Received: 4 March 2024 | Accepted: 9 October 2024

DOI: 10.1111/1467-9566.13859

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

SOCIOLOGY OF HEALTH & ILLNESS

Latino adolescents' experiences of residential risks on social media and mental health implications

Celeste Campos-Castillo[1] | **Sarah M. Groh**[2] | **Linnea I. Laestadius**[3]

[1]Department of Media and Information, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, USA

[2]Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina, USA

[3]Joseph J. Zilber College of Public Health, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA

Correspondence
Celeste Campos-Castillo, 404 Wilson Rd., Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, USA.
Email: camposca@msu.edu

Funding information
Technology and Adolescent Mental Wellness Program at UW-Madison

Abstract

Despite alarms raised that adolescents' social media use can aggravate the harmful impact of residential risks (e.g. local violence) to their mental health, the mechanisms are poorly understood. To better understand potential mechanisms, we interviewed Latino adolescents living in a hypersegregated U.S. city, for whom social media may aggravate existing inequalities in residential risks to their mental health. Through an abductive analysis, we identified two processes suggesting how social media can amplify the deleterious impact of residential risks to their mental health. We refer to the first as *additive*, whereby social media heightens awareness of residential risks. The second is *extension*, whereby social media lengthens one's risk awareness, speeds up potential for risk awareness and multiplies who may become aware. We found evidence suggestive of parallel processes yielding diminution, whereby social media can minimise the deleterious effects of residential risks via adding and extending exposure to mental health resources, like collective efficacy. Further, the potential for extension (to both risks and resources) appears limited because social media practices (e.g. reposting, seeking

viral attention) can foster indifference. Findings suggest the need to consider how adolescents activate resources via social media to avoid overstating its negative impact on mental health.

KEYWORDS
communication infrastructure, Hispanic, Latinx, neighbourhood effects, neighbourhoods, social networking, wellbeing

INTRODUCTION

Rising rates of mental health concerns and social media use among adolescents have generated much research into potential linkages between the two, particularly whether social media use harms mental health. While reviews conclude that evidence showing social media causes mental health harms among adolescents is weak (Arias-de la Torre et al., 2020; Valkenburg et al., 2022), one emerging area of research suggesting harm investigates how adolescents use social media to engage with their residential context (e.g. Mels et al., 2022; Motley et al., 2020; Stevens et al., 2017). By residential context, we refer to the physical and social features that surround one's housing (Hartig & Lawrence, 2003), where examples of features include water contamination (physical), green spaces (physical), crime rate (social) and community organising (social). Of particular concern is that for adolescents from minoritised ethnoracial groups, social media may amplify exposure to residential risks to their mental health. Residential risks refer to those physical and social features of the residential context that can negatively impact health. Thus, since structural racism has created patterns of concentrated poverty leading to adolescents of minoritised ethnoracial groups being more likely to experience residential risks like local violence than their White counterparts (Browning et al., 2017), it is possible that any viewing of such violence via social media would be additional exposure and thereby aggravate mental health harms (Foell et al., 2021; Stiffman et al., 1999).

Precisely how, however, remains poorly understood. We heed the U.S. Surgeon General's call to better understand the connections between social media and mental health (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2023) by examining *how* social media may amplify the deleterious effects of residential risks on adolescents' mental health, particularly among minoritised ethnoracial groups. Studies document exposure to residential risks, such as discrimination and violence, via social media is associated with poor mental health (Cano et al., 2021; Motley et al., 2020; Tao & Fisher, 2022; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015), but only surmise the mechanisms, with some assuming mere social media use heightens such exposure and thereby harms mental health (Motley et al., 2020; Tao & Fisher, 2022).

We introduce two concepts, each capturing a process by which social media may shape the deleterious effects of the residential risks on adolescent mental health. The first we refer to as *additive*, whereby social media contributes a channel for heightening adolescents' awareness of residential risks. An example of an additive process is social media heightening awareness of a residential risk to an adolescent, such as living in an area with water contamination, because the adolescent empathised with online posts by fellow residents expressing dismay over government inaction. The second process captures further variation in awareness, which we refer

to as *extension*, whereby social media lengthens adolescents' risk awareness, speeds up their potential for risk awareness or multiplies who among them may become aware. An example of an extension process is when adolescents view social media posts about a local shooting that did not directly impact them, but the vicarious experience makes them aware of the residential risk of violence and thereby influences their mental health. Stated differently, who is impacted by the local shooting has multiplied or extended, because of social media. Observing a livestream of the local shooting and the reposting of videos about the shooting by fellow residents are also extension, because the latter can lengthen adolescents' awareness of the residential risk and the former can speed up the potential for risk awareness.

We highlight the theoretical value of both concepts by showing how they can also explain how social media can diminish the deleterious impact of residential context. We do so by demonstrating how social media can add and extend awareness of resources to counter stress, like social support. Moreover, we show evidence indicating limits to the role of social media in both amplifying and diminishing the negative effect of residential risks. Specifically, while social media affordances (e.g. the ability to repost content) create the potential for an extension process, this hinges on how adolescents use them. This challenges extant treatments of social media in the literature, which can overstate its deleterious effects because of assuming technological determinism, specifically that mere social media use can cause harm.

Because the concepts we introduce, additive and extension, describe processes that alter temporal and spatial experiences, in the following pages we situate them within existing literature on the temporal and spatial implications of information and communication technologies. This is followed by a review of current findings highlighting how variation in temporal and spatial experiences of residential risks shape adolescent mental health. We then explain the rationale for our sample and setting—interviews with Latino adolescents living in a hypersegregated city—before detailing our concepts empirically. We discuss implications for studying the links between adolescents' mental health and social media use and offer suggestions for mitigating the impact of residential risks on the mental health of minoritised adolescents.

Impact of social media on the experience of physical places

The additive and extension processes we developed accord with sociological scholarship on the effects of information and communication technologies in the experience of physical places. A key proposition from relevant scholarship is that being physically present is unnecessary for a physical place to influence individuals (Campos-Castillo & Hitlin, 2013; Castells, 1996; Gergen, 1991; Giddens, 1991; Meyrowitz, 1985). Technological affordances, including the richness of the cues transmitted and whether this occurs synchronously, can steer one's awareness and thus the sense of being present, but so too can social processes, such as sharing similarities with communication partners (Campos-Castillo & Hitlin, 2013). Long before the advent of social media, scholars recognised the importance of social processes for experiencing physical places (Wellman & Leighton, 1979). Since then, scholars have underscored the simultaneous role of technologies and social processes in generating 'placeless' communities, in which the geographical boundaries of a residential context are permeable (Goodspeed, 2017; Hampton & Wellman, 2018). Accordingly, social media can enable experiencing the residential context without being physically present, creating the potential of what we call an *additive* effect. When social media raises awareness of residential risks, this can yield amplification, while raising awareness of residential resources can yield diminution.

