# Social Media Use and Self-Perceived Popularity in Early Adolescents: Bidirectional Effects and Impact on Psychological Adjustment

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#### **Perceived Popularity**

Reputation of visibility and dominance within the peer hierarchy



... vs. sociometric popularity or likeability

### Transformation Framework: Social Media Alters Peer Status Processes



Social media use may amplify awareness of and desire for perceived popularity

Accessibility





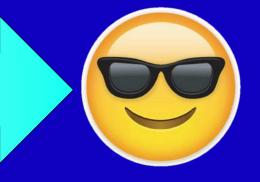
**Publicness** 

**1** +5,000

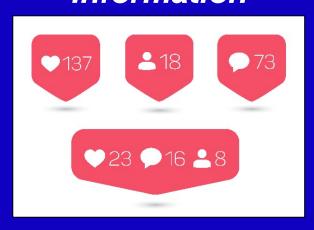
### Transformation Framework: Social Media Alters Peer Status Processes



Social media use may heighten perceived popularity concerns and demands



#### Quantifiable Status Information



#### Pressure to Maintain or Increase Popularity

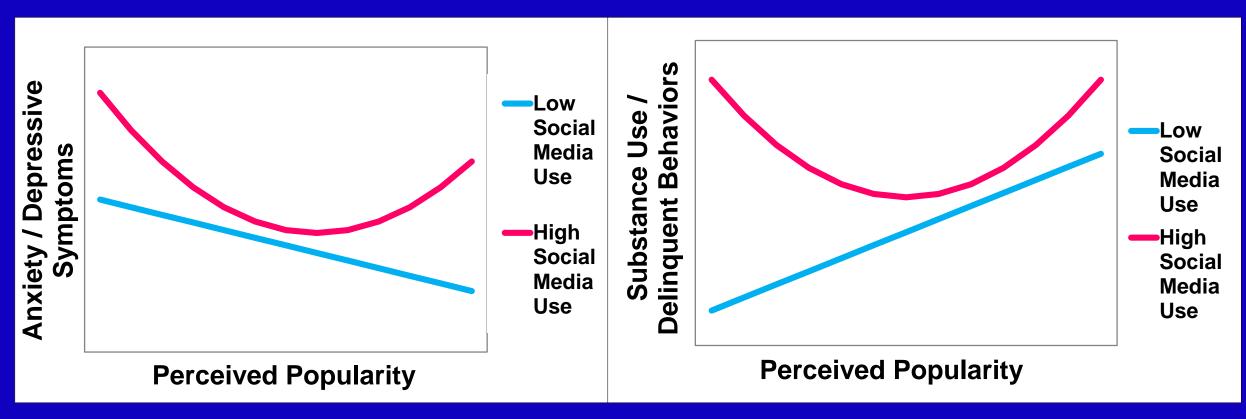
- Novel content
- Social connections
- Staying "in the loop"
- Drama
- Cyberaggression



# Transformation Framework: Social Media, Perceived Popularity, and Psychological Adjustment

Internalizing Problems

**Externalizing Problems** 



### Research on Social Media Use and Popularity in Adolescents

- More frequent social media use is associated with a greater desire for popularity
- 37-43% feel pressure to post content that will
  - Make themselves look good
  - Receive many likes and comments
- Higher peer-perceived popularity is linked to more frequent
  - Social media use
  - Number of likes and photos with peers
  - Technology-mediated social comparison and feedback seeking
  - Digital status seeking

### Research on Social Media Use, Popularity, and Psychological Adjustment in Adolescents

- More frequent technology-mediated social comparison and feedback seeking predicted greater depressive symptoms
  - Stronger among those low in popularity
- Greater digital status seeking predicted higher levels of substance use and sexual risk behaviors



#### Role of Gender

Girls

Appearance

Stress (low/high)
Anxiety (low/high)

Instagram/Snapchat
Posting photos
Social comparison
Feedback seeking
Cyberaggression

#### Perceived Popularity

Social abilities
Relational aggression

Depressive symptoms (low) Alcohol consumption (high) Delinquent behaviors (high)

#### Social Media Use

Pressure to post popular content
Digital status seeking
Links to risk behavior

Athletic ability Toughness

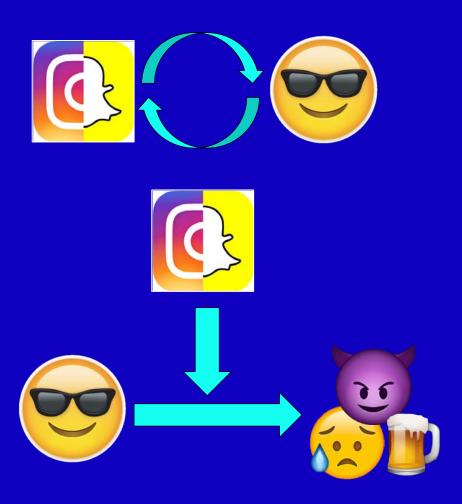
Physical aggression (low/high)
Binge drinking (high)

