

This item is the archived peer-reviewed author-version of:

Sexting within young adults' dating and romantic relationships

Reference:

Van Ouytsel Joris, Punyanunt-Carter Narissra M., Walrave Michel, Ponnet Koen.- Sexting within young adults' dating and romantic relationships
Current Opinion in Psychology - ISSN 2352-250X - 36(2020), p. 55-59
Full text (Publisher's DOI): <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.COPSYC.2020.04.007>
To cite this reference: <https://hdl.handle.net/10067/1692960151162165141>

Sexting within young adults' dating and romantic relationships

Joris Van Ouytsel, PhD ^a, Narissra M. Punyanunt-Carter^b
Michel Walrave, PhD ^a, Koen Ponnet, PhD ^c

Affiliations:

^a Department of Communication Studies, University of Antwerp, Sint-Jacobsstraat 2-4 S.Z. 108, 2000 Antwerp, Belgium

^b College of Media & Communication, Texas Tech University, Box 43082, Lubbock, TX 79409, United States

^c Department of Communication Studies, IMEC-MICT-Ghent University, Korte Meer 11, 9000 Ghent, Belgium

Address correspondence to: Dr. Joris Van Ouytsel, Sint-Jacobsstraat 2, 2000 Antwerp – Belgium, joris.vanouytsel@uantwerp.be, +32 – 32655279

Funding Source: The work of Dr. Joris Van Ouytsel is supported by the Research Foundation – Flanders (12J8719N) and the Research Fund of the University of Antwerp (BOF – Klein Project FFB200066). The writing of the report and the decision to submit the article for publication were the sole responsibility of the authors and were in no way influenced by the funding institutions.

Financial Disclosure: The authors have no financial relationships relevant to this article to disclose

Conflicts of Interest: The authors have no conflict of interest to disclose

Contributors' Statement:

Dr. Van Ouytsel: Conceptualization, Investigation, Project administration, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing.

Dr. Punyanunt-Carter : Supervision, Writing - review & editing

Dr. Walrave: Supervision, Writing - review & editing

Dr. Ponnet: Supervision, Writing - review & editing

Sexting within young adults' dating and romantic relationships

Highlights

- Sexting among young adults has increased over the past years.
- Sexting can be a normal form of contemporary sexual communication.
- Sextortion, pressured sexting, and nonconsensual sexting are problematic.
- Given its many conceptualizations, a uniform measure is warranted for future research.
- Sexting research needs to focus on both adolescents as well as adults of all ages.

Abstract

Sexting, herein defined as the sending of self-made sexually explicit images, is a modern-day form of sexual communication. This review discusses recent findings in sexting research among (young) adults. We find that despite its risks, sexting is increasingly used within dating and romantic relationships and can carry different meanings depending on the context in which the images are exchanged. Risks associated with sexting include pressure, experiences of unwanted sexting, unauthorized distribution, and coercion. Problematic forms of sexting can have significant consequences on the victims. We suggest the need for future research to make use of a uniform and nuanced measure of sexting and underscore the need to focus on adolescents as well as adults of all ages.

Sexting within young adults' dating and romantic relationships

1. Introduction

From 'swiping' on Tinder and 'tapping' on Grindr, becoming 'Facebook Official' to stalking your ex-partner on Instagram, digital media have transformed how we initiate, maintain and terminate our intimate relationships [1, 2]. The characteristics of digital communication, such as invisibility, anonymity, the lack of non-verbal cues and the asynchronous nature of online communication, allow individuals to disclose information to their partners that they would otherwise not immediately share in offline settings (i.e., the online disinhibition effect) [3]. One of the prime examples of the 'online disinhibition effect' is cybersex, the use of the Internet for sexually gratifying activities [4, 5].

Over the past decade, research on the role of digital media in modern dating and romantic relationships has steadily grown. In this brief review, we will focus on the use of digital media to engage in sexting among (young) adults. Sexting is a more recent form of sexual communication that is used within casual and romantic relationships.

