

Fear of Missing Out, Online Social Comparison, and Self-Identity Formation among Early Adolescents: A Qualitative Case Study in Indonesian Junior Secondary Schools

Yanny Kikis Arlint^{1*}, Septina Alrianingrum², and Kusnul Khotimah³

¹⁻³ Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Indonesia

Abstract

Early adolescence is a critical period for self-identity formation, yet this developmental task is increasingly negotiated within social media environments that intensify Fear of Missing Out (FoMO), online social comparison, and external validation. This study examines how FoMO and online social comparison shape identity exploration and commitment among early adolescents in Indonesian junior secondary schools. Using a qualitative case study design, data were collected in three public schools in South Surabaya. A screening questionnaire was administered to 270 Grade VIII students, followed by purposive selection of 27 adolescents aged 12-15 years for semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, field notes, and ethically guided digital content analysis. Data were analyzed through interactive qualitative analysis supported by source triangulation, member checking, and peer debriefing. The findings show that FoMO manifested as disconnection anxiety, compulsive checking of engagement metrics, trend-based conformity, and dependence on peer validation. Online social comparison widened the discrepancy between actual and ideal selves, producing fluctuating self-esteem and self-concept incongruence. Within Marcia's identity status framework, participants predominantly displayed anxious identity moratorium and premature identity foreclosure. The study contributes to adolescent identity theory by contextualizing FoMO within a collectivist Indonesian school setting and highlights the need for critical digital literacy and school-based counseling interventions.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received : 5 February 2026

Revised : 9 May 2026

Accepted : 20 May 2026

KEYWORDS

Early adolescence; Fear of Missing Out; Identity status; Online social comparison; Self-identity; Social media

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY 4.0) license.

CORRESPONDING AUTHOR

*Yanny Kikis Arlint, Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Indonesia. Email: 25040885006@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Introduction

Early adolescence has become one of the most consequential developmental periods for examining the relationship between digital media and self-identity. During this stage, adolescents are expected to move from childhood dependency toward a more coherent sense of self, yet this transition occurs while they remain highly sensitive to peer evaluation, social acceptance, and symbolic recognition. Classical developmental theory conceptualizes adolescence as a psychosocial negotiation between identity and role confusion, whereas identity status theory specifies that adolescents move through patterns of exploration and commitment that may lead to identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, or diffusion (Erikson, 1968; Kroger & Marcia, 2011; Marcia, 1966). Contemporary adolescents, however, no longer conduct this developmental work only through family interaction, school participation, and face-to-face peer relations. Their self-exploration also unfolds within networked digital environments that make comparison, visibility, and feedback immediate, persistent, and quantifiable (Boyd, 2014; Marwick & boyd, 2011; Nesi et al., 2018). Consequently,

identity formation in early adolescence must be understood not merely as an internal developmental process, but as a socially mediated and platform-conditioned experience.

The relevance of this issue is particularly visible in Indonesia, where adolescent social life is increasingly embedded in mobile connectivity and social media participation. National digital data show that internet and social media access has become a dominant feature of Indonesian everyday life, including among school-aged populations (APJII, 2024; DataReportal, 2025). In urban school contexts, platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, WhatsApp, and YouTube do not function only as entertainment channels; they also operate as arenas for peer affiliation, trend participation, self-display, and symbolic belonging. This transformation is educationally significant because schools are no longer the only structured sites in which students encounter peer norms and social expectations. Instead, adolescent interaction is increasingly shaped by an always-on digital environment in which visibility, response speed, and engagement metrics are treated as indicators of social relevance (Nesi, 2020; Valkenburg et al., 2022; Zhao et al., 2008). For early adolescents aged 12-15 years, whose self-concept and self-esteem remain unstable and socially responsive, these platform dynamics may intensify psychological vulnerability while simultaneously providing opportunities for self-expression.