Boys

t Videogames
Entertainment
Posting funny videos

#### **Study Objectives**

- Examine the bidirectional relationships between social media use and perceived popularity among early adolescents
- 2. Evaluate whether social media use moderates the relationship between perceived popularity and risk for psychological adjustment problems
- 3. Investigate gender differences



#### **Participants**

• 1,345 early adolescents (11-14 years; 51% girls)

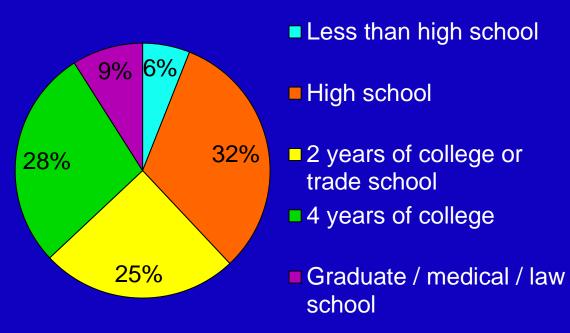


 Participating in the PANDA Project (longitudinal study examining predictors of <u>an</u>xiety and <u>depression in adolescence</u>)

#### Racial/Ethnic Background

# Non-Hispanic White Black or African American Hispanic or Latinx Asian Multi-Racial/Ethnic Other

#### **Parental Education**



#### PANDA Project Recruitment



#### **Schools**

- Grades 7 and 8
- 5 public middle schools
- Rural, suburban, and urban

#### **Student Population**

- 48% free or discounted lunch
- 9% English language learners

#### **PANDA Project Procedures**





Fall 2016 (T1) **Spring 2017 (T2)** 

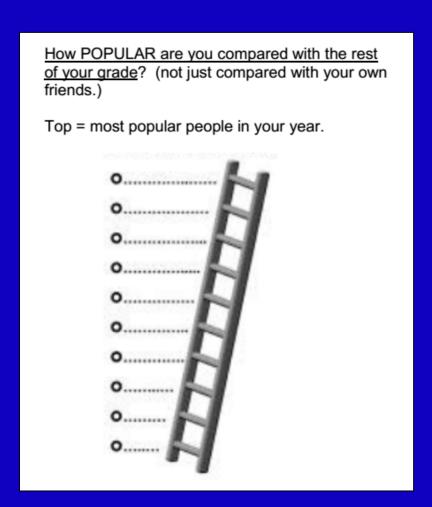
Fall 2017 (T3)

#### Measures

#### Perceived Popularity



- Subjective Social Status Scale
  - Sense of place within the peer hierarchy
  - Strong, positive association with peerperceived popularity ( $\eta^2 = .27$ )
  - Large, positive correlations with selfperceptions of being powerful, respected, and attractive (*r*s = .60-.72)



#### Measures

#### Social Media Use



Average frequency of using Instagram and Snapchat

Never (0) Less than once a week (1)

Once a week (2)

Several times a week (3)

Once a day (4) Several times a day (5)

Once an hour (6)

Several times an hour (7)

Almost constantly (8)





#### Measures

#### Psychological Adjustment 😥 🏢 🐷







Construct	Measure	Sample Item	Scale	α
Anxiety Symptoms	Screen for Child Anxiety Related Disorders (SCARED)	I am nervous	SCARED Total Score	.9495
Depressive Symptoms	Center for Epidemiological Studies, Scale for Depression in Children (CES-DC)	I feel sad	CES-DC Total Score	.9193
Total Alcohol Consumption	Alcohol use in the past 6 months	How often did you drink alcohol in the last 6 months?	Quantity x Frequency	
Delinquent Behaviors	Problem Behaviors Survey (PBS)	In the last 6 months, how often did you start physical fights?	PBS Average Total Score	.9596

Birmaher et al., 1999; Gault-Sherman, 2013; Ohannessian, 2009; Weissman, Orvashel, & Padian, 1980

#### **Analytic Plan**

#### Objective 1: Bidirectional Relationships

- Cross-lagged autoregressive path model
  - Self-perceived popularity and social media use (T1, T2, T3)

#### Objective 2: Social Media Use as a Moderator

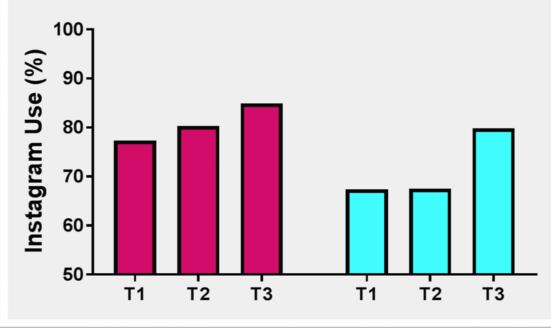
- Path model
  - IVs (T1): popularity, social media use, social media x popularity interaction
  - DVs (T3): anxiety symptoms, depressive symptoms, total alcohol consumption, delinquent behaviors

