts (P_WDBL_50 – number of likes: 1,270). The posts aimed at parents also mention, e.g., "Red flags in a relationship – what signals might indicate that something 'suspicious' is going on in the relationship? What should catch our attention and make us think about whether we are in a good relationship or behaving appropriately in it ourselves?." In the next two, examples of good and bad relationships are provided (the posts are inspired by the book by the Gdansk Pedagogical Publishing House, P_ENW_05 – number of likes: 56, P_ENW_06 – number of likes: 39).

Another interesting theme of the Instagram narrative is the postulated development of children's autonomy, which includes leaving them space for autonomous activity and reflecting on the potential overprotectiveness of parents (P_WDBL_19 – number of likes: 1,209), as well as on the handing out of children and the impact of these practices on their low sense of self-worth (P_WDBL_71 – number of likes: 563). The discussion on children's responsibility and autonomy also includes supporting them to solve problems independently: "[...] this is advice I read a long time ago and it is very but very valuable. When your child has a problem – give them the space to find a solution" (P_WDBL_74 – number of likes: 60). The mentioned safe space

is created by parental patience and understanding that children need time to learn certain skills (P_GDS_05 – number of likes: 1702). A completely different dimension of independence is indicated by posts encouraging children's entrepreneurship and their management of their own finances (P_WDBL_43 – number of likes: 157).

Another frequently discussed theme is supporting children to regulate and manage their emotions. Posts on this topic sometimes take the form of step-by-step action instructions (P_WDBL_11 – number of likes: 127) or a series of support questions (P_WDBL_16 – number of likes: 67). These are also examples of advice to support children in dealing with failure (P_WDBL_41 – number of likes: 2746), peer conflict (P_ML_09 – number of likes: 522), or on developing their autonomy and assertiveness (P_WDBL_51 – number of likes: 125; P_WDBL_62 – number of likes: 143). Posts were also about supporting a child with anxiety disorders, including lists of briefly formulated tips (P_ENW_03 – number of likes: 26) or examples of symptoms to identify adolescent depression (P_ENW_09 – number of likes: 34).

Another theme that appeared in the posts was the acceptance of a child's tears, more specifically the rejection of stereotypes – such as "boys don't cry," "such a pretty girl and she cries so ugly" – and the perception of crying as an expression of diverse emotions (P_ENW_08 – number of likes: 29). There are also posts encouraging parents to think about the unmet needs and problems of their child, rather than impulsively punishing them, which are at the root of their child's difficult behaviour (P_GDS_13 – number of likes: 999), and on how to set limits when a child displays aggressive behaviour (P_K_02 – number of likes: 2322).

Supporting emotional development is embedded not only in practices directly associated with parenting, but also in indirect ones, such as sports (discussed in more detail later in the paper), or contact (relationship-building) with animals (P_WDBL_55 – number of likes: 487). According to the Instagrammers, these experiences have a positive impact on the well-being, especially emotional well-being, of children.

Although the posts surveyed were mainly about supporting emotional development, some also referred to children's cognitive functioning, such as dispelling the myth related to the narrow view of intelligence as an ability manifested in reading and writing (P_WDBL_02 – number of likes: 389), research on intelligence (including the importance of genes and the influence of environment and education on children's intellectual abilities, P_WDBL_08 – number of likes: 542) or advice on developing a child's growth mindset (P_WDBL_13 - number of likes: 130; P_WDBL_23 – number of likes: 139; P_WDBL_25 – number of likes: 256). These are also posts promoting the development of a conscious learner attitude in children and the formation of intrinsic motivation (P_WDBL_30 – number of likes: 62; P_WDBL_35 – number of likes: 232) or looking for ways to encourage children to read (P_WDBL_40 – number of likes: 99) or support learning techniques (P_WDBL_77 – number of likes: 303). Further

topics covered in posts in this category include supporting attention (P_K_04 – number of likes: 322), as well as boredom as a developmental and creativity-stimulating factor (P_MMD_34 – number of likes: 80).