Extension builds on the additive effect by characterising the duration of awareness, the speed at which one can become aware and how awareness can multiply among a population. Like other information and communication technologies—from postcards to televisions—social media creates openings for reorganising the ways people experience time-space dimensions (Castells, 1996; Gergen, 1991; Giddens, 1991; Meyrowitz, 1985). Key differences in affordances, such as the form and reproducibility of the content transmitted, generate variants in how the technologies alter time-space dimensions (Giddens, 1991). Compared to earlier technologies, social media facilitates faster and wider transmission of a message across populations. The ability to access social media via mobile devices enables posting messages about experiences as they occur, shortening the time it takes for others to become aware. Audiences can repost or take screenshots to transmit a message beyond the borders of the original recipients, which both lengthens the time of awareness and multiplies who may become aware. Both the original message and its copies can be archived and alter the time dimension further because they remain accessible after the experience they depict ends. Other technologies, like television, provide similar affordances. The 24-h news channel multiplied the number of individuals alerted about geographically distant events as they unfolded and allowed them to relive the experiences each time a recorded clip aired. However, fewer resources are needed to perform the same actions via social media, which decentralises who can initiate and propagate messages. This yields a potential for faster and wider transmission and, consequently, a starker reorganisation of space-time dimensions. Such affordances can give way to what we call an *extension* process, whereby social media lengthens one's awareness, speeds up awareness and multiplies who may become aware. Awareness of residential risks can produce amplification, while awareness of residential resources can produce diminution.

It is important to emphasise this is only a potential for amplification and diminution because technologies are not deterministic of outcomes. Indeed, such consequences would be impossible without a culture supporting practices in which individuals act on social media affordances. Individuals have revelled in sharing about themselves and monitoring the lives of others long before the advent of social media (Lyon, 2018), such as via diary sharing (Humphreys, 2018) and picture windows in ranch-style homes (Igo, 2018). At the same time, a set of cultural practices (e.g. minimising direct eye contact and appearing disinterested) and technological affordances (e.g. the ability to choose who you follow on social media) exist for people to manage their exposure to information and avoid overload (Hargittai et al., 2012). In other words, prior research suggesting mere social media use would amplify deleterious effects of residential risks (e.g. Motley et al., 2020; Tao & Fisher, 2022) compels further inquiry into underlying processes. Our focus on the role of awareness aligns with previous scholarship into the ways the residential context can impact adolescent mental health.

Awareness of residential context and adolescent wellbeing

Residential features, such as local violence and discrimination, can harm the mental health for adolescents, net of other factors that covary with residential context, like household socioeconomic status (Aneshensel & Sucoff, 1996). The timing and proximity of exposure to residential features add further variation to the impact on adolescent wellbeing, whereby more recent, extended and proximate exposures have a more pronounced impact (Sharkey & Faber, 2014). For example, studies on the timing of exposure show that longer periods of community violence exposure were related to higher levels of behavioural dysfunction (DaViera & Roy, 2020) and

experiencing more recent discrimination was more strongly associated with current smoking than lifetime prevalence of discrimination (Brondolo et al., 2015). Additionally, studies on the proximity of exposure show that an experience of violent crime closer to a child's home is associated with worse mental health (Cuartas & Leventhal, 2020). Because social media can alter awareness of residential risks and how one experiences time and space, it can potentially amplify these deleterious impacts through what we call the *additive* and *extension* processes.

The additive and extension processes operate via social media shaping attention, much like other media (Cho & Kuang, 2015). Research documents how youth's attention to different residential risks contributes variation in their outcomes, indicating this aspect of social media can operate as we are suggesting. For example, youth exposed to excessive violence may begin to minimise and normalise it, thereby curtailing their attention and diminishing its impact on their mental health (Mels et al., 2022; Motley et al., 2020). Even residential risks that cause harm regardless of awareness, like water and air contaminants, are amplified by awareness of the risks and their underlying causes (e.g. structural discrimination) (Muhammad et al., 2018). Adolescents who both deliberately seek out this information on social media and who are not already aware but are exposed via social media incidentally (Bergström & Jervelycke Belfrage, 2018), such as while searching for news to complete a class assignment (Cohen et al., 2021), may be impacted by these effects. Accordingly, there appears potential for social media to contribute variation in the ways the residential context shapes mental health.

Of particular concern is the potential for social media to amplify the detrimental impact of residential risks on the mental health of adolescents from minoritised ethnoracial groups (Mels et al., 2022; Motley et al., 2020; Stevens et al., 2017). For example, Latino adolescents face residential risks like legal violence, which includes immigration policies that threaten deportation and ICE raids, that can lead to missed schooling, under-utilisation of health services and contributes to sleep problems, anxiety levels and high blood pressure for Latino adolescents (Barajas-Gonzalez et al., 2021). Social media may highlight and amplify these risks. At the same time, research shows adolescents from minoritised ethnoracial groups craft safe spaces within their residential context, indicating they actively search for and generate resources (DaViera et al., 2020). Indeed, because their precarious social position heightens their exposure to stressors, minoritised groups may be inclined to identify and activate resources (Wheaton, 1985). Social media may thus be used to both amplify as well as diminish residential risks.

Current study

The sample and setting from which we drew data were ideal for exploring the above questions. We conducted interviews with Latino adolescents living in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a hypersegregated city (Logan & Stults, 2021) in which concentrated disadvantages (e.g. high crime rates, lack of recreational spaces) inhibit spending time outside (Antunes et al., 2019). Accordingly, how adolescents experience their residential context via social media may be particularly salient. Focussing on a single ethnoracial group within a residential context is ideal for revealing variation in the ways a residential context and its residents are dynamically related (Carpiano, 2014). Moreover, this specific ethnoracial group is underrepresented in social media research, despite having a higher rate of social media use than Whites (Anderson & Jiang, 2018) and being more susceptible to poor mental health (Alegría et al., 2008; Lopez et al., 2008). Structural racism that raises the likelihood that they live in areas of concentrated disadvantage can contribute to both poor mental health and use of technologies like social media to facilitate communication (Acker et al., 2023; Dargin et al., 2021; Hampton, 2010; Lee, 2009).

