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Articles

Sexting categories

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Abstract

Sexting has recently become a relatively widespread and devastating problem among youth, and its complex nature and consequences are increasingly arousing the interest of current scientific and professional practice. Although researchers have made substantial efforts to provide the definition of the sexting there is no general consensus among them on the meaning of the sexting. In this review, we proposed a simple theoretical framework of sexting that seeks to refine the operationalization of sexting from previous research. Following a systematic review of sexting research from Sesar, Dodaj and Šimić (2018) which postulated a theoretical model of sexting, as well as previous researchers, we suggest that sexting behaviour has four forms: relational sexting, reactive sexting, forced sexting and violent sexting. We define this operationalization of sexting by focusing on the motivation for sexting and underlying sexting elements (such as the content of sexts etc.). This paper describes all forms of sexting behaviour proposed and closes by encouraging future researchers to investigate our understanding of sexting behaviour.

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1. Introduction

In the current decade, sexting has gained momentum, as has the interest using online communication among youth increased and the compilation of "sex" and "texting" was adopted in the New Oxford dictionary's Word of the Year (Stanglin, 2009; according to Hudson et al., 2014). In general, sexting is defined as sending, receiving, or forwarding sexually explicit messages or nude, partially nude, or sexually suggestive digital images of one's self or others via a cell phone, e-mail, Internet, or Social Networking Service (Brown et al., 2009; Calvert, 2009; Corbett, 2009; Dilberto & Mattey, 2009; Halder & Jaishankar, 2014; Jaishankar, 2009; Walker &

Moak 2010; according to Ngo et al.,2017). However, specific definitions of sexting used in studies differ widely (Calvert, 2009, 2013; Chalfen, 2009; Dake et al.,2012; Drouin et al.,2013; Hudson ,2011; Klettke et al., 2014; Wolak & Finkelhor, 2011; Wolak et al., 2012). Barrense-Dias et al. (2017) in a literature review of eighteen studies, published between 2012 and 2015, found that definition of sexting varies in terms of actions (sending, receiving, and forwarding), media types (text, images, and videos), sexual characteristics and transmission modes. Recently, Beckmeyer et al. (2019) even states that among researchers there are difference in time range of sexting behaviour (e.g. focusing on last six months or lifetime sexting behaviour) and assessment of multiple aspects of sexting (e.g. content of sexts and having sent or received sexts). Finally, some authors (see Barrense-Dias et al.,2017; Döring, 2014; Englander & McCoy, 2018) pointed out differences in the inclusion or exclusion of non-consensual acts. Therefore, this study aims to present a newly proposed typology of sexting, formulated within the review of current literature about the definition and theories of sexting.

2. Methods

2.1 Search strategy

A review of the literature was conducted in order to analyze existing literature concerning sexting by summarizing conceptualization and operationalizations of sexting in current literature and by understanding sexting definitions through existing theoretical models. The electronical search of relevant literature was conducted according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher et al., 2009). Electronical research-literature databases included Google Scholar, PsychINFO, PubMed, Scopus, Science Direct, ProQuest and ISI Web of Knowledge. The following keywords were use: "sexting" OR "sexts" AND "definition" OR "categories" AND "motivation" OR "reasons" to identify all aspects of sexting that contribute to its conceptualization.

2.2 Eligibility criteria

Papers that were published original research studies, case studies, reviews, meta-analyses, conference abstracts, and books describing the data on sexting in relation to its definition, conceptualization, and motivation were eligible for selection. From the current review, we excluded editorials, commentaries, or letters to the editor, but we went through their references to check if we missed some published studies. No exclusion criteria were given for location, year of publication, and study design. We restrained the search to papers written in English and language mastered by the authors (Croatian, German, and Italian).

2.3 Inclusion criteria

The search strategy yielded 48 articles, of which 46 were selected based on the title and abstract. The authors chose to include articles who support to provide overview of sexting and/or its motivational determinants with or without theoretical approach. The 46 articles presented in Table 1 allow the authors to extract sexting definition or reasons of sexting for the use as the main findings of this review.

Table 1. Summary table of classification of articles

Reference and year	**Country/location**	**Main purpose**	**Results**
Adetoal & Olanrewaju (2015)	Nigeria	Investigate personological factors and sexting behavior among in-school adolescents.	Self-esteem and social networking utilization among others have a great influence on the sexting behavior among adolescents.
Ahn, Garandeau, & Rodkin (2010)	USA	Understand the effects of classroom level embeddedness and classroom density on the perceived popularity and social preference of aggressive and victimized children	Results showed the importance of classroom social structure to adolescents regard their aggressive or victimized peers, which was moderated by a classroom level of embeddedness and density.
Albury & Crawford (2012)	Australia	Illuminate the diversity of sexting experiences, motivations and contexts, and argue that the application of child pornography laws to sexting is inappropriate.	Sexting does happen in specific context and is not always negative. Instead of criminalizing teens who participate in sexting, authors suggest that an international and local response should recognize the seriousness of incidents of bullying, harassment or abuse and would also need to consider the context and culture during participation in sexting.