In the June posts, in addition to Father's Day and its importance in a child's life (P_ENW_04 – number of likes: 40; P_GDS_04 – number of likes: 486; P_PY_05 – number of likes: 19), there were other occasional themes: preparing for a trip with the children – with a specific list of tasks in the post description (and an additional one available for free after the post was liked – P_PJ_03 – number of likes: 226; P_PJ_09 – number of likes: 127) – and suggestions for messages to support the child before public speaking (with a list of specific positive messages and those that are harmful – P_PJ_04 – number of likes: 213). Another popular theme is how to provide for children during the holiday season – described as both an expected time of being together (P_OP_01 – number of likes: 248) and a challenge, often presented in a humorous way (P_PJ_02 – number of likes: 281). June's posts feature content about travel, often in the context of keeping physically safe while resting (P_WDBL_14 – number of likes:1792), as well as heat stroke prevention (description of overheating symptoms and ways to help your child – P_MMD_06 – number of likes: 70).

In addition to the common denominator, which concerns parenting, the se-lected creators indicate an area of their particular interest. This can be the support of the child's health and body, e.g. through posts about the importance of a proper diet and supplementation for the child's development: the supply of OMEGA 3 acids (P_WDBL_06 – number of likes: 147) and other supplements (P_WDBL_20 – number of likes: 80, P_WDBL_29 – number of likes: 130), aromatherapy, and the harmfulness of energy drinks for children (P_WDBL_61 – number of likes: 91). It also provides information on how to calm children physically (e.g., by vibrating the OM mantra, working with the child's body or aromatherapy – (P_WDBL_12 – number of likes: 371) and highlights the importance of physical activity for the psycho-physical health of children – especially boys (P_WDBL_47 – number of likes:15 347). Selected posts encourage joint parent-child physical activity – workouts, parental modelling of sports activities – and present tips for developing (sustaining) children's interest in movement (with a list of benefits – for physical, emotional and social development – P_WDBL_49 – number of likes: 539). These are also tips for messages that will motivate the child to continue training (P_WDBL_56 – number of likes: 89).

On selected profiles, information is also published on specialised activities related to the therapy and support of children with special developmental needs, such as build-ing body awareness (P_K_08 – number of likes: 715) or the use of selected therapeutic/didactic aids (P_K_12 – number of likes: 357).

Another popular dimension of the specialisation is the presentation of exemplary developmental games. Descriptions of activities and games are present on almost every

profile, nevertheless, we encounter accounts for which this is the leading theme (or even a prominent one, which translates into a description in the bio). Suggestions for play and activities relate to specific situations, e.g., occupying the child's attention while travelling (P_KA_05 – number of likes: 567), as well as the author's parenting style (parenting through play - P_KA_04 – number of likes: 320). Play-related posts also include checklists, e.g., "5 activities you must do with your child this summer" (P_PY_01 – number of likes: 14; P_PY_08 – number of likes: 18) or suggestions for play using selected teaching aids and toys, and these posts are not examples of advertising (series of posts on the P_PY profile).

Some of the content aimed at parents is also lifestyle content, e.g., concerning holidays (P_WDBL_11 – number of likes: 116, P_PCM_01 – number of likes: 151). Such posts often end with the question: "And are you already on holiday? Do you holiday with the kids at home?" and encourage discussion in the comments. The topic of travel also includes advice on how to pack efficiently (P_MMD_05 – number of likes: 17) or recommendations for specific travel destinations (including hotels). Lifestyle content is also about celebrating family celebrations or other special occasions (P_PCM_04 – number of likes: 347, P_OP_07 – number of likes: 170). These types of posts also present everyday challenges (P_K_03 – number of likes: 438) and recommended recipes (P_MMD_09 – number of likes: 34; P_MMD_18 – number of likes: 16). It is also information about how Instagrammers take care of their own and their loved ones' health, including how they take care of themselves as women and mothers – also in the context of *beauty* content (P_WDBL_46 – number of likes: 68). Such posts often have an advertising character – the names of specific services or products appear in them. The group of lifestyle posts can also include publications of a humorous character (P_WDBL_60 – number of likes: 698; P_MMD_21 – number of likes: 145; P_PY_12 – number of likes: 29). It is worth noting that the aforementioned content does not exploit the image of the child, but rather exemplifies parents making fun of themselves.