METHODS

As part of a larger project (Campos-Castillo et al., 2021; Laestadius et al., 2021), we took steps to gain access to the Latino community in Milwaukee, WI and engender trust (Shedlin et al., 2011), which was important given the possibility that some adolescents or their family members were undocumented. We collaborated with a non-profit organisation that serves the Latino community and regularly mediates access by researchers. The organisation convened a focus group of 10 Latino adolescents to co-develop our interview guide and make our questions accessible. The first author, a Latina, led the discussion. We revised the questions based on their feedback, particularly how we referenced mental health (text provided below) and recruited participants from a youth program run by the organisation. The consent and assent forms were in English and Spanish, with the latter written by a native speaker. The interviews occurred in a quiet room within the organisation, during a time when the adolescent was already scheduled to participate in the youth program. Participants each received a $40 Amazon gift card. Interviews were conducted by either the first author or one of two graduate assistants (a White woman and an Asian woman). Two interviewers were fluent in Spanish, but all interviews were in English at the request of the participant.

Sample

We interviewed 43 Latino adolescents (25 girls, 18 boys) between the ages of 13 and 17 who reported using social media at least once per week. The modal age ($n = 13$) was 14, followed by 16 and 17 ($n = 10$ for each). The demographics reflected the broader Latino community in Milwaukee, which is predominantly of Mexican origin. Approximately two-thirds stated they had a parent/guardian born outside the U.S. and the median annual household income was $35,000–50,000.

Interview

After completing a demographic survey, the interview began by asking about their uses of social media in general and then proceeded into the focal content, which was a broad understanding of their perceptions of when they thought it was appropriate to post mental health content on social media and how they felt and responded when seeing the content. We used a semi-structured interview format that allowed the interviewee to guide discussion. Initially, the interview did not ask specifically about the residential context, but rather the interviewers noted in the memo they did after each interview that these issues emerged unprompted, with one interviewee suggesting after the interview that we incorporate such a question. In line with qualitative emergent design principles (Hammersley, 2022), we revised the questions to dig further and explicitly asked about the residential context to 30 of the interviewees.

Most of what we report here is based on responses to the resulting question, 'Sometimes individuals feel bad or physically drained because of challenges and threats their community is facing and they show how they're feeling through social media. Can you describe an example of a time where either you or your friends were feeling this way and showed it through social media?' The phrasing, 'bad or physically drained,' was used throughout the interview and was co-developed with the focus group about how best to refer to mental health without using

stigmatising terms like 'depression,' which could incline Latino adolescents to suggest they never had such an experience. We used 'community' because it is a broader term than 'neighbourhood' (e.g. Wellman & Leighton, 1979) and did not refer to Milwaukee specifically to generate the broadest interpretation of the residential context. When there was confusion about the term 'community' ($N = 4$), we explained it could refer to their school, neighbourhood or the local area where they live. We followed up with questions about the challenge or threat, their responses to it on social media and how this made them feel.

Interviews lasted between 60 and 90 min. All interviews were audio recorded and professionally transcribed verbatim, with participants selecting pseudonyms that we use in the results section.

Analysis

We began the analysis while data collection was ongoing. Four researchers (two trained in sociology, one in public health and one in clinical psychology) performed open coding on the first 11 transcripts to develop a shared codebook, working independently on each full transcript and then discussing the transcripts line-by-line together. During discussion, the team described ways the transcripts both affirmed and contested extant literature, giving way to an abductive analysis (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). In abductive analysis, theory is developed to accommodate surprising findings. Consistent with previous research (Cano et al., 2021; Motley et al., 2020; Stevens et al., 2017; Tao & Fisher, 2022; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015), the transcripts indicated social media was a way to aggravate how residential risks can negatively shape mental health, which was coded as *amplification*. Where the transcripts provided surprising findings were in the ways interviewees described using social media to counter residential risks, suggesting a mitigation process coded as *diminution*. Moreover, given that the line of questioning did not explicitly ask for ways to mitigate risks and instead emphasised feeling 'bad or physically drained' because of the risks and turning to social media, this enhanced the imperative to develop new concepts to accommodate the surprising findings.

Coding then turned to explaining *how* amplification and diminution may occur. Consistent with abductive analysis (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012), we referenced existing literature while performing the analysis, specifically to note how the processes may accord with extant findings. We termed the processes we observed in the interviews *additive* and *extension,* which became the basis for axial codes that the first author applied to the full set of transcripts using MAXQDA 2022.

We organise results to highlight the basic empirical features of the additive and extension processes, noting how they affirm and extend existing literature before illustrating them empirically and then within each process we detail how it may translate to either amplification or diminution of residential risks on adolescent mental health.

RESULTS

Additive process

Amplifying

The additive process describes the ways social media exposure can heighten awareness of residential risks. This includes awareness of risks that, were it not for social media, the

adolescent would be minimally likely to experience directly, as well as more salient awareness of risks that are already known to the adolescent. The overall result is risk amplification, whereby the deleterious impact of the residential risks appear more severe than what one would expect without social media. While the term, 'additive,' does not appear in the extant literature, we use it because it accords with scholars' descriptions of the role of social media in amplifying deleterious effects. For example, in their studies of exposure to residential risks via social media, Motley et al. (2020) refer to social media as potentiating 'increased rates of exposure' and Tynes et al. (2020) stated, 'extended time in online spaces can lead to increased exposure.' Our analysis below adds to previous scholarship by detailing how this may occur.

While previous studies indicate girls are less likely to be exposed directly to neighbourhood violence than boys, partly because their caregivers strive to minimise their time spent outside the home (Antunes et al., 2019), the interviews showed girls can still get exposed indirectly via their social media use. Indeed, mentions of seeing physical and criminal violence on social media were limited to the girls in our sample. The girls described Milwaukee's reputation as known for 'fights' and 'brawls' (Krystal) and 'for a lot of crime and stuff like that' (Anna), setting up the potential for their mere social media use to generate exposure. We noted feelings of helplessness about the violence seen on social media. For example, Lisa said her friends post about local violent incidents online, which made her 'more aware of what's going on in the neighbourhood' and she felt like she 'can't do anything about it...because it's out of [her] control.' Lisa's interview typifies what we identified as amplification and how it may negatively shape mental health. Given Milwaukee's reputation, she would already be aware of the violence, but she describes social media as raising her awareness. This may also have the impact of heightening her feelings of helplessness, because she is regularly reminded of the violence.