One of the most widely discussed psychological constructs in this context is Fear of Missing Out (FoMO), defined as a pervasive apprehension that others may be having rewarding experiences from which one is absent (Przybylski et al., 2013). FoMO has been associated with compulsive social media engagement, problematic smartphone use, social media fatigue, psychological distress, and reduced well-being (Elhai et al., 2020; Gupta & Sharma, 2021; Tandon et al., 2021). Recent studies have further shown that FoMO is rarely an isolated emotional response; rather, it interacts with social comparison, self-esteem, envy, and platform-specific feedback loops (Fabris et al., 2020; Reer et al., 2019; Servidio et al., 2024). When adolescents experience anxiety about missing trends, conversations, or peer activities, they may engage in repetitive checking, immediate response seeking, and conformity to viral content. In such conditions, social media use becomes less a voluntary form of communication and more a psychological strategy for maintaining perceived inclusion.

Online social comparison is a central mechanism through which FoMO may affect adolescent identity formation. Social comparison theory argues that individuals evaluate themselves by comparing their attributes, achievements, and social position with those of others when objective standards are unavailable (Festinger, 1954). In social media environments, this process becomes more intense because adolescents are exposed to curated images of popularity, beauty, consumption, achievement, and lifestyle. Prior research indicates that upward social comparison on social networking sites can lower self-esteem, increase depressive symptoms, and encourage feedback-seeking behavior (Nesi & Prinstein, 2015; Valkenburg et al., 2017; Vogel et al., 2014). From the perspective of self-discrepancy theory, repeated exposure to idealized online selves may widen the perceived distance between the actual self and the ideal self, thereby producing emotional discomfort, self-concept incongruence, and unstable self-evaluation (Harter, 2012; Higgins, 1987; Orth & Robins, 2014). These psychological processes are highly relevant to identity development because adolescents need exploratory freedom and reflective commitment to form a stable identity, whereas platform-mediated comparison may encourage reactive self-presentation.

International studies published in the last decade have expanded understanding of how social media affects adolescents, yet several conceptual and methodological limitations remain. Reviews have shown that the relationship between social media use and mental health is complex, heterogeneous, and dependent on individual vulnerability, platform affordances, and contextual conditions (Keles et al., 2020; Nesi, 2020; Valkenburg et al., 2022). Research on FoMO has also increasingly adopted integrated models that connect FoMO with social comparison and self-esteem, but much of this literature is quantitative, cross-sectional, and focused on late adolescents, university students, or adult users (Servidio et al., 2024; Tandon et al., 2021; Zhao & Zhou, 2020). Although these studies provide important explanatory models, they do not fully reveal how early adolescents subjectively experience FoMO as part of identity exploration, peer belonging, and commitment formation. In particular, the developmental distinction between ordinary experimentation and anxiety-driven identity moratorium remains underexplored.

Indonesian studies similarly indicate that FoMO, social comparison, and social media dependence are increasingly salient among young users. Cahyani and Pangestuti (2023) reported a positive relationship between FoMO and social comparison among Instagram users, while Ambarwati et al. (2025) showed that adolescent social media behavior is closely linked to FoMO tendencies. Padillah and Setiasih (2024) found that social comparison and social anxiety contribute to social media addiction among adolescent K-pop fans, suggesting that peer culture and media fandom may intensify digital attachment. Other Indonesian research has also highlighted the importance of self-esteem, self-regulation, and social media intensity in explaining FoMO-related behavior among adolescents and emerging adults (Anwar et al., 2020; Rahmawati & Suryani, 2021; Utami & Aviani, 2021). Nevertheless, these studies generally treat FoMO as a psychological or behavioral variable rather than as a developmental mechanism that may redirect identity exploration and commitment. Moreover, few studies have examined early adolescents in junior secondary schools through a qualitative case study design, despite the fact that this age group is especially vulnerable to peer validation and identity instability.

