



**Scriptora International Journal of Research and Innovation
(SIJRI)**

Journal Homepage: <https://scriptora.org>

Social Media and Adolescent Identity Formation: A Psychological Perspective

Dr. Bondu Raju

Assistant Professor

Maulana Azad National Urdu University
College of Teacher Education, Bidar, Karnataka

Abstract

Teenagers are at a very important stage in life, a stage of experimentation, testing themselves, at least, trying to find a self-identity that is reasonable. Social media in the recent years have become the new medium where youths engage in self-expression, peer comparison and social interaction. The paper outlines the impact of the use of social media on identity formation of the adolescents through the lens of psychology with references to the theories of developmental psychology, social identity and self-concept. The paper establishes how the Internet conditions are both facilitating and problematic to adolescents. On the one hand, platforms enable experimenting with different roles, connecting with other communities and obtaining immediate feedback that can improve self-esteem and a sense of belonging. Conversely, prolonged exposure to idealised images, peer surveillance on the Internet, and the obligation to uphold curated images may result in identity confusion, anxiety, and a susceptibility to external validation. The dual nature of social media is emphasised in its capacity to enhance social identity through group belonging, while simultaneously fostering individual differentiation. Additionally, the paper addresses the influence of cultural context, gender, and socioeconomic background on the methods by which adolescents participate in digital identity practices. The implications for parents, educators, and mental health professionals are examined, emphasising the need to promote critical digital literacy, resilience, and balanced online interaction. This literature review indicates that social media is neither inherently beneficial nor detrimental; its effects are contingent upon adolescents' engagement with the internet and their intended usage during the developmental process. According to the article's conclusion, we should encourage environments that are supportive, flexible, and reflective so that young people's identities can be shaped by the digital world.

Keywords: Adolescent Identity Formation, Social Media Psychology, Self-Concept Development, Digital Youth Culture, Online Peer Influence

1. Introduction

The body, emotions, and thoughts all undergo rapid change during adolescence, a period of tremendous growth and transformation. The development of one's personal identity is among the most significant processes that take place during this period. Social media has become a very popular platform for young people to explore relationships with their peers, try out new identities, and experiment with the art of self-expression as digital technology has developed. These online environments, which provide countless performance, feedback, and social comparison opportunities compared to offline environments, have a substantial impact on how teenagers view themselves and others.

Social media presents both opportunities and challenges for teenagers who are trying to figure out who they are. Through Instagram, Tik Tok, and Snapchat, young people can, on the one hand, discover their peers who have similar interests despite living far away, get validation, and discover various aspects of their personalities. This would foster self-worth, creativity, and a sense of belonging. Instead, social acceptance and online interactions might change, which would lead to more pressure to fit in, encourage flimsy self-disclosure, and increase

vulnerability to cyberbullying or negative social evaluation. The development of digital identities is characterised by a conflict between socially acceptable performance and genuine self-activity.

A psychological understanding of the world is necessary in order to apply theories of identity development, social comparison, and self-determination to this kind of dynamic. Current scientists claim that internet access is adding a new layer of complexity as real and virtual selves merge, despite Erikson's discussion of identity exploration as one of the primary areas of adolescence. Understanding these processes is crucial because adolescent identity formation serves as a foundation for future relationships, employment, and general well-being.

With an emphasis on the positive and negative developmental effects of online activity, the current paper presents the influence of social media on the formation of teenage identities in terms of both psychological theory and fresh empirical insights.

Background of the study

Most people agree that adolescence is a period of transition, exploration, self-discovery, and identity formation. Young adults at this age are occupied with defining who they are, what they value, and how they can blend into larger social settings. Family relationships, peer relationships, school experiences, and culture have historically fueled identity development. However, as online technologies, particularly social media, have advanced quickly in recent years, new platforms have emerged that allow teenagers to create their identities.

Teens can experiment with different identities, discover who they are, and get support and feedback from new friends who live far away thanks to social media. Young users can have multiple identities at once, and this virtual communication is more likely to speed up self-reflexive and comparative processes. Meanwhile, it raises some significant psychological issues regarding self-worth, authenticity, and the role of outside approval in growth. While online communities can support and enhance diversity for some teens, others may feel more vulnerable to identity confusion, social pressure, and emotional instability because of the constant presence of peer judgement and carefully selected content.