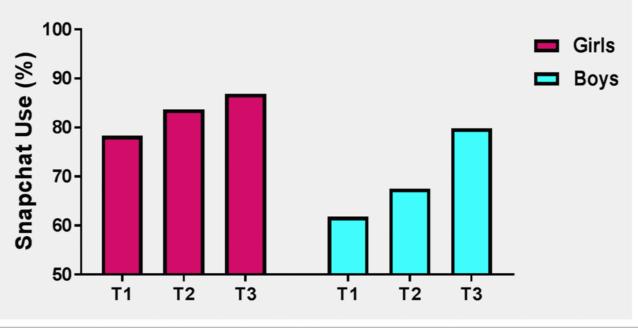
#### Objective 3: Gender Differences

- Multiple group analysis
  - Grouping variable: gender (girls vs. boys)
  - Chi-square difference tests

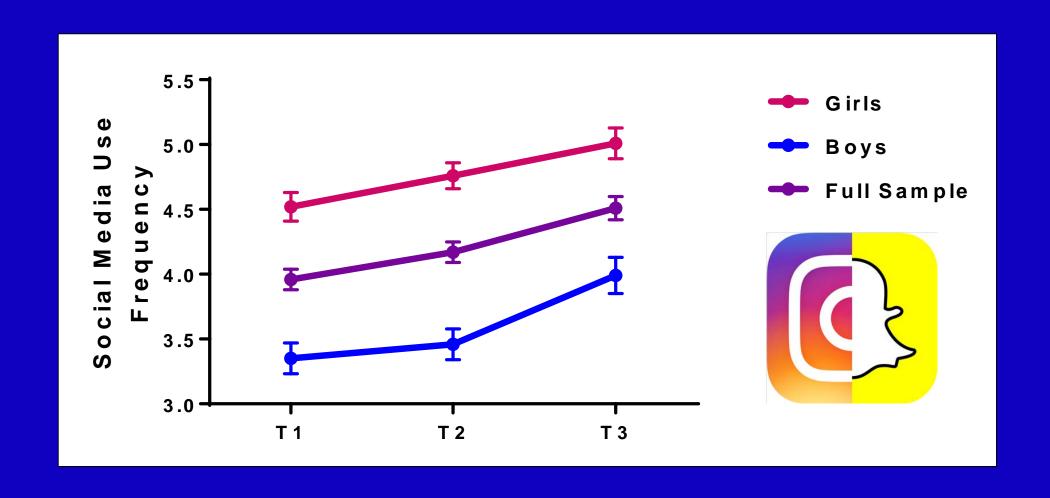
#### **Social Media Use**



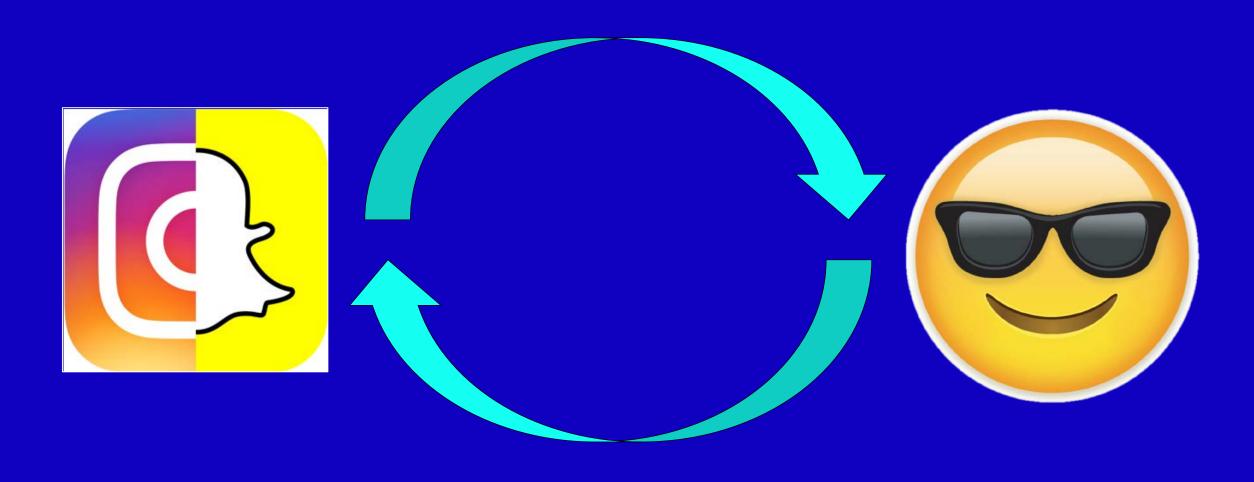




#### Social Media Use Frequency



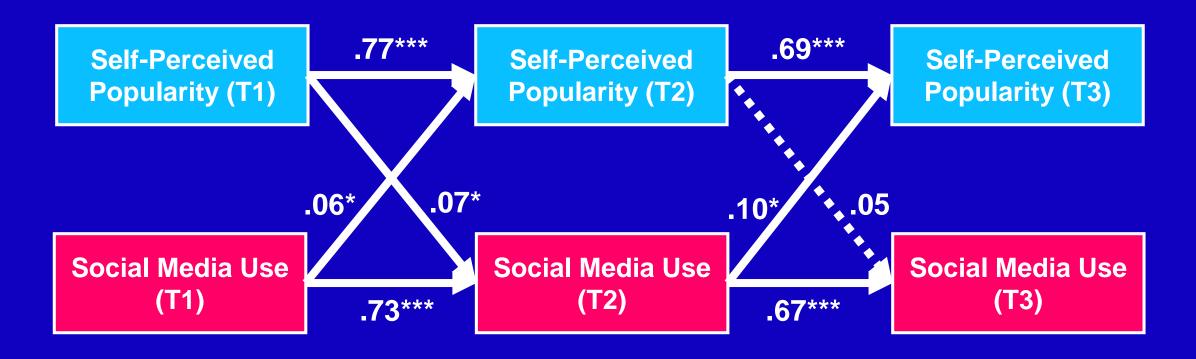
#### Objective 1: Bi-Directional Relationships



#### Multiple Group Analysis by Gender

Model	X²	df	Δ χ²	∆ df	p value
Unconstrained	64.7	14			
Structural Weights	95.9	34	31.2	20	.06
Structural Intercepts	141.2	38	76.5	24	< .001
Structural Means	257.9	43	193.2	29	< .001
Structural Covariances	271.9	55	207.2	41	< .001
Structural Residuals	290.5	61	225.8	47	< .001

