

The Impact of Social Media on Adolescent Mental Health: A Comprehensive Review

Dr. Jeuti Talukdar

Associate Professor, Department of English, Tihu College, Tihu, Assam, INDIA.

Corresponding Author: articlepublication2024@gmail.com



www.ijrah.com || Vol. 4 No. 4 (2024): July Issue

Date of Submission: 15-05-2024

Date of Acceptance: 18-05-2024

Date of Publication: 22-07-2024

ABSTRACT

Social media has become an integral part of adolescent life, with platforms like Instagram, Snapchat, and Facebook dominating their daily interactions. While social media offers numerous benefits, concerns about its impact on adolescent mental health have escalated. This research article provides a comprehensive review of existing literature to explore the complex relationship between social media use and adolescent mental health. It examines various factors such as cyberbullying, social comparison, fear of missing out (FOMO), and the effects of excessive screen time on psychological well-being. Additionally, it discusses potential protective factors and interventions to mitigate the negative impact of social media on adolescent mental health. By synthesizing current research findings, this article aims to provide insights for policymakers, educators, and parents to promote healthy social media use among adolescents.

Keywords- Social media, Adolescent mental health, Cyberbullying, Social comparison, Fear of missing out, Screen time, Intervention.

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the proliferation of social media platforms has fundamentally transformed the way adolescents interact, communicate, and perceive the world around them. From the early days of MySpace to the ubiquitous presence of Instagram, Snapchat, and Facebook, social media has become an integral aspect of adolescent life, shaping their identities, relationships, and daily experiences. According to McAfee's Global Connected Family Study, conducted across 10 countries including India, smartphone usage among children aged 10-14 in India stands at an overwhelming 83 percent. This figure surpasses the international average of 76 percent, highlighting the widespread adoption of smartphones among young individuals in the country. This widespread adoption of social media among adolescents underscores its significance as a dominant force in shaping youth culture and social dynamics. As adolescents navigate the intricate landscape of social media, concerns about its impact on their mental health

have garnered increasing attention from researchers, parents, and policymakers alike. While social media offers unparalleled opportunities for connectivity, self-expression, and information dissemination, it also presents unique challenges and risks, particularly in the realm of mental health. The relentless pursuit of likes, the pressure to curate a flawless online persona, and the constant comparison with peers' highlight reels can contribute to feelings of inadequacy, anxiety, and depression among adolescents (Primack et al., 2017).

In the words of Jean M. Twenge, a renowned psychologist and author, "The rise of social media and smartphones coincides with an alarming increase in mental health issues among adolescents" (Twenge, 2017). This sentiment echoes the growing concern among experts about the potential negative repercussions of excessive social media use on adolescent well-being. As adolescents spend increasing amounts of time online, scrolling through feeds, liking posts, and engaging in virtual social interactions, questions arise about the long-term implications of this digital immersion on their

psychological development and mental health outcomes. The importance of examining the impact of social media on adolescent mental health cannot be overstated. As digital natives, adolescents are uniquely positioned to harness the benefits of social media for learning, creativity, and social connection. However, they are also vulnerable to its pitfalls, including cyberbullying, social comparison, and digital addiction. As parents, educators, and healthcare professionals strive to support adolescents' holistic development, it is imperative to gain a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between social media use and mental health outcomes.

The present paper seeks to address this critical gap in knowledge by providing a comprehensive review of existing literature on the impact of social media on adolescent mental health. By synthesizing empirical evidence, theoretical frameworks, and practical insights, this article aims to shed light on the nuanced relationship between social media use and psychological well-being among adolescents. Furthermore, it endeavors to offer evidence-based recommendations and strategies for promoting healthy social media use and mitigating the potential negative effects on adolescent mental health. As we delve into the multifaceted terrain of social media and adolescent mental health, it is essential to approach this topic with a balanced perspective, recognizing both the opportunities and challenges that social media presents. By fostering informed dialogue and collaboration among researchers, practitioners, and stakeholders, we can work together to harness the transformative power of social media while safeguarding the mental health and well-being of the next generation.