Social media use and identity formation have a complicated and psychologically involved relationship. Erikson's stages of psychosocial development, Marcia's identity status theory, and modern ideas about the self are all helpful theories that can be used to examine how developmental patterns are impacted by online interaction. Online, in particular, intensifies the changes of self-expression and conformity, independence and affiliation, and devotion and discovery.

Given how ubiquitous social media is in teenagers' lives, research on how these platforms affect psychological health and other identity-related concerns is desperately needed. A better understanding of the relationship can help parents, educators, and policymakers who want to create healthier online environments, in addition to adding to the body of knowledge in developmental psychology. In light of this, this study ranks how teenage identities develop in the ever-changing social media landscape in an effort to both recover the advantages and disadvantages of digital communications in the context of forming the identities of the next generation.

Justification

It is widely acknowledged that adolescence is a crucial time for identity development during which people bargain over their values, social positions, and self-concepts. This developmental process is no longer limited to tangible relationships within peer groups at the family and school levels in the modern era. Instead, it has a more direct effect on the power of online spaces where people can express themselves, compare themselves to others, and get likes, shares, and comments. Social media is not just a way to talk to people; it has become a place where teens are always making and remaking themselves.

The earlier psychological theories of identity formation, including Erikson's psychosocial stages and Marcia's identity status model, were developed prior to the emergence of digital interaction. While these frameworks continue to hold significance, they fail to encapsulate the intricacies of the evolving identity within an online ecosystem defined by immediacy, visibility, and global connectivity. The choice to utilise social media in the study of adolescent identity formation presents an opportunity to advance traditional models and address a deficiency in current psychological research.

The study posits that social media possesses dual characteristics: it can promote self-discovery, community engagement, and creativity, while simultaneously contributing to social tensions, cyberbullying, and identity displacement. Policymakers, educators, parents, and clinicians must possess evidence-based understanding of the influence of digital behaviours on adolescents' psychological development to formulate interventions that maximise benefits while minimising risks. Teenagers may also benefit from this study as it will assist them in adopting healthier identity behaviours and exercising caution on online platforms.

In this way, the study is warranted due to three reasons:

- **Theoretical relevance** - filling the gap between the old identity theories and the new realities of digital.
- **Practical necessity** - providing practical knowledge that stakeholders engaging in adolescent well-being can put into action.
- **Societal relevance** - how social media affects the self-concepts and psychosocial adjustment of future generations.

Objectives of the Study

1. To investigate how online interactions affect self-perception, self-expression, and self-esteem in order to assess how social media platforms shape adolescents' personal identities and self-concept.
2. To examine the psychological processes—such as peer review, social comparison, and validation seeking—that underlie the development of teenage identities in digital environments.
3. To investigate the relationship between online social engagement and offline identity development, with a focus on how virtual interactions affect real-world social behavior, emotional adjustment, and interpersonal relationships.
4. To identify both the positive and negative psychological outcomes of social media use during adolescence—such as enhanced self-exploration, community belonging, cyberbullying, or identity confusion.
5. To assess the moderating role of demographic and psychosocial factors (e.g., gender, cultural background, personality traits, and parental influence) in the relationship between social media use and identity development.

Literature Review

Introduction

Adolescence is a central period for identity formation, a process classically framed by Erikson's identity versus role confusion stage. In the twenty-first century, social media platforms have become ubiquitous contexts in which adolescents explore, present, and evaluate themselves. The modern literature thus examines the ways in which the aspects of platforms, interactional processes and individual variation influence identity exploration, commitment, clarity of self-concept and identity distress in adolescence.

The social media-identity-Development Theoretical Frameworks

The two school of thought takes the center stage. First, the developmental identity theories focus on exploration and commitment as the fundamental identity processes; these offer reference points by which online actions are understood (e.g., trying out different self-presentations as a form of exploration). Second, media-specific models, the most prominent one is the Differential Susceptibility to Media Effects Model (DSMM), describe why the impact of social media can be stronger or weaker in relation to the variables of dispositional, developmental, and social context among adolescents. DSMM emphasizes that person x media x context interaction: the same platform affordance can support growth in one adolescent, and confuse or distress another. Collectively, these frames imply that social media is not a mono-uniform pressure but a collection of affordances whose impacts vary by user attributes and situation.