The research gap addressed in this study is therefore both conceptual and contextual. Conceptually, previous research has not sufficiently connected FoMO and online social comparison with Erikson's psychosocial theory and Marcia's identity status framework. Contextually, studies in Indonesia have rarely examined how urban junior secondary school students interpret, negotiate, and internalize digital pressures within a collectivist social environment where peer belonging and conformity carry strong cultural significance. This study offers novelty by positioning FoMO not merely as anxiety about missing information, but as a psychosocial catalyst that may transform identity exploration into trend-based self-curation and identity commitment into externally validated conformity. Accordingly, this study aims to explore how FoMO and online social comparison shape self-identity formation among early adolescents in Indonesian junior secondary schools. Specifically, it investigates how FoMO manifests in students' social media practices, how online social comparison produces self-concept incongruence, and how these processes influence identity exploration and commitment within Marcia's identity status framework.

Method

This study employed a qualitative case study design because the research sought to understand how early adolescents interpret and experience FoMO, online social comparison, and identity formation

within their real-life school and digital contexts. A case study is appropriate when researchers examine a contemporary phenomenon embedded in a bounded social setting and when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context cannot be separated clearly (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Yin, 2018). The qualitative orientation also enabled the study to capture participants' subjective meanings, everyday practices, and psychosocial mechanisms that may not be adequately explained through numerical measurement alone (Braun & Clarke, 2022; Miles et al., 2014). The research was conducted in three public junior secondary schools in South Surabaya, Indonesia, during the 2025/2026 academic year. These schools were selected because preliminary observation indicated intensive student engagement with social media, high peer interaction through digital platforms, and visible patterns of trend-based content production.

The participants were Grade VIII students aged 12-15 years. A preliminary screening questionnaire was administered to 270 students to identify patterns of social media intensity, FoMO indicators, social comparison tendencies, and identity-related uncertainty. From this screening stage, 27 students were purposively selected as focal participants because they met three criteria: active social media use for approximately four hours or more per day, observable FoMO indicators, and willingness to participate in interviews with parental and school consent. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, classroom and school-environment observations, field notes, and limited digital content analysis of participant-approved social media traces. The interview guide explored daily social media routines, emotional responses to being disconnected, experiences of comparing oneself with others online, reactions to likes and comments, trend-following behavior, and reflections on self-identity. Observation sheets were used to document school-based digital behavior, including smartphone use before and after class, peer conversations about viral content, and immediate post-upload feedback seeking.

The research procedure consisted of five stages. First, the researchers conducted preliminary observation and coordinated with school administrators and counseling teachers. Second, the screening questionnaire was distributed to identify eligible participants. Third, semi-structured interviews were conducted individually in a private school setting to ensure psychological safety and confidentiality. Fourth, participant and non-participant observations were carried out during selected school routines, particularly before class, break time, and dismissal. Fifth, interview transcripts, observation notes, and approved digital artifacts were compiled into a qualitative database. Data were analyzed using Miles et al.'s (2014) interactive model: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Coding was both deductive and inductive. Deductive codes were derived from FoMO, social comparison, self-discrepancy, and identity status theories, while inductive codes emerged from participants' repeated expressions and observed practices. Trustworthiness was strengthened through source triangulation, member checking, peer debriefing with school counseling practitioners, and an audit trail of coding decisions. Ethical safeguards included informed consent from parents and assent from students, anonymization of participant identities, restricted access to data, and avoidance of any public reproduction of students' digital content.

Result and Discussion

Result

The findings are presented in alignment with the research objectives: identifying FoMO dynamics, mapping online social comparison and self-concept incongruence, and describing implications for identity exploration and commitment. The preliminary screening questionnaire was used to support participant selection and provide contextual descriptive evidence, while the main findings were derived from interviews, observations, field notes, and approved digital content analysis.

Table 1. Preliminary screening patterns of social media use, FoMO, and identity-related indicators

Variable	Dominant finding from screening	Analytical relevance
Usage duration	Approximately 45-50% of screened students reported using social media for more than four hours per day.	Indicates high exposure to platform-based peer feedback and compulsive checking risk.
Dominant platforms	TikTok, Instagram, WhatsApp, and YouTube were the most frequently reported platforms.	Short-form visual content and peer-group messaging intensify trend awareness.
External validation	Students reported increased confidence when posts received many likes, views, or comments.	Shows reliance on quantifiable feedback as a proxy for social acceptance.
Online comparison	A majority reported comparing themselves with peers or influencers online.	Suggests an active pathway toward actual-ideal self discrepancy.
Digital conformity	Many students followed trends to avoid being perceived as outdated or socially absent.	FoMO influences identity-related choices and self-presentation.
Identity exploration	Most students reported trying different styles or online behaviors without stable commitment.	Indicates an identity moratorium pattern that is often anxiety-driven.
Guidance role	Many students received parental or school guidance but still felt confused about healthy media use.	Shows a gap between normative advice and internalized digital self-regulation.