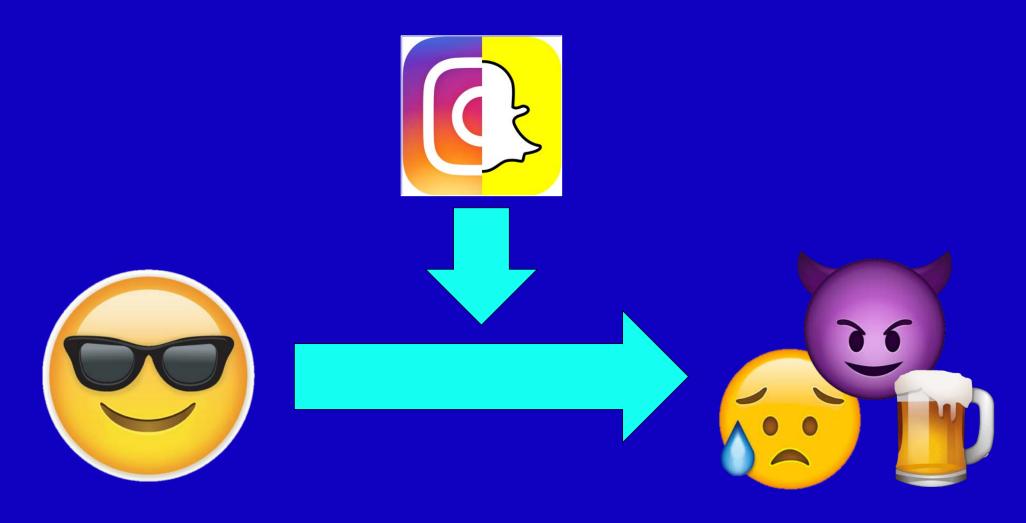
#### Path Model for Full Sample



 $\chi^{2}$  (34) = 98.85, p < .001; CFI = .98; TLI = .97; RMSEA = .04 (.03, .05)

Not shown: covariances, residual variances, and covariates (T1 age, race/ethnicity, perceived socioeconomic status). \* p < .05; \*\* p < .01; \*\*\* p < .001

### Objective 2: Social Media Use as a Moderator



#### Multiple Group Analysis by Gender

Model	Χ²	df	Δ χ²	∆ df	p value
Unconstrained	127.7	30			
Structural Weights	205.1	66	77.4	36	< .001
Structural Intercepts	249.1	70	121.4	40	< .001
Structural Means	495.2	82	367.5	52	< .001
Structural Covariances	917.4	157	789.6	127	< .001
Structural Residuals	991.8	167	864.1	137	< .001