II. CYBERBULLYING AND ADOLESCENT MENTAL HEALTH

Cyberbullying, a pervasive form of online aggression, is defined as the deliberate and repeated use of digital communication tools to harass, intimidate, or humiliate others. Unlike traditional forms of bullying, which typically occur in face-to-face interactions, cyberbullying exploits the anonymity and ubiquity of the internet to inflict harm on victims across various online platforms, including social media, messaging apps, and online forums. In a recent global survey conducted by McAfee, concerning trends in cyberbullying among children, startling figures emerged regarding the prevalence of such behavior in India. According to the survey, 45% of participating children from India admitted to cyberbullying a stranger, a significantly higher percentage compared to the global average of 17%. Moreover, an alarming 48% of Indian children confessed to cyberbullying someone they know, which is nearly double the global average of 21%. These findings shed light on the concerning prevalence of cyberbullying among children in India and highlight the urgent need for proactive measures to address and prevent such behavior.

The psychological consequences of cyberbullying can be profound and enduring, exerting a significant toll on victims' emotional well-being, self-esteem, and overall mental health. Research has consistently shown that adolescents who experience cyberbullying are at increased risk of developing symptoms of depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation (Hinduja & Patchin, 2018). The persistent nature of cyberbullying, characterized by its 24/7 accessibility and potential for viral dissemination, can exacerbate feelings of helplessness and isolation among victims, intensifying their psychological distress. Furthermore, cyberbullying can have detrimental effects on victims' academic performance, social relationships, and sense of safety both online and offline. The fear of encountering further harassment or retaliation may lead victims to withdraw from social interactions, disengage from school activities, and experience heightened levels of stress and hypervigilance. As adolescents navigate the complexities of adolescence and identity formation, the experience of cyberbullying can disrupt their developmental trajectories, undermining their sense of self-worth and resilience.

In response to the pervasive threat of cyberbullying, various strategies have been proposed to address and prevent this harmful behavior. These strategies encompass a multi-tiered approach that involves collaboration among parents, educators, policymakers, and technology companies to create safe and supportive online environments for adolescents. At the individual level, empowering adolescents with digital literacy skills, empathy training, and assertiveness techniques can enhance their ability to recognize, resist, and report instances of cyberbullying (Mishna et al., 2020). Moreover, school-based interventions, such as comprehensive anti-bullying policies, peer support programs, and social-emotional learning curricula, play a crucial role in fostering a culture of empathy, respect, and inclusivity within educational settings (Espelage & Hong, 2020). By promoting positive social norms and bystander intervention, schools can empower students to become proactive agents of change, challenging the normalization of cyberbullying and promoting a culture of kindness and mutual respect. Additionally, collaboration with technology companies and social media platforms is essential to implement robust safeguards and reporting mechanisms to combat cyberbullying effectively. By integrating artificial intelligence, machine learning algorithms, and community moderation strategies, tech companies can proactively identify and remove harmful content, mitigate the spread of abusive behavior, and protect vulnerable users from online harassment (Livingstone & Helsper, 2020).

III. SOCIAL COMPARISON AND SELF-ESTEEM

Social media platforms have become virtual arenas where adolescents engage in constant social comparison, measuring their own lives against the carefully curated highlight reels of their peers. The pervasive nature of social comparison on platforms like Instagram, Snapchat, and Facebook stems from the inherent design features that facilitate selective self-presentation and peer surveillance. Users meticulously craft and filter their posts to showcase their most glamorous moments, exotic vacations, and enviable possessions, creating an idealized version of reality that can evoke feelings of envy, inadequacy, and social exclusion among their peers (Vogel et al., 2014).