The preliminary screening results indicate that social media was embedded in students' daily routines rather than being used only for entertainment. As shown in Table 1, a substantial proportion of screened students reported prolonged daily social media use, with TikTok, Instagram, WhatsApp, and YouTube functioning as the dominant platforms. Visual-based platforms were particularly influential because they exposed students to trends, appearance norms, peer performances, and influencer lifestyles. Messaging applications also reinforced FoMO because group conversations created expectations of rapid response and continuous presence. These descriptive findings provided the empirical basis for selecting the 27 focal participants who demonstrated intensive use and FoMO-related behavior.

The first major theme was FoMO as disconnection anxiety and digital synchronization pressure. Participants described discomfort when they could not access their phones, especially during active group chats, viral trends, or school-related peer conversations that had moved online. This anxiety was not limited to fear of missing information; it involved fear of being socially absent. Several participants explained that not knowing a trending topic made them feel excluded from subsequent face-to-face conversations. Observations confirmed that students frequently checked

their phones before class began, during transitions, and at dismissal time. This pattern suggests that the digital environment extended peer surveillance into moments that were previously reserved for rest, informal conversation, or academic preparation.

Table 2. Thematic findings from interviews, observations, and digital content analysis

Theme	Core evidence	Illustrative participant expression	Observed pattern
FoMO and disconnection anxiety	Participants felt uneasy when unable to check messages, trends, or group conversations.	"If I do not open my phone, I feel like my friends already know something that I do not."	Repeated checking before class, during breaks, and immediately after school.
Metric-based validation	Likes, comments, and views influenced mood and confidence after posting.	"If many people like it, I feel more confident. If not, I want to delete it."	Students checked audience response soon after uploading content.
Upward social comparison	Participants compared appearance, popularity, lifestyle, and creativity with peers or influencers.	"Sometimes I feel my life is ordinary after seeing their posts."	Peer discussions referred to viral content, appearance, and online popularity.
Digital self-curation	Students edited or selected posts to present a more confident, aesthetic, or popular identity.	"Online I look braver, but at school I am not always like that."	Use of filters, pose selection, and trend imitation.
Anxious identity moratorium	Students experimented with many styles but had difficulty explaining stable personal values.	"I am still trying what fits me, but I follow what is trending first."	Exploration was reactive to trends rather than reflective.
Premature foreclosure	Some students adopted group-approved digital personas to secure peer acceptance.	"If my friends use that style, I use it too so I am not left behind."	Conformity to peer trends before personal reflection.

The second theme was metric-based validation. Participants attached emotional value to likes, comments, shares, and views. Positive engagement was associated with confidence, while low engagement produced embarrassment, disappointment, or a desire to remove the post. This tendency was especially visible in relation to short videos, profile updates, and aesthetic photographs. Some students described their online profiles as spaces where they could appear more confident, attractive, humorous, or creative than they felt in offline interactions. However, this digital confidence remained conditional on audience response. When expected engagement did not occur, participants often revised captions, changed posting times, archived content, or imitated different trends. Thus, online feedback became a mechanism through which students evaluated not only content performance but also personal worth.