Because most of the female authors of the accounts point to the experience of motherhood, the lifestyle content also includes posts describing relationships with their children and their reflections on parenting (motherhood) (P_WDBL_28 – number of likes: 113). The posts also include a discussion of breastfeeding (P_WDBL_70 – number of likes: 2228). This group also includes those that describe societal pressures and expectations of mothers (P_PY_02 – number of likes: 18; P_PY_04 – number of likes: 45). They are also attempts to disenchant "ideal motherhood" and share their mistakes or more difficult experiences (P_PY_09 – number of likes: 21).

Ads appearing on parenting channels were about supplements, advice packages or self-promotion of the profile (P_PJ_06 – number of likes: 110, P_PJ_07 – number of likes: 216, P_PJ_08 – number of likes: 346). Some of the ad posts present sample

procedures for responding to difficult behaviours, e.g., child shopping hysteria, over-stimulation, and conclude with a proposal for an educational product, e.g., an e-book that elaborates on the indicated topic (P_PJ_10 – number of likes: 317; P_ML_01 – number of likes: 394) or paid webinars/courses that relate to the account topic (P_OP_06 – number of likes: 120). Advertisements also include recommended publications – by account authors or external authors – prepared in collaboration with publishers (P_KA_11 – number of likes: 111) or the promotion of educational programmes (e.g., Fast Heroes, P_OP_05 – number of likes: 107), often together with the publication of a promotional code (P_K_09 – number of likes: 114). On many occasions, authors support each other by conducting joint live broadcasts (so-called "lives"; P_K_07 – number of likes: 53). Parenting accounts also feature charity collections involving the user community (P_OP_09 – number of likes: 403).

Conclusion

It is noteworthy that the analysis of the selected Instagram accounts on parenting indicates a preponderance of content that is substantive and compatible with modern pedagogical thought. Furthermore, the discussion, although multifaceted in terms of the functioning of the child and the parent and their interactions, does not concern the functioning of the child in the school or pre-school environment at all – at least from the perspective of the content of the analysed accounts – which is indicative of the parenting profile of the authors. It seems that Instagram users most appreciate posts that have the character of "knowledge in a nutshell" – containing short lists of sample messages addressed to children or good parenting practices. These posts tend to be descriptions superimposed over videos or *Canva* presentations.

An interesting strand of the Instagram parenting narrative is the development of parents' awareness – working with their own emotions, dealing with difficult experiences from their own childhood or distinguishing between their own and their children's needs (or projecting adults' needs onto their children). The analysed posts promote an attitude of conscious parenting, based on closeness and empathy while setting constructive boundaries.

A significant group of the analysed posts refer to communication as an important parenting strategy. Importantly, the posts do not so much contain negative, negativistic messages ("don't do that") as those that encourage reflection ("think about whether...") or exemplify good practice and exemplary patterns of behaviour. A popular narrative strategy is to confront valuable and harmful messages or courses of action. The themes of the posts, although sometimes addressed directly to fathers or mothers, are most often aimed at the parent regardless of gender.

Although, as stated in the discussion of other Instagram studies, it is difficult to formulate unambiguous and universal conclusions from the analysis of the aforementioned medium, it appears, not as the critics of digitalisation would like, not as an "Internet dump," but as an interesting tool for the pedagogisation of parents. The analysed content addresses topical issues and is formulated and presented in a variety of forms. The Instagram parenting discourse is, like the authors of the individual accounts, quite diverse, nevertheless bound by an important common point – an orientation towards the well-being of the child, especially in the mental and emotional sphere.

Of course, it is impossible to ignore the strategy, quite characteristic of some accounts, of communicating with users by starting a post with free advice and parenting tips and continuing with an invitation to read a more detailed description of the issue in a paid form (e-book, webinar, or in-office consultation). Modern Instagram has long since ceased to function solely as a spontaneously created "diary" and has become a space for professional activity, including for profit. Moreover, the commercial orientation is not an obstacle to the use of a lot of substantive content available for free – content that, for many adults, can provide a valuable basis for shaping their parenting competences.

