

The Relationship between Sexting and Gender Roles in High School Students

Kristina Sesar¹, Arta Dodaj², Krešimir Prijatelj³, Tihana Novak⁴, Marija Ćorić⁵, Ivana Crnjac⁶

^{1,5,6}Department of Psychology, University of Mostar, Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina

^{2,3}Department of Psychology, University of Zadar, Zadar, Croatia

⁴Department of Criminology, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the sexting behaviors of surveyed participants through the lens of masculinity and femininity. A total of 352 high school students (264 girls, 88 boys; 14-20 years old) from Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Croatia completed the *Sexting Behaviors and Motives Questionnaire* (SBM-Q) and the *Traditional Masculinity-Femininity Scale* (TMF). Data were collected online. Regarding the prevalence of sexting, 54.0% of high school students reported sexting during the analyzed school period: 32.0% had sent sexts, 48.3% had received sexts, and 45.5% had forwarded sexts. There were no statistically significant differences in sexting behavior by gender. A higher percentage of girls were classified as feminine and a higher percentage of boys were classified as masculine. The types of sexting (sending, receiving, and forwarding) significantly correlated with masculinity/femininity scores for female participants. Girls classified as feminine were more likely to participate in sexting than those classified as masculine. However, there were no significant correlations between types of sexting and masculinity/femininity scores for male participants. Students in the masculine group had the highest scores for sending sexts compared to the neutral and feminine groups. Overall, our results suggest that a relationship exists between sexting behavior and masculinity/femininity. Accounting for masculinity/femininity in sexting behavior probably contributes to a better understanding of sexting.

Keywords: sexting, gender role, masculinity, femininity, high school students

1. Introduction

Sexting, defined as exchanging sexually explicit messages, images and videos between mobile phones, has become an increasingly common form of communication behavior among young people in recent years. It can also be said that sexting is a new form of sexual behavior among young people (Bonilla et al., 2020). Although sexting is defined differently in different research studies, sexting behavior often involves sending a sexually suggestive or explicit message or a partially or fully nude photo or video (Drouin et al., 2013; Hudson, 2014; Klettke et al., 2014; Mitchell et al., 2012). The definition of sexting can alter prevalence rates, and these rates vary widely across studies (Klettke et al., 2014). In addition, other factors also contribute to different results, such as the methodology of studies conducted on different samples of subjects, differences in the media used for sending sexually explicit content, different content of messages sent (text messages or photos), and the status of the relationship in which sexually explicit messages are sent. According to a recent international meta-analysis, the prevalence of sending and publishing sexually explicit messages among adolescents ranges from 7% to 27% (Cooper et al., 2016). Barrense-Dias et al. (2017) analyzed 18 studies published between 2012 and 2015 and reached a similar conclusion. According to the results of this study, 2.5% to 27.6% of adolescents were involved in active sexting. They also concluded that passive sexting was more prevalent with 7.1% to 60% of teens. Authors disagree on the definition of this phenomenon, which is considered potentially risky and deviant behavior or a completely normal communication pattern in the modern age of digital technology (see Doering, 2014; Rice et al., 2014).

Young people's attitudes and beliefs about sexting influence their decision on whether to engage in sexting. In a study by Burke Winkelman et al. (2014), 65% of respondents had positive attitudes towards participating in sexting, while only 20% expressed negative attitudes. Dir et al. (2013) believe that positive attitudes towards sexting and positive expectations encourage more frequent participation in sexting, while negative attitudes lead to less participation in sexting. This was confirmed in the study of Hudson et al. (2015), which found that attitudes toward sexting were one of the most important predictors of sharing sexually explicit content among university students. Factors such as concern for one's reputation, fear of embarrassment, are just some of the negative expectations of participating in sexting (Burke Winkelman et al., 2014). In contrast, a number of positive expectations are attributed to sexting, such as increased self-confidence, improved relationship satisfaction, sexual satisfaction, maintaining a long-distance relationship, the need to feel sexy and desirable (Hawks, 2013; Parker et al., 2013; Perkins et al., 2013; Woolard, 2011).

