The Unintended Consequences of Sexting Literacy Campaigns: The Effect of Image Characteristics on Teenagers Attitudes' Towards Sexters and Willingness to Engage in Sexting.

Natalie Owens
ANR: 647320

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Communication and Information Sciences

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Tilburg School of Humanities

Tilburg University, Tilburg

Dr. M.M.P. Vanden Abeele

Dr. M.B.J. Mos

Dr. P.J. van der Wijst

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Abstract

Adolescent sexting has been considered problematic due to the negative consequences that can result from the practice, whether legal, social or psychological (Döring, 2014; Reyns, Burek, Henson, & Fisher, 2013; Van Ouytsel, Van Gool, Ponnet, & Walrave, 2014). For this reason, many youth and governmental organizations have designed media campaigns on the subject with the aim of educating teens about the practice. There is however, a worry that these campaigns are fostering negative attitudes towards the practice, and demonizing the behavior.

This study elaborates on the issue by investigating the influence of visual elements of sexting literacy campaigns on adolescents' attitudes towards sexters and willingness to engage in sexting. Using Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) (Bandura, 1986) and the Prototype Willingness Model (PWM) (Gibbons et al., 1998) as theoretical frameworks, the specific elements present in campaign materials which were investigated were the favorability of the girl in the images, or prototype, and the behavior she was partaking in – engaging in, or refraining from sexting. The girl's favorability was manipulated through her appearance; where the prototype was more conventionally physically attractive, more stylish and trendy, she was considered "cool" or of high favorability. The study also investigated gender as an independent variable, and prototype similarity as a covariate, in a 2 x 2 x 2 experimental design.

Counter to our expectations, no main or interaction effects were found of prototype similarity or engagement. A significant effect was found for gender. These results are discussed, with directions for future research and limitations offered.

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The Unintended Consequences of Sexting Literacy Campaigns: The Effect of Image Characteristics on Teenagers' Attitudes Towards Sexters and Willingness to Engage in Sexting.

Sexting can be described as the sending of self-produced, sexually explicit images through mobile phones or the internet (Döring, 2014). The practice is regarded as risky by many due to the potential negative legal, social and psychological consequences that can result from the behavior. These consequences are of particular concern to adolescents due to the fact that many legal systems fail to differentiate between sexting and child pornography (Hasinoff, 2013; Svantesson, 2011) and the effects it can have on adolescents' reputation among peers. Given these potential negative consequences, many youth and government organizations have developed materials in an attempt to sensitize and educate teens about sexting. However, some scholars have identified issues with these campaigns; the materials generally tend to focus on the vilification of sexting and recommend abstinence as a solution (Albury, Crawford, Byron, & Mathews 2013; Döring, 2014; Hasinoff, 2012) and are thought to be perpetuating a victim blaming attitude by insinuating responsibility for any negative outcomes lies with the original (usually female) sender (Albury et al., 2013).

Although many researchers have investigated the reasons why some teens sext (e.g. Fleschler Peskin et al., 2013; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014; Van Ouytsel et al., 2017), few have experimentally investigated the impact of campaign materials on teens attitudes or behavior willingness to sext.

The effect that the media can have on attitudes and behaviors is a well-studied area (e.g. Anderson et al., 2010; Brown, L'Engle, Pardun, Guo, Kenneavy and Jackson, 2006; Coyne, Archer, & Eslea, 2004; Coyne, 2016; Martins et al., 2013; Roskos-Ewoldson, Roskos-Ewoldson, & Carpentier, 2009; Tolman & McLelland, 2011). The concept of attitude and intention development through what is seen in the media is strongly rooted in Bandura's

(1986) Social Cognitive Theory. This theory posits that through the observation of models,, viewers can learn of the outcomes of various behaviors, and form attitudes about the observed behaviors and those who partake in them. Therefore, based on the current landscape of sexting literacy campaigns, it is thought that adolescents may perceive sexting as a negative behavior, and take on the attitudes put forward in the campaigns, of victim blaming, and shaming those who partake in the practice.

In order to investigate the effects that this type of media can have, this thesis aims to answer the question of whether there are specific elements which may be present in sexting literacy campaigns that can impact on (1) teenagers' attitudes towards sexters, and (2) their own willingness to engage in sexting. The current thesis will focus specifically on the way in which a sexter is depicted visually. Hence, the research question guiding this study is:

RQ: *"How does the visual portrayal of sexters in sexting literacy campaigns influence the attitudes and behaviors of adolescents?".*

To answer the research question, a 2 (prototype favorability: high versus low) x 2 (engagement: engage versus refrain) x 2 (gender) between subjects experimental design is employed.

The first variable in the model, prototype favorability is included based on the Prototype Willingness Model (PWM) (Gibbons, Gerrard, Blanton, & Russel, 1998). According to this model, a prototype refers to the mental image or idea each of us holds of the typical person who engages in a certain behavior. This image can be more, or less favorable: the more favorable the prototype image, the more willing one will be to engage in the portrayed behavior. To visualize high favorability, the prototype was shown to have more socially desirable traits such as physical attractiveness and trendiness (Dar-Nimrod et al., 2012). These characteristics are thought to influence prototype favorability because of

adolescents' preoccupation with social image (Gibbons et al., 1998) and positive peer affiliation (Haffner, 1995).

The second factor that is manipulated is engagement, based on the SCT. This is operationalized as either the sending of a sexualized selfie (engage), or the making of a conscious decision not to send a sext ('refrain'). Finally, the gender of the sample is taken into consideration, due to the fact that males and females are thought to differ in their interpretation of media, as well as their attitudes towards sex and sexuality in general (Tolman & McClelland, 2011).

Examining these elements in isolation may contribute to the understanding of how, or whether, these elements of media literacy campaigns impact behavior willingness and attitudes towards sexting. This, in turn, may contribute to the understanding of whether presenting sexting behaviors in a way reflective of non-neutral gender stereotypes and gender norms, are indeed contributing to a negative cycle of victim blaming and shaming.

Theoretical Background

Digital Media and Sexting

According to a nationwide study conducted in the U.S., approximately 92% of teens use the internet on a daily basis, with 24% reportedly doing so "constantly" (Lenhart, 2015, p. 2). One of the main uses adolescents have for the internet is social exchange (Valkenberg & Peter, 2009) via Instant Messaging (IM), blogging, and social networking sites, such as Facebook and Myspace (Bradley, 2005). The popularity of digital media in the 21st Century, the freedom provided in online contexts and the ease and speed of access to these contexts, may first begin to explain why adolescents are engaging in potentially risky behaviors, such as sexting. Moreover, adolescent sexual development is widely considered a social process, with the role of peers being of particular importance. The peer group is where many adolescents first learn about the norms, attitudes and behaviors around sexuality (Tolman & McClelland, 2011), so it is unsurprising that teens might find these social networks a safe place to go to learn about and explore sex anonymously and privately.

It is partly due to this privacy and secrecy surrounding the practice, that the prevalence of the behavior is difficult to establish. Estimates vary from 3% - 7% of teens engaging in the behavior (Vanden Abeele, Campbell, Eggermont, & Roe, 2014; Ybarra, 2015), some studies even citing 20% and above (Lounsbury, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2011). This variance might also be attributed to a lack of standardization of the use of the term in scientific research where, for example, it is sometimes defined as sending text messages, images and videos (e.g., Fleschler et al., 2013; Walrave, Ponnet, Van Ouytsel, Van Gool, Heirman, & Verbeek, 2015; Walrave, Heirman, & Hallam, 2014) and other times, as sending only images (e.g., Judge, 2012).

Whether these estimates are accurate or far from, sexting has received a lot of attention in the last decade, possibly due to the potential magnitude of the consequences of

engaging in the behavior. The risks associated with sexting include legal, social, and health related consequences (Döring, 2014; Van Ouytsel, Van Gool, Ponnet, & Walrave, 2014; Reyns, Burek, Henson, & Fisher, 2013). In the US and Australia, for example, many state legal systems fail to differentiate between consensual and non-consensual sexual activity between minors. As a result, what can be regarded as a relatively innocent sexual behavior such as consensual sexting, carries the same punishment as serious sexual crimes against minors (Hasinoff, 2012; Svantsson, 2011). There have been cases where teenagers have been charged and prosecuted, forcing them to sign a sex offender register for many years, affecting many future decisions and opportunities such as residential locations and employment (Ryan, 2011). The topic has not been as widely addressed in Europe, possibly due to the lack of high profile cases involving minors being convicted for sexting images, but, according to Lievens (2012) current European laws can be interpreted in a similar way to those in the U.S. and Australia.

As well as the legal issues that can come of sexting, examples of social consequences are abundant. When a teen sends a sext and this becomes known, or even shared in the peer group, they run the risk of being ridiculed by peers for engaging in the behavior (Strohmaier, Murphy, & DeMatteo, 2014). Often, privately sent sexts are redistributed without the knowledge or permission of the original sender or producer. This non-consensual re-sharing can occur with malicious intent, such as when a relationship ends and negative emotions take control, known as ‘revenge porn’ (Ryan, 2011). When trust is broken, and non-consensual sharing ensues, it can bring shame and embarrassment to the victim, and in some extreme cases, severe depression and even suicide can occur (Brenick, Flannery, & Rankin, 2016).

Despite these severe consequences, research has suggested that online sexual activity can also provide positive outcomes, such as self-acceptance and sexual arousal, similar to sexual activity offline (Döring, 2009). Further, teens are motivated to engage in the behavior

for its short term benefits in affecting social reputation (Albury, Crawford, Byron, & Mathews, 2013). Lee & Crofts (2015) asserted that sexting behaviors of teens are primarily based on pleasure and desire, but there are many complex dynamics at play within the peer group, including gender, influencing the decision of whether or not to engage in sexting.