Beyond mere use, several social media affordances appeared to enable the additive process. The interviews unpacked the multiplex ways that a positive association between social media use and mental health harm can occur while living in a hypersegregated city. Both Giselle and Bri discussed distinct ways we understood as social media amplifying the negative impact of police violence on mental health. Giselle explained why her concern about local police violence becomes heightened when a post about it comes from her friends: 'the police...like they're more hurting people and using more violence and it's just not good at all. Or they're just against Blacks or they're just being racist, I'd be worried about it because if I know the person being hurt by the police, I'd feel bad for them or I'd feel– I'll be worried for them.' Bri also described incidents of police violence she sees online that cause her concern, except she did not know the people. Bri stated she sometimes views YouTube videos of strangers getting pulled over by police and said she could 'tell that they're scared' and expressed, 'I get scared too. I get worried about it.' Both Giselle and Bri demonstrated empathy as a potential mechanism for why an additive process can lead to amplification, which we interpret as being fuelled by the participatory nature of social media. The participatory nature of social media means that when users are exposed to residential risks, they are more likely to do so from first-person accounts of those who are directly impacted than when the news comes from legacy media sources. We characterised this as amplification and note that the first-person account can come from a friend or stranger.

In a residential context like Milwaukee, we found evidence indicating mere social media use can generate an additive process because hypersegregation creates opportunities for exposure to residential risks, as seen among the girls recounting exposure to violence. Additionally, beyond mere use, we identified social media affordances that can enable an additive process, specifically through first-person accounts of risks. Altogether, these observations unveil processes implied

in previous scholarship, but yet to be detailed empirically, about the ways social media can amplify the detrimental impact of residential risks on adolescent mental health.

Diminution

Next, we illustrate an understudied capability of social media: how it can diminish the deleterious effects of residential risks on mental health. We focus first on the parallel to the preceding section, which is an additive process whereby social media contributes a channel to new and existing residential resources that can offset residential risks.

We noted in the interviews how social media provided an additional channel to access social support in response to residential risks. Rosio's interview illustrates the full process, by first describing how a residential risk (legal violence) impacts her mental health and then explaining how she responds by using social media to activate social support:

> I feel like right now like with me and my friends or at least our like community being predominantly Latino and like Mexican, you know, a lot of our parents or like, you know, maybe like our aunts or uncles are undocumented a lot. Like, you know, the big problem with like immigration and ICE coming to like our like cities, you know and we end up feeling bad and just worried for like each other... I feel like those were the times where we do like, you know, just feel bad and like really like are constantly communicating with each other just to check up on one another... Like I end up getting really, really anxious and have a hard time focussing on things... I mean even my parents end up being like or being concerned about my friends, like "Hey, like how are they doing"?... And they're like, "Okay, I hope they stay safe, like you should let her know that". I'll be like, "Okay, like I'll let her know right now"... I feel like it's just like a comfort that comes and, you know, like sort of like the light at the end of a tunnel... I feel kind of better... I mean it happens to a lot of people but there are people to be there for you at the end of the day for whatever happens.

Rosio felt that being able to constantly communicate with friends via social media makes her feel better, which we interpret as an additive process leading to diminution. Because she can communicate with friends in person, such as at school, this is an instance in which social media contributes enhanced access to a neighbourhood resource that already exists and can be accessed via other means.

Other interviews depicted an additive process where the resource is non-existent or difficult to access via other means. In one set of interviews, the interviewees described activating what we characterised as collective efficacy, which is a perception of how well a community can address problems together to protect against harms (Garcini et al., 2021; Gulbas & Zayas, 2017; Romero et al., 2017), such as legal violence. For example, Susan said she was aware of local community organising through following the account of an immigrant rights advocacy group: 'So, if there's a March or something they'll put it on social media. The date and describe what is going to go on in that certain meeting or March that they're going to do.' Others shared content that could contribute to collective efficacy, such as reposting details about the marches on behalf of immigrant rights as well as legal advice. For example, David said he drew attention to legal advice on social media for how to respond if someone is detained: 'I raise awareness for them. Like right now on Instagram because there are features called Instagram Stories that we

just post like step-by-steps–...like the rights and everything.' He noted this would be a public post to avoid singling anyone out and raising suspicion about their documentation status. We considered these as additive because other research indicates legal violence against Latinos can deplete their collective efficacy (Garcini et al., 2021; Romero et al., 2017; Valdez et al., 2013), which would risk making the resource non-existent for adolescents. Here, the interviews show ways adolescents use social media to diminish deleterious impacts of legal violence by generating resources like collective efficacy.

The interviewees believed these practices were filling lacuna, further suggesting an additive process. In the case of Lilo describing organising in response to structural discrimination experienced locally, they felt their peers were the only sources for community awareness:

> I have a lot of friends who are like Black. And, you know, like with police brutality, the Black Lives Matter movement, stuff like that, like sort of like the uprise again of like white supremacy, like just how big that's becoming again and just like how nobody is like putting like a stop to that. Nobody is like really like-- no high power or-- like-- and I mean high-powered not as like celebrities or people who have a platform, but high-powered like Congress or like the President or like the Supreme Court...people like who really have power to do something. And just like seeing how they don't speak out, like about these situations...And so like a lot of my friends, like my like Black friends, like if there's like any police brutality or anybody who's getting killed, like any Black person in their community, then they'll post about them and they'll like post, like, justice for like them or stuff like that.

Feeling defenceless against structural discrimination, which Lilo and her friends risk experiencing, can spur anxiety among youth (Muhammad et al., 2018). Rather than feeling defenceless because adults with power were not addressing the stressor, even when it occurred locally in their community, adolescents like Lilo view turning to social media as a tool for drawing attention to resources to buffer against residential risks. This and other examples in this section highlight an understudied process, which is how adolescents' use of social media can diminish the deleterious effects of residential risks on mental health.