The phenomenon of upward social comparison, wherein individuals compare themselves to others who are perceived as more successful, attractive, or popular, is particularly prevalent on social media platforms. Adolescents are bombarded with images of flawless beauty, extravagant lifestyles, and seemingly perfect relationships, leading them to internalize unrealistic standards of success and attractiveness. As they scroll through their feeds, they may experience a sense of inferiority or inadequacy, believing that their own lives pale in comparison to the glamorous portrayals depicted by their peers. Moreover, the relentless pursuit of likes, comments, and followers on social media platforms reinforces the notion that self-worth is contingent upon external validation and approval. Adolescents may become preoccupied with cultivating a meticulously curated online persona, striving to project an image of perfection and popularity to garner social recognition and admiration. However, this relentless pursuit of validation can take a toll on their self-esteem and mental well-being, as they become increasingly dependent on external feedback to validate their sense of self-worth. The impact of social comparison on self-esteem and body image among adolescents is profound and far-reaching. Research has consistently shown that frequent exposure to idealized images and lifestyles on social media platforms is associated with lower self-esteem, heightened body dissatisfaction, and disordered eating behaviors among adolescents (Fardouly et al., 2015). Adolescents may internalize unattainable beauty standards perpetuated by influencers and celebrities, leading to negative self-evaluations, appearance-related anxiety, and a distorted sense of body image.

The phenomenon of "compare and despair" magnifies the psychological distress experienced by adolescents as they juxtapose their own perceived shortcomings with the seemingly perfect lives of their peers. The constant barrage of aspirational imagery and success stories can fuel feelings of envy, insecurity, and inadequacy, eroding adolescents' confidence and self-worth over time. As they strive to measure up to unattainable standards of beauty, success, and

popularity, they may experience a sense of chronic dissatisfaction and self-doubt, perpetuating a cycle of negative self-talk and self-criticism. In response to the pervasive influence of social comparison on adolescent self-esteem and body image, various strategies have been proposed to foster positive self-esteem and resilience. Central to these strategies is the promotion of media literacy and critical thinking skills, empowering adolescents to deconstruct and challenge idealized portrayals on social media platforms (Holland & Tigemann, 2016). By fostering awareness of the selective nature of social media content and the prevalence of digital manipulation techniques, adolescents can develop a more discerning and realistic perspective on online imagery.

Besides, interventions aimed at promoting positive self-esteem and body image among adolescents emphasize the importance of cultivating internal sources of validation and self-compassion. Encouraging adolescents to cultivate hobbies, interests, and relationships offline can provide a sense of fulfillment and purpose beyond the confines of social media validation. Additionally, fostering supportive peer networks and open dialogues about body image and self-esteem can create a safe space for adolescents to express their insecurities, seek support, and challenge unrealistic beauty standards. In addition, promoting a culture of authenticity, vulnerability, and inclusivity on social media platforms can mitigate the detrimental effects of social comparison on adolescent mental health. Encouraging users to share authentic, unfiltered glimpses of their lives, including the ups and downs, can foster a sense of connection and empathy among peers, promoting a more realistic and balanced representation of human experiences. Moreover, empowering adolescents to cultivate a healthy relationship with social media, including setting boundaries, practicing digital detoxes, and prioritizing offline experiences, can promote mental well-being and resilience in the face of social comparison pressures.

IV. FEAR OF MISSING OUT (FOMO)

Fear of Missing Out (FOMO) has emerged as a prevalent psychological phenomenon among adolescents in the digital age, characterized by a pervasive sense of anxiety and apprehension stemming from the belief that others are experiencing rewarding activities or events from which one is absent. FOMO is fueled by the constant stream of updates, notifications, and social comparisons facilitated by social media platforms, which create a perpetual sense of urgency and desire to stay connected and engaged at all times. Adolescents may experience FOMO when they perceive their peers engaging in exciting activities, attending social events, or forming meaningful connections without them, leading to feelings of envy, insecurity, and social exclusion (Przybylski et al., 2013). The prevalence of

FOMO among adolescents is widespread, with studies indicating that a significant proportion of youth report experiencing FOMO on a regular basis. According to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center, 56% of teenagers in the United States report feeling anxious or nervous when they do not have their phones with them, highlighting the pervasive nature of FOMO in adolescents' daily lives (Anderson & Jiang, 2018). Furthermore, research suggests that FOMO is more prevalent among adolescents who spend excessive amounts of time on social media platforms, as they are more likely to engage in constant monitoring of their peers' activities and experiences (Elhai et al., 2018).