Peer Dynamics and Social Rewards

Middle adolescence is a time characterized by teenagers' need for autonomy from the family unit, when the reference group shifts from parents to peers (Brown, Mounts, Lamborn, & Steinberg, 1993). In this phase, the peer group becomes of high value, particularly in such issues as sexual exploration, experimentation, and sexual development (Haffner, 1995; Tolman & McClelland, 2011). Being accepted by peers and being able to identify with a particular peer group is of huge importance to adolescents and these impressions can strongly influence attitudes and behaviors (Berndt, 1982). As a result, in the early adolescent years, sexual activity is often more about peer conformity, status and norms than it is about pleasure (Haffner, 1995).

The formation of romantic relationships is considered of very high importance to peer status, social identity and popularity (Bond, 2011; Furman, Brown, & Feiring, 1999; Lerner & Steinberg, 2009). But, the reputation acquired for sexual behaviors in adolescence is highly gendered; for girls, being romantically involved, and for boys, being involved in sexual activity, is considered status-gaining in the peer group and increases popularity (Lerner & Steinberg, 2009). Boys can consequently experience peer pressure and social exclusion for not sharing proof of their sexual experiences. Therefore, obtaining and having sexualized images of girls in their possession can be used as a form of "relationship currency" (Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone, & Harvey, 2012, p.2) These images are sought out to be used as a way of proving sexual activity or interest, with the goal of increasing reputation and popularity among same sex peers (Albury et al., 2013; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014, Ševčíková, 2016).

These insights might begin to explain the motivations for the practice in the first place, and perhaps explaining to an extent why boys have the reputation for pressuring girls to send sexts.

As with sexting behaviors themselves, the reputational consequences for sexting too, are highly gendered. Boys are lauded for convincing girls to send photos of themselves, often for the purpose of then sharing them with friends. On the other hand, girls are labelled sluts or slags for creating the images, whether pressured or not (Ringrose et al., 2012). And contrastingly, when boys are found to be producing sexual images, it can be overlooked as a light-hearted joke, whereas when girls do, it is immediately sexualized and they are consequently denigrated (Albury et al., 2013).

The above demonstrates the central role that peer dynamics and normative assumptions about gender play in teenage sexting. A number of recent studies suggest that media campaigns have the potential to unwittingly play into, and even determine, cultural norms such as these dynamics and gender assumptions (Walsh-Childers & Brown, 2009).

Sexting Campaigns

Due to the potential consequences that have been highlighted by legal proceedings and high profile cases of suicide and extreme bullying, (e.g. Jessica Logan, Hope Witsell, Audrie Potts), there have been numerous educational campaign materials created to educate teens about the potential risks associated with sexting.

Official campaigns typically include educational videos as well as online information resources, such as “Megan’s Story” and “Tagged” in Australia (Albury et al. 2013; Salter, Crofts & Lee, 2013) and complementary websites www.thinkuknow.co.uk and www.thinkuknow.org.au as well as www.thatsnotcool.com and www.beforeyoutext.com in the U.S. These provide interactive educational videos with a number of possible outcomes played out at the viewer’s choice, such as “Your Photo Fate”.

In Megan's Story, for example, a young girl, presumably Megan, is shown having just (voluntarily) sent a sext. She then walks into a classroom, exchanging a knowing glance with a young boy, looking at his phone, implied as the receiver of her sext. Soon, Megan begins

Figure 1: Screen capture from Megan's Story, showing the protaganist, as she realises her photo has been spread.

receiving looks and comments from more and more classmates (see Figure 1). Megan runs from the classroom visibly upset after realizing that her photo has reached her peers.

In another video example, titled "Your Photo Fate", from www.beforeyoutext.com, the viewer takes on the point of view of the teenage girl (see Figure 2). After seeing a message being received on a phone, we the viewer, are given the choice; Do you send it? Yes or No? (Figure 2). By clicking on one of the answer buttons you are taken to the corresponding video. In the "No" scenario, you are shown a brief message congratulating you on make the right choice. Then, you are shown the "Yes" version. Here, we see the bedroom door closing, the flash of the camera, the image loading, and finally, "message sent". Then the video cuts to a group of four young men, one of whom receives the sext. We are again asked, 'Should he show his friends?', Yes or No? Clicking on either option takes you to a very short video simply informing the viewer that they no longer have a say in the matter, and going on to show the young man sharing the image with his friends. One friend asks to

forward the image and again, we are asked to choose what happens next, and again reminded that this decision is out of our hands.

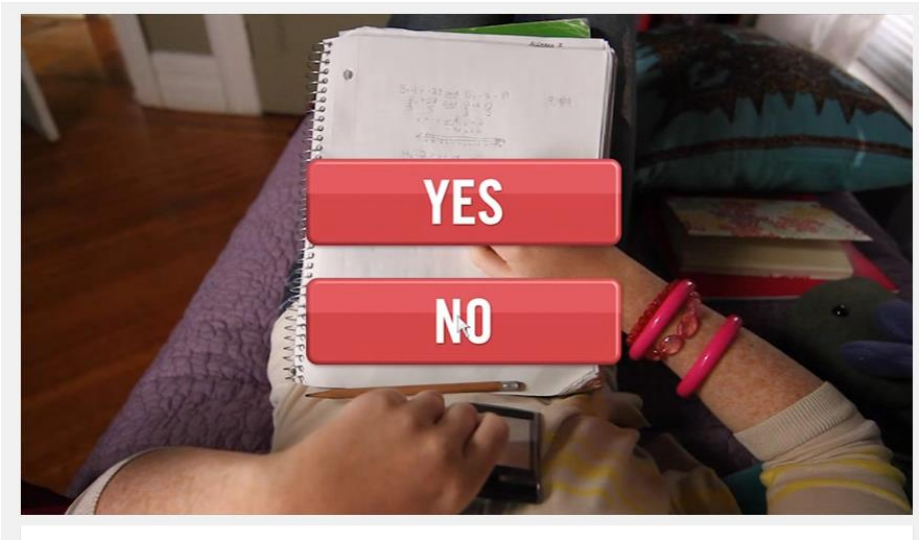

Figure 2: Screen capture from "Your Photo Fate", demonstrating that you always have a choice in whether to send or not.

Given that several scholars consider sexting campaigns to be problematic, it is worthwhile to look a little deeper into the nature of these campaigns, in an attempt to identify common themes and characteristics. The main issues identified lie in gender assumptions and privacy expectations.

In one study by Albury et al. (2013) adolescents responded to Australian campaign materials “Megan’s Story” and “Tagged”, and found that respondents felt that the girls in the materials were portrayed as non-volitional actors seemingly producing sexts purely out of pressure or coercion. The female participants agreed that the videos failed to realize girls’ “capacity for consensual production and exchange of images” (p. 1). Campaigns tended to play into normative gender roles such that the sender was usually female, and the sharer, male.

Further, Döring (2014), found that, in a review of ten English-language sexting campaigns, only half of the campaigns actually addressed non-consensual sharing as an issue. The non-consensual sharing in each of the above examples, and many more, is accepted as inevitable, perpetuating a victim blaming attitude.

Victim blaming can be generally defined as taking the view that the receiver of abuse did something wrong to deserve it (Moon, Tomita & Kamei, 2002). Hasinoff and Shepard (2014) argue that victim blaming attitudes around sexting come from modern norms around privacy expectations. These privacy norms essentially assert that whatever you share online is "inherently public" (p.2933). By maintaining the attitude that whatever is shared digitally is no longer private, it becomes logical to attribute blame to the user who offers personal information up to the internet while expecting to maintain his/her privacy. This logic might begin to explain the existence of these attitudes in sexting media campaigns. However, when it comes to young people and actual sexting behaviors, privacy is considered an expected social norm, (Hasinoff & Shepard, 2014) and there is little research which contradicts this (Albury et al., 2013; Hasinoff, 2014). Not only are these victim-blaming attitudes unfair to girls, by portraying them as non-volitional objects of sexual gratification, but also to boys, who are typically portrayed as shameless, disrespectful, thoughtless and untrustworthy non-consensual sharers of sexts, when this is not necessarily the case (Albury et al., 2013). Further, these victim-blaming attitudes perpetuate the traditional sexual double standard, which punishes girls for sexually permissive behavior, but accepts that the same permissive behavior is a normal, expected part of male sexuality. These highly gendered portrayals in the media can reinforce unfair gender roles, through social learning (Peterson & Hyde, 2011).

Additionally, as can be seen from the above overview, campaigns tend to take on a risk-frame, assuming youths, predominantly girls, to be vulnerable and in need of protection (Lippman & Campbell, 2014). Albury et al. (2013) resultantly found that many of these

materials are perceived by adolescents as over-dramatic and unrealistic, and can be disregarded due to the perceived low likelihood of these negative outcomes becoming a reality.

Many scholars believe the behavior should be framed as normal, and that the benefits that sexting can provide should be highlighted (Van Ouytsel, Ponnet, Walrave, & d'Haenens, 2017; Walrave et al., 2015; Yeung et al., 2014). Döring (2014) points out that one of the main reason adolescents engage in the behavior is for the safe environment it can provide for sexual exploration, a notion that is completely contradicted by many campaigns. Moreover, by taking on these risk frames, campaigns are not reflective of actual practices, and are not taking into consideration the point of view of the teens, risking an effect where teens pay little heed to the campaigns. Instead, they are perceived as 'media-generated', more for adults' peace of mind than teens' safety (Albury et al., 2013, p.8).

Social Learning and Media

The implicit messages that sexting campaigns convey about sexting, sex and gender may be internalized by teenagers. Indeed, research in the areas of media effects, advocacy and priming, has shown that what is seen in the media can have an effect on our later behaviors and judgements (Roskos-Ewoldson, Roskos-Ewoldson, & Carpentier, 2009), with many examples available, in the context of aggression (Anderson et al., 2010; Coyne, Archer, & Eslea, 2004; Coyne, 2016; Martins et al., 2013) and risky sexual behaviors (Brown, L'Engle, Pardun, Guo, Kenneavy and Jackson, 2006). However, little research has examined the effects of media specifically on sexting behaviors, despite the growing frequency with which the practice is being portrayed in the media.