#### **Path Model for Girls**



**Self-Perceived Popularity** 

**Self-Perceived Popularity<sup>2</sup>** 

**Social Media Use x Popularity** 

Social Media Use x Popularity<sup>2</sup>

**Anxiety Symptoms** 

**Depressive Symptoms** 

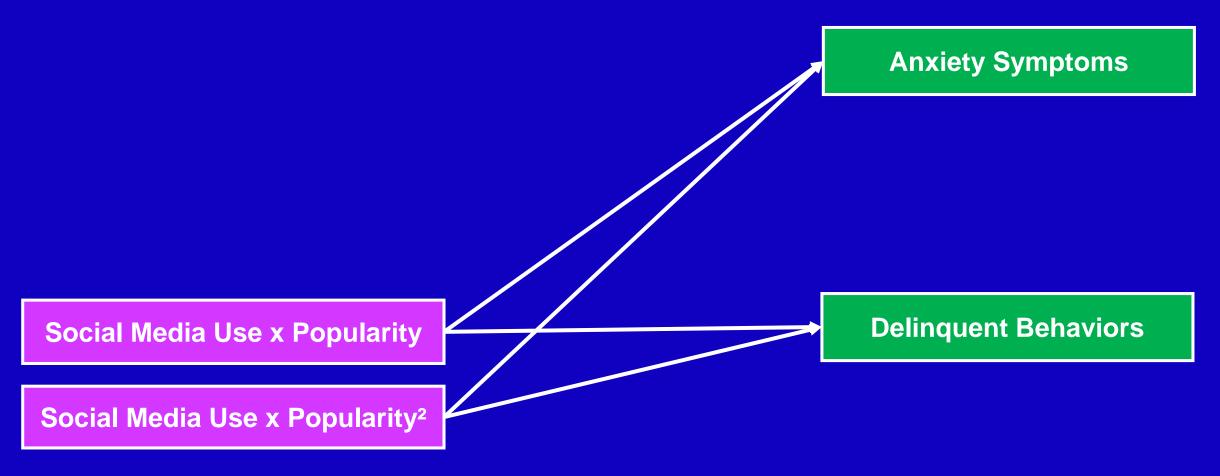
**Total Alcohol Consumption** 

**Delinquent Behaviors** 

 $\chi^{2}$  (30) = 127.7, p < .001; CFI = .99; TLI = .98; RMSEA = .05 (.04, .06)

Not shown: covariances, residual variances, and covariates (T1 age, race/ethnicity, perceived socioeconomic status, psychological adjustment). \* p < .05; \*\* p < .01; \*\*\* p < .001