2. Sexting and its complicated definition

Sexting can be broadly defined as "the sharing of personal, sexually suggestive text messages, or nude or nearly nude photographs or videos via electronic devices" [6; P.1]. Sexting has not been conceptualized uniformly across studies. Some studies use a broad definition, while others focus on specific types of content such as text messages or self-made sexually explicit images. The disagreement among scholars on how to define sexting makes it hard to accurately assess its prevalence and correlates [7, 8]. The term 'sexting' itself is mostly used in media coverage and scholarly discourse, young adults themselves refer to it as 'taking selfies' or 'sending nudes' [9].

Within this review, we focus on a more narrow definition of sexting, defined as the sending of self-made sexually explicit images [8]. Among young adults, sexting is a rather common behavior. A recent meta-analysis of sexting behaviors among emerging adults showed, that 38.3% of young adults had sent a sext, 41.5% had received a sext and 47.7% of emerging adults had engaged in reciprocal sexting [6]. The meta-analysis also found that the prevalence of sexting has increased over the years [6]. Potential explanations for the increase in sexting prevalence may be shifting social norms and the increase in smartphone ownership [10, 11]. Smartphone applications, such as Snapchat, have become popular mediums to engage in sexting.

3. Motivations for sexting

A majority of sexting research has focused on investigating the motivations for why individuals engage in sexting [12]. A sexting image may carry different meanings, depending on the context in which it is shared [13]. In the early stages of dating and romantic relationships, sexting messages can be exchanged within the context of (online) dating as a means to flirt or to express sexual interest [6, 9, 14]. The willingness to send a sext to a dating app match is associated with a lower perceived risk in sexting and a higher perceived number of friends that have engaged in sexting. Individuals are also more willing to sext with a dating app match if they hold positive views of others who sext through dating apps [14].

In a majority of cases, sexting messages are sent within the context of a formal dating relationship or an established romantic relationship [10, 15, 16]. Within established romantic

relationships images can also be used for relationship maintenance, and the images can carry the meaning of a token of love and trust [13, 17]. Unsurprisingly, sexts can also be used to flirt, for sexual experimentation, as foreplay, to build up sexual tension, or to signal a willingness to engage in offline sex, both in emerging as well as existing relationships [9, 13, 18, 19]. Sexting can also be used to replace physical intimacy, for example within the context of a long-distance relationship or during times of separation, such as school holidays or work trips [9, 18, 20]. Images can also be exchanged as a joke, a prank or as a bonding ritual [9, 10].

Although sexting can be a legitimate form of sexual communication for young adults, it remains associated with several risks. The images can be forwarded to others or posted on online websites or messaging boards without the consent of its creators. This is colloquially known as ‘revenge porn’, but is often called ‘nonconsensual sexting’, ‘non-consensual pornography’, ‘secondary sexting’, or ‘image-based sexual exploitation/abuse’ in scholarly discourse [21-24].

The recent meta-analysis found that, on average, 15% of emerging adults have forwarded a sexting image without consent, and 7.6% experienced that their images were forwarded [6]. Women are more likely to become a victim of nonconsensual sexting than men [6]. Motivations for sharing someone else’s sexting images without consent vary. Sometimes images are exposed to others after a romantic break-up, as revenge on an ex-partner [9]. Other times sexting images are exposed to gossip about the person that is depicted, in order to boast to peers, or to use it as a trophy to gain peer status (e.g., a virtual equivalent of ‘locker room talk’) [9, 20]. In some cases, sexting images can also be used to coerce the victim to get back together in a relationship, to obtain additional images or sexual contact, or in cases of cybercrime, in order to extort money from the victim [20, 25].

Becoming a victim of nonconsensual sexting can have severe consequences [23]. Adult victims of nonconsensual sexting have missed out on professional or educational opportunities, or experienced bullying and harassment as a consequence of the exposure [21, 23]. Becoming a victim of nonconsensual sexting can also have negative psychological consequences and is coupled with the fear that the images may resurface at any time [9, 26]. A content analysis of nonconsensual pornography websites found that 91.8% of images on nonconsensual pornography websites featured women and that in around 18% of cases the victim’s name was shown alongside the image [21].