Extension process

Amplification

The extension process captures what we noted as further variation within the added awareness that can stem from social media, specifically via modifying users' experience of space and time. Through the analysis, we identified ways that social media can lengthen one's exposure to residential risks, speed up one's exposure to risks and multiply who may be at risk to include those who are not spatially proximate, which altogether can amplify the deleterious effects of residential risks on mental health. As with the additive process, while the term 'extension' does not appear in extant scholarship, we use it because it accords with writings suggesting how the experience of space and time differs between social media and in-person. Stevens et al. (2017), for example, hint at a multiplicative component: 'These digital altercations can occur at any time, inhabiting previously safe spaces and are witnessed in front of a larger audience of both peers and strangers. The drama youth actively avoid in their geographic neighbourhood has

migrated to the safe spaces of their home computer or mobile phone.' Umaña-Taylor et al. (2015) likewise describe a multiplicative potential, specifically resulting from the ability to repost content, while also suggesting this can lengthen the duration of exposure compared to if the same incident occurred in-person: 'Face-to-face experiences potentially fade from memory, but online targets may experience the same incident repeatedly...Targets and witnesses may revisit the site, save it to their devices, retweet (resend messages on the microblogging site Twitter) or repost.' Because they only surmise how social media undergirds an extension process, we build on their insights to detail empirically how it may occur and give way to amplification of residential risks.

The interviews revealed some parallels with other technologies, like television, that can also multiply the number of individuals who feel present in geographically distant places (Gergen, 1991; Meyrowitz, 1985). David, for example, used social media to follow the accounts of cable news channels to learn about news across the nation. He described how certain stories of events occurring in geographically distant places became relevant for his community and made him feel anxious: 'Let's say for example, where the president and everything posted about ICE Raids across the nation...I would feel certain emotions towards my friends and their families... Like I'd feel scared for them and because they might be worried about all that.' He added he would be reticent to discuss the issues directly with peers, both online and in-person, to avoid singling anyone out because of their documentation status and thus his experiences were felt largely from reading and ruminating about the news stories.

Unlike television, peers can draw each other's attention on social media, which seemed to create a stronger potential for extension via multiplying risk exposures. This is particularly salient in examples of multiplication we identified in which it was occurring even among those who are not impacted directly, but felt impacted because of the social connection to those who are. Lilo recognised this when she said even her Black friends empathised with the border crisis: 'Latinos and Latinas and even some of my Black friends, like, how there's like the camps at the southern border, like where a lot of migrants are being treated very poorly and they have very like bad situations that they're being put in, like they'll both post.' Moreover, the ability for several peers to post about risks, including geographically distant ones like the border crisis, can make adolescents feel as if others are 'constantly post[ing],' as Michael described. The seemingly constant renewal of the same content is another quality of the extension process that we identified, whereby social media can lengthen awareness of risks.

We observed within the interviews the extension process also occurring within the geographic boundaries of Milwaukee. Sara recalled an emergency lockdown at her school because of a car chase. She had stayed home that day, but still experienced the incident vicariously as it unfolded because of real-time posting by her classmates on social media, thereby encapsulating our use of the extension term to denote the multiplication of who may be at risk to include those who are not physically proximate. She recounted feeling the same initial confusion as everyone else because no one knew why the lockdown occurred, but were posting different and false accounts of what was occurring. Some classmates posted they heard gunshots and were frightened because they were unsure of what awaited them outside. When asked how she felt, she said, 'I was feeling scared because I knew that my friends were at school and I was worried about them.' While she was not physically present to directly experience the wellbeing risk, social media multiplied the risk to include her because she knew those who were there and posting. In response to the differing accounts of what was happening, Sara said she read through multiple stories that people were posting to triangulate the information and provide verification for those who were at school. As she followed along with the real-time posting, the

length of her exposure became comparable to those who were physically present. Moreover, while she eventually heard of the incident via other channels (directly from peers once they were dismissed from school), we understood from her interview an additional extension process whereby the real-time posting sped the time for the risk to initially impact her and thereby lengthened the overall duration of her exposure.

Diminution

Like the additive process, we noted an understudied phenomenon whereby the extension process could also yield diminution by attenuating the deleterious impact of residential risks. Despite and perhaps in direct response to the ability of social media to extend exposure to risks, we identified how it can also extend exposure to resources. Lucy, for example, was learning via social media about the racial climate at her future high school. She had yet to set foot in the school and thus she was not physically proximate, but social media was multiplying who was at risk to include her. Lucy said she saw students in the high school post 'a huge paragraph [about] how racism is bad in their school.' She was friends on social media with these students because they had attended her middle school, which we characterised as an extension process because she had access to these ties via social media despite no longer sharing the same school setting. In anticipation of eventually attending the new school, Lucy wondered, 'what if people really are really racist and it makes me feel scared.' To prepare, Lucy said she 'talked to other people who were going to that school and I was just like, 'So is that true?' And they were like, 'Sadly, yeah. That is true, but like, there is other people you can make friends with and just avoid the others'.' Social media alerted her to a risk that was—at the moment—geographically and temporally distant from her. In anticipation that she would be directly exposed in the future, we see Lucy as activating residential resources via talking to students on social media who had graduated from her middle school to both verify the information and identify ways to mitigate the stressor.

We also observed diminution via extension processes within descriptions of using social media to speed up access to residential resources. Bri, for example, said that when she sees the police pulling over people, she would alert others on social media 'because of the fact that, you know, it's good to know what's happening in the community. Like if you could see a lot of people getting pulled over, it's good to know, so you're like, hey, there's a lot of people getting pulled over, just wanted to let you know that, just in case, for you, safety-wise.' Likewise, Scott would draw others' attention on social media if he heard about ICE in the vicinity by asking, 'Did you hear about ICE being in Milwaukee?" For Giselle, when she posted about marches to support immigrant rights, she said she felt people should 'know that there's also that problem. Like, they should know about it, too and it's not just perfect or it's not a lie. Like, it's actually happening.' Such community alerts via social media can potentially shorten the time to deploy and access resources, like informational support, which in turn can yield diminution because it can be used to avoid risks.

Social media affordances, like reposting content, can also lengthen duration of exposure to resources. For example, Jackie described becoming aware of racism at her school via social media and said, 'everyone was finding out because people were reposting these racist comments.' Jackie said she responds to racism via social media by '[standing] up for the people who are being threatened' and 'sometimes people will repost, screenshot and repost the positive vibes.' Reposting content can extend the time it appears atop a newsfeed (i.e. the posts a user

sees when they first open a social media app) and thereby the time it remains a focus of attention and multiply who sees it, which we characterise as elements of an extension process. This can expand exposure to risks, like local racism, but also to resources, like the 'positive vibes' in response to the racism.