The way individuals identify themselves in relation to gender roles and their understanding of their own masculinity and femininity are likely to have an impact on their attitudes towards, motivations for, and participation in sexting behavior (Springston, 2017). This may stem from the dual social beliefs and norms that apply to girls and boys regarding appropriate sexual behavior based on gender identity (Flood, 2013). It is likely that due to the social belief that sexual behavior is essential to a boy's masculinity, these social beliefs may encourage their involvement in sexting. Given that masculinity is associated with being in charge and being the initiator in sexual relationships (Seccombe, 2015), it is also expected that boys be the initiators of sexting behavior and send girls various types of sexually explicit content. The pressure to achieve the perfect standard of femininity may also affect the motivations of girls, as sexting may be a way to validate their attractiveness (Springston,

2017). On the other hand, societal beliefs that girls should be shyer and more emotional than boys who do not openly express their sexuality, will influence some girls to initiate the sharing of explicit sexual content less often and are more likely to receive this type of content from boys. However, some girls choose not to engage in exchanging sexually explicit content or hide this form of behavior from others. This may be due to negative and demeaning labels girls often receive when others learn of their involvement in certain sexual behaviors. Research has shown that girls are often blamed for their own sexualization (Flood, 2013; García-Gómez, 2019; Hasinoff, 2015) or stigmatized and sanctioned for displaying their sexuality (Meyer et al., 2017).

In light of this contradiction, the purpose of this study is to examine participant engagement in sexting behavior through the lens of masculinity and femininity. Our hypothesis is that masculinity in boys and femininity in girls exhibit a positive relation to participation in sexting behaviors.

2. Methods

2.1. Participants

The participants of this study were 352 high school students (264 girls, 88 boys) from Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Croatia. All participants in the study were between 14 and 20 years of age ($M=16.347$, $SD =1.247$). In all, 24.4% of our participants were in 1st grade, 18.2% in 2nd grade, 37.2% in 3rd grade, and 20.2% in 4th grade. The majority of participants (74.2%) had not been in an intimate relationship.

2.2. Measures

The measure *Sexting Behaviors and Motives Questionnaire* (SBM-Q) assessed sexting behavior as developed by del Rey et al. (2021). The SBM-Q is based on previously reviewed literature that emphasizes the distinction between sending sexual content, motives for sending sexual content, victims of non-consensual forwarding, receiving sexual content, forwarding sexual content, and motives for forwarding sexual content. The instrument consists of 39 questions representing each of the six behaviors and motives listed above. Participant responses to each question are rated on a five-point rating scale ranging from 0 (never) to 4 (daily). In the present study, participants were asked to respond to each of the questions about sending, receiving, and forwarding sexual content. Scores are calculated by summing up the scores for each item on sexting subscales. For this particular study, sexting subscales were recoded into two levels: non-sexters - participants who reported “never” having participated in sexting, and sexters - participants who reported sexting “less than once a month (1)”, “monthly (2)”, “weekly (3)”, or “daily (4)” during the analyzed period. The SBM-Q has been reported to have good internal consistency reliability (.75-.89) for the six factors (del Rey et al., 2021). The reliability coefficients from the current study that suggested adequate internal consistency reliability for the three SBM-Q subscales: Cronbach's α were .85 for sending sexual content, .918 for receiving sexual content, and .84 for forwarding sexual content.