4. Sexting and experiences of abuse

Young adults, and especially young adult women, also report they often experience pressure to engage in sexting [9]. The pressure can be subtle by making women feel obligated or by repeated asking [20, 27]. Women often feel they have to respond to the images to preserve their relationship or to avoid an argument with their partner [9, 19, 20, 28]. That sexting may sometimes occur under pressure or in amore coercive relationship is also echoed by studies who found associations between sexting and experiences of sexual coercion [27, 29], and sexual assault [30].

An underexplored area of sexting research is studies into receiving unsolicited sexual images [18, 24]. Women are more likely than males to report that they have received unwanted sexts [31]. Qualitative research found that this often occurs within the context of online dating [9, 24]. Receiving unwanted images can make victims feel unsafe, threatened and harassed in online spaces, and can be viewed as an online form of sexual harassment [9, 18, 24]. Indeed, young adults who reported receiving more than five unsolicited sexual images were

significantly more likely to report higher distress levels than those who did not receive such content [40].

5. Sexting and psychosocial correlates

Another line of research focuses on the associations between sexting and several health outcomes. It will come as no surprise that sexting sometimes leads to physical sex [32], as it is often a built-up to sexual contact. Sexting is also associated with risky sexual behaviors (e.g., sex without protection, or substance use before having sex) [33-36]. Sexting has also been associated with alcohol consumption [10, 30, 34, 35, 37-39].

One of the few exploratory studies on unsolicited sexting found that self-rated mate value (e.g., the belief that other people desire you as a partner) and Machiavellianism were associated with more positive attitudes towards sending unsolicited sexual images [41]. An experimental vignette study among college students indicated that respondents viewed it as significantly more socially acceptable for women to send unsolicited sexting images than for men [42].

Other studies found associations between sexting and negative psychosocial outcomes such as anxiety, depression and suicidal ideation [43, 44]. These studies use general measures of sexting behavior without taking into account the context. It may be possible that the associations between sexting and poor mental health outcomes are especially prevalent for those who engage in sexting under pressure or receive unwanted sexual images [27, 45]. For example, one study found no associations between poor mental health outcomes and sending and receiving sexting images. However, significant associations were found between receiving unwanted sexts and experiencing pressure to engage in sexting and poor mental health outcomes such as depression, anxiety, and stress [31]. This underscores the need to take into account the context in which sexting images are sent, as engagement in sexting in itself may not be necessarily a risk marker of poor mental health [46].

Another interesting study on the associations between sexting and sleep health found that those who sext may even lose sleep over it. Sexual minority men, who were users of an online dating application and who engaged in sexting, had on average significantly shorter sleep durations. A potential explanation for this finding offered by the authors is that those who engage in sexting in their bedroom may experience disturbed sleep patterns because of heightened stress through arousal, or because of the prolonged exposure to the light of their cell phones [47].

6. Can sexting improve romantic and sexual relationships?

Given that sexting often occurs within the context of a romantic relationship, several studies have looked into the question of whether sexting can improve romantic relationships. Among adults, these studies have found mixed results. Some studies have found a positive relationship between sexting and relationship satisfaction [48], while others have found no associations between sexting with a romantic partner and sexual satisfaction or relationship satisfaction [15, 49]. Another study found an association between sexting and sexual satisfaction, but no positive relationship with relationship satisfaction [46]. Among married couples sexting was associated with relationship satisfaction but only for those with insecure attachment styles, and for the husbands but not for the wives [50], indicating that overall the associations between sexting and relationship satisfaction are limited.

7. Conclusions, Outlook and Future Research

The aim of this short review was to provide an overview of recent sexting research, with a focus on young and emerging adults. Research on sexting started around 2009 [51]. While significant progress has been made over the past decade, the field of research on online sexual communication, and specifically sexting, is still emerging [51]. We see several challenges for future research in the area of sexting among (young) adults.