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) (Bandura, 1986) explains why we may learn from the media. Unlike previous theories, SCT recognizes learning as a reciprocal process between media and

social influences, where learning occurs as a result of symbolic modelling and observation (Bandura, 1977; Phares, 2002). It posits that learning occurs not only because of our direct experiences with behaviors and their outcomes, but also by observing others' actions and behaviors (Bandura, 1986; Bandura, 2001; Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979) and the resulting outcomes. These outcomes may be positive or negative – reward or punishment.

Symbolic modelling, then, refers to the observation of a non-live model, oftentimes via exposure in media such as videos or images (Grant & Meadows, 2013). Observed actions which result in observed rewards are more likely to be repeated than those which result in observed punishment. This effect can also be gendered, with both boys and girls more likely to imitate behaviors of same sex models in the media. This can contribute to the sexual double standard, where boys and girls receive different reactions for the same behavior, due to the idea that one behavior is more consistent with a particular gender role (Peterson & Hyde, 2011).

Modeling has been used to transmit patterns of thought and behaviors, attitudes and values (Bandura, 1986). The concept is often applied to advertising media, where models are used to demonstrate how to use a new product, for example. Symbolic modeling in mass media can also be of benefit to health promotion or risk prevention efforts, in influencing behaviors, such as when a celebrity experiences a health problem and speaks out about the steps they took to recover, they are modeling exemplary behavior (Walsh-Childers & Brown, 2009). Thus, teenagers may learn a considerable amount about sexting behaviors, norms and attitudes, and about gender roles, from the symbolic models of sexters that are presented in campaign materials.

Hypotheses Development

Due to the highly gendered nature of the practice of sexting, we expect differences in sexting-related attitudes and behaviors of boys and girls. As mentioned above, research suggests that boys are generally more likely to be socially rewarded for sexting, due to the fact that a sexualized image of a girl can be used as proof of sexual activity (Ringrose et al., 2012) or romantic endeavors (Lerner & Steinberger, 2009), something that is of high importance during adolescence (Bond, 2011; Furman et al., 1999). Contrastingly, girls are punished for their participation in sexual activity, being labelled with derogatory terms when known to be creating sexual images (Ringrose et al., 2012). Following the SCT's assertion that rewarded behaviors are more likely to be repeated, we predict a general overall effect where:

H1a: Behavior willingness will be higher for boys than for girls

Further, considering the expected positive outcomes associated with the behavior for boys but not for girls, as well as the overall shaming attitudes present in the media towards girls for sexual behaviors, and the existing double standard, it is expected that:

H1b: Boys will hold more favorable attitudes towards sexters than girls.

The principle of symbolic modeling, as mentioned above, can be applied to health-promotion and risk-prevention campaigns in adolescents, including sexting literacy campaigns. The basic assumption is that actors in these campaigns serve as symbolic models that teach adolescents about the do's and don'ts in the context of sexting, and, more generally, society. This central assumption is also present in the Prototype Willingness Model (PWM) developed by Gibbons, Gerrard, Blanton and Russell (1998).

The PWM states that adolescents have a clear image of the typical person who engages in a behavior in their mind, known as a prototype. In the context of sexting, this prototype image can be constructed from the highly sexualized media accessible today, where young adolescents often first learn about sex (Harris & Barlett, 2009).

Gibbons et al. (1998) draw the distinction in the PWM that willingness, while being volitional, does not constitute a planned behavior, whereas behavior intention does. In the context of sexting, this means that - although adolescents may not have the planned intention to send a sext, they may make the decision to do so, volitionally, when in a social context conducive of the behavior (Gerrard, Gibbons, Houlihan, Stock, & Pomery, 2008). In the case of sexting willingness, this context is most likely to be online rather than real life with only one peer (expectantly) knowing of the behavior.

In the current study, we operationalize the term 'engagement' as consensually partaking in the behavior of sexting, i.e. volitionally sending a sext. Based on the idea that behaviors can be learnt through symbolic modeling in the media it is predicted that 'engagement' by a symbolic model depicted in a sexting literacy campaign may influence the behavioral willingness of adolescents exposed to this model. The symbolic model's explicit engagement in sexting (versus the model's explicit disengagement from the behavior) may thus elicit a main effect where:

H2a: The willingness to engage in sexting is higher when the prototype is shown to be engaging in sexting compared to when she is shown to be refraining from sexting.

In addition to behavioral willingness, models in the media can act as 'superpeers', arguably providing even stronger influences over attitudes than actual peers (Gibbons et al., 2010, p.650). So the prototype or model who engages (versus disengages) in sexting

may also influence more general attitudes of the adolescent towards those who engage in sexting. Therefore, a main effect is predicted where:

H2b: Attitudes towards sexters will be more positive when the prototype is shown to be engaging in sexting than when she is shown to be refraining from sexting.

While observing a behavior can lead to its repetition, there are a number of processes that can increase or decrease the likelihood of a behavior being repeated (Bandura, 2001). The first of these is attentional processes: Models who seem more interesting, successful or attractive than those lacking such favorable characteristics will garner more attention (Bandura, 2001; Bandura, 1977). This is in line with the PWM, which states that more favorable prototype images are more likely to influence behavior. In this study, favorability is achieved by manipulating the "coolness" of the prototype. Here, "coolness" refers to the social desirability and attractiveness of the girl in the image, where high favorability relates to "coolness" and low favorability relates to "uncoolness". Therefore, a main effect is predicted, on behavior willingness where:

H3a: There will be a higher willingness to engage in sexting when prototype favorability is high compared to when prototype favorability is low.

Similarly, Perloff (2010) attributes physical attractiveness, similarity to the model, and likability as contributors to the social desirability of a source, increasing persuasion and attitudes. The reasoning behind this is that likable characters make us feel good and these positive emotions are transferred when the message is communicated, in a process similar to classic conditioning. The use of an 'attractive' model is also supported by the elaboration likelihood model (ELM) (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986) which states that

persuasion and attitude change can occur based on factors other than the message in communication, such as visual appeal and the enticement of sex. Together with these assertions and given the notion that adolescents are highly influenced by the peer group, social rewards, and social status we predict a main effect for this construct where:

H3b: There will be more positive attitudes towards sexting when prototype favorability is high compared to when prototype favorability is low.

With a clear image in their mind of the typical person who engages in a behavior (prototype image), adolescents know that by engaging in any behavior associated with the prototype image, in a social context, they will take on the qualities associated with that prototype, in the eyes of their peers (Gibbons et al., 1998). As mentioned above, the more favorable the prototype image, the more likely one is to engage in the associated behavior (Gerrard, Gibbons, Stock, Lune, & Cleveland, 2005; Gibbons et al., 1998), just as engagement will be less likely when the prototype image possesses unfavorable traits. The perception is then, that upon reenactment of the behaviors of a prototype, similar traits of the prototype image will also be acquired. Therefore, an interaction effect is predicted between "coolness" and engagement where, upon presentation of a proposed 'typical sexter':

H4a: Behavior willingness will be greatest when a *high favorability* prototype is *engaging in the behavior*.

H4b: Attitudes towards the sexter will be highest when a *high favorability* prototype is *engaging* in the behavior.

Finally, 'prototype similarity' will be included in the analysis as a covariate. Prototype similarity refers to the extent to which one perceives oneself as similar to the

prototype (Gibbons et al., 1998). Individuals tend to have more favorable attitudes towards people who they perceive to be similar to themselves (Perloff, 2010) and prototype similarity has also been found to be an important predictor of behavior willingness (Rivis, Sheeran, & Armitage, 2006; Walrave et al., 2015). Due to the fact that the prototype image in the case of this research is female, prototype similarity has been controlled for so as to investigate the effects of the gender, favorability and engagement on behavior and attitudes, independent of prototype similarity.

The abovementioned predicted relationships between variables is visualized in two conceptual models (see figures 3 and 4, below).