Limitations to extension

The interviews revealed a novel insight about extension, which is that there are limits to the ability of social media to extend exposure. Bri, for example, described feeling apathy regarding physical violence she observed frequently in social media: 'I'm not worried about it, because the violence that I see through social media is like... sometimes middle school fights, but also high school fights...I'm used to it now, because I see it all the time on my social media.' Bri could also hear about the fights through word-of-mouth, but her description underscores social media creating a feeling of persistence. While this could contribute to lengthening the duration of her exposure and thereby amplification, Bri's characterisation of her reaction resembles desensitisation and indicated there are limits to the persistence of content on social media contributing to amplification.

We found a parallel process for diminution, whereby the persistence of content on social media would seemingly expand exposure to resources, but this potential appeared limited. As depicted earlier, our interviewees turned to social media to activate support in response to legal violence in their communities, including the threat of deportation by ICE. However, the constant exposure to people turning to social media in support could cause exhaustion. Maui appeared empathetic to those who worried about deportation as she explained why she felt angry about the presence of ICE: 'Because I have a lot of friends whose parents aren't United States citizens...I do have family members like that as well.' When asked how she felt about responding to the presence of ICE on social media, she said, 'It makes me feel good at first because it's, okay, I got my opinion out there and I got my-- I said what I needed to say. But then, at the same time, it's, did I really need to post this.' Maui further explains the source of her exhaustion as the persistence of people turning to social media: 'I just knew a lot of people were just talking about it and just kept bringing it up. It was kind of to the point where I got tired of it.' Accordingly, we interpret Maui describing a process where someone can derive positive benefits from turning to social media to activate resources, but persistent contact can yield exhaustion and thereby contribute limits to diminution.

DISCUSSION

Expanding on research into the links between social media and mental health among adolescents (Arias-de la Torre et al., 2020; Valkenburg et al., 2022), we identified the mechanisms through which social media may shape how residential risks impact adolescent mental health. Social media can *both* amplify and diminish the deleterious impact, via what we called additive and extension processes. We also found limits to the extension process, whereby social media cannot infinitely lengthen the duration of awareness or multiply who can become aware. We summarise how these findings elaborate emerging assumptions about social media's role in how adolescents engage with their residential context.

We found evidence suggesting social media use can amplify the deleterious effects of residential risks on adolescent mental health. Our interviews detailed how social media can make adolescents aware of residential risks, via the additive process and both lengthen awareness and multiply who may become aware, via the extension process. Living in a hypersegregated city generated opportunities for awareness via mere social media use as well as social media affordances that fellow peers operated on, such as being able to post in real-time and repost the content. This elaborates the findings of previous scholarship, which had only found associations between mere social media use and exposure to residential risks and could consequently only surmise why (e.g. Motley et al., 2020; Tao & Fisher, 2022; Tynes et al., 2020; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015). Because the majority of these previous studies were cross-sectional, our findings bolster their conclusions by detailing the plausible mechanisms empirically.

At the same time, our findings also suggest the need to refine the conclusions drawn from previous studies. We found evidence that adolescents use social media in ways that can mitigate the deleterious impact of residential risks on their mental health, which we called *diminution*, via parallel additive and extension processes. Specifically, they used social media to draw awareness of resources (additive), like collective-efficacy and to lengthen one's awareness and multiply awareness of resources (extension). Diminution is understudied in previous studies, with some not even querying about using social media to access and activate resources (e.g. Motley et al., 2020; Tao & Fisher, 2022; Tynes et al., 2020). Moreover, we found evidence suggesting limitations to the extension process, whereby adolescents reported normalising risks and curtailing what seemed to them like persistent attempts by others to draw awareness to both risks and resources. This suggests that the association between social media use and awareness of both risks and resources is not entirely linear. Accordingly, it is possible that studies estimating only a linear and negative association between social media use and mental health are overestimating the relationship.

Both amplification and diminution can plausibly be operant among adolescents, because it accords with a range of mental health literature. Reviews of the links between social media and adolescent wellbeing suggest that the reason why the links appear weak is because countervailing forces are likely in play, whereby social media both harms and supports adolescents (Arias-de la Torre et al., 2020, Valkenburg et al., 2022). In the case of adolescents from minoritised ethnoracial groups, the presence of countervailing forces typifies stress-buffer research (Wheaton, 1985) and can explain paradoxes in which their mental health is comparable or better than their White counterparts (e.g. Louie & Wheaton, 2019). Accordingly, it is critical to investigate the presence of both an amplification and diminution process within future research examining the role of social media on adolescent mental health.

Findings should be interpreted in light of study limitations. Our focus on a single ethnoracial group living in a hypersegregated city was fruitful for developing insights that challenge views of social media inevitably amplifying any deleterious impact of residential risks on adolescents' mental health, but future research should evaluate other populations. The specific risks (e.g. legal violence) and resources (e.g. collective-efficacy) detailed within our interviews may not appear, but the general principles (amplification and diminution occurring via additive and extension processes) may. Moreover, the interviews suggest the potential for amplification encourages adolescents to use social media to activate resources and yield a diminution effect, which accords with stress-buffer theories (Wheaton, 1985), but longitudinal research is needed to test temporal order.

The findings altogether compel avoiding assumptions akin to technological determinism. Important steps include developing more detailed measures of social media use, beyond just

asking about frequency and duration of use, to better understand *how* the technology is being used and capture use that is devoted to creating and activating resources. Greater awareness of residential risks may motivate increased youth engagement in social and policy actions to counter the structural drivers of these risks, which our findings indicated and ultimately yield collective benefits (Cho & Kuang, 2015). Yet, awareness of resources may not be sufficient to enable access to them. Youth may not feel comfortable discussing topics directly, either in-person or online, for a range of reasons, including concerns about privacy and stigma. More research is warranted to discover how technologies like social media can be leveraged to enable access to resources and thereby achieve health equity and address the cumulative disadvantages faced by groups, like the Latino adolescents we interviewed.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Celeste Campos-Castillo: Conceptualization (lead); formal analysis (lead); funding acquisition (lead); investigation (lead); methodology (lead); project administration (lead); writing—original draft (lead). **Sarah Groh:** Conceptualization (supporting); formal analysis (supporting); writing—original draft (supporting); writing—review & editing (lead). **Linnea Laestadius:** Conceptualization (supporting); funding acquisition (supporting); project administration (supporting); writing—review & editing (supporting).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was funded by a grant from the Technology and Adolescent Mental Wellness program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the official views of the university or the Technology and Adolescent Mental Wellness program.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