The *Traditional Masculinity-Femininity Scale (TMF)* measures according to Kachel et al. (2016) the gender role self-concept. The TMF contains 6 items that represent the “core” of masculinity/femininity by referring to three key gender role aspects related to gender-role adoption (1 item; e.g. “I consider myself a...”), gender-role preference (1 item, e.g., “Ideally,

I would like to be...”) and gender-role identity (4 items, e.g. “Traditionally, my 1. interests, 2. attitudes and beliefs, 3. behavior, and 4. outer appearance would be considered as...”). Participants were asked to rate how well each of the characteristics described them on a seven-point adjectival rating scale with scores of 1 – totally masculine and 7 - totally feminine. For the purposes of this study, the middle option 0 was added as a gender-neutral category. To obtain a unidimensional measure of masculinity/femininity, all responses for each participant are summed and divided by the number of items. Thus, higher scores indicate higher perceived femininity. Based on their masculinity/femininity scores on either side of the median, participants were categorized into the different gender role types - masculine (scores below the median), feminine (scores above the median), and gender neutral (neutral scores). Kachel et al. (2016) reported Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$ for reliability of the measure, along with a high test-retest reliability. In the current study, the reliability coefficient yielded Cronbach's $\alpha = .96$.

2.3. Procedure

The data for this study were collected online. Prior to conducting the study, the principal investigator obtained approval from the Institutional Review Board and the Ministry of Education. Participation in this study and the information collected through the online measures was completely anonymous and voluntary. Participants in the study had the right to withdraw at any time or to refuse to participate altogether without penalty. Before beginning the online questionnaire, participants were required to consent to the questionnaire.

3. Results

Regarding the prevalence of sexting, 54.0% of high school students reported sexting during the observed school period: 33.0% sent sexts, 48.3% received sexts, and 45.5% forwarded sexts (Table 1). An analysis of sexting prevalence by sex revealed no statistically significant differences in sexting behaviors ($\chi^2 = 1.78$; $df=3$; $p=.619$).

Table 1: Percentage of high school students who reported to participate in sexting according to sex

Sexting behavior	Girls N (%)	Boys N (%)	Total N (%)
Sending	85 (32.2%)	31 (35.3%)	116 (33.0%)
Receiving	129 (48.9%)	41 (46.6%)	170 (48.3%)
Forwarding	126 (47.32%)	34 (38.6%)	160 (45.5%)
Total sexting	139 (52.7%)	51 (58.0%)	190 (54.0%)

Sex differences were also tested on the gender role scale. As shown in Table 2 ($\chi^2 = 93.187$; $df=2$; $p=.000$), a higher percentage of girls were ascribed themselves as feminine, and a higher percentage of boys ascribed themselves a masculine. In the gender-neutral groups, girls were slightly more represented in numbers than boys.

Table 2: Percentage of high school girls and boys by their gender role

Gender role	Girls	Boys	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Gender-neutral	73 (27.7%)	11 (12.5%)	84 (23.9%)
Masculine	51 (19.3%)	66 (75.0%)	117 (33.3%)
Feminine	140 (53.0%)	11 (12.5%)	151 (43.0%)

Pearson correlations were used to test the relationships between types of sexting behavior and the masculinity/femininity of participants (Table 3). Correlations were done separately for girls and boys to account for possible gender differences. Types of sexting (sending, receiving, and forwarding) were significantly correlated with the masculinity/femininity scores of participants. Girls who identified themselves as feminine were more likely to participate in sexting than those who identified as masculine. However, there were no significant correlations between types of sexting and masculinity/femininity scores for male participants.

Table 3: Correlations between sexting types and gender role identity by sex

Sexting behavior	Gender role	
	Girls	Boys
Sending	.16**	-.08
Receiving	.16**	-.01
Forwarding	.15*	.04

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

To further test the relationship between types of sexting with gender roles, means are reported for each sexting score by gender role group in Table 4. The MANOVA compared the three gender groups, adjusted for sex, on the three types of sexting and showed significant differences in types of sexting between gender role groups in the multivariate test ($F_{3, 309}=2.55$, $p<.056$, $\eta_p^2=.02$, Roy's Largest Root). However, only one individual comparison was significant, while gender role groups showed significant differences in sending sexts (Table 4). High school students in the masculine group had the highest score for sending sexts compared to the neutral and feminine groups.

Table 4: Testing differences in sexting types across gender role groups defined as gender-neutral, feminine, and masculine

Sexting behavior	Neutral		Feminine		Masculine		F	p	Partial η^2
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Sending	.12	.53	.33	.60	.41	.78	1.54	.02*	.17
Receiving	.36	.81	.63	.92	.71	1.14	1.24	.16	.14
Forwarding	.24	.43	.48	.69	.51	.90	.86	.72	.10

* $p < .05$.