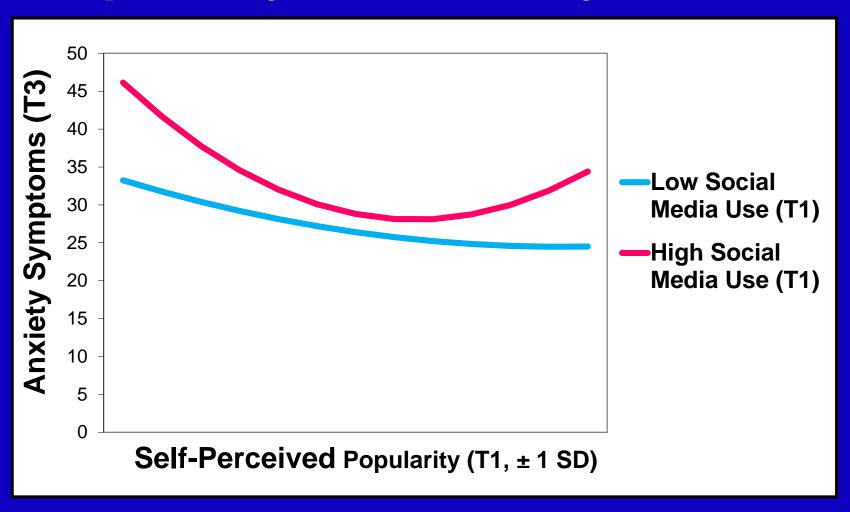
#### Path Model for Girls



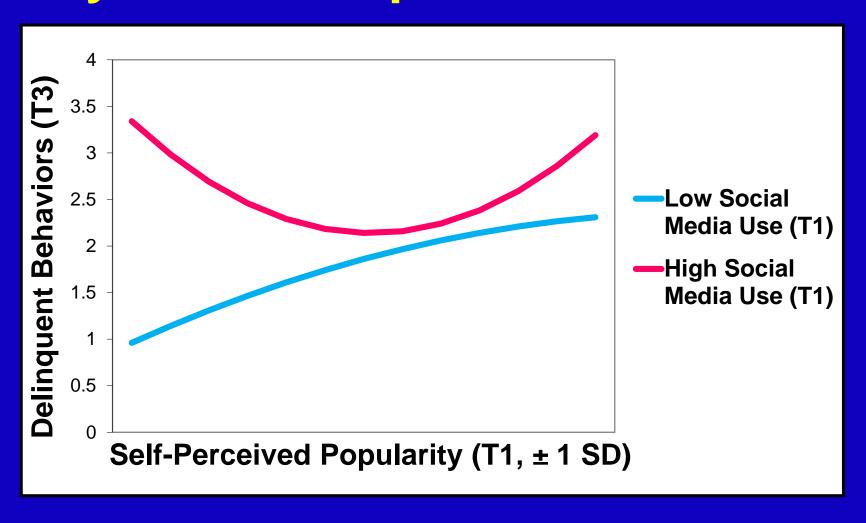
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# Social Media as a Moderator for the Relationship Between Self-Perceived Popularity and Anxiety in Girls



### Social Media as a Moderator for the Relationship Between Self-Perceived Popularity and Delinquent Behaviors in Girls



#### Path Model for Boys



**Self-Perceived Popularity** 

**Self-Perceived Popularity<sup>2</sup>** 

**Social Media Use x Popularity** 

Social Media Use x Popularity<sup>2</sup>

**Anxiety Symptoms** 

**Depressive Symptoms** 

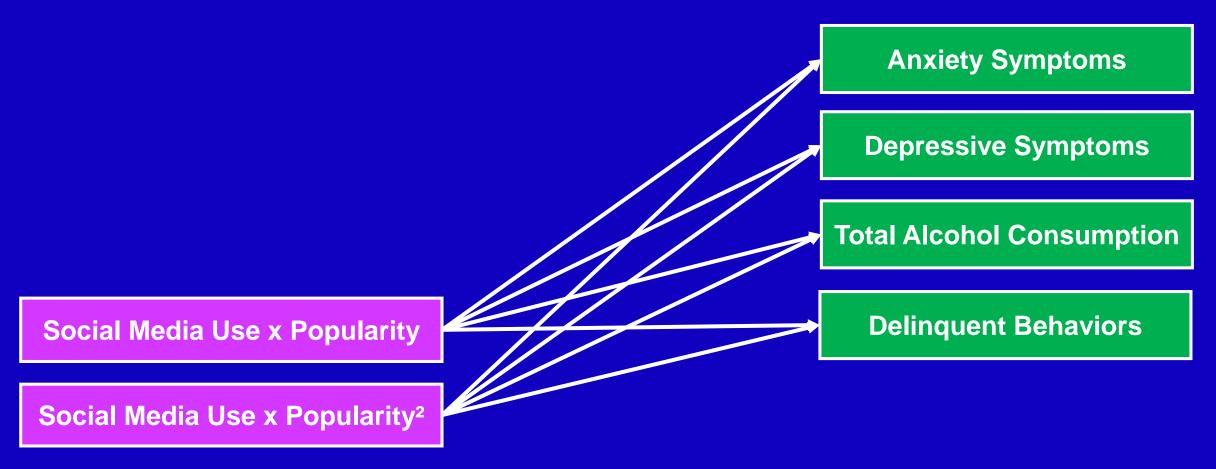
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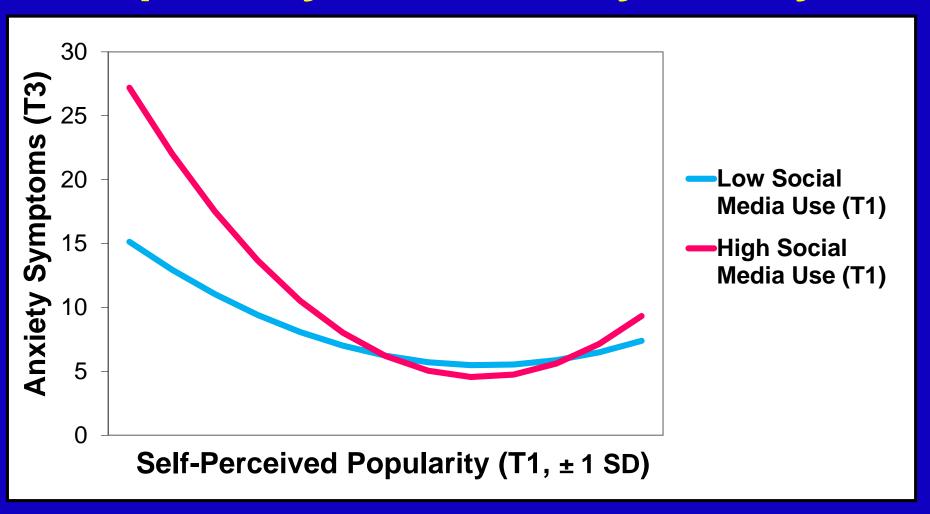
#### Path Model for Boys