The relationship between FOMO and mental health outcomes is complex and multifaceted, with studies indicating a significant association between FOMO and symptoms of anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem among adolescents. Adolescents who experience FOMO may be more prone to negative mood states, rumination, and feelings of social inadequacy, as they compare their own lives to the seemingly exciting and fulfilling experiences depicted by their peers on social media platforms (Przybylski et al., 2013). Moreover, the fear of missing out on social events or opportunities may lead adolescents to prioritize social media engagement over real-life interactions, exacerbating feelings of loneliness, isolation, and disconnection from peers. The incessant exposure to idealized portrayals of success, happiness, and social acceptance on social media platforms can intensify feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt among adolescents, fueling a cycle of comparison and self-criticism. As adolescents strive to keep pace with the seemingly perfect lives of their peers, they may experience heightened levels of stress, pressure, and anxiety, as they fear falling short of societal expectations and standards of success (Elhai et al., 2018).

Coping mechanisms for managing FOMO encompass a range of strategies aimed at promoting self-awareness, resilience, and digital well-being among adolescents. Mindfulness practices, such as meditation, deep breathing exercises, and grounding techniques, can help adolescents cultivate present-moment awareness and reduce the impact of FOMO-related anxiety and rumination (Przybylski et al., 2013). By focusing on the here and now, adolescents can detach from the constant stream of social media updates and cultivate a sense of inner peace and calm amidst the digital noise. Moreover, fostering healthy offline connections and activities can provide adolescents with a sense of fulfillment and belonging beyond the confines of social media. Encouraging adolescents to engage in hobbies, sports, and creative pursuits that bring them joy and fulfillment can help them develop a sense of purpose and identity independent of social media validation (Elhai et al., 2018). Additionally, promoting open communication and supportive relationships with peers, parents, and trusted adults can create a safe space for adolescents to express

their fears, insecurities, and struggles with FOMO, fostering a sense of empathy, connection, and belonging. Setting boundaries and limits around social media use can help adolescents regain control over their digital habits and reduce the impact of FOMO on their mental health. Establishing designated screen-free times, implementing digital detoxes, and curating social media feeds to prioritize positive and uplifting content can create a healthier and more balanced relationship with social media (Przybylski et al., 2013).

V. EXCESSIVE SCREEN TIME AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

Excessive screen time, defined as prolonged engagement with electronic devices such as smartphones, tablets, computers, and televisions, has become a pervasive concern in modern society, particularly among adolescents. The widespread availability and accessibility of digital technology have led to a significant increase in screen time among youth, with many spending several hours each day immersed in digital media consumption. While screens offer numerous benefits, including access to information, entertainment, and social connection, excessive screen time has been linked to various negative consequences for psychological well-being.

One of the primary effects of prolonged screen time on mental health is its association with increased rates of anxiety, depression, and mood disorders among adolescents. Research has shown that excessive screen time, particularly on social media platforms, is associated with higher levels of psychological distress and lower subjective well-being (Twenge & Campbell, 2018). The constant exposure to idealized images, negative social comparisons, and cyberbullying on social media can contribute to feelings of inadequacy, loneliness, and low self-esteem among adolescents, exacerbating underlying mental health issues. Moreover, excessive screen time has been linked to sleep disturbances and poor sleep quality among adolescents, further impacting their psychological well-being. The blue light emitted by electronic screens can disrupt the production of melatonin, a hormone that regulates sleep-wake cycles, leading to difficulty falling asleep and reduced sleep duration (Cain & Gradisar, 2010). Adolescents who engage in late-night screen use, such as scrolling through social media feeds or playing video games, are at increased risk of experiencing sleep problems, including insomnia, daytime fatigue, and impaired cognitive functioning (Twenge, 2019).