4. Discussion

According to obtained results on the prevalence of sexting, we found that 54 % of high school students reported partaking in sexting during the observed school period. The present results are consistent with the results of the published rate of youth sexting and ranges from 1.3% to 60% (Drouin et al., 2017; Madigan et al., 2018). Importantly, the results of meta-analysis by Madigan et al. (2018) indicates that the frequency of sexting in recent studies is higher than in previous studies, which the authors attribute to the widespread ownership of smartphone among young people. Therefore, the findings of our study that more than half of the young people surveyed participate in sexting is not surprising. Moreover, smartphone applications have been developed in recent years to facilitate the sharing and storage of sexually explicit content, promising better privacy protection for those involved in sexting. This may also be a contributing factor to the high frequency of sexting among the young people in our study.

The prevalence of sending and receiving sexts among adolescents has been estimated to be as high as between 14 % and 27% in recent research (Kim et al., 2020; Madigan et al., 2018; Mori et al., 2019). In contrast to the previously mentioned research findings, our study uncovered that 32.954% of adolescents sent sexts, 48.295% received sexts, and 45.454% forwarded sexts, which is significantly more compared to other studies. The differences may be due to positive attitudes towards sexting among the adolescents in our study. Moreover, numerous study authors (Gómez-Guadix et al., 2017; Stanley et al., 2018) explain that a high frequency of sexting is a common behavior in online interactions during adolescence and that adolescents consider it normal, i.e., standard behavior.

The most common form of sexting behavior, i.e., receiving sext, is consistent with the results of previous studies (Molla-Esparza et al., 2020; Ojeda et al., 2020). Klettke et al. (2014), suggesting that a higher prevalence of receiving sexting messages compared to sending sexting messages may be due to the following: some participants may underestimate their active involvement in sexting, others send the same image to multiple people, and/or those who receive sexting messages may not reciprocate the message.

Analyzing the prevalence of sexting behavior by gender revealed no statistically significant differences. In terms of gender, a range of findings was reported. Some studies found no gender differences in sending and receiving sexual messages or images (Beckmeyer et al., 2019; Campbell & Park, 2014). Moreover, some studies found that girls were more likely to send sexual images than boys (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2014), whereas in contrast, boys engaged in sending, receiving, and forwarding to third parties to a greater extent (Strassberg et al., 2017). The inconsistencies between prevalence findings regarding sexting behavior across studies is not surprising. Prevalence rates of sexting among adolescents vary depending on the

criteria used to define the phenomenon, the age of participants, time period, and measurement instrument, among other factors (Barrense-Dias et al., 2017).

As expected, a higher percentage of girls were classified in the feminine group and a higher percentage of boys were classified in the masculine group. The distribution of gender role classifications among participants supports assumptions related to general social norms in where personality traits closely reflect social expectations for girls and boys (Berger & Krahe, 2013; Echabe, 2010; Kim et al., 2013).

The results show that all three types of sexting behavior correlated with masculinity/femininity scores of participants for the female gender, but not for the male gender. Girls who identified themselves as feminine were more likely to participate in sexting than those who ascribed themselves as masculine. This pattern is consistent with Springston's (2017) work which deals with gender differences in participation and motivation for sexting. According to Springston (2017), this is likely attributed to findings from the same research used to explain the relationship between being female and insecurity as a reason for sending sexts (Jewell & Brown, 2013). If men hold to the belief that men are sex-focused and dominant (traditional traits of masculinity) and that women are sex objects and submissive (traditional traits of femininity), then those who are feminine are likely to send sext messages to please their partner. Hence, they unconsciously take on this submissive role or bow to pressure placed on them to send sext messages.