First, while a majority of sexting research has focused on examining why individuals engage in sexting, far fewer studies have focused on problematic forms of sexting, such as sextortion, sexting under pressure, unsolicited sexting images, or nonconsensual sexting [6]. Research on what makes individuals likely to become victims or perpetrators of these behaviors and the related consequences is essential in order to prevent digital forms of sexual violence and abuse.

Second, another frontier is the need for sexting studies among the general adult population. While many studies have focused on adolescents and college students, only a handful of studies have focused on the experiences of adults who are not in college [8]. That is remarkable, given the fact that digital media use among adults is still increasing [52], and that they also may start online dating following a divorce or partner loss [53]. Older adults may be especially vulnerable to the challenges of sexting, as they have been generally overlooked by media literacy efforts [54] and are at higher risk for offline sexual risk behavior [55]. Future research could focus on how adults who are not in college engage in sexting and manage the related risks and challenges.

Third, there is a lack of evidence-based educational material that promotes safer sexting among young adults. Future research could focus on the development of prevention and educational materials that can inform young adults about the risks of sexting and that can provide strategies on how to navigate problematic forms of sexting, such as sexting under pressure and unsolicited sexting [56, 57].

Fourth, the majority of sexting research still relies on convenience samples and cross-sectional designs. The field would benefit from more innovative research designs such as longitudinal research that can track individuals' experiences over time, experimental research and vignette studies.

Finally, other challenges for the next decade of sexting research include a unified definition of sexting across studies, which will allow to establish cumulative evidence and to allow for a better comparison of results of the various sexting studies [58]. There is also a need for more nuanced sexting measures that sufficiently capture the context in which sexting takes place [46, 58]. Research on sexting among gender and sexual minority individuals is also warranted and urgently needed, as very few studies have focused on the experiences of sexual minority adults [59, 60]. Furthermore, sexting studies have mostly been conducted in Australia, Europe, and the United States. Evidence on sexting behaviors and preferably cross-cultural research from other parts of the world is needed to get a better view of sexting in different cultures and settings.

In conclusion, sexting has become a mainstream form of digital sexual communication. Prevalence rates show that it has grown into a normal, but risky form of sexual communication for many (young) adults. The next decade will be an exciting time for sexting research. As the field moves forward, it will allow generating knowledge that can help individuals to enjoy the benefits of sexual communication, while avoiding abuse and online forms of sexual harassment.

References

1. Van Ouytsel, J., et al., *Adolescents' perceptions of digital media's potential to elicit jealousy, conflict and monitoring behaviors within romantic relationships*. *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, 2019. **13**(3).
2. Punyanunt-Carter, N.M. and T.R. Wagner, *Interpersonal Communication Motives for Flirting Face to Face and Through Texting*. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 2018. **21**(4): p. 229-233.
3. Suler, J., *The online disinhibition effect*. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 2004. **7**(3): p. 321-326.
- ** This paper discusses why some individuals perceive it as easier to engage in online self-disclosure than they would in offline contexts. The authors distinguish six factors that could contribute to this phenomenon: dissociative anonymity, invisibility, asynchrony, solipsistic introjection, dissociative imagination, and minimization of authority. The online disinhibition effect may also explain why some individuals engage in sexting.
4. Wéry, A. and J. Billieux, *Problematic cybersex: Conceptualization, assessment, and treatment*. *Addictive Behaviors*, 2017. **64**: p. 238-246.
5. Courtice, E.L. and K. Shaughnessy, *The Partner Context of Sexual Minority Women's and Men's Cybersex Experiences: Implications for the Traditional Sexual Script*. *Sex Roles*, 2018. **78**(3): p. 272-285.
6. Mori, C., et al., *The Prevalence of Sexting Behaviors Among Emerging Adults: A Meta-Analysis*. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 2020. Online Ahead of Print.
- ** This meta-analysis summarizes the findings on the prevalence of several studies on consensual and non-consensual sexting among young adults between the ages of 18 and 29 years old. The study highlights the need for educational initiatives on digital citizenship and safer sexting education.
7. Barrense-Dias, Y., et al., *Sexting and the Definition Issue*. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 2017. **61**(5): p. 544-554.
- * This article summarizes the main research findings on sexting among teenagers up to 18 years of age (as opposed to our review that focuses on young adults). The article discusses the associations between sexting and, amongst others, sexual behaviors, risky behaviors, online activities, and psychological difficulties. The authors discuss the need for a uniform definition for sexting research.
8. Van Ouytsel, J., M. Walrave, and K. Ponnet, *Adolescent sexting research: The challenges ahead*. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 2018. **172**(5): p. 405-406.
9. Burkett, M., *Sex(t) Talk: A Qualitative Analysis of Young Adults' Negotiations of the Pleasures and Perils of Sexting*. *Sexuality & Culture*, 2015. **19**(4): p. 835-863.
10. Kaylor, L., E.L. Jeglic, and C. Collins, *Examining the Impact of Technology on Exhibitionistic Behavior*. *Deviant Behavior*, 2016. **37**(10): p. 1152-1162.
11. Van Ouytsel, J., et al., *Teenage sexting on the rise? Results of a cohort study using a weighted-sample of adolescents*. *Sexual Health*, 2020. Online Ahead of Print
12. Van Ouytsel, J., et al., *Sexting: adolescents' perceptions of the applications used for, motives for, and consequences of sexting*. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 2017. **20**(4): p. 446-470.
13. Roberts, S. and S. Ravn, *Towards a Sociological Understanding of Sexting as a Social Practice: A Case Study of University Undergraduate Men*. *Sociology*, 2019. **54**(2): p. 258-274.