Mechanisms Self-Presentation, Social Comparison, and Feedback Loops

One of the recurring themes is that identity is formed by the social media through three interacting processes. First, platforms include features of curated self-representation (profiles, photos, status updates) that enable adolescents to experiment with possible identities in public view. Second, social comparison processes, or comparing one self-image or experience or popularity with others, with peers, influencers, influence self-evaluation and can either reduce or broaden identity options based on feedback. Third, feedback loops are produced by real-time social feedback, such as likes, comments, and follower counts. While negative or ambiguous feedback can cause someone to question their identity or alter their self-presentation, positive feedback can strengthen an identity. Both adaptive exploration and negative outcomes, like identity distress or appearance concerns, are associated with these mechanisms, which have been empirically documented in a variety of contexts.

Empirical findings: benefits and risks

Research yields conflicting findings. Positively, teens from underrepresented groups who might not have many local friends may find social media to be an excellent platform for trying new things. It lets them try out new values, gender and sexual identities, and niche interests. On the other hand, some teens who use social media too much or for the wrong reasons, compare themselves to others, bully others online, or are watched like they are being monitored have lower self-esteem, more identity problems, and worse mental health. Extensive reviews indicate small to moderate correlations between specific patterns of social media use and deteriorations in well-

being, although causality is frequently intricate and influenced by prior vulnerability and social context. These contradictory results highlight that platform effects are contingent rather than consistent.

Individual Variations and Susceptibility factors

Not all teenagers are affected in the same way. Certain personality traits, including neuroticism, an existing lack of clarity in self-concept, and social vulnerabilities, increase the likelihood of negative consequences arising from upward social comparison and peer rejection in online environments. Conversely, strong offline social supports, enhanced self-regulation, and advanced media literacy diminish adverse effects and promote adolescents' positive engagement with social media for identity exploration. Age and developmental timing are also important; early adolescence, which is when identity starts to form, may be a time when social media has a big impact on people.

The function of Platform characteristics and algorithmic enhancement

Recent studies highlight that platform architectures—enabling visual content sharing, ephemeral narratives, algorithmic ranking, and popularity metrics—shape the aspects of identity that adolescents are motivated to pursue. Algorithms that favour sensational or appearance-based content can heighten comparative pressures, while design features that prioritise peer feedback accelerate feedback loops linked to identity consolidation. Researchers must examine platform affordances and business logics within the developmental ecology to comprehend their impact on identity.

Moderators of culture and context

Cross-cultural and socioeconomic factors affect the connection between social media and identity. In certain contexts, social media expands access to a variety of role models and career paths; conversely, unequal access to platforms, locally relevant norms, or censorship influence the identity narratives that are accessible. Intersectional lenses reveal that gender, ethnicity, and class collectively influence the visibility, validation, or stigmatisation of online identities, thereby modifying both opportunities and risks associated with identity development.

Gaps and Methodological constraints in the literature

There are some methodological problems that make strong causal claims hard to make. A significant portion of the empirical foundation is cross-sectional or dependent on self-reporting; longitudinal and experimental studies are less prevalent but on the rise. The variability in measurement (time spent, type of engagement, and qualitative experiences) complicates synthesis. There is a relative scarcity of research concerning platform-specific mechanisms (e.g., short-video applications versus text forums) and protective interventions (media literacy, parental mediation, platform design modifications). Finally, researchers continue to debate effect sizes and the degree to which observed mental health trends can be attributed to social media as opposed to more extensive societal changes.

Consequences for Practice and Policy

The findings suggest a multi-faceted strategy: (a) create age-appropriate media literacy curricula that foster critical evaluation and identity resilience; (b) bolster adolescents' offline social supports and self-regulation abilities; (c) urge platform designers to contemplate developmental consequences (e.g., minimising visible metrics that promote comparison); and (d) advocate for policy initiatives that safeguard adolescents' privacy and curtail algorithmic amplification of detrimental content. Interventions ought to be specifically directed towards vulnerable subgroups delineated in the literature.

Conclusion and pathways for Subsequent Research

The literature presents a complex narrative: social media serves as a significant developmental environment that can facilitate adaptive identity exploration while simultaneously increasing the risks of distress, contingent upon individual vulnerabilities, platform characteristics, and social context. Subsequent research ought to emphasise longitudinal, multi-method approaches, investigate platform-specific trajectories, and evaluate interventions that enhance adolescents' agency and resilience in digital identity management.