Given the results of the present study, it is possible that masculine high school students are more likely to send sexts. These findings are not surprising, as adherence to masculine norms has been associated with several aspects of sexual activity, such as more sexual partners, less intimacy with these partners at last sexual intercourse, less consistent condom use, and less belief in men's responsibility in preventing pregnancy (Bell et al., 2015). Given that the concept of masculinity includes a tendency towards dominance, aggressiveness, autonomy, self-confidence, focus on personal gratification, or negative overinterpretation of sexual problems (Kurpisz et al., 2016), adolescents may possibly express these aspects by participating in sexting. More specifically, for some adolescents, sending a sext message may possibly mean that they become more balanced in terms of stereotypical masculine characteristics. However, at the moment, this is only a hypothesis that should be tested in further studies. Hence, interest in sexting is closely linked to masculinity where the masculine identity of boys or young men who do not show interest in sexting is questioned or even criticized (Ricciardelli & Adorjan, 2019). A culture in which masculinity is equated with an interest in heterosexual sex contributes to the naturalization of male sexual desire (Walsh, 2019), possibly impacting the ways in which youth use sexting. For example, boys may typically use sexting as evidence that they can persuade girls to use their bodies (Ringrose et al., 2013).

Finally, we must consider some limitations of the study. The design is correlational, and no causal relationships derived from it. This research was conducted using an online research methodology, and we can assume that participation in the study was based on participant motivation. Although the survey was completely anonymous, some students may have felt uncomfortable giving honest answers in taking the survey. There may be certain issues regarding measurement validity and reliability due to sensitivity of the topic. Future research exploring participation in and motivations for sexting may want to take into account the sexual orientation of respondents in order to more fully understand sexting behavior among adolescents.

Despite these limitations, this study is a contribution to current literature in that it demonstrates that the nature of sexting is related to the gender roles of students. More specifically, sending is associated with masculinity and sexting behavior (sending, receiving, and sending) is significantly related to the feminine identities of high school students. Indeed, given the rise of sexting among adolescents, the issue of gender role needs to be given greater consideration in future research.

5. Conclusion

In summary, the present study breaks new ground by examining the relationship between types of sexting and the gender role of high school students. Masculinity and femininity dimensions have been shown to be related to sexting behavior. Although great strides have been made in understanding the various determinants of sexting in recent decades, further study is essential to make progress in understanding this complex phenomenon. This study can serve as a guide for future research in this area, particularly in examining adolescent perceptions of masculinity and femininity portrayed by their peers or even the interaction of masculinity and femininity and different cultural contexts in sexting. Future research based on these findings can also examine how these results relate to psychological outcomes in high school students.

Acknowledgment

This paper is an output of the science project *Nature and determinants of sexting among adolescents and youth: A cross-national study* funded by the Croatian Science Foundation (Grant number 3553).

References

- Barrense-Dias, Y., Berchtold, A., Surís, J. C. and Akre, C. (2017). "Sexting and the definition issue," *Journal of Adolescent Health*, vol. 4, pp. 544-554.
- Beckmeyer, J. J., Herbenick, D., Fu, T. C. J., Dodge, B., Reece, M. and Fortenberry, J. D. (2019). "Characteristics of adolescent sexting: Results from the 2015 national survey of sexual health and behavior," *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy*, vol. 45, pp. 767-780.
- Bell, D. L., Rosenberger, J. G. and Ott, M. A. (2015). "Masculinity in adolescent males' early romantic and sexual heterosexual relationships," *American Journal of Men's Health*, vol. 9, pp. 201-208.
- Berger, A. and Krahe, B. (2013). "Native attributes are gendered too: conceptualizing and measuring positive and negative facets of sex-role identity," *European Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 43, pp. 516-531.
- Bonilla, S., McGinley, M. and Lamb, S. (2020). "Sexting, power, and patriarchy: Narratives of sexting from a college population," *New Media & Society*, vol. 23, pp. 1099-1116.
- Burke Winkelman, S., Vail Smith, K., Brinkley, J. and Knox, D. (2014). "Sexting on the college campus," *Electronic Journal of Human Sexuality*, vol. 17.