** This paper reports on 10 focus groups that were held among undergraduate men. The Australian study explores the role of consent and mutuality within young adults' sexting practices and separates this form of sexting from harassment and image-based abuse.

14. Schreurs, L., S.R. Sumter, and L. Vandenberg, *A Prototype Willingness Approach to the Relation Between Geo-social Dating Apps and Willingness to Sext with Dating App Matches*. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 2020. **49**(4): p. 1133-1145.
15. Brodie, Z.P., C. Wilson, and G.G. Scott, *Sexual Intercourse: Considering Social-Cognitive Predictors and Subsequent Outcomes of Sexting Behavior in Adulthood*. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 2019. **48**(8): p. 2367-2379.
16. Perkins, A.B., et al., *Sexting Behaviors Among College Students: Cause for Concern?* International Journal of Sexual Health, 2013. **26**(2): p. 79-92.
17. Amundsen, R., *"Kind of like making porn of yourself": understanding sexting through pornography*. Feminist Media Studies, 2018. **19**(4): p. 1-16.
18. Bonilla, S., M. McGinley, and S. Lamb, *Sexting, power, and patriarchy: Narratives of sexting from a college population*. New Media & Society, 2020. Online Ahead of Print.
19. Drouin, M. and E. Tobin, *Unwanted but consensual sexting among young adults: Relations with attachment and sexual motivations*. Computers in Human Behavior, 2014. **31**(0): p. 412-418.
20. Walker, S., L. Sancu, and M. Temple-Smith, *Sexting: Young Women's and Men's Views on Its Nature and Origins*. Journal of Adolescent Health, 2013. **52**(6): p. 697-701.
21. Uhl, C.A., et al., *An examination of nonconsensual pornography websites*. Feminism & Psychology, 2018. **28**(1): p. 50-68.
22. Zhong, L.R., M.R. Keibell, and J.L. Webster, *An exploratory study of Technology-Facilitated Sexual Violence in online romantic interactions: Can the Internet's toxic disinhibition exacerbate sexual aggression?* Computers in Human Behavior, 2020. **108**: p. 106314.
23. Franks, M.A., *The Crime of "Revenge Porn"*, in *The Palgrave Handbook of Applied Ethics and the Criminal Law*, L. Alexander, and K.K. Ferzan, Editors. 2019, Springer International Publishing: Cham. p. 661-692.
24. Hayes, R.M. and M. Dragiewicz, *Unsolicited dick pics: Erotica, exhibitionism or entitlement?* Women's Studies International Forum, 2018. **71**: p. 114-120.
25. O'Malley, R.L. and K.M. Holt, *Cyber Sextortion: An Exploratory Analysis of Different Perpetrators Engaging in a Similar Crime*. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2020. Online Ahead of Print.
26. Bindsbøl Holm Johansen, K., B.M. Pedersen, and T. Tjørnhøj-Thomsen, *Visual gossiping: non-consensual 'nude' sharing among young people in Denmark*. Culture, Health & Sexuality, 2018. **9**: p. 1-16.
27. Drouin, M., J. Ross, and E. Tobin, *Sexting: A new, digital vehicle for intimate partner aggression?* Computers in Human Behavior, 2015. **50**(0): p. 197-204.
28. Van Ouytsel, J., M. Walrave, and K. Ponnet, *A Nuanced Account: Why Do Individuals Engage in Sexting?*, in *Sexting: Motives and risk in online sexual self-presentation*, M. Walrave, et al., Editors. 2018, Springer International Publishing: Cham. p. 39-51.
29. Choi, H., J. Van Ouytsel, and J.R. Temple, *Association between sexting and sexual coercion among female adolescents*. Journal of Adolescence, 2016. **53**: p. 164-168.
30. Dir, A.L., et al., *Problematic alcohol use and sexting as risk factors for sexual assault among college women*. Journal of American College Health, 2018. **66**(7): p. 553-560.