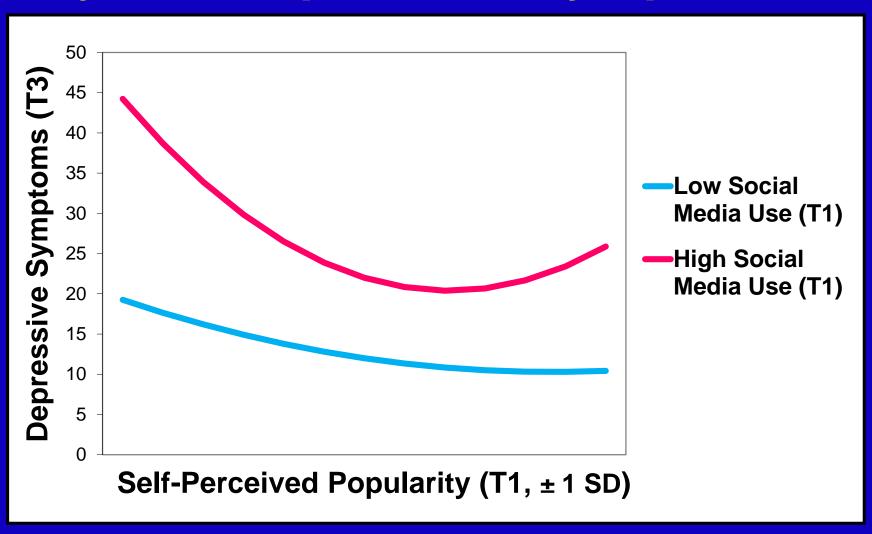
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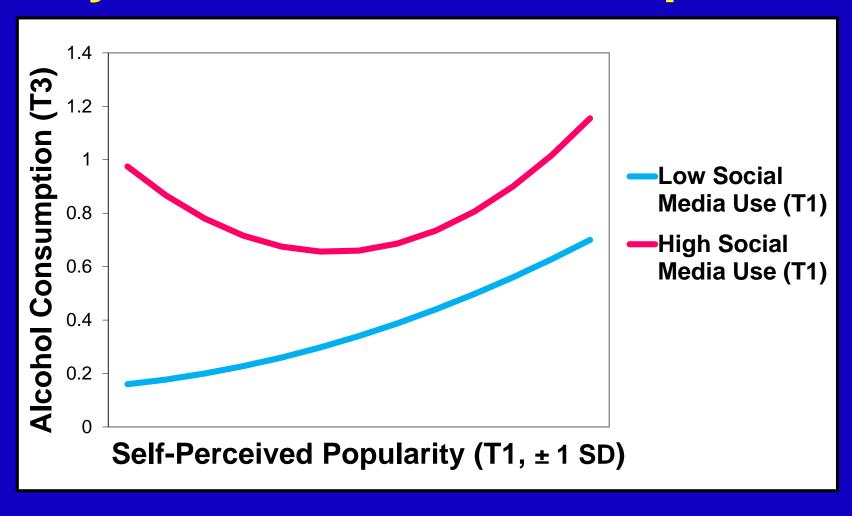
# Social Media as a Moderator for the Relationship Between Self-Perceived Popularity and Anxiety in Boys



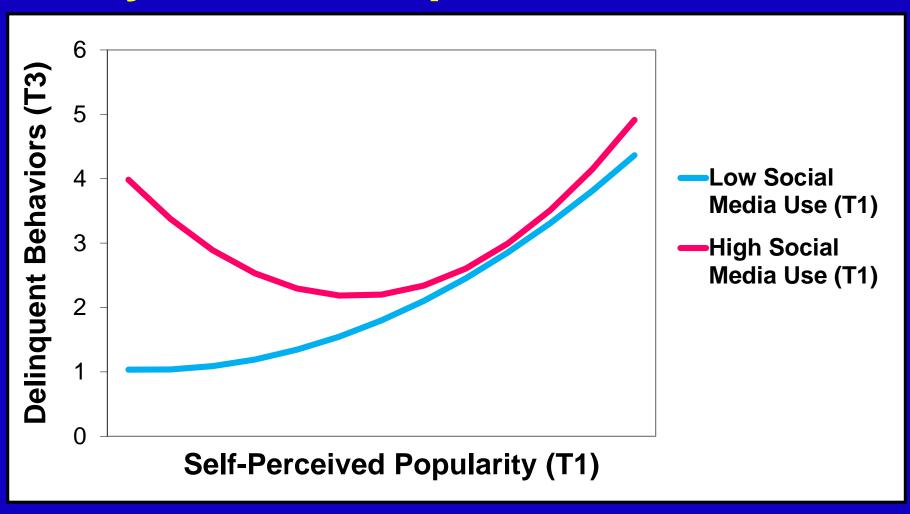
# Social Media as a Moderator for the Relationship Between Self-Perceived Popularity and Depressive Symptoms in Boys