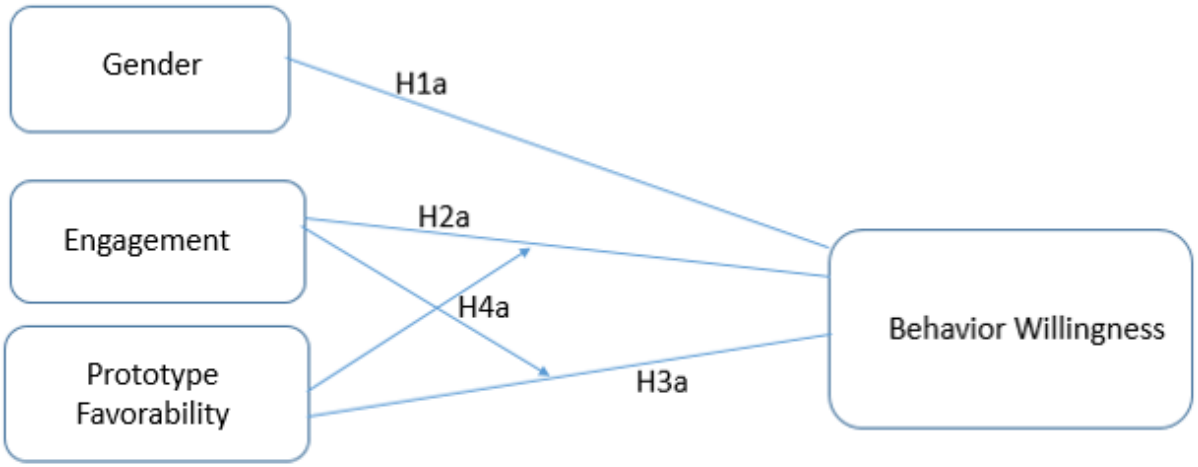

Figure 3: Conceptual model 1

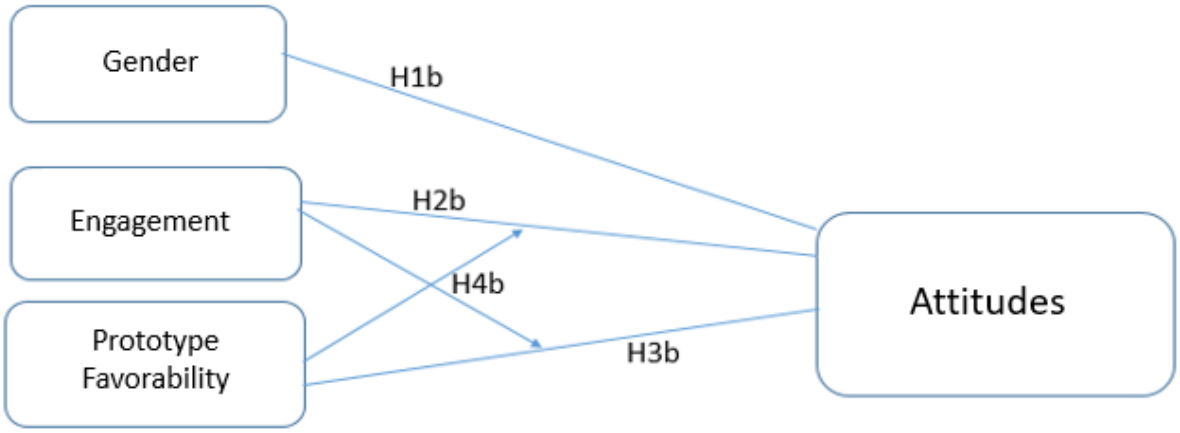

Figure 4: Conceptual model 2

Method

Sample and procedure

A 2 (prototype: cool versus uncool) x 2 (engagement: send versus cancel) x 2 (gender) experimental between-groups design was employed to test our hypotheses. The participants for our study were 238 students of two local second level schools in the Netherlands, aged between 14 – 18 years, (M =15.61, SD = 0.68). Given the formal setting of the data collection, there were some, but very few problems noted in respondents' approach or ability to complete the questionnaires. Of the 238 participants, 6 respondents' data were excluded due to suspicions of response bias, bringing the total number of participants with data eligible for analysis to 232 (55% female and 45% male).

This population was chosen as it is consistent with the audience for which existing campaign materials are aimed. Consent was obtained prior to collecting data through the school and parents, at the beginning of the school year. All participants were briefed at the beginning of the study by the researchers in person and again when reading an introductory paragraph on the study. Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary, and that their data would be kept confidential and anonymous.

The research was carried out as part of a larger project investigating both the visual and linguistic aspects of sexting campaigns. Materials were developed and data collection was carried out together with a fellow student, Saskia van den Dungen.

The data collection began during a school-run research project week, with the theme of "Social Media". Data was collected by the researchers, using pen and paper surveys. Conducting the research with paper surveys provided a controlled environment, ensuring a high response rate in a relatively short amount of time. Further, it allowed for the researchers to ensure that respondents were answering without conferring with peers. This method reduced the risk of respondents not taking the research seriously.

Materials

Development of Experimental Materials. The overall experimental design consisted of 16 conditions, as for both this thesis and that of van den Dungen's, a 2 x 2 x 2 design was executed. Thus the total design counted 16 conditions, represented by 16 variations of a (fictional) sexting campaign. The materials consisted of a one page, letter format leaflet, each showing an image of a girl, followed by a short piece of text, in Dutch (Appendix A). This thesis focuses on the visual elements of campaign materials, while van den Dungen's thesis focuses on textual elements. Therefore, the remainder of this method section (and thesis) will focus only on the impact of the variations of the visual elements of the materials.

For this thesis, four manipulated images were created (see figure 5). The manipulations were photographs which were taken from an over the shoulder angle, showing a girl holding and looking at a smartphone. The screen of the smartphone showed a photo of a girl, supposedly

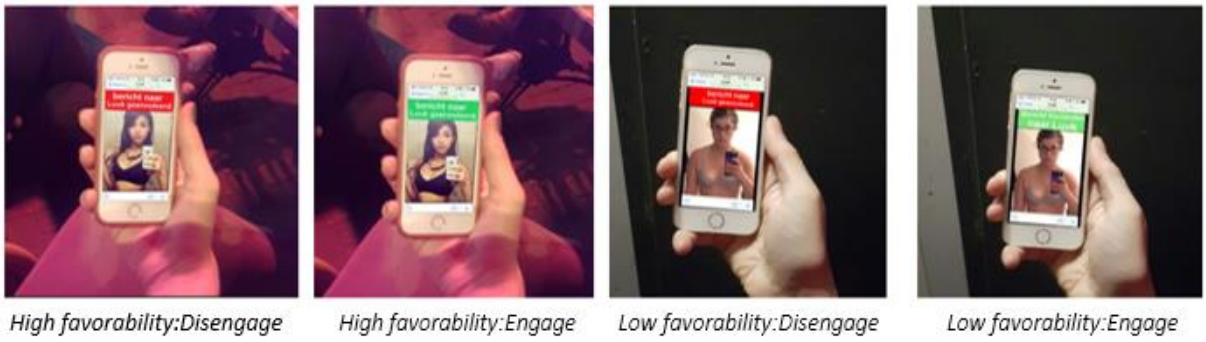

Figure 5: Four visual manipulations of send/delete and high/low favorability.

the girl who is holding the phone in her hand. This image is manipulated to show either high prototype favorability; a "cool" or "uncool" girl (factor: prototype favorability) who has just taken a sexualized selfie on her phone and who makes the decision to either send or delete (factor: engagement [engage/refrain]) the sexualized selfie.

To visualize the concept of "coolness we searched for an image of a teenaged girl taking a selfie in her bra, so as not to appear too explicit, who was conventionally physically attractive, stylish and trendy, as per the (visualizable) aspects of "cachet coolness" outlined in

Dar-Nimrod et al., (2012); significant correlations were found between the concept of "cool" and that of "social desirability". This type of coolness was termed "Cachet Cool" as opposed to "Contrarian Coolness" which related more to concepts related to anti-social behaviors such as unconventionality, emotional control, irony, rebelliousness, roughness and thrill seeking.

In order to decrease prototype favorability we used a picture of a girl with similar features (dark hair, similar body size) but who appeared somewhat shy, unstylish, and uninterested in trends. In both conditions the girl was shown to be messaging a boy named "Luuk". This name was chosen as it is a common Dutch name and does not have any connotations of "coolness" or "uncoolness". It was chosen for its ordinariness.

In order to visualize the second manipulation of either "engaging" or "disengaging" the photo originally showed the girl hitting a "send" button or a "delete" button, but after pre-testing (see below) this was altered into a notification on the screen that confirmed which action had taken place (See Figure 5).

Manipulation Check. In an initial, qualitative manipulation check, nine people were asked whether they thought there was a clear distinction between the high favorability and low favorability conditions, and whether it was clear that each girl was either sending, or cancelling their message. Respondents agreed that there was not a clear enough distinction between the girls, and that it was not clear which button (send [green], or delete [red]) was being pressed, although the clarity between the functions and meanings of each button or action was established. To rectify these issues, a new girl was chosen to represent "cool" and "uncool", where their ages and trendiness (or lack of) were more salient. To ensure clarity between sending and cancelling, the screen was edited from showing a thumb pressing the relevant, colored button, to a notification appearing on screen, confirming whether the message had been sent (green box) or cancelled (red box). Further, the backgrounds of the

photos were manipulated to appear more or less trendy and remarkable through the use of color and atmosphere.

With the edited manipulations, a quantitative pre-test was carried out using Qualtrics. In total there were 43 completed responses (*Male=9, Female = 28, not specified = 6)* all aged between 19 and 39. To test the level of perceived "coolness" of the prototype, participants were asked to rate their perceptions of perceived coolness, popularity and social desirability on a scale of 1-100. In order to mitigate variance due to the subjective nature of the concept of "coolness", popularity and social desirability were added to enhance the robustness of the concept of overall favorability.

T-tests were carried out to assess the significance of the differences between means in each of the conditions. Means are presented in Table 1, below. For "coolness", there was no significant difference found between the cool and uncool conditions ($t(24.79) = 1.60$, $p=.12$). However, for both popularity ($t(24.55) = 3.10$, $p = .010$) and social desirability ($t(31) = 3.14$, $p = .001$), there were significant differences between conditions.

Table 1. Means from manipulation check of prototype favorability, on a scale of 1-100

	High Favorability			**Low Favorability**		
	Mean	SD	*n*	Mean	SD	*n*
Cool	42.24	35.55	17	26.44	19.04	16
Popular	51.00	30.32	17	24.93	15.64	15
Socially Desirable	61.06	31.91	16	31.52	21.36	17

To assess the clarity of the action of either engaging or not engaging participants were asked to rate the level of clarity of the action on a 5-point scale from Very Clear to Not Clear At all. An independent samples t-test was conducted to assess the difference between the levels of clarity of the intended action. For the "send" condition the differences between the means of "clear" and "unclear" scores was not found to be significant ($t(6) = 1.38$), $p = .21$). In the delete condition the difference in the levels of clarity of the action was found to be

significant, $t(6) = 1.07$, $p = .01$. Despite the lack of significance between levels of clarity in the send conditions, the design was retained, due to the fact that the action was apparently clear in the "delete" conditions. Further, it was suspected that some of the lack of clarity might have been due to a language barrier. Although translations were provided, non-Dutch speakers may have had trouble recognizing the clarity of the language used. Figure 6 offers a visual representation of the percentage of those who indicated clarity or not in each condition. These percentages show there was a majority who found the action to be clear.