31. Klettke, B., et al., *Sexting and Psychological Distress: The Role of Unwanted and Coerced Sexts*. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 2019. **22**(4): p. 237-242.
- ** This study compares the mental health correlates between sexting and unwanted and coercion sexting. The results of the study that sexting itself may not be associated with poor mental health outcomes, but that these associations are present for individuals victimized by unwanted and coerced sexting.
32. Kosenko, K., G. Luurs, and A.R. Binder, *Sexting and Sexual Behavior, 2011–2015: A Critical Review and Meta-Analysis of a Growing Literature*. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 2017. **22**(3): p. 141-160.
33. Ayinmoro, A.D., et al., *Sexting and other risky sexual behaviour among female students in a Nigerian academic institution*. *Journal of Taibah University Medical Sciences*, 2020.
- * One of the few studies on sexting from the African continent. This study among college students in Nigeria finds that 36.5 percent of students have sent a naked picture. The researchers also found a significant association between sexting and risky sexual behaviors.
34. Yeung, T.H., et al., *Prevalence, correlates and attitudes towards sexting among young people in Melbourne, Australia*. *Sexual Health*, 2014. **11**(4): p. 332-339.
35. Benotsch, E.G., et al., *Sexting, substance use, and sexual risk behavior in young adults*. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 2013. **52**(3): p. 307-313.
36. Ingram, L.A., et al., *Sexual Behaviors, Mobile Technology Use, and Sexting Among College Students in the American South*. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 2019. **33**(1): p. 87-96.
37. Hertlein, K.M., and M.L.C. Twist, *Sexting Behavior Among College Students: Implications for College Clinicians*. *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy*, 2017. **31**(3): p. 215-230.
38. Dir, A.L., M.A. Cyders, and A. Coskunpinar, *From the bar to the bed via mobile phone: A first test of the role of problematic alcohol use, sexting, and impulsivity-related traits in sexual hookups*. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 2013. **29**(4): p. 1664-1670.
39. Florimbio, A.R., et al., *Alcohol-related sex expectancies explain the relation between alcohol use and sexting among college students*. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 2018. **88**: p. 205-209.
40. Valiukas, S., et al., *Sexting and Mental Health Among Young Australians Attending a Musical Festival: A Cross Sext-ional Study*. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 2019. **22**(8): p. 521-528.
41. March, E. and D.L. Wagstaff, *Sending Nudes: Sex, Self-Rated Mate Value, and Trait Machiavellianism Predict Sending Unsolicited Explicit Images*. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 2017. **8**:2210.
42. Matthews, S.J., et al., *Not cool, dude: Perceptions of solicited vs. unsolicited sext messages from men and women*. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 2018. **88**: p. 1-4.
43. Medrano, J.L.J., F. Lopez Rosales, and M. Gámez-Guadix, *Assessing the Links of Sexting, Cybervictimization, Depression, and Suicidal Ideation Among University Students*. *Archives of Suicide Research*, 2018. **22**(1): p. 153-164.
44. Gassó, A.M., et al., *Sexting and Mental Health among a Spanish College Sample: An Exploratory Analysis*. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology*, 2019. **13**(2): p. 534-547.