ORCID

Celeste Campos-Castillo https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7376-1842

REFERENCES

Acker, J., Aghaee, S., Mujahid, M., Deardorff, J., & Kubo, A. (2023). Structural racism and adolescent mental health disparities in northern California. *JAMA Network Open*, *6*(8), e2329825. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2023.29825

Alegría, M., Chatterji, P., Wells, K., Cao, Z., Chen, C.-n., Takeuchi, D., Jackson, J., & Meng, X.-L. (2008). Disparity in depression treatment among racial and ethnic minority populations in the United States. *Psychiatric Services*, *59*(11), 1264–1272. https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ps.59.11.1264

Anderson, M., & Jiang, J. (2018). *Teens, social media & technology*. Pew Research Center.

Aneshensel, C. S., & Sucoff, C. A. (1996). The neighborhood context of adolescent mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *37*(4), 293–310. https://doi.org/10.2307/2137258

Antunes, M. J. L., Ahlin, E. M., Emmert, A. D., & Manasse, M. (2019). Gender differences in youth exposure to community violence: A partial test of power-control theory. *Feminist Criminology*, *15*(2), 123–146. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085119877248

Arias-de la Torre, J., Puigdomenech, E., García, X., Valderas, J. M., Eiroa-Orosa, F. J., Fernández-Villa, T., Molina, A. J., Martín, V., Serrano-Blanco, A., Alonso, J., & Espallargues, M. (2020). Relationship between

depression and the use of mobile technologies and social media among adolescents: Umbrella review. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, *22*(8), e16388. https://doi.org/10.2196/16388

Barajas-Gonzalez, R. G., Ayón, C., Brabeck, K., Rojas-Flores, L., & Valdez, C. R. (2021). An ecological expansion of the adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) framework to include threat and deprivation associated with U.S. immigration policies and enforcement practices: An examination of the Latinx immigrant experience. *Social Science & Medicine*, *282*, 114126. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.114126

Bergström, A., & Jervelycke Belfrage, M. (2018). News in social media: Incidental consumption and the role of opinion leaders. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(5), 583–598. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1423625

Brondolo, E., Monge, A., Agosta, J., Tobin, J. N., Cassells, A., Stanton, C., & Schwartz, J. (2015). Perceived ethnic discrimination and cigarette smoking: Examining the moderating effects of race/ethnicity and gender in a sample of Black and Latino urban adults. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *38*(4), 689–700. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10865-015-9645-2

Browning, C. R., Calder, C. A., Ford, J. L., Boettner, B., Smith, A. L., & Haynie, D. (2017). Understanding racial differences in exposure to violent areas:integrating survey, smartphone and administrative data resources. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *669*(1), 41–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216678167

Campos-Castillo, C., & Hitlin, S. (2013). Copresence: Revisiting a building block for social interaction theories. *Sociological Theory*, *31*(2), 168–192. https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275113489811

Campos-Castillo, C., Thomas, B. J., Reyes, F., & Laestadius, L. I. (2021). Seeking help from trusted adults in response to peers' social media posts about mental health struggles: Qualitative interview study among Latinx adolescents. *JMIR Mental Health*, *8*(9), e26176. https://doi.org/10.2196/26176

Cano, M. Á., Schwartz, S. J., MacKinnon, D. P., Keum, B. T. H., Prado, G., Marsiglia, F. F., Salas-Wright, C. P., Cobb, C. L., Garcini, L. M., De La Rosa, M., Sánchez, M., Rahman, A., Acosta, L. M., Roncancio, A. M., & de Dios, M. A. (2021). Exposure to ethnic discrimination in social media and symptoms of anxiety and depression among Hispanic emerging adults: Examining the moderating role of gender. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *77*(3), 571–586. https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.23050

Carpiano, R. M. (2014). The neighborhood and mental life: Past, present and future sociological directions in studying community context and mental health. In R. J. Johnson, R. J. Turner, & B. G. Link (Eds.), *Sociology of mental health: Selected topics from forty years 1970s-2010s*. Springer International Publishing.

Castells, M. 1996. The rise of the network society, the information age: Economy, society and culture Vol. *I*, Cambridge, MA, Blackwell.

Cho, H., & Kuang, K. (2015). The societal risk reduction motivation model. In H. Cho, T. Reimer, & K. A. McComas (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of risk communication*. SAGE.

Cohen, A., Ekwueme, P. O., Sacotte, K. A., Bajwa, L., Gilpin, S., & Heard-Garris, N. (2021). 'Melanincholy': A qualitative exploration of youth media use, vicarious racism and perceptions of health. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *69*(2), 288–293. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2020.12.128

Cuartas, J., & Leventhal, T. (2020). Exposure to community violence and children's mental health: A quasi-experimental examination. *Social Science & Medicine*, *246*, 112740. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.112740

Dargin, J. S., Fan, C., & Mostafavi, A. (2021). Vulnerable populations and social media use in disasters: Uncovering the digital divide in three major U.S. hurricanes. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, *54*, 102043. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2021.102043

DaViera, A. L., & Roy, A. L. (2020). Chicago youths' exposure to community violence: Contextualizing spatial dynamics of violence and the relationship with psychological functioning. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *65*(3–4), 332–342. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12405

DaViera, A. L., Roy, A. L., Uriostegui, M., & Fiesta, D. (2020). Safe spaces embedded in dangerous contexts: How Chicago youth navigate daily life and demonstrate resilience in high-crime neighborhoods. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *66*(1–2), 65–80. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12434

Foell, A., Pitzer, K. A., Nebbitt, V., Lombe, M., Yu, M., Villodas, M. L., & Newransky, C. (2021). Exposure to community violence and depressive symptoms: Examining community, family and peer effects among public housing youth. *Health & Place*, *69*, 102579. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2021.102579

Garcini, L., Chen, N., Cantu, E., Sanchez, N., Ziauddin, K., Maza, V., & Molina, M. (2021). Protective factors to the wellbeing of undocumented latinx immigrants in the United States: A socio-ecological approach. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *19*(4), 456–471. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2020.1836300

Gergen, K. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. Basic Books.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Polity Press.