- Campbell, S. W. and Park, Y. J. (2014). "Predictors of mobile sexting among teens: Toward a new explanatory framework," *Mobile Media & Communication*, vol. 20, pp. 20-39.
- Cooper, K., Quayle, E., Jonsson, L. and Svedin, C. G. (2016). "Adolescents and self-taken sexual images: A review of the literature," *Computers in Human Behavior*, vol. 55, pp. 706-716.
- del Rey, R., Ojeda, M. and Casas, J. A. (2021). "Validation of the sexting behavior and motives questionnaire (SBM-Q)," *Psicothema*, vol. 33, pp. 287-295.
- Dir, A. L., Coskunpinar, A., Steiner, J. L. and Cyders, M. A. (2013). "Understanding differences in sexting behaviors across gender, relationship status, and sexual identity, and the role of expectancies in sexting," *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, vol. 16, pp. 568-574.
- Döring, N. (2014). "Consensual sexting among adolescents: Risk prevention through abstinence education or safer sexting?," *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, vol 8, pp. 9.
- Drouin, M., Ross, J. and Tobin, E. (2015). "Sexting: A new, digital vehicle for intimate partner aggression?," *Computers in Human Behavior*, vol. 50, pp. 197-204.
- Echabe, A. E. (2010). "Role identities versus social identities: masculinity, femininity, instrumentality and communality," *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 13, pp. 30-43.
- Flood, M. (2013). Male and female sluts," *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 28, pp. 95-107.
- Gómez-Guadix, M., De-Santisteban, P. and Resett, S. (2017). "Sexting among Spanish adolescents: Prevalence and personality profiles," *Psicothema*, vol. 29, pp. 29-34.
- García-Gómez, A. (2019). Sexting and hegemonic masculinity: Interrogating male sexual agency, empowerment and dominant gendered norms. In P. Garcés-Conejos-Blitvich and P. Bou-Franch (Eds.), *Analyzing digital discourse: New insights and future directions* (pp. 313-339). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hasinoff, A. A. (2015). *Sexting panic: Rethinking criminalization, privacy, and consent*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Hill, R. M. (1997). "The single-vendor single-buyer integrated production-inventory model with a generalized policy," *European Journal of Operational Research*, vol. 97, pp. 493-499.
- Hudson, H. K., and Fetro, J. V. (2015). "Sexual activity: Predictors of sexting behaviors and intentions to sext among selected undergraduate students," *Computers in Human Behavior*, vol. 49, pp. 615-622.
- Hudson, H. K., Fetro, J. V. and Ogletree, R. (2014). "Behavioral indicators and behaviors related to sexting among undergraduate students," *American Journal of Health Education*, vol. 45, pp. 183-195.
- Jewell, J. A. and Brown, C. S. (2013). "Sexting, catcalls, and butt slaps: How gender stereotypes and perceived group norms predict sexualized behavior," *Sex Roles*, vol. 69, pp. 594-604.