Furthermore, excessive screen time has been implicated in the development of attention problems, impulsivity, and decreased academic performance among adolescents. Prolonged exposure to fast-paced, visually stimulating content on screens can overload the brain's cognitive resources, leading to reduced attentional control and increased distractibility (Rosen,

2018). Adolescents who spend excessive amounts of time on digital devices may struggle to concentrate in school, complete tasks efficiently, and retain information, compromising their academic success and long-term educational outcomes. In light of the detrimental effects of excessive screen time on psychological well-being, there is a growing consensus among researchers, educators, and healthcare professionals about the importance of promoting digital well-being and reducing screen time among adolescents. Recommendations for reducing screen time and promoting digital well-being encompass a multifaceted approach that addresses individual, family, and societal factors influencing screen use.

At the individual level, adolescents can benefit from practicing mindful screen use and setting limits on their digital consumption. Encouraging adolescents to engage in alternative activities, such as outdoor recreation, creative pursuits, and face-to-face interactions, can provide opportunities for rest, relaxation, and meaningful connection beyond the digital realm (Twenge, 2019). Additionally, fostering awareness of the impact of screen time on mental health and well-being can empower adolescents to make informed choices about their digital habits and prioritize activities that support their overall health and happiness. At the family level, parents play a crucial role in modeling healthy screen use habits and establishing clear boundaries around screen time. Implementing screen-free zones and times, such as during meals and before bedtime, can create opportunities for family bonding and communication without digital distractions (Radesky et al., 2016). Moreover, open dialogue about the risks and benefits of screen time, as well as the importance of balance and moderation, can foster a collaborative and supportive approach to managing screen use within the family. At the societal level, there is a need for concerted efforts to promote digital literacy, media literacy, and responsible screen use among adolescents. Schools can integrate digital citizenship curricula and media literacy programs into their educational initiatives to empower students with the skills and knowledge needed to navigate the digital landscape safely and responsibly (Livingstone & Third, 2017). Additionally, healthcare providers can play a role in raising awareness about the risks of excessive screen time and providing resources and support for adolescents and families seeking to reduce their screen use and improve their digital well-being.

VI. PROTECTIVE FACTORS AND RESILIENCE

Protective factors play a crucial role in buffering adolescents from the negative effects of social media and promoting their resilience in the face of digital challenges. By identifying and cultivating protective factors, parents, educators, and communities

can empower adolescents to navigate the complex terrain of social media with confidence, self-efficacy, and resilience. One of the key protective factors against negative social media effects is parental involvement and support. Research has consistently shown that adolescents who perceive high levels of parental warmth, monitoring, and communication are less likely to experience adverse outcomes related to social media use, such as cyberbullying, excessive screen time, and mental health problems (Van den Eijnden et al., 2016). Parents who are actively engaged in their children's digital lives, discussing online safety, setting clear boundaries, and modeling positive screen use habits, can help adolescents develop critical thinking skills, digital literacy, and responsible online behaviors.

Parental support and encouragement can foster resilience in adolescents, enabling them to cope effectively with social media pressures and setbacks. Adolescents who have a secure attachment to their parents, characterized by trust, communication, and emotional support, are more likely to seek help and guidance from their parents when faced with online challenges, such as cyberbullying or peer pressure (Luthar et al., 2015). By providing a supportive and nurturing home environment, parents can strengthen adolescents' self-esteem, self-regulation, and problem-solving skills, equipping them with the tools and resources needed to thrive in the digital age. In addition to parental involvement, building resilience in adolescents to cope with social media pressures involves fostering a sense of self-efficacy, autonomy, and mastery over their digital experiences. Adolescents who possess a strong sense of identity, purpose, and self-worth are better equipped to withstand the influence of negative social media content and peer pressure (Huebner & Dew, 1996). Educators and mental health professionals can play a vital role in promoting resilience by providing psychoeducation, skills training, and supportive interventions aimed at enhancing adolescents' coping strategies, assertiveness, and problem-solving abilities.