The third theme was upward social comparison and self-concept incongruence. Most participants compared themselves with classmates, older students, influencers, or popular content creators. The comparison focused on physical appearance, lifestyle, popularity, creativity, possessions, and social confidence. Interview data revealed that these comparisons often generated a sense of inadequacy because participants contrasted their everyday lives with highly curated online representations. Several students distinguished between their actual self and their ideal digital self. The actual self was described as ordinary, shy, not fashionable, or less socially visible, whereas the

ideal self was imagined as confident, attractive, humorous, stylish, and widely recognized. As shown in Table 2, this actual-ideal gap was repeatedly expressed in participants' narratives and was reinforced by observed practices of editing, filtering, trend imitation, and selective posting.

The fourth theme concerned digital self-curation. Participants did not passively consume social media content; they actively produced and managed their online selves. Their strategies included selecting photographs that showed preferred angles, using filters to enhance appearance, adopting trending audio, imitating popular gestures, and posting at times when friends were likely to respond. In some cases, participants maintained different modes of self-presentation across platforms: a humorous self in TikTok, a more aesthetic self in Instagram, and a socially responsive self in WhatsApp groups. These practices indicate that identity expression in digital contexts was fragmented and audience-oriented. Students were aware that different audiences expected different performances, yet they often lacked the reflective vocabulary to explain which version represented their authentic self.



Figure 1. Thematic pathway linking FoMO, online social comparison, and identity formation

The fifth theme was the disruption of identity exploration and commitment. Using Marcia's identity status framework, the findings show that the most common pattern was an anxious form of identity moratorium. Participants were actively exploring styles, preferences, roles, and affiliations, but their exploration was often triggered by trends, algorithms, and peer recognition rather than autonomous reflection. This differed from developmental moratorium in its healthier form, where exploration is expected to support eventual commitment. A second pattern was premature identity foreclosure, in which students quickly adopted group-approved digital identities to avoid social exclusion. As summarized in Table 3, identity achievement was less evident because only a small number of students could articulate stable commitments to personal values independent of online approval.

The findings also show that school and family guidance existed but did not fully resolve students' identity-related digital dilemmas. Many participants reported being told to limit phone use, avoid inappropriate content, or focus on school tasks. However, these forms of guidance were often interpreted as external rules rather than internalized strategies for self-regulation. Students understood that excessive social media use could be harmful, yet they continued to experience pressure to remain updated, responsive, and visible. This gap between knowledge and internalization explains why simple prohibition may be insufficient. The data suggest that adolescents require structured opportunities to discuss digital self-presentation, emotional responses to comparison, and the difference between authentic exploration and conformity-driven identity performance.

Table 3. Identity status patterns identified in participants' narratives

Identity status pattern	Exploration	Commitment	Finding in this study
Identity achievement	High	High	Rarely evident; only a few participants described reflective and stable self-understanding beyond peer approval.
Identity moratorium	High	Low	Dominant pattern; participants explored styles and online roles but remained uncertain and anxious.
Identity foreclosure	Low	High	Present among students who adopted trend-based identities or peer-approved roles without independent exploration.
Identity diffusion	Low	Low	Observed in limited cases where students showed passive consumption and weak reflection on personal identity.

Discussion

This study found that FoMO, online social comparison, and self-identity formation are interrelated psychosocial processes among early adolescents in Indonesian junior secondary schools. FoMO manifested not only as worry about missing information, but also as anxiety about being excluded from peer conversations, trends, and symbolic group belonging. Online social comparison then intensified the discrepancy between students' actual and ideal selves, making self-esteem contingent on platform-based validation. These findings directly answer the research objectives by showing that FoMO shapes identity exploration through compulsive checking, digital self-curation, and trend-based experimentation, while also influencing identity commitment through peer-approved conformity. Rather than moving steadily toward identity achievement, many participants remained in anxious identity moratorium or entered premature foreclosure.

Globally, the findings align with recent research indicating that FoMO is a multidimensional phenomenon associated with problematic social media use, psychological distress, and social comparison. Tandon et al. (2021) conceptualized FoMO as a fragmented but increasingly important construct in social media research, while Gupta and Sharma (2021) emphasized its links with mental health vulnerability. Servidio et al. (2024) further demonstrated that FoMO can influence problematic social media use through the serial mechanism of social comparison and self-esteem. The present qualitative evidence supports this model but adds developmental depth: among early adolescents, this pathway is not merely behavioral but identity-relevant. Likes, comments, and views were interpreted as signals of social worth, while exposure to idealized online selves shaped how students imagined who they should become.