References

Babecki, M. (2018). Wprowadzenie [Introduction]. In: M. Babecki, Sz. Żyliński (Eds.), *Od naturalizacji do funkcjonalizacji: Taktyki użytkowania serwisu Instagram* (pp. 7–20). Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo UWM.

Bartosik-Purgat, M. (2016). Social media as a source of information about products and services in the light of cross-cultural research in China, Poland and United States. *Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu*, *447*, 9–31. DOI: 10.15611/pn.2016.447.02.

Bednarowska, Z. (2015). Desk research: Wykorzystanie potencjału danych zastanych w prowadzeniu badań marketingowych i społecznych [Desk research — exploiting the potential of secondary data in market and social research]. *Marketing i Rynek*, *7*, 18–26.

Bierca, M., Wysocka-Świtała, A. (2019). *Sharenting po polsku, czyli ile dzieci wpadło do sieci?: Wyniki pierwszego w Polsce raportu o udostępnianiu wizerunku dzieci w internecie* [Sharenting in Polish, or how many children have fallen online? Results of Poland's first report on sharing children's images online]. Retrieved from: https://cluepr.pl/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Sharenting-czyli-dzieci-w-sieci-pierwszy-raport-w-Polsce.pdf.

Borkowska, A. (2020). Sharenting. In: A. Borkowska, M. Witkowska (Eds.), *Sharenting i wizerunek dziecka w sieci: Poradnik dla rodziców* (pp. 6–18). Warszawa: NASK Państwowy Instytut Badawczy.

Brosch, A. (2017). Sharenting – nowy wymiar rodzicielstwa? [Sharenting – a new dimension of parenting?]. In: H. Krauze-Sikorska, M. Klichowski (Eds.), *Świat małego dziecka: Przestrzeń instytucji, cyberprzestrzeń i inne przestrzenie dzieciństwa* (pp. 379–399). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.

Gadamska-Kyrcz, M. (2023). Sharenting jako jedno z niebezpieczeństw dla dzieci [Sharenting as one of the dangers for children]. *Ochrona Ludności i Dziedzictwa Kulturowego*, *3*, 75–94. DOI: 10.4467/29563763.OLDK.23.014.19137.

Grabalska, W., Wielki, R. (2022). „Czy dzieci powinny trafiać do sieci?”: Prawne i kryminologiczne aspekty zjawiska sharentingu [“Should children get onto the Web?” Legal and criminological aspects of the phenomenon of sharenting]. *Prawo w Działaniu*, *49*, 50–66. DOI: 10.32041/pwd.4904.

Gruszczyk-Kolczyńska, E. (2017). Tabletowe dzieci: Ile zła wyrządza małym dzieciom tablet reklamowany jako najlepsza zabawka dla twojego dziecka: Ku rozwadze dorosłym, którzy temu ulegają [Tablet children: How much harm is done to young children by tablet advertised as the best toy for your child. For the consideration of parents who give in to it]. *Szkoła Specjalna*, *5*, 325–334. DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0010.8327.

Gumpo, Ch., Maziriri, E. T., Chuchu, T., & Madinga, N. (2020). Examing the usage of Instagram as a source of information for young consumers when determining toursit destinations. *South African Journal of Information Management*, *22(1)*, 1–11. DOI: 10.4102/sajim.v22i1.1136.

Jarosz, M. (2019). Możliwości kontra oczekiwania: Jak komunikują się instamatki i jakie wartości wyznają? [Opportunities versus expectations: How do instamothers communicate and what values are important to them?]. *Kultura – Media – Teologia*, *39*, 50–76. DOI: 10.21697/kmt.39.3.

Jasielska, A., Maksymiuk, R. (2018). Konsumenckie e-rodzicielstwo, czyli konsumencka aktywność e-rodziców w Internecie [Consumer e-parenting — e-parents' consumer activity online]. *Marketing i Rynek*, *6*, 19–21.

Kampka, A. (2020). Wizualna analiza dyskursu na Instagramie – możliwości i ograniczenia [Visual discourse analysis on Instagram: Possibilities and limitations]. *Przegląd Socjologii Jakościowej*, *16(4)*, 86–103. DOI: 10.18778/1733-8069.16.4.05.