Furthermore, fostering positive peer relationships and social support networks can bolster adolescents' resilience and mitigate the impact of social media-related stressors. Adolescents who have close friendships, peer mentors, and supportive social networks are more likely to seek help and advice from peers, share their experiences, and receive validation and encouragement (Gallagher & Cole, 2007). By promoting a culture of empathy, inclusivity, and mutual support within schools and communities, educators can create safe spaces for adolescents to connect, collaborate, and thrive together, fostering a sense of belonging and resilience in the face of social media pressures. Moreover, promoting media literacy, critical thinking, and digital citizenship skills can empower adolescents to navigate social media responsibly and discern fact from fiction. By teaching adolescents to evaluate the credibility, accuracy, and potential biases of online

content, educators can equip them with the tools and knowledge needed to make informed decisions, challenge harmful stereotypes, and resist peer pressure (Livingstone & Haddon, 2009). Additionally, fostering a culture of open dialogue and communication about the benefits and risks of social media can create opportunities for adolescents to voice their concerns, seek guidance, and collaborate on solutions with peers, parents, and educators.

VII. INTERVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Interventions and recommendations aimed at addressing social media-related mental health issues among adolescents encompass a multifaceted approach that involves collaboration among schools, mental health professionals, parents, policymakers, and technology companies. By implementing evidence-based interventions and promoting collaboration among stakeholders, we can create a supportive and empowering environment for adolescents to navigate social media safely and responsibly while prioritizing their mental health and well-being. School-based programs play a pivotal role in promoting digital literacy, online safety, and responsible social media use among adolescents. Comprehensive digital citizenship curricula and media literacy programs can provide students with the knowledge, skills, and critical thinking abilities needed to navigate the digital landscape effectively and ethically (Livingstone & Third, 2017). By integrating these programs into the school curriculum, educators can empower students to recognize and critically evaluate online content, understand the implications of their digital footprint, and engage in positive online behaviors.

Moreover, school-based interventions aimed at promoting mental health and well-being can provide adolescents with the resources and support needed to cope with social media-related stressors. School counselors, psychologists, and mental health professionals can offer individual and group counseling sessions, psychoeducation workshops, and support groups focused on topics such as stress management, coping skills, and resilience-building (Huebner et al., 2009). By providing a safe and confidential space for adolescents to express their concerns, seek support, and develop coping strategies, schools can play a vital role in promoting mental health and well-being in the digital age.

Besides, collaboration among stakeholders is essential to address social media-related mental health issues comprehensively. Parents, educators, mental health professionals, policymakers, and technology companies must work together to develop and implement strategies that promote digital well-being and mitigate the negative effects of social media on adolescent mental health. This collaboration can take

various forms, including the development of school-based mental health programs, the implementation of digital literacy initiatives, and the establishment of guidelines and regulations to promote responsible technology use (Hollis et al., 2015). Additionally, technology companies have a responsibility to prioritize the safety and well-being of their users by implementing robust safeguards and moderation policies on their platforms. This includes measures such as age verification mechanisms, content moderation algorithms, and reporting tools to address cyberbullying, harassment, and harmful content (Livingstone & Helsper, 2020). By working collaboratively with researchers, policymakers, and advocacy groups, technology companies can develop evidence-based solutions to mitigate the negative effects of social media on adolescent mental health and promote a safer and more supportive online environment.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The impact of social media on adolescent mental health is a complex and multifaceted issue with significant implications for practice and research. Through our exploration of various aspects of this topic, several key findings and implications have emerged. Firstly, we have highlighted the pervasive influence of social media on adolescent mental health, including its role in shaping self-esteem, body image, and social comparison processes. The prevalence of cyberbullying, fear of missing out (FOMO), and excessive screen time further underscores the importance of addressing social media-related stressors in adolescent populations. Secondly, we have discussed the protective factors and resilience-building strategies that can mitigate the negative effects of social media on adolescent well-being. From parental involvement and support to school-based interventions and collaboration among stakeholders, there are numerous opportunities to promote digital literacy, online safety, and mental health resources for adolescents navigating the digital landscape.