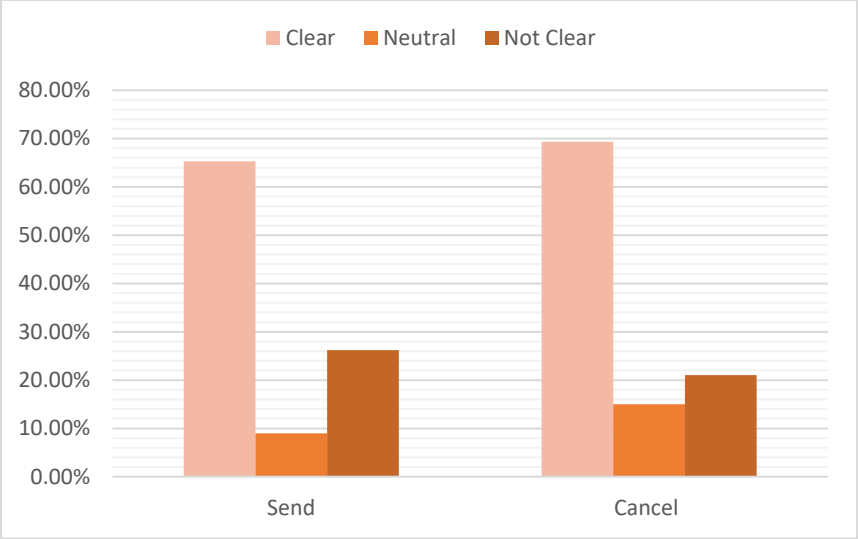

Figure 6: Percentage of those who indicated high clarity, neutrality and low clarity of either send or delete action

Measures

Three measures were used to test the effects of the engagement and prototype favorability on attitudes and behavior; one measure assessed attitudes towards sexters, one assessed behavior willingness and intention to send a sext, and one item was used to measure the covariate, prototype similarity. The questionnaires were designed and chosen with the target sample in mind, with every effort made to keep measures as short and succinct as possible, to

ensure a high response rate and minimize the chance of a loss of focus or interest while completing the questionnaire.

All measures used were in Dutch so that respondents would be working in their native language, decreasing the possibility of misinterpretation of any question. Scales were adapted from existing or previously used scales. Once item selection was completed by the researcher, each measure was translated from English to Dutch by a team of researchers of native or near native level in Dutch and high level English, with the wording agreed upon by all (See Appendix B for all questionnaires).

Attitudes towards sexters. Six items were used to measure teens' attitudes towards sexters on a 7 point Likert scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree ($\alpha = .62$). These items were adapted from Weisskirch and Delvi's 19 item scale on sexting attitudes (2011). Originally, 11-items were taken from Weisskirch and Delvis's (2011) scale, which were then used to collect the data. However, the internal reliability was found to be low ($\alpha = 0.51$) and proved to be difficult to improve. In the end, five items were removed to increase the internal reliability. This left a final 6 item scale, focused mostly on attitudes towards sexters rather than sexting in general .

Behavior Willingness measures were adapted from Walrave et al. (2015). Three items were used to cover three contexts; "What would you do if your boyfriend/girlfriend asked you for a sext?", "What would you do if the boy/girl you had a crush on asked for a sext?", "What would you do if someone you didn't know very well asked for a sext" and one general measure for *behavior intention* was also included; "How Likely are you to send a sext in the next month?". Items were answered on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from "Certainly not" to "Certainly" ($\alpha = .61$)[1].

[1] Upon removal of one item from this scale (dealing with sexting someone not well known) the alpha was increased to $\alpha = 0.706$. However, since this did not impact on the results it was decided to retain the full item set with $\alpha = .607$.

Prototype Similarity was measured using one item based on Walrave et al., (2015); “Do you have things in common with the type of person who sends a sext?”. This question was answered on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from “Not much” to “Very Much”.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics are given here to establish a context for the results of the main analysis. Although they were not part of the hypothesis testing, the sexting behaviors and victim blaming attitudes of the respondents may contribute to our overall understanding of their attitudes and behaviors.

The sexting behaviors of respondents revealed that among this age group (14-18), the practice is not particularly common. The majority of respondents reported never having received (75%) nor sent (94%) a sext. The sharing or forwarding of sexts appears to be generally uncommon with only 9% having forwarded a sext they had received and 12.5% having shown someone a sext they had received. Only 5.6% of respondents claimed to have asked someone to send a sext in the last two months, and only 13.7% reported having been asked to send a sext in the last two months.

In general, respondents reported a trend leaning away from victim blaming attitudes; for example when asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement “it is unwise of the girl to send a sext” 47% totally disagreed and only 4.2% indicated any level of agreement. However, when it came to feelings of shame, responses generally endorsed this as an expected outcome for those who share or forward a sext, with 79% indicating some level of agreement with the statement “If a boy forwards a sext, he should be ashamed of himself”. Further, when asked about the girl who sends the sext (“If the girl sent a sext, they need not be ashamed if it is shared”) participants indicated that she should indeed be ashamed if it is forwarded with 28% indicating total disagreement with the statement, and only 1.7% indicating total agreement. Table 2 summarizes these findings.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for dependent measures. Measured on 7- and 5- point Likert scales

Dependent Variable	Mean (SD)	Range	*N*
Attitudes (7pt)	2.41 (.79)	4	232
Behavior Willingness (5pt)	1.28 (.40)	2.25	232

Preliminary Analysis

For the purposes of analysis, high scores all related to positive outcomes (i.e. more positive attitudes and greater behavior willingness).

Preliminary analysis showed a non-normal distribution for the dependent measures, which is to be expected in such a sample size. Hence, results should be interpreted cautiously. A normality check identified many outliers, and extreme values. Due to the large number of outliers and extreme values, and the nature of the data and the scales, these were retained for the integrity of the analysis.

Inferential Statistics

Two factorial analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) were carried out to test the effects of the independent variables (prototype favorability, behavior and gender). The dependent variables were Behavior Willingness (BW) and Attitudes, and the covariate was prototype similarity, used to control for individual differences. A summary of the overall means for both measures and genders can be found in Table 3.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for main effects of gender on behavior willingness and attitudes, rated on 5- and 7-point likert scales

	Main effect for gender on Behavior Willingness and Attitudes	
	Behavior Willingness (1-5)	**Attitudes (1-7)**
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*
Males	1.36 (0.44)	2.66 (0.61)
Females	1.21 (0.35)	2.20 (0.49)
Total	*1.28 (0.40)*	*2.40 (0.59)*

Behavior willingness.

In order to investigate hypotheses 1a, 2a, 3a and 4a, testing the main and interaction (4a) effects of gender (1a), engagement (2a) and prototype favorability (3a) on BW, with prototype similarity as a covariate, an ANCOVA was performed with three independent variables (prototype favorability, engagement and gender) on BW. It was predicted that prototype favorability and engagement would have main effects as well as interaction effects on BW, and that there would be varying effects depending on gender. Table 4 provides a summary of the means and standard deviations for behavior willingness.

Table 4. Means and standard deviations of behavior willingness, per condition.

	Prototype Favorability								
	High				**Low**				
	Engage		***Refrain***		***Engage***		***Refrain***		**Total**
	(n=59)		***(n=61)***		***(n=56)***		***(n=56)***		**(n=232)**
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M (SD)*
Males	1.37	0.45	1.27	0.33	1.43	0.52	1.35	0.41	1.35 (0.44)
Females	1.22	0.45	1.14	0.22	1.19	0.32	1.30	0.40	1.21 (0.35)
Total	1.29	0.45	1.19	0.27	1.31	0.45	1.32	0.36	1.30 (0.40)

The assumption of homogeneity was violated ($F(7, 224) = 2.50$, $p = .02$). Therefore, results should be interpreted with caution. The covariate prototype similarity, was significantly related with the independent variables ($F(1, 223) = 10.36$) $p < .001$) but with a small effect size ($\eta^2 = .04$). The main effect of gender on BW (H1a) did show significance, however with only a small effect size: $F(1, 223) = 6.64$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .03$: it can be concluded that boys had higher willingness to engage than girls. Therefore, Hypothesis 1a is supported. Neither engagement (H2a) ($F(1, 223) = .88$, $p = .35$) nor prototype favorability (H3a) ($F(1, 223) = 1.41$, $p = .24$), nor the interaction between the two (H3a) ($F(1, 223) = .98$, $p = .32$) showed significant effects on BW. The interaction between gender, coolness and engagement showed no significant effect on BW: $F(1, 223) = .49$, $p = .49$). Interaction effects between engagement and gender yielded no significant results: $F(1, 223) = .004$. $p = .95$. Hypotheses 2a, 3a and 4a are not supported. Means for the main effect of gender can be found in Table 3.

Attitudes.

To investigate hypotheses 1b, 2b, 3b and 4b, a 3 way factorial ANCOVA was computed. It was predicted that attitudes would be more positive where coolness and engagement were present, and that this effect would hold stronger for boys (H1b, H2b, H3b and H4b). Again, the assumption of homogeneity was violated ($F(7, 224) = 3.00$, $p = .01$). Hence, results need to be interpreted with caution. Means and standard deviations for attitudes can be found in Table 5.

Table 5. Means and standard deviations of attitudes, per condition, on 7-point Likert Scale.

	Prototype Favorability								
	High				**Low**				
	Engage (n=59)		***Refrain (n=61)***		***Engage (n=56)***		***Refrain (n=56)***		**Total (n = 232)**
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M(SD)*
Males	2.72	0.56	2.80	0.5	2.63	0.60	2.45	0.54	2.66 (0.61)
Females	2.27	0.83	2.07	0.53	2.08	0.54	2.35	0.67	2.20 (0.50)
Total	2.50	0.60	2.37	0.59	2.38	0.56	2.37	0.63	2.10 (0.60)

The covariate 'prototype similarity', was not significantly related with teenagers' attitudes towards sexters ($F(1, 223) = 0.09$) $p = .76$). Hypothesis 1b investigated the main effects of gender on attitude: $F(1, 223) = 22.86$, $p < .001$, with moderate effect size, $\eta^2 = .09$. Therefore, Hypothesis 1b is supported, indicating that boys had more positive attitudes towards the sexter than girls. The interaction between gender and coolness yielded a result of F (1, 223) = 3.30, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .02$, indicating a trend, although not significance, and with a small effect size. The main effects for engagement (H2b) ($F(1, 223) = .21$, $p = .65$) and coolness (H3b) ($F(1, 223) = 1.98$, $p = .16$) were investigated as well as the interaction effects between these

variables (H4b) ($F(1, 223) = 1.73$, $p = .19$). No significance was found. Therefore hypotheses 2b, 3b and 4b are not supported. No interaction between engagement and gender was found: $F(1,223) = .03$, $p = .87$, nor between the three variables, coolness, engagement and gender ($F(1,223) = 1.20$, $p = .27$). Effect sizes were small to moderate in most cases, indicating that even where significance was found, the magnitude of the difference was small.