The findings also correspond with studies on adolescent social media use and mental health. Nesi et al. (2018) argued that social media transforms peer relations through availability, publicness, permanence, and quantifiability. These affordances were clearly reflected in the present study, particularly in students' continuous checking of group conversations, concern about public metrics, and anxiety over visibility. Valkenburg et al. (2022) noted that the effects of social media on adolescent mental health are heterogeneous and depend on user vulnerability, content, and context. This study supports that cautious interpretation. Social media did not simply harm adolescents; it also offered spaces for expression, creativity, and belonging. However, when those spaces were

dominated by comparison and external validation, identity exploration became reactive and emotionally unstable.

Compared with Indonesian studies, this research confirms and extends existing evidence. Cahyani and Pangestuti (2023) found a strong positive relationship between FoMO and social comparison among Instagram users, while Ambarwati et al. (2025) reported that adolescent social media use contributes to FoMO-related behavior. Padillah and Setiasih (2024) showed that social comparison is associated with social media addiction among adolescent fan communities. The present study differs from these predominantly quantitative studies by revealing how adolescents narrate, interpret, and emotionally negotiate these pressures in school life. The local context matters because Indonesian adolescents often experience peer belonging within collectivist social norms that value group acceptance, responsiveness, and harmony. Consequently, being absent from digital trends may be interpreted not only as missing entertainment but as failing to maintain social connectedness.

Theoretically, this study extends Erikson's and Marcia's identity frameworks by demonstrating that digital peer environments can restructure the conditions of exploration and commitment. In classical identity theory, moratorium is a developmental space for trying possibilities before forming commitments. In this study, however, moratorium often became anxious and externally driven because students explored identities through algorithmic trends and peer validation rather than reflective self-examination. The findings also refine self-discrepancy theory by showing that the ideal self is increasingly constructed through curated platform standards. Pedagogically, the study suggests that schools should not limit digital literacy to technical safety or content restriction. Digital literacy must include critical reflection on social comparison, emotional regulation, metric-based validation, privacy, and authentic self-presentation. Counseling teachers can use reflective identity mapping, peer dialogue, and guided media diaries to help students distinguish between healthy exploration and conformity-driven performance.

From a policy perspective, the findings support the need for school-level and system-level responses to adolescent digital well-being. Policies should encourage age-appropriate digital citizenship curricula, structured collaboration between counseling teachers and parents, and preventive mental health programs that address FoMO, social comparison, and self-esteem. Restrictive approaches may reduce exposure temporarily, but they are unlikely to develop internal resilience unless accompanied by psychosocial education. In addition, schools should create safe offline spaces where adolescents can experience belonging without constant digital performance. The novelty of this study lies in its integration of FoMO, online social comparison, and identity status theory within an Indonesian junior secondary school context. Methodologically, it contributes qualitative evidence that explains how digital pressures are lived, interpreted, and embodied by early adolescents rather than merely measured as isolated variables.

This study has several limitations. First, it was conducted in three public junior secondary schools in South Surabaya, so the findings may not represent adolescents in rural, private, religious, or socioeconomically different school contexts. Second, the cross-sectional qualitative design captured experiences at one period and cannot determine long-term identity trajectories. Third, although digital content analysis was ethically limited to participant-approved materials, some online behavior may remain invisible because adolescents often manage private or alternative

accounts. Future studies should employ longitudinal and mixed-method designs to examine how FoMO and social comparison influence identity status over time. Comparative research across regions, school types, and cultural groups would also clarify whether the patterns identified here are specific to urban Indonesian adolescents or reflect broader developmental dynamics. Intervention studies are needed to test whether critical digital literacy, counseling modules, or family-school collaboration can strengthen self-esteem, reduce unhealthy comparison, and support autonomous identity achievement.