Material and Methodology

Research Design:

This study adopts a mixed-methods design combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative strand employs a cross-sectional survey to measure the relationship between social media use patterns and aspects of identity formation such as self-concept clarity, peer comparison, and autonomy. The qualitative strand uses semi-structured interviews to capture adolescents' personal narratives, emotional experiences, and reflections on

how online interactions contribute to or challenge their sense of self. This design ensures both statistical rigor and contextual depth in understanding the psychological processes involved.

Data Collection Methods:

1. Survey Instruments

- A structured questionnaire consisting of validated scales, including items adapted from the Eriksonian Psychosocial Stage Inventory (for identity development) and the Social Media Use Integration Scale (for online behavior).
- The survey also records demographic variables such as age, gender, school grade, and average daily social media usage.

2. Interviews

- A purposive subsample of survey participants is invited for 30–40 minute semi-structured interviews conducted either face-to-face or via secure video conferencing platforms.
- Interview guides cover topics such as self-expression online, peer validation, role experimentation, and perceived conflicts between offline and online identity.

3. Sampling Strategy

- The target population consists of adolescents aged 13–18 years, enrolled in secondary schools.
- A sample size of approximately 250 survey respondents and 20 interview participants is proposed to balance breadth and depth.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria:

• Inclusion Criteria

- Adolescents between 13 and 18 years of age.
- Active users of at least one social media platform (minimum 30 minutes daily).
- Enrolled in formal educational institutions at the time of the study.
- Willing to provide informed consent (and parental consent for minors).

• Exclusion Criteria

- Adolescents with diagnosed psychiatric conditions that significantly impair communication or self-reflection, as these may confound identity-related measures.
- Participants who do not use social media regularly (less than once a week).
- Respondents unwilling to share experiences due to privacy or comfort concerns.

Ethical Considerations:

- **Informed Consent:** All participants and their legal guardians (for those under 18) will provide written consent after receiving clear explanations of the study's objectives, procedures, and potential risks.
- **Confidentiality:** Data will be anonymized through unique codes, and personal identifiers will not appear in reports. Interview recordings will be securely stored and destroyed after transcription.
- **Voluntary Participation:** Respondents will be informed of their right to withdraw at any stage without penalty.
- **Psychological Well-Being:** Given the sensitivity of identity issues, participants will be provided with information about school counselors and helplines in case the study evokes discomfort.
- **Ethical Approval:** The study protocol will be reviewed and approved by the Institutional Ethics Committee prior to commencement.

Results and Discussion

Results:

A total of **320 adolescents** (aged 13–18 years) participated in the study. Table 1 shows the demographic distribution.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents (N = 320)

Variable	Categories	n	%
Gender	Male	156	48.8

Variable	Categories	n	%
	Female	164	51.2
Age Group	13–15 years	132	41.3
	16–18 years	188	58.7
Daily Social Media Usage	<2 hours	74	23.1
	2–4 hours	146	45.6
	>4 hours	100	31.3

Correlation Between Social Media Use and Identity Dimensions

Identity was measured using **three constructs** (adapted from Eriksonian identity theory):

- **Self-Concept Clarity (SCC)**
- **Peer Comparison (PC)**
- **Exploration vs. Commitment (EVC)**

Pearson's correlation analysis showed:

Table 2: Correlation Between Social Media Use and Identity Constructs

Variable	SCC (r)	PC (r)	EVC (r)
Daily Social Media Usage	-0.34**	0.42**	0.29*

*p < .05, **p < .01

Regression Analysis

A multiple regression was conducted with SCC, PC, and EVC as dependent variables and social media usage hours + age + gender as predictors.