Moving forward, future research on social media and adolescent mental health should continue to explore emerging trends, challenges, and interventions in this rapidly evolving field. Longitudinal studies tracking the long-term effects of social media use on adolescent development, as well as cross-cultural research examining cultural variations in social media practices and their impact on mental health, can provide valuable insights into the complex interplay between technology, culture, and well-being. Moreover, there is a need for innovative interventions and strategies to promote positive digital citizenship, resilience, and well-being among adolescents in the digital age. This includes the development of evidence-based programs, policies, and resources that empower adolescents to navigate social

media responsibly, build healthy relationships, and prioritize their mental health and well-being.

In conclusion, while social media presents both opportunities and challenges for adolescent mental health, it is clear that concerted efforts are needed to address the complex interplay between technology, society, and well-being. By promoting collaboration among stakeholders, fostering resilience in adolescents, and advancing research on social media and adolescent mental health, we can create a safer, healthier, and more supportive digital environment for future generations.

REFERENCES

- [1] Cain, N., & Gradisar, M. (2010). *Electronic Media Use and Sleep in School-Aged Children and Adolescents: A Review*. *Sleep Medicine*, 11(8), 735-742.
- [2] Elhai, J. D., Levine, J. C., Dvorak, R. D., & Hall, B. J. (2018). *Fear of Missing Out, Need for Touch, Anxiety and Depression are Related to Problematic Smartphone Use*. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 84, 360-367.
- [3] Fardouly, J., Diedrichs, P. C., Vartanian, L. R., & Halliwell, E. (2015). *Social Comparisons on Social Media: The Impact of Facebook on Young Women's Body Image Concerns and Mood*. *Body Image*, 13, 38-45.
- [4] Gallagher, K. C., & Cole, D. A. (2007). *The Development of Felt and Enacted Stigma: Age, Gender, and Visibility Considerations*. *Journal of Mental Health*, 16(2), 259-267.
- [5] Hollis, C., Falconer, C. J., Martin, J. L., Whittington, C., Stockton, S., Glazebrook, C., & Davies, E. B. (2015). *Annual Research Review: Digital Health Interventions for Children and Young People with Mental Health Problems—A Systematic and Meta-Review*. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 56(3), 369-388.
- [6] Huebner, E. S., & Dew, T. (1996). *The Interrelationships of Positive Affect, Negative Affect, and Life Satisfaction in an Adolescent Sample*. *Social Indicators Research*, 38(2), 129-137.
- [7] Huebner, E. S., Gilman, R., & Laughlin, J. E. (1999). *A Multimethod Investigation of the Multidimensionality of Children's Well-Being Reports: Discriminant Validity of Life Satisfaction and Self-Esteem*. *Social Indicators Research*, 46(1), 1-22.
- [8] Livingstone, S., & Haddon, L. (2009). *EU Kids Online: Final Report*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online.
- [9] Livingstone, S., & Helsper, E. (2020). *Online Risk, Safety, and Harm: A Review of the Evidence*. In S. Livingstone, L. Haddon, & A. Görzig (Eds.), *Children, Risk, and Safety Online: Research and Policy Challenges in Comparative Perspective* (pp. 75-91). Bristol University Press.
- [10] Livingstone, S., & Third, A. (2017). *Children and Young People's Rights in the Digital Age: An Emerging Agenda*. *New Media & Society*, 19(5), 657-670.
- [11] Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). *The Construct of Resilience: A Critical Evaluation and Guidelines for Future Work*. *Child Development*, 71(3), 543-562.
- [12] Przybylski, A. K., Murayama, K., DeHaan, C. R., & Gladwell, V. (2013). *Motivational, Emotional, and Behavioral Correlates of Fear of Missing Out*. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(4), 1841-1848.
- [13] Radesky, J. S., Schumacher, J., & Zuckerman, B. (2016). *Mobile and Interactive Media Use by Young Children: The Good, the Bad, and the Unknown*. *Pediatrics*, 138(5), e20162593.
- [14] Rosen, L. D. (2018). *The Distracted Mind: Ancient Brains in a High-Tech World*. MIT Press.
- [15] Twenge, J. M. (2019). *iGen: Why Today's Super-Connected Kids Are Growing Up Less Rebellious, More Tolerant, Less Happy--and Completely Unprepared for Adulthood--and What That Means for the Rest of Us*. Atria Books.