- Kachel, S., Steffens, M., C. and Niedlich, C. (2016). "Traditional masculinity and femininity: validation of a new scale assessing gender roles," *Frontiers in Psychology*, vol. 7, pp. 956.
- Kim, M., Euna, P. and Sung-Hee, K. (2013). "A typology: older women and gender role identity," *Korean Journal of Adult Nursing*, vol. 25, pp. 289-297.
- Kim, S., Martin-Storey, A., Drossos, A., Barbosa, S. and Georgiades, K. (2020). "Prevalence and correlates of sexting behaviors in a provincially representative sample of adolescents," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 65, pp. 401-408.
- Klettke, B., Hallford, D. and Mellor, D. (2014). "Sexting prevalence and correlates: A systematic literature review," *Clinical Psychology Review*, vol. 34, pp. 44-53.
- Kurpisz, J., Mak, M., Lew-Starowicz, M., Nowosielski, K., Bieńkowski, P., Kowalczyk, R., Misiak, B., Frydecka, D. and Samochowicz, J. (2016). "Personality traits, gender roles and sexual behaviours of young adult males," *Annals of General Psychiatry*, vol. 15, pp. 28.
- Madigan, S., Ly, A., Rash, C. L., Van Ouytsel, J., and Temple, J, R. (2018). "Prevalence of multiple forms of sexting behavior among youth: A systematic review and meta-analysis," *JAMA Pediatrics*, vol. 172, pp. 327-335.
- Meyer, S. D., Kagesten, A., Mmari, K., McEachran, J., Chilet-Rosell, E., Kabiru, C. W., Maina, B., Jerves, E.M., Currie, C. and Michielsen, K. (2017). "Boys should have the courage to ask a girl out': Gender norms in early adolescent relationships," *Journal of Adolescent Health*, vol. 61, pp. 42-47.
- Mitchell, K. J., Finkelhor, D., Jones, L. M. and Wolak, J. (2012). "Prevalence and characteristics of youth sexting: A national study," *Pediatrics*, vol. 129, pp. 13-20.
- Molla-Esparza, C., Losilla J.-M. and López-González, E. (2020) "Prevalence of sending, receiving and forwarding sexts among youths: A three-level meta-analysis," *PLoS ONE*, vol. 15, pp. e0243653.
- Mori, C., Temple, J. R., Browne, D. and Madigan, S. (2019). "Association of sexting with sexual behaviors and mental health among adolescents: A systematic review and meta-analysis," *JAMA Pediatrics*, vol. 173, pp. 770-779.
- Ojeda, M., Del Rey, R., Walrave, M. and Vandebosch, H. (2020). "Sexting in adolescents: Prevalence and behaviours," *Comunicar*, vol. 28, pp. 9-19.
- Parker, T. S., Blackburn, K. M., Perry, M. S. and Hawks, J. M. (2013). "Sexting as an intervention: Relationship satisfaction and motivation considerations," *American Journal of Family Therapy*, vol. 41, pp. 1-12.
- Perkins, A. B., Becker, J. V., Tehee, M. and Mackelprang, E. (2013). "Sexting behaviors among college students: Cause for concern?," *International Journal of Sexual Health*, vol. 26, pp. 79-92.
- Ricciardelli, R. and Adorjan, M. (2019). "If a girl's photo gets sent around, that's a way bigger deal than if a guy's photo gets sent around": gender, sexting, and the teenage years," *Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 28, pp. 563-577.

- Rice, E., Gibbs, J., Winetrobe, H., Rhoades, H., Plant, A., Montoya, J. and Kordic, T. (2014). "Sexting and sexual behavior among middle school students," *Pediatrics*, vol. 134, pp. e21-8.
- Ringrose, J., Harvey, L., Gill, R. and Livingstone, S. (2013). "Teen girls, sexual double standards and "sexting": Gendered value in digital image exchange," *Feminist Theory*, vol. 14, pp. 305-332.
- Seccombe, K. (2015). *Exploring Marriages and Families*, 2nd ed. Boston, M. A.: Pearson.
- Springston, K. M. (2017). "Gender differences in participation in and motivations for sexting: The effects of gender role attitudes, masculinity, and femininity," *Butler Journal of Undergraduate Research*, vol. 3, pp. 9
- Stanley, N., Barter, C., Wood, M., Aghtaie, N., Larkins, C., Lanau, A. and Överlien, C. (2018). "Pornography, Sexual coercion and abuse and sexting in young people's intimate relationships: A European study," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 33, pp. 2919-2944.
- Strassberg, D. S., Cann, D. and Velarde, V. (2017). "Sexting by High school students," *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, vol. 46, pp. 1667-1672.
- Walsh, D. (2019). "Young people's considerations and attitudes towards the consequences of sexting," *Educational & Child Psychology*, vol. 36, pp. 58-73.
- Ybarra, M. L., and Mitchell, K. J. (2014). "'Sexting' and its relation to sexual activity and sexual risk behavior in a national survey of adolescents," *Journal of Adolescent Health*, vol. 55, pp. 757-764.