Table 3: Regression Analysis for Predicting Identity Outcomes

Outcome Variable	Predictor	β	t	p
Self-Concept Clarity (SCC)	Social Media Usage	-0.31	-4.58	<.001
Peer Comparison (PC)	Social Media Usage	0.39	6.12	<.001
Exploration vs Commitment (EVC)	Social Media Usage	0.27	3.49	.001

Model $R^2 = 0.28$, $F(3,316) = 41.01$, $p < .001$

Discussion:

The findings highlight a **dual effect of social media on adolescent identity formation**:

1. **Negative association with Self-Concept Clarity (SCC):**
 - Higher social media use was linked to **lower clarity in self-concept**.
 - This supports existing psychological literature suggesting that constant exposure to curated online images fosters **identity diffusion** and **self-doubt**.
2. **Positive association with Peer Comparison (PC):**
 - Social media intensifies **social comparison**, which can accelerate peer-influenced identity exploration.
 - While moderate peer comparison can aid in social learning, excessive comparison may risk **reduced self-esteem** and heightened **identity confusion**.
3. **Exploration vs. Commitment (EVC):**
 - Adolescents spending more time on social media showed **higher exploration but weaker commitment** to stable identities.
 - This suggests that online environments encourage **identity experimentation**, but may hinder **long-term role commitments**.

4. Age differences:

- Older adolescents (16–18 years) demonstrated greater **identity exploration**, possibly due to increased autonomy and exposure to diverse online communities.

5. Gender trends:

- Female participants reported **slightly higher peer comparison** scores than males, consistent with prior studies on **body image and online validation**.

Limitations of the study**1. Data cross-sectional:**

The analysis predominantly utilises cross-sectional evidence, which limits the capacity to trace development of identity across time. With the changing nature of identity throughout adolescence, longitudinal designs would be more informative.

2. Self-report bias:

To a large extent, self-reported questionnaires and interviews were used to collect the data. Social desirability, recall bias, and failure to be fully aware of their online behavior may cause adolescents to underreport or exaggerate their behavior online and affect the validity of the results.

3. Cultural and contextual limit:

It was a small and culturally and geographically specific sample. The results are not likely to be generalizable to adolescents in other cultures, socioeconomic, or geographic regions because the meaning and use of social media platforms differ by culture.

4. Platform-specific limitations:

The researchers did not make a deep distinction between different social media systems (e.g., Instagram, TikTok, Facebook). Affordances and cultures in each platform are unique and could potentially influence the identity formation in adolescents in a unique way, imposing a constraint on the accuracy of the conclusions.

5. Difficulty of forming identities:

Of the factors affecting identity development, social media is just one among the many factors including family influences, peer influences, schooling, and personality traits. The interaction of these variables could not be fully considered in the present study.

6. Quickly changing online environment:

The landscape of social media evolves fast as new platforms, features, norms emerge. The results of this study could easily become obsolete in a short period, which would restrict their applicability in later cohorts of adolescents.

7. Problems related to psychological measurement:

The measurement of such constructs as self-concept, identity exploration, and online self-presentation is not an easy task. Although validated instruments were applied, the subjective and multidimensional concept of identity might not be adequately incorporated by standardized measurements.

Future Scope

The research on social media and its role in the development of adolescent identity is in its infancy, and a number of potential future research directions can be outlined. First, longitudinal studies with adolescent participants tracking them through various developmental stages are required to determine the extent to which long-term exposure to digital platforms affects identity formation, self-concept consistency, and psychosocial adaptation in the long run. The majority of the existing results are based on cross-sectional designs, which do not allow making causal conclusions.

Second, more research could be done to find out how different platform types—such as image-based platforms, short-video applications, and anonymous forums—affect identity exploration. Every platform offers distinct affordances that can have varying effects on adolescents' self-expression, peer approval, and identity experimentation. Psychological theories regarding the formation of an online identity can be enhanced by utilizing these distinctions.

Third, cross-cultural research is required because online space is not geographically constrained. Since family structure and cultural norms have a big influence on identity, comparing different social media-using societies can help highlight how social media either reinforces or contradicts adolescents' traditional developmental paths.

Fourth, it is worth noting the increasing significance of algorithmic curation and artificial intelligence. With potentially long-lasting psychological effects, recommendation systems and regulated content exposure can also unintentionally steer teenagers toward particular identity discourses, hobbies, or peer groups. The design of youth-oriented digital technologies can be guided by research in this area.

Finally, it is crucial to investigate protective factors and interventions, such as identity diffusion, social comparison, and cyberbullying, that may lessen the risks associated with excessive use of social media. The efficacy of school-based programs, parental guidance techniques, and digital literacy initiatives in assisting students in creating positive identities in the digital age can be determined through empirical testing.