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore how Fear of Missing Out and online social comparison shape self-identity formation among early adolescents in Indonesian junior secondary schools. The findings show that FoMO operates as a psychosocial catalyst that drives compulsive social media checking, trend-based conformity, and dependence on digital validation. Online social comparison further widens the gap between adolescents' actual and ideal selves, producing self-concept incongruence and fluctuating self-esteem. Within Marcia's identity status framework, the participants most frequently demonstrated anxious identity moratorium and premature identity foreclosure rather than stable identity achievement. These findings indicate that social media functions ambivalently as both a space for identity exploration and a mechanism that may externalize self-worth when adolescents lack reflective digital literacy and psychosocial support.

Theoretically, this study contributes to adolescent identity scholarship by integrating FoMO, online social comparison, self-discrepancy, and identity status theory within a qualitative Indonesian school context. Practically, the results suggest that educators, parents, and counseling teachers should move beyond restrictive approaches and develop interventions that strengthen internal self-worth, critical media interpretation, emotional regulation, and reflective identity exploration. The study is limited by its urban geographical focus, qualitative cross-sectional design, and ethically restricted access to participants' digital traces. Future research should use longitudinal or mixed-method approaches, include more diverse school contexts, and evaluate intervention models that combine digital literacy with school-based counseling. By foregrounding early adolescents' lived experiences, this study offers a context-sensitive contribution to understanding how digital environments reshape identity development and provides a foundation for more humane, reflective, and culturally responsive approaches to adolescent digital well-being.

References

- Alt, D. (2015). College students' academic motivation, media engagement and fear of missing out. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 49, 111–119. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.02.057>
- Ambarwati, D., Ikhrom, I., & Zikrinawati, K. (2025). Media sosial dan dampaknya terhadap perilaku fear of missing out (FoMO) di kalangan remaja. *PSYCOMEDIA: Jurnal Psikologi*, 4(2), 76–85. <https://doi.org/10.35316/psycomedia.2025.v4i2.76-85>
- Anwar, Z., Fury, E. D., & Fauziah, S. R. (2020). The fear of missing out and usage intensity of social media. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 395, 183–187. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200120.038>
- Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia. (2024, February 7). *APJII jumlah pengguna internet Indonesia tembus 221 juta orang*. <https://apjii.or.id/berita/d/apjii-jumlah-pengguna-internet-indonesia-tembus-221-juta-orang>
- boyd, d. (2014). *It's complicated: The social lives of networked teens*. Yale University Press.

- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). Conceptual and design thinking for thematic analysis. *Qualitative Psychology*, 9(1), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000196>
- Cahyani, R. O., & Pangestuti, R. (2023). Fear of missing out (FoMO) dengan social comparison pada mahasiswa pengguna Instagram. *Psikoislamika: Jurnal Psikologi dan Psikologi Islam*, 20(1). <https://doi.org/10.18860/psikoislamika.v20i1.20567>
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- DataReportal. (2025, February 25). *Digital 2025: Indonesia*. <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-indonesia>
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The “what” and “why” of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 11(4), 227–268. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327965PLI1104_01
- Elhai, J. D., Yang, H., & Montag, C. (2020). Fear of missing out (FoMO): Overview, theoretical underpinnings, and literature review on relations with psychiatric symptoms. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 22(8), Article 43. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-020-01157-3>
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. W. W. Norton.
- Fabris, M. A., Marengo, D., Longobardi, C., & Settanni, M. (2020). Investigating the links between fear of missing out, social media addiction, and emotional symptoms in adolescence: The role of stress associated with neglect and negative reactions on social media. *Addictive Behaviors*, 106, Article 106364. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2020.106364>
- Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. *Human Relations*, 7(2), 117–140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872675400700202>
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Doubleday.
- Gupta, M., & Sharma, A. (2021). Fear of missing out: A brief overview of origin, theoretical underpinnings and relationship with mental health. *World Journal of Clinical Cases*, 9(19), 4881–4889. <https://doi.org/10.12998/wjcc.v9.i19.4881>
- Harter, S. (2012). *The construction of the self: Developmental and sociocultural foundations* (2nd ed.). Guilford Press.
- Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, 94(3), 319–340. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.94.3.319>
- 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>
- Kroger, J., & Marcia, J. E. (2011). The identity statuses: Origins, meanings, and interpretations. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 31–53). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-7988-9_2
- Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3(5), 551–558. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0023281>
- Marwick, A. E., & boyd, d. (2011). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society*, 13(1), 114–133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810365313>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Nesi, J. (2020). The impact of social media on youth mental health: Challenges and opportunities. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 34, 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2019.12.002>
- 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>
- Nesi, J., & Prinstein, M. J. (2015). Using social media for social comparison and feedback-seeking: Gender and popularity moderate associations with depressive symptoms. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 43(8), 1427–1438. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-015-0020-4>
- Orth, U., & Robins, R. W. (2014). The development of self-esteem. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 23(5), 381–387. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721414547414>