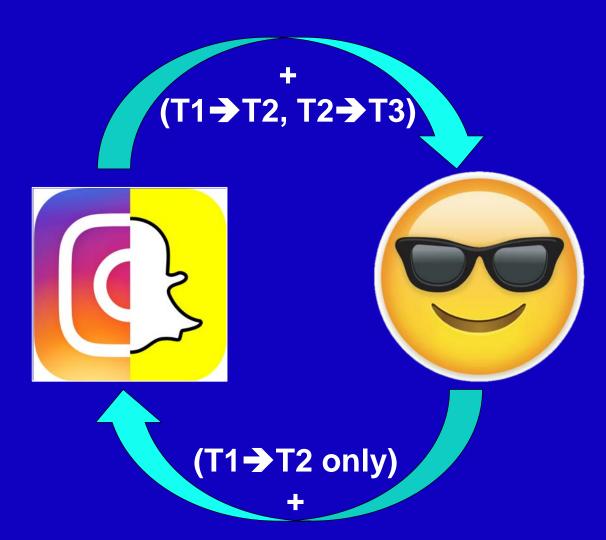
# Social Media as a Moderator for the Relationship Between Self-Perceived Popularity and Alcohol Consumption in Boys



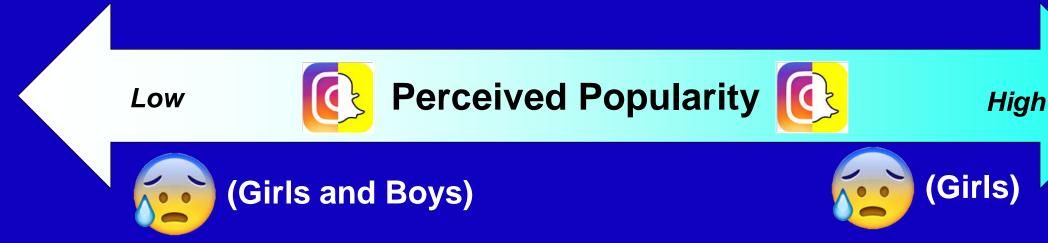
# Social Media as a Moderator for the Relationship Between Self-Perceived Popularity and Delinquent Behaviors in Boys



- Support for transformation framework
- Extends cross-sectional findings in older adolescents
- Quantifiable reinforcement
  - Status seeking behaviors
  - Cyberaggression
- Social enhancement hypothesis ("rich get richer")



Kraut, 2003; Nesi, Choukas-Bradley, & Prinstein, 2018; Nesi & Prinstein, 2015, 2018; Sherman et al., 2016, 2018a, 2018b



#### **Low Popularity**

- Reassurance seeking
- Online victimization
- Implicit negative reactions to popular peers

#### **Common Mechanisms**

- Social comparison
- Peer status worries
- Fears of missing out

#### **High Popularity**

- Pressure to maintain peer status
- Drama and rumors
- Attention bias toward popular peers

Lansu, Cillessen, & Karremans, 2012; Lansu & Troop-Gordon, 2017; Nesi, Choukas-Bradley, & Prinstein, 2018; Nesi & Prinstein, 2015



Social media context may exacerbate social comparison that boys do not otherwise experience



Boys with depression vulnerability may be drawn to seek feedback and reassurance via social media

High

Low



**Perceived Popularity** 



High





(Girls and Boys)

#### **Low Popularity**

- Status seeking
- Reactive aggression
- Boys use alcohol to cope or improve status

#### **Common Mechanisms**

- "Likes" increase motivation for risky behaviors
- Decreased cognitive control when viewing popular photos of risky behaviors





#### **High Popularity**

- Increased pressure
- Status displays of risky behaviors
- Proactive aggression

#### **Strengths and Limitations**

#### Strengths

- Large, diverse sample of early adolescents
- Longitudinal design
- Good retention

#### Limitations

- Self-reports
- General social media use assessment
- Small subgroup of youth identifying as transgender and gender non-binary



#### Conclusions and Implications

- Transformation framework holds utility for conceptualizing how social media influences peer status processes
  - May increase perceived popularity
  - May exacerbate risk for psychological adjustment problems among adolescents low and high in perceived popularity
- Girls and boys more similar than different
- Social development theories need to
  - Expand conceptualization of perceived popularity
  - Address the social media context



#### **Future Directions**

- Broaden assessment strategies
  - Multiple popularity indices
  - Objective social media use measures
- Evaluate mechanisms
  - Digital status seeking
  - Social comparison and feedback seeking
  - Implicit associations and attention
  - Neurobiological processes



 Examine how peer status processes are transformed in the social media context among adolescents from diverse demographic and cultural backgrounds

#### Acknowledgements

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