Discussion

This study investigated the effects that the visual portrayal of actors in sexting literacy campaigns have on teenagers' behaviors and attitudes. To that end, teenage participants were presented with fictional sexting campaign materials presenting either a more or less favorable image of a teenage girl who was either participating or not in the behavior (sexting). The results showed that there was no significant difference in behavior willingness or attitudes depending on whether the prototype was shown to be engaging or refraining, therefore not supporting Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 3 predicted a difference in attitudes and behavior willingness across the two levels of prototype favorability (high versus low) but was not supported. Hypothesis 4 predicted an interaction effect between the two variables, which was also not supported. However, Hypothesis one predicted that boys would display more favorable attitudes as well as greater behavior willingness than girls, which was supported.

Theoretical Implications

Counter to our expectations, the results yielded little significance in the effects of engagement or prototype favorability on attitudes or behavior willingness. However, one significant finding was the main effect for gender, which showed that boys displayed a higher willingness to engage in sexting, and more positive attitudes towards sexters, as was predicted. This finding highlights a gender gap in sexting behaviors. This might also indicate that the social rewards associated with sexting are more salient for boys, or that the social risks are more salient for girls, explaining why both willingness and attitudes were lower, or less positive, among female respondents.

Despite a significant difference in behaviors and attitudes based on gender, an overall floor effect was found for both outcomes. Eighty-eight percent of respondents answered 'certainly not' or 'probably not' when asked about their willingness to send a sext to a boyfriend or girlfriend. Behavior willingness was even lower in the scenario of sending a sext

to a crush (95%) and lower again when asked about sending one to someone who is not well known (99%). This indicates that relationship status may play a part in sexting behavior willingness. This finding also aligns with previous research which has shown that, despite the attention that sexting receives in the media and research, the behavior is not particularly popular among adolescents (Vanden Abeele et al., 2014; Ybarra, 2015).

Similar to the floor effect for behavior willingness, the current study suggests relatively unfavorable attitudes towards sexters in general. These attitudes may begin to explain the respondents' low willingness to engage in sexting, as well as their low level of current sexting behaviors; after all, according to the PWM (Gibbons et al., 1992), those with less favorable 'images' or prototypes of the typical person who engages in a behavior are less likely to engage in that behavior.

The severe skewness in both behavior willingness and attitudes towards sexting indicates that the parametric tests performed in this work are sub-optimal; and that alternative forms of analysis (e.g., factorial logistic regression, qualitative methods) may be more suitable. It is therefore advised to consider the distribution of these phenomena more carefully in future studies. This tentative suggestion does not mean that alternative explanations for the fact that respondents' attitudes appeared unaffected by the experimental interventions should not be considered.

One explanation may be the possibility that the respondents' pre-existing normative beliefs about sexting overrode any effect of the manipulations. According to the Theory of planned behavior (TPB) (Ajzen, 1985), a person's intention to perform a behavior is determined by the behavioral and normative beliefs one holds, which in turn, determine their attitudes and subjective norms, respectively (Almeida, Correia, & Marinho, 2010). Behavioral beliefs refer to beliefs about the outcomes of performing the behavior. Related to the PWM, if these outcomes appear favorable, the behavior is more likely to be performed.

Normative beliefs refer to the belief of whether important others think that he or she should perform the behavior. In the case of adolescents, these important others are most likely their peers, considering the high level of importance generally given to the peer group at this age (Haffner, 1995). This finding also supports that of Tolman &McClelland (2011) stating that sexual development is a very social process. Therefore, it is possible that the majority of adolescents simply do not approve of sexting, or at least believe that their peers do not approve of sexting, and this is why the floor effect was observed.

Another explanation for the lack of effect of the manipulations on neither attitudes nor behavior willingness of the respondents might be found in Albury et al.'s (2013) finding that teens seem to regard sexting media campaigns and, the term 'sexting', as media or adult generated. Therefore, adolescents may have a tendency to err on the side of caution when considering the information provided by media campaigns, or indeed, to disregard them altogether.

Regarding victim blaming attitudes, an interesting finding of the study was that the teenagers involved generally showed a low tendency to attribute blame to the victim. Although, respondents did indicate that they would endorse feelings of shame for those who sent a sext which then gets shared. However, they also indicated the same endorsement for the person who shares a sext without permission. While there is an element of victim blaming present here, it is thus attenuated by the sharing of blame between the two actors indicating again, an overall lack of approval of the behavior in general. This, positively, indicates fair treatment of both actors, while acknowledging the potential fallout from the behavior, for all involved.

Practical Implications

The findings highlight the fact that interventions should be designed with very specific targeting in mind. It is apparent from the current study that boys and girls hold

different beliefs about the practice, and these should be taken into consideration when designing messages or campaigns.

As this study found that teens are not actually sexting very often, but there are still small inclinations towards victim blaming, or feelings of shame in general associated with the behavior, campaigns should focus on fostering more positive attitudes towards the behavior and those who partake in it, framing it as a normal behavior, and part of any normal sexual relationship and exploration, a sentiment endorsed by Döring (2014).

Alternatively, given the apparent low frequency with which the practice takes place, campaign designers might focus on further segmenting their target audience to those who are most likely to sext, a topic which has received much attention in recent years (e.g. Fleschler Peskin et al., 2013; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014; Van Ouytsel et al., 2017).

Limitations

As with all scientific research it is important to take into consideration the limitations of the study when evaluating the implications of the findings.

Firstly, the concept of prototype favorability is subjective. When dealing with "favorability" and the concept of "coolness" it is of course, difficult to determine the extent to which one perception will be agreed upon by others. This effect was controlled by way of manipulation check, pre-testing, but could perhaps be even more salient through the use of richer media such as video or GIF.

Secondly, the measure of attitude towards sexters was adapted from a much larger questionnaire on attitudes towards sexting in general. We adapted and shortened the scale for the sake of brevity, so as to avoid loss of interest or concentration of the participants. However, this likely reduced the reliability of the measure. Future research should devote greater attention to the development of the attitudinal measures, preferably also pre-testing their validity separately.

Future Research

The current research investigated data from participants who all belong to the highest academic ‘stream’ in the Dutch education system. Future research might investigate those in lower streams (semi-academic and vocational), or compare the attitudes and behaviors of those in varying streams.

Future research should investigate attitudes towards sexting and sexters in other cultures, as well as the possibility that the willingness or intention to engage in sexting behaviors is in fact determined by normative beliefs, affected by important reference groups and the perceived beliefs *they* hold, and not determined by personal attitudes or viewpoints alone.

Future research should consider measuring the effects of more long term interventions, or long term exposure to interventions, as well as , as mentioned above, interventions which utilize richer media than still-images, in order to further experimentally investigate the impact of these campaigns as persuasive materials.

Finally, this research is focused on a Dutch population, whereas many of the campaign materials currently available are targeted towards an American or Australian population. Further, the Netherlands has quite a liberal culture towards teenage sex and other risky behaviors, which may be central to the normative beliefs and attitudes held by participants.

Conclusion

The aim of the research was to utilize the knowledge already acquired in scientific literature on teen sexting and media effects, to experimentally investigate the influence of various visual elements in such campaigns. Although the research question put forward could

not be confirmed, the findings brought to attention some interesting truths which call into question the justification and motivations for existing sexting literacy campaigns. Thus, some interesting directions for future research centered around practical and theoretical endeavors have been identified.

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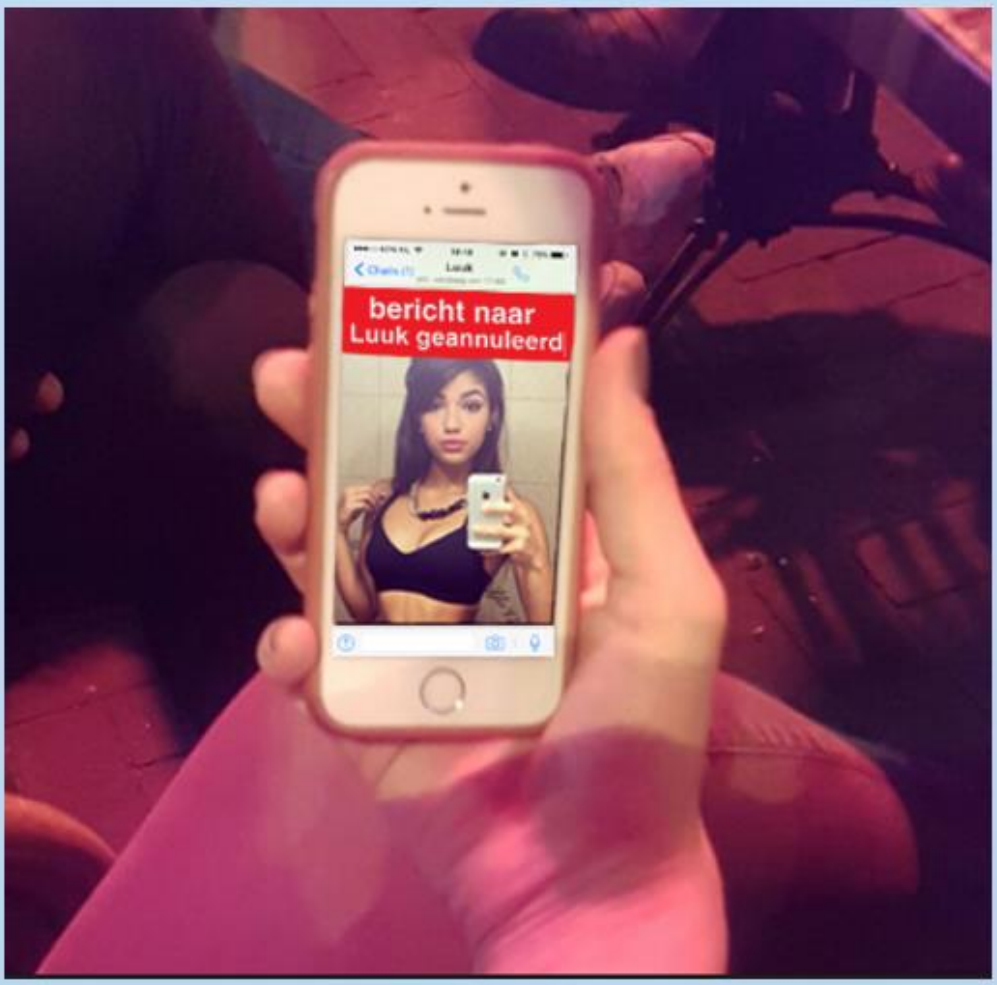
Appendix A

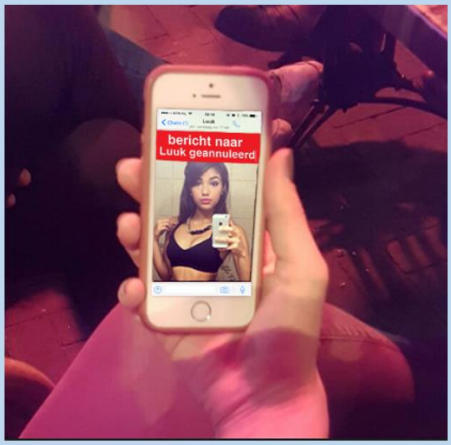
Sext bewust of sext niet!