- Padillah, D. F., & Setiasih. (2024). The relationship between social anxiety, social comparison and social media addiction among adolescent K-pop fans. *Jurnal Psikologi Teori dan Terapan*, 15(2), 164–175. <https://doi.org/10.26740/jppt.v15n02.p164-175>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.02.014>
- Rahmawati, D., & Suryani, E. (2021). Fear of missing out dan konstruksi citra diri remaja di media sosial Instagram. *Jurnal Psikologi Sosial*, 20(2), 145–148. <https://doi.org/10.24123/jps.v20i2.4567>
- Reer, F., Tang, W. Y., & Quandt, T. (2019). Psychosocial well-being and social media engagement: The mediating roles of social comparison orientation and fear of missing out. *New Media & Society*, 21(7), 1486–1505. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818823719>
- Servidio, R., Soraci, P., Griffiths, M. D., Boca, S., & Demetrovics, Z. (2024). Fear of missing out and problematic social media use: A serial mediation model of social comparison and self-esteem. *Addictive Behaviors Reports*, 19, Article 100536. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.abrep.2024.100536>
- Sette, C. P., Lima, N. R. S., Queluz, F. N. F. R., Ferrari, B. L., & Hauck, N. (2020). The Online Fear of Missing Out Inventory (ON-FoMO): Development and validation of a new tool. *Journal of Technology in Behavioral Science*, 5(1), 20–29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41347-019-00110-0>
- Tandon, A., Dhir, A., Almugren, I., AlNemer, G. N., & Mäntymäki, M. (2021). Fear of missing out (FoMO) among social media users: A systematic literature review, synthesis and framework for future research. *Internet Research*, 31(3), 782–821. <https://doi.org/10.1108/INTR-11-2019-0455>
- Utami, P. D., & Aviani, Y. I. (2021). Hubungan antara regulasi diri dengan fear of missing out (FoMO) pada remaja pengguna Instagram. *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai*, 5(1), 177–185. <https://doi.org/10.31004/jptam.v5i1.928>
- Valkenburg, P. M., Koutamanis, M., & Vossen, H. G. M. (2017). The concurrent and longitudinal relationships between adolescents' use of social network sites and their social self-esteem. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 76, 35–41. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.07.008>
- Valkenburg, P. M., Meier, A., & Beyens, I. (2022). Social media use and its impact on adolescent mental health: An umbrella review of the evidence. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 44, 58–68. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsy.2021.08.017>
- Vogel, E. A., Rose, J. P., Roberts, L. R., & Eckles, K. (2014). Social comparison, social media, and self-esteem. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 3(4), 206–222. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000047>
- We Are Social. (2025, February 4). *Digital 2025*. <https://wearesocial.com/id/blog/2025/02/digital-2025/>
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Zhao, N., & Zhou, G. (2020). Social media use and mental health during the COVID-19 pandemic: Moderator role of disaster stressor and mediator role of negative affect. *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being*, 12(4), 1019–1038. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aphw.12226>
- Zhao, S., Grasmuck, S., & Martin, J. (2008). Identity construction on Facebook: Digital empowerment in anchored relationships. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 24(5), 1816–1836. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2008.02.012>