Goodspeed, R. (2017). Community and urban places in a digital world. *City & Community*, *16*(1), 9–15. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12218

Gulbas, L. E., & Zayas, L. H. (2017). *Exploring the effects of U.S. Immigration enforcement on the well-being of citizen children in Mexican immigrant families* (Vol. 3). RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences.53.

Hammersley, M. (2022). Emergent design. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research design*.

Hampton, K. N. (2010). Internet use and the concentration of disadvantage: Glocalization and the urban underclass. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *53*(8), 1111–1132. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764209356244

Hampton, K. N., & Wellman, B. (2018). Lost and saved.... Again: The moral panic about the loss of community takes hold of social media. *Contemporary Sociology*, *47*(6), 643–651. https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306118805415

Hargittai, E., Neuman, W. R., & Curry, O. (2012). Taming the information tide: Perceptions of information overload in the American home. *The Information Society*, *28*(3), 161–173. https://doi.org/10.1080/01972243.2012.669450

Hartig, T., & Lawrence, R. J. (2003). Introduction: The residential context of health. *Journal of Social Issues*, *59*(3), 455–473. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-4560.00073

Humphreys, L. (2018). *The qualified self: Social media and the accounting of everyday life*. MIT Press.

Igo, S. E. (2018). *The known citizen: A history of privacy in modern America*. Harvard University Press.

Laestadius, L. I., Craig, K. A., & Campos-Castillo, C. (2021). Perceptions of alerts issued by social media platforms in response to self-injury posts among Latinx adolescents: Qualitative analysis. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, *23*(8), e28931. https://doi.org/10.2196/28931

Lee, M.-A. (2009). Neighborhood residential segregation and mental health: A multilevel analysis on Hispanic Americans in Chicago. *Social Science & Medicine*, *68*(11), 1975–1984. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.02.040

Logan, J. R., & Stults, B. (2021). The persistence of segregation in the metropolis: New findings from the 2020 census. *Diversity and Disparities Project. Brown University*.

Lopez, C., Bergren, M. D., & Painter, S. G. (2008). Latino disparities in child mental health services. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing*, *21*(3), 137–145. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6171.2008.00146.x

Louie, P., & Wheaton, B. (2019). The black-white paradox revisited: Understanding the role of counterbalancing mechanisms during adolescence. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *60*(2), 169–187. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022146519845069

Lyon, D. (2018). *The culture of surveillance: Watching as a way of life*. Polity Press.

Mels, C., Lagoa, L., & Cuevasanta, D. (2022). Exploring exposure to intertwined community violence among Uruguayan adolescents using a mixed-method approach. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *50*(2), 1155–1172. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22709

Meyrowitz, J. (1985). *No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior*. Oxford University Press.

Motley, R. O., Jr., Chen, Y.-C., Johnson, C., & Joe, S. (2020). Exposure to community-based violence on social media among Black male emerging adults involved with the criminal justice system. *Social Work Research*, *44*(2), 87–97. https://doi.org/10.1093/swr/svaa002

Muhammad, M., De Loney, E. H., Brooks, C. L., Assari, S., Robinson, D., & Caldwell, C. H. (2018). I think that's all a lie...I think it's genocide': Applying a critical race praxis to youth perceptions of flint water contamination. *Ethnicity & Disease*, *28*(Supp 1), 241–246. https://doi.org/10.18865/ed.28.s1.241

Romero, A. J., Anguas, M. M., O'Leary, A., & Covarrubias, R. (2017). Collective efficacy for community change in response to immigrant stigma stress. *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, *42*(1), 19–44. https://doi.org/10.1525/azt.2017.42.1.19

Sharkey, P., & Faber, J. W. (2014). Where, when, why and for whom do residential contexts matter? Moving away from the dichotomous understanding of neighborhood effects. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *40*(1), 559–579. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043350

Shedlin, M. G., Decena, C. U., Mangadu, T., & Martinez, A. (2011). Research participant recruitment in Hispanic communities: Lessons learned. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, *13*(2), 352–360. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-009-9292-1

Stevens, R., Gilliard-Matthews, S., Dunaev, J., Woods, M. K., & Brawner, B. M. (2017). The digital hood: Social media use among youth in disadvantaged neighborhoods. *New Media & Society*, *19*(6), 950–967. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815625941

Stiffman, A. R., Hadley-Ives, E., Elze, D., Johnson, S., & Doré, P. (1999). Impact of environment on adolescent mental health and behavior: Structural equation modeling. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *69*(1), 73–86. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0080383

Tao, X., & Fisher, C. B. (2022). Exposure to social media racial discrimination and mental health among adolescents of color. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *51*(1), 30–44. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-021-01514-z

Timmermans, S., & Tavory, I. (2012). Theory construction in qualitative research: From grounded theory to abductive analysis. *Sociological Theory*, *30*(3), 167–186. https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275112457914

Tynes, B. M., English, D., Del Toro, J., Smith, N. A., Lozada, F. T., & Williams, D. R. (2020). Trajectories of online racial discrimination and psychological functioning among African American and Latino adolescents. *Child Development*, *91*(5), 1577–1593. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13350

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Tynes, B. M., Toomey, R. B., Williams, D. R., & Mitchell, K. J. (2015). Latino adolescents' perceived discrimination in online and offline settings: An examination of cultural risk and protective factors. *Developmental Psychology*, *51*(1), 87–100. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038432

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2023). Social media and youth mental health: The surgeon general's advisory. https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/sg-youth-mental-health-social-media-advisory.pdf

Valdez, C. R., Padilla, B., & Valentine, J. L. (2013). Consequences of Arizona's immigration policy on social capital among Mexican mothers with unauthorized immigration status. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *35*(3), 303–322. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986313488312

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.copsyc.2021.08.017

Wellman, B., & Leighton, B. (1979). Networks, neighborhoods and communities: Approaches to the study of the community question. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, *14*(3), 363–390. https://doi.org/10.1177/107808747901400305

Wheaton, B. (1985). Models for the stress-buffering functions of coping resources. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *26*(4), 352–364. https://doi.org/10.2307/2136658

How to cite this article: Campos-Castillo, C., Groh, S. M., & Laestadius, L. I. (2025). Latino adolescents' experiences of residential risks on social media and mental health implications. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, e13859. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13859