Kemp, S. (2024). *The time we spend on social media*. Retrieved from: https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2024-deep-dive-the-time-we-spend-on-social-media.

Kierzkowska, M. (2022). Sharenting – pomiędzy prawem rodzica do wyrażania siebie w mediach społecznościowych a ochroną prywatności dziecka [Sharenting – between

a parent's right to express themselves on social media and the protection of a child's privacy]. *Kultura i Wychowanie*, *22(2)*, 41–55. DOI: 10.25312/2083-2923.22_04mk.

Kot, J. (2022). Nowe formy narracji na Instagramie: Badanie pilotażowe rolek związanych z podróżami i sportem [New forms of narrative on Instagram: A pilot study of sports and rravel reels]. *Com.Press*, *5(2)*, 90–103. DOI: 10.51480/compress.2022.5-1.459.

Krasnova, A., Mizera-Pęczek, P. (2022). Instagram jako przestrzeń wymiany informacji przez matki na temat powrotu do pracy – analiza postów oznaczonych #mamawracadopracy [Instagram as a space for sharing information about returning to work: Analysis of the post #Mamawracadopracy]. *Zarządzanie Mediami*, *10(1)*, 37–55. DOI: 10.4467/23540214ZM.22.003.16925.

Kusio, U. (2004). Współczesna kobieta wobec macierzyństwa [The contemporary woman towards motherhood]. *Kultura i Edukacja*, *4*, 40–47.

Manovich, L. (2017). *Instagram and contemporary image*. Retrieved from: https://manovich.net/index.php/projects/instagram-and-contemporary-image.

Mider, D., Garlicki, J., & Mincewicz, W. (2019). Pozyskiwanie informacji z Internetu metodą Google Hacking – biały, szary czy czarny wywiad? [The Internet data collection with the Google Hacking tool – white, grey or black open-source intelligence?]. *Przegląd Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego*, *20(11)*, 68–91.

Mieczkowska, P. (2021). Instagram jako narzędzie oddziaływania na życie studentek pedagogiki będących w ciąży [Instagram as a tool for influencing the lives of pregnant pedagogy students]. In: A. Mirczak, K. Jagielska (Eds.), *Edukacyjne, społeczne i medyczne konteksty w perspektywie zmian cywilizacyjnych* (pp. 33–42). Kraków: Wydawnictwo „Scriptum".

Rowicka, M., Bujalski, M. (2020). *Raport z badania: Brzdąc w sieci – zjawisko korzystania z urządzeń mobilnych przez dzieci w wieku 0–6 lat* [Research report: Baby online – the phenomenon of mobile device use by children aged 0-6 years]. Retrieved from: https://kcpu.gov.pl/badanie/brzdac-w-sieci-zjawisko-korzystania-z-urzadzen-mobilnych-przez-dzieci-w-wieku-0-6-lat.

Rybacka, A. M. (2018). Moderowanie codzienności jako taktyka zdobywania popularności: Analiza modeli ekspresywnych w serwisie Instagram na przykładzie polskich instagramerek parentingowych [Moderating everyday life as a tactic to gain popularity: An analysis of expressive models on Instagram using the example of Polish parenting instagrammers]. In: M. Babecki, Sz. Żyliński (Eds.), *Od naturalizacji do funkcjonalizacji: Taktyki użytkowania serwisu Instagram* (pp. 139–161). Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo UWM.

Sobczak, A. (2023). Zjawisko sharentingu – między prawem do prywatności dziecka a aktywnością rodziców w mediach społecznościowych [The phenomenon of sharenting – between the child's right to privacy and parents' social media activity]. *Studia Edukacyjne*, *71*, 93–106. DOI: 10.14746/se.2023.71.6.

Walsh, S. (2024). *55 Instagram statistics and facts for 2024*. Search Engine Journal. Retrieved from: https://www.searchenginejournal.com/instagram-facts/314439.

Westerman, D., Spence, P. R., & van der Heide, B. (2014). Social media as information source: Recency of updates and credibility of information. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *19*, 171–183. DOI: 10.1111/jcc4.12041.