Je hebt er vast weleens van gehoord. Misschien heb je het zelfs van dichtbij meegemaakt. Een meisje maakt een sexy foto van zichzelf en stuurt deze naar een jongen die ze leuk vindt. De volgende dag ziet zij dat de foto op ieder prikbord van de school hangt. Iedereen praat over de foto. Ze schaamt zich en durft niet meer naar school. Het zal je maar gebeuren. Sext bewust of sext niet.

1A

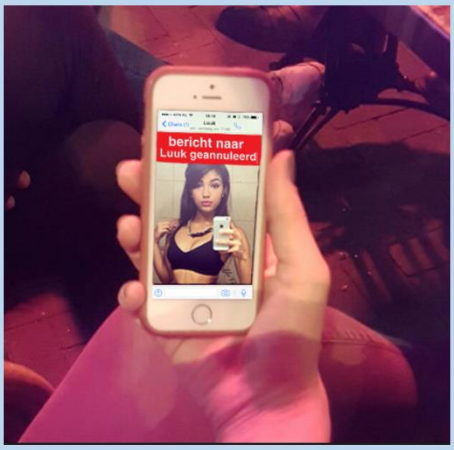
Sext bewust of sext niet!



Je hebt er vast weleens van gehoord. Misschien heb je het zelfs van dichtbij meegemaakt. Een meisje wordt beschaamd nadat een sexy foto van zichzelf, alleen bedoeld voor haar vriendje, stiekem is verspreid. De volgende dag krijgt ze het slechte nieuws te horen. Iedereen praat over de foto. Ze is gekwetst en wordt gepest op school. Het zal je maar gebeuren. Sext bewust of sext niet.

1B

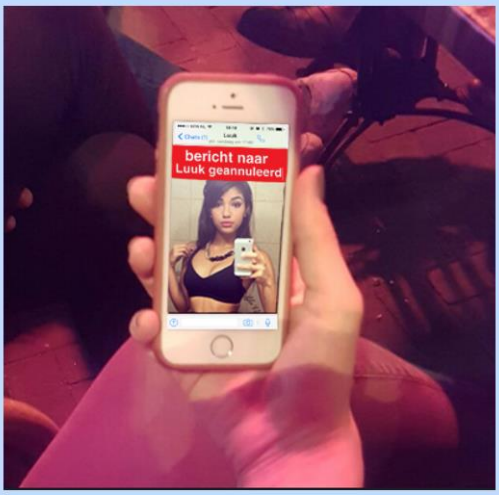
Sext bewust of sext niet!



Je hebt er vast weleens van gehoord. Misschien heb je het zelfs van dichtbij meegemaakt. Een jongen bedriegt een meisje nadat hij een sexy foto van haar vraagt en deze vervolgens naar iedereen doorstuurt. De volgende dag ziet hij dat de foto op ieder prikbord van de school hangt. Iedereen praat over de foto. Hij kwetst haar en het meisje durft niet meer naar school. Het zal je maar gebeuren. Sext bewust of sext niet.

1C

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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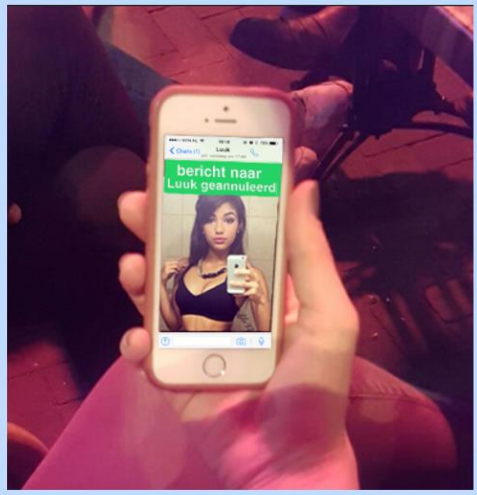
1D

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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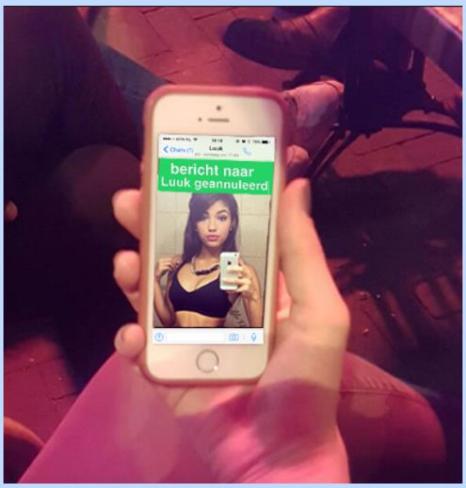
2A

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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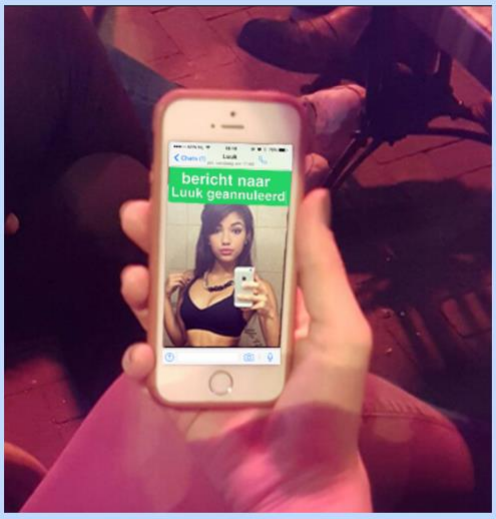
2B

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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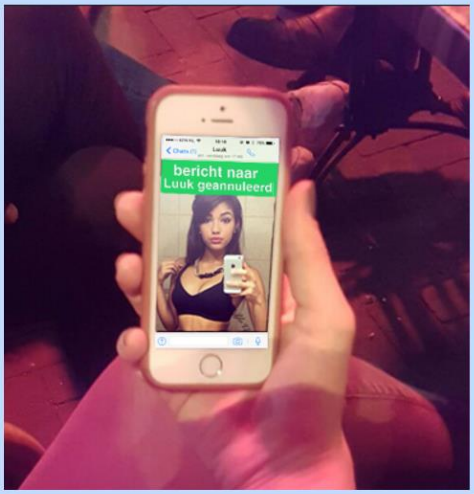
2C

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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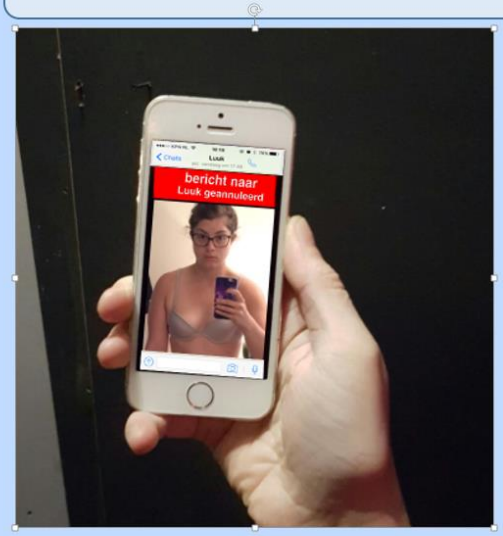
2D

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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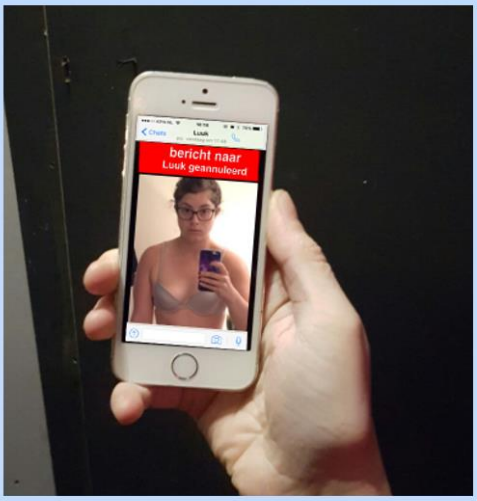
3A

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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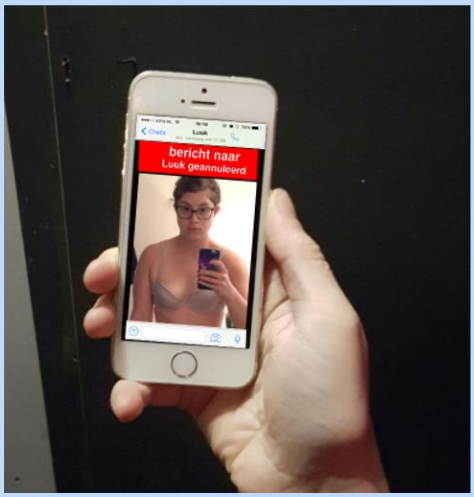
3B