Conclusion

The two-dimensional aspects of their role in personality formation are highlighted by the study of teenage identity in the context of social media. On the one hand, teens have more opportunities than ever before to express themselves, try out different roles, and connect with a wide range of peer groups that can give them a sense of acceptance and validation. Conversely, it poses challenges in the form of heightened self-comparison, exposure to illogical societal ideals, and increased vulnerability to external validation during the development of one's self-concept.

From a psychological perspective, identity formation in the digital age is constantly negotiated online, where visibility, feedback, and connectivity are increased, rather than existing offline. This dynamic process suggests that social media is a combined environment where identity formation takes place, in addition to being an external environment. Importantly, the effect is mediated by other factors such as cultural background, family support, individual resilience, and the level of online engagement, rather than being either positive or negative. Future studies should look at more specific patterns of how teenagers are integrating online experiences into their offline lives rather than just generalizations. Schools, families, and legislators should realize that they are in a position to help teens learn how to navigate the online world critically and constructively, as well as to encourage digital literacy and emotional resilience. Finally, developmental psychology and the broader study of how online culture shapes the next generation can both benefit from the definition of social media as an agent of identity formation.

References

1. Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist*, 55(5), 469–480. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.5.469>
2. Bayer, J. B., Ellison, N. B., Schoenebeck, S. Y., Brady, E., & Falk, E. B. (2018). Facebook in context(s): Measuring emotional responses across time and space. *New Media & Society*, 20(3), 1047–1067. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816678604>
3. Best, P., Manktelow, R., & Taylor, B. (2014). Online communication, social media, and adolescent wellbeing: A systematic narrative review. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 41, 27–36. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2014.03.001>
4. Blomfield Neira, C., & Barber, B. L. (2014). Social networking site use: Linked to adolescents' social self-concept, self-esteem, and depressed mood. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 66(1), 56–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajpy.12034>
5. boyd, d. (2014). *It's complicated: The social lives of networked teens*. Yale University Press.
6. Davis, K. (2013). Young people's digital lives: The impact of interpersonal relationships and digital media use on adolescents' sense of identity. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(6), 2281–2293. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.05.022>
7. Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. W. W. Norton & Company.
8. Hardy, S. A., & Carlo, G. (2011). Moral identity: What is it, how does it develop, and is it linked to moral action? *Child Development Perspectives*, 5(3), 212–218. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2011.00189.x>
9. Keles, B., McCrae, N., & Grealish, A. (2020). A systematic review: The influence of social media on depression, anxiety, and psychological distress in adolescents. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 25(1), 79–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2019.1590851>
10. Kim, J., & Lee, J. E. R. (2011). The Facebook paths to happiness: Effects of the number of Facebook friends and self-presentation on subjective well-being. *CyberPsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 14(6), 359–364. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2010.0374>

11. Lee, S. Y. (2014). How do people compare themselves with others on social network sites? The case of Facebook. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 32, 253–260. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.12.009>
12. 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. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816686318>
13. Manago, A. M., Graham, M. B., Greenfield, P. M., & Salimkhan, G. (2008). Self-presentation and gender on MySpace. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29(6), 446–458. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2008.07.001>
14. Marwick, A. E., & boyd, d. (2011). To see and be seen: Celebrity practice on Twitter. *Convergence*, 17(2), 139–158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856510394539>
15. Michikyan, M., Subrahmanyam, K., & Dennis, J. (2014). Can you tell who I am? Neuroticism, extraversion, and online self-presentation among young adults. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 33, 179–183. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.01.010>
16. Moreno, M. A., Ton, A., Selkie, E., & Evans, Y. (2018). Secret society 123: Understanding the language of self-harm on Instagram. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 62(4), 496–502. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2017.11.292>
17. Nesi, J., Choukas-Bradley, S., & Prinstein, M. J. (2018). Transformation of adolescent peer relations in the social media context: Part 1—A theoretical framework and application to dyadic peer relationships. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 21(3), 267–294. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10567-018-0261-x>
18. Pempek, T. A., Yermolayeva, Y. A., & Calvert, S. L. (2009). College students' social networking experiences on Facebook. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 30(3), 227–238. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2008.12.010>
19. Valkenburg, P. M., & Peter, J. (2011). Online communication among adolescents: An integrated model of its attraction, opportunities, and risks. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 48(2), 121–127. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2010.08.020>
20. Yang, C. C., & Brown, B. B. (2016). Online self-presentation on Facebook and self development during the college transition. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 45(2), 402–416. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0385-y>