45. Mori, C., et al., *Association of Sexting With Sexual Behaviors and Mental Health Among Adolescents: A Systematic Review and Meta-analysis*. JAMA Pediatrics, 2019. **173**(8): p. 770-779.
 46. Galovan, A.M., M. Drouin, and B.T. McDaniel, *Sexting profiles in the United States and Canada: Implications for individual and relationship well-being*. Computers in Human Behavior, 2018. **79**: p. 19-29.
- * Using latent profile analysis, this study is one of the first to provide a typology of four types of sexters in romantic relationships: non-sexters, word-only sexters, frequent sexters, and hyper sexters. The study compares the different groups on key relationship factors and indicators of relationship quality.
47. Al-Ajlouni, Y.A., et al., *Association between sexually explicit messages and sleep health among French sexual minority men*. Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 2019. **31**(3): p. 358-369.
 48. Parker, T.S., et al., *Sexting as an Intervention: Relationship Satisfaction and Motivation Considerations*. The American Journal of Family Therapy, 2012. **41**(1): p. 1-12.
 49. Jeanfreau, M.M., L. Wright, and K. Noguchi, *Marital Satisfaction and Sexting Behavior Among Individuals in Relationships*. The Family Journal, 2019. **27**(1): p. 17-21.
 50. McDaniel, B.T. and M. Drouin, *Sexting Among Married Couples: Who Is Doing It, and Are They More Satisfied?* Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking, 2015. **18**(11): p. 628-634.
 51. Englander, E., *What Do We Know About Sexting, and When Did We Know It?* Journal of Adolescent Health, 2019. **65**(5): p. 577-578.
 52. Pew Research Center, *Social Media Use in 2018*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.
 53. Sanders, S.A., et al., *Condom Use During Most Recent Vaginal Intercourse Event Among a Probability Sample of Adults in the United States*. The Journal of Sexual Medicine, 2010. **7**: p. 362-373.
 54. Betts, L.R., R. Hill, and S.E. Gardner, *"There's Not Enough Knowledge Out There": Examining Older Adults' Perceptions of Digital Technology Use and Digital Inclusion Classes*. Journal of Applied Gerontology, 2017. **38**(8): p. 1147-1166.
 55. Schmidt, D., S. Matthiesen, and P. Briken, *Kondomnutzung in unterschiedlichen heterosexuellen Settings*. [Condom use in different heterosexual settings] Z Sex-Forsch, 2018. **31**(03): p. 263-276.
 56. Walrave, M., et al., *Whether or not to engage in sexting: Explaining adolescent sexting behaviour by applying the prototype willingness model*. Telematics and Informatics, 2015. **32**(4): p. 796-808.
 57. Döring, N., *Consensual sexting among adolescents: Risk prevention through abstinence education or safer sexting?* Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace, 2014. **8**(1, article 9).
 58. Van Ouytsel, J., *A Decade of Sexting Research: Are We Any Wiser?* JAMA pediatrics, 2019.
 59. Van Ouytsel, J., M. Walrave, and K. Ponnet, *An Exploratory Study of Sexting Behaviors Among Heterosexual and Sexual Minority Early Adolescents*. Journal of Adolescent Health, 2019. **65**(5): p. 621-626.
 60. Albury, K. and P. Byron, *Queering Sexting and Sexualisation*. Media International Australia, 2014. **153**(1): p. 138-147.