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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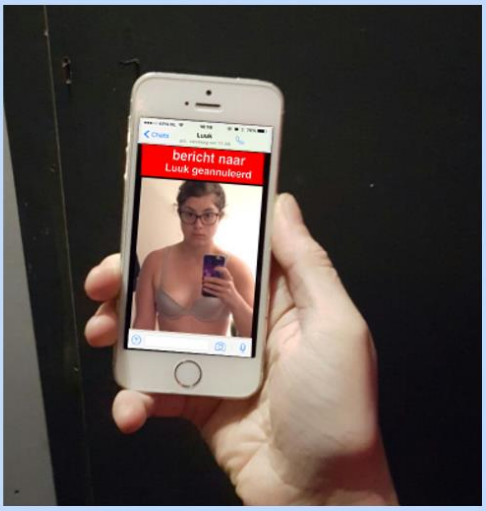

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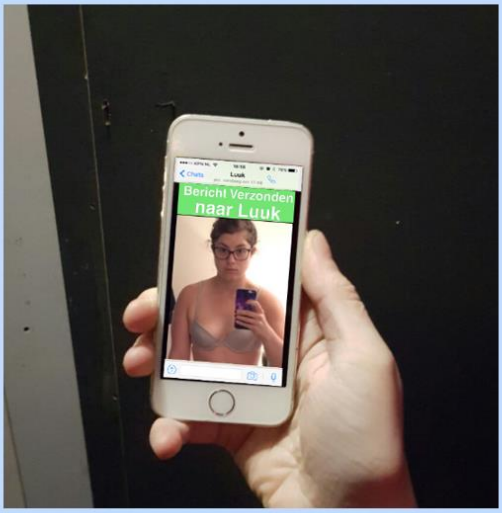

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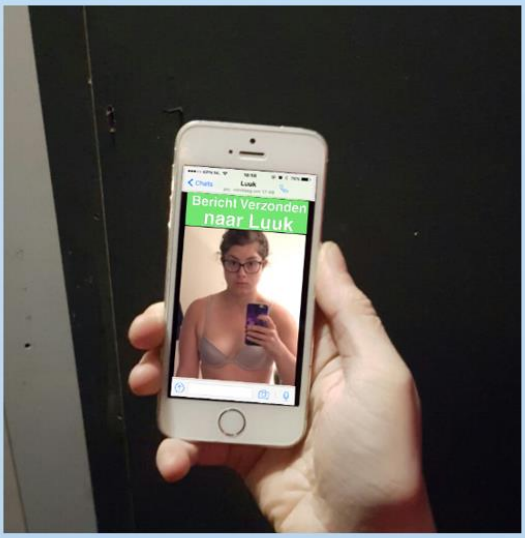
4A

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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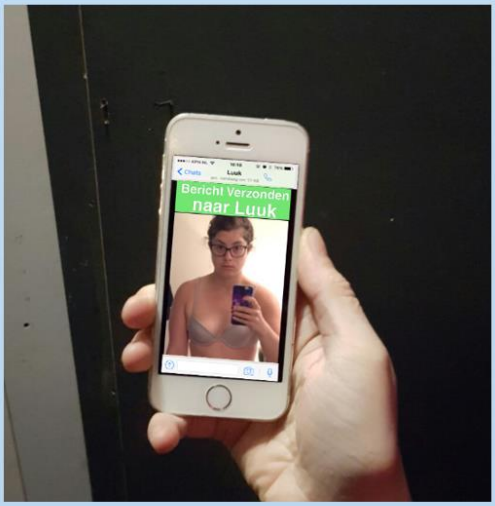
4B

Sext bewust of sext niet!



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4C

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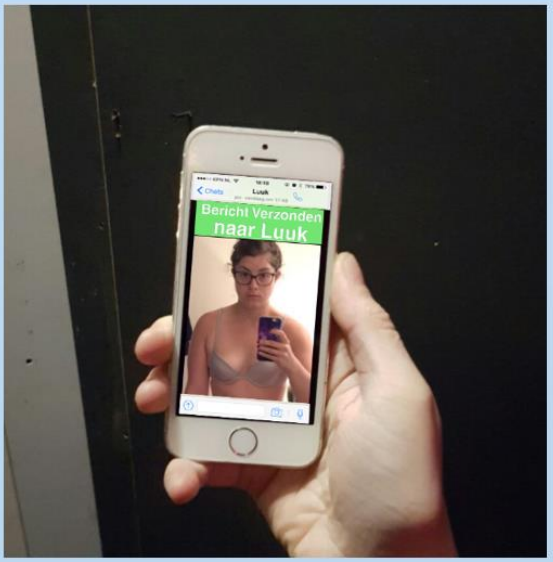

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4D

Appendix B

1.Onderstaande uitspraken gaan over **het verhaaltje onder de foto.** In hoeverre ben je het *oneens* of *eens* met deze uitspraken?

	Helemaal mee oneens 1	2	3	4	5	6	Helemaal mee eens 7
Het is onverstandig van het meisje dat ze een sext verstuurt.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
De jongen die de sext doorstuurt, is verantwoordelijk voor de negatieve gevolgen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Als het meisje een sext verstuurt, is het niet haar eigen schuld als deze wordt doorgestuurd.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
De jongen die een sext krijgt, moet hier altijd zorgvuldig mee omgaan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Als de jongen een sext doorstuurt, moet hij zich schamen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Als het meisje een sext stuurt, hoeft ze zich niet te schamen als deze wordt gedeeld.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Onderstaande uitspraken gaan over sexting **in het algemeen.** In hoeverre ben je het *oneens* of *eens* met deze uitspraken?

	Helemaal mee oneens 1	2	3	4	5	6	Helemaal mee eens 7
Een sext sturen naar iemand die je vertrouwt, is ongevaarlijk.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Iemand die regelmatig sext, heeft veel vrienden.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sexting kan je in grote problemen brengen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Iemand die nog nooit een sext heeft verstuurd, is minder populair dan iemand die dat wel ooit heeft gedaan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Een sext doorsturen is nooit een goed idee.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sexting is een normaal onderdeel van een relatie tegenwoordig.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Als iemand die ik net ken mij om een sext vraagt, stuur ik die altijd.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Als ik een sext krijg, laat ik deze aan iedereen zien.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Een sext versturen maakt je altijd kwetsbaar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mensen die een sext versturen, hebben er zelf om gevraagd wanneer die sext verder wordt verspreid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mensen die een sext versturen, willen stiekem graag dat veel mensen hem zien.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3.Stel, je vriendje/vriendinnetje vraagt aan jou om een seksuele foto van jezelf door te sturen, wat zou je doen in zo'n situatie? (Als je op dit moment geen vriendje/vriendinnetje hebt, beeld je de situatie dan in alsof je er wel één hebt)

Zeker niet	Waarschijnlijk niet	Misschien	Waarschijnlijk wel	Zeker wel

Ik zou in zo'n situatie de foto doorsturen.

4.Stel, de jongen/het meisje dat je leuk vindt vraagt je een seksuele foto van jezelf door te sturen, wat zou je doen in zo'n situatie? (Als je op dit moment geen jongen/meisje leuk vindt, beeld je de situatie dan in)

Zeker niet	Waarschijnlijk niet	Misschien	Waarschijnlijk wel	Zeker wel

Ik zou in zo'n situatie de foto doorsturen.

5. Stel, iemand die je niet zo goed kent vraagt je een seksuele foto van jezelf door te sturen, wat zou je doen in zo'n situatie?

Zeker niet	Waarschijnlijk niet	Misschien	Waarschijnlijk wel	Zeker wel

Ik zou in zo'n situatie de foto doorsturen.

6. Hoe waarschijnlijk is het dat je de komende maand zelf een seks verstuurt?

O Zeer onwaarschijnlijk O Nogal onwaarschijnlijk O Misschien O Nogal waarschijnlijk O Zeer waarschijnlijk

7. Beantwoord onderstaande vragen:

	Helemaal niet	Zo goed als niet	Weinig	Neutraal	Een beetje	Behoorlijk (veel)	Heel erg (veel)
Vind je dat je in het algemeen veel dingen **gemeen hebt** met mensen die sexts versturen?							
In hoeverre vind je het meisje op de foto **populair**?							

8. Hoe vaak heb je **tijdens de afgelopen twee maanden** …

	Nooit	1 keer	een paar keer	ongveer 1 keer per week	vaker dan 1 keer per week
… zelf een sext **ontvangen**?					
… zelf een sext **verstuurd**?					
… zelf een sext van een ander **doorgestuurd**?					
… zelf een ontvangen sext aan een ander **laten zien**?					
… een ander **gevraagd** om een sext naar jou te sturen?					
… de **vraag gehad** een sext van jezelf te versturen naar een ander?					

9. In hoeverre ben je het *oneens* of *eens* met deze uitspraken over jezelf?

	Helemaal mee oneens 1	2	3	4	5	6	Helemaal mee eens 7
Ik ben niet erg populair bij mensen van het andere geslacht	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Het is moeilijk om bevriend te raken met mensen van mijn eigen geslacht	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik doe meestal wat me gezegd wordt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik raak makkelijk bevriend met meisjes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik kan het niet goed vinden met jongens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Soms verander ik dingen in mijn kleding om populairder te zijn	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik raak makkelijk bevriend met mensen van mijn geslacht	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik ben populair bij jongens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik doe vaak dingen, gewoon om populair te zijn bij mensen op school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik raak makkelijk bevriend met jongens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik gehoorzaam mijn ouders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik overtreed regelmatig regels	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik volg zelden regels	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik kan het niet goed vinden met meisjes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Met sommige mensen ben ik bevriend, gewoon omdat anderen hen leuk vinden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik ben populair bij meisjes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ik zou er bijna alles voor over hebben om niet als een 'loser' over te komen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. In welke klas zit je? (bijv. 5A1, 5A2, H4a, H4b) ……

11. Wat is je geslacht? O Meisje O Jongen

12. Hoe oud ben je? …… jaar

13. Ik heb eerder voorlichtingscampagnes over sexting gezien. O Nooit O Soms O Regelmatig O Vaak

14. Heb je van dichtbij meegemaakt dat iemand in de problemen is gekomen door sexting?
O Ja
O Nee