Alonso & Romero (2019)	Spain	From a longitudinal perspective, examine relationship between personality traits of the five-factor model and sexting, and possible psychosocial outcomes of sexting behavior.	Extraversion is a predictor of increased sexting and, in turn, sexting is a predictor of decreased victimization and positive emotions.
Bond (2011)	UK	Explore children's use of mobile phone in relation to sexual relationship and sexual identity	Youth use their mobile phone in developing their sexuality, by sharing a sexual context although there are often aware of its risk.
Calvert (2009)	USA	Understand, in the context of a law journal article, legal issues raised by sexting.	There are difficulties in legislating acts of sexting since it is behavior that comes in multiple variations. However, author pointed out a legal distinction which should be drawn between "primary" and "secondary" sexting. Also, author emphasize the importance of legal, and educational response to sexting.
Calvert (2013)	USA	Explore the complex legal nature of the issues related to the phenomenon of "revenge porn" and to analyze some of the early attempts to criminalize it.	Revenge porn lacks on agreed upon legal definition and legal ways of punishment such behavior. It seems there are lots of negative aspects of revenge porn criminalization.
Chalfen (2009)	USA	Provide an overview of sexting	Sexting, complex and varied behavior, is a widespread behavior among teens which should be understand in the context of culture. There is different content of sexts, as well as motivation to sexts which should be taken into account.

Closson (2009)	Canada	Examine gender and status differences in description of the popularity among early adolescents	Study indicated complexity of social construction of popularity which varied by gender and as a function of the individual status.
Cohen & Felson (1979)	USA	Present routine activity approach to analyze crime rate trends.	Circumstances related to the dispersion of activities away from household and families increases the opportunity for the offenders to commit crimes.
Cohen, Kluegel, & Land (1981)	USA	Test a formal theory of how dimensions of social stratification (income, race, and age) are related to risk of predatory criminal victimization.	Relationship between the dimensions of social stratification and offenses is complex but in largely in accordance to assumption of formal theory.
Delevi & Weisskirch (2013)	USA	Investigate personality traits, sensation seeking, and problematic cell phone use as related to sexting behavior.	Personality trait of extraversion, neuroticisms and agreeableness predicted engagement in sexting. Problematic cell phones also predicted sexting, while some aspect of sexting appealed to risky behavior for those with personality toward risk activities.
Dir (2012)	USA	Understand better sexting behaviors, sexting expectancies, and the role of impulsivity in sexting.	Sexting is understood as a risky behavior predicted by sensation seeking and sexting expectancies.
Dir, Coskunpinar, Steiner, & Cyders, 2013a	USA	Test how sexting expectancies influence sexting behaviors, whether sexting behaviors and expectancies differ by demographic variables	College students have both positive and negative expectancies about sexting, although sexting have varied across gender, race, sexual identity and relationship status. Expectations regarding sexting had significant influence on sexting behavior.

Dir, Cyders, & Coskunpinar (2013b)	USA	Test the role of problematic alcohol use, sexting, and impulsivity-related traits in sexual hookups.	Sexting is a mediator between problematic alcohol use and sexual hookups, while impulsivity-related trait and alcohol-related expectancies distal predictor in this process.
Döring (2014)	Germany	Determine the current state of sexting research by reviewing papers that describe the risk and opportunities associated with sexting	Sexting is more common among adults than youth. Although is usually perceived as risky behavior related to sexual objectification, violence, risky sexual behavior and negative consequence, some of the researcher highlight sexting as normal behavior in intimate communication. Analysis of sexting prevention campaigns revealed that they primarily rely on scare scenarios, acknowledgment of risk of bullying and criminal prosecution, engagement of female victim blaming and recommendation of abstinence from sexting.
Döring (2012)	Germany	Describe the sexting from a social-psychological perspective	Minority of youth participate in sexting, primarily in the context intimate relationship, with a positive experience of sexting. Some of those who experienced unintentionally, or illegally shared sexual content were prone to stigmatization, especially girls.
Drouin & Tobin (2014)	USA	Determined the extent of unwanted but consensual sexting within youth intimate relationship and attachment as well as motivation aspects related with such behavior.	Unwanted, but consensual sexting is common among youth. Most youth consented to unwanted sexting for flirtation, foreplay, or to meet partner's needs. However, those who were high in attachment anxiety were more likely to consent in order to avoid arguments.

Englander (2012)	USA	Explore the prevalence of sexting, relationship between coerced and noncoerced sexting, gender differences in sexting, characteristics of sexters and risk of sexting	Sexting is not universal behavior. The most important motivation for sexting is pressure or coercion. Those prone to sexting are more sexually active, have more risk behavior (alcohol and drug abuse) and receive more nude photos. The risk associated with sexting is experienced by youth who are coerced into sexting
Ferguson (2011)	USA	Examine the incidence of sexting and its association with high risk sexual behaviors among Hispanic youth women	Around 20% of participants sext and sexting was associated with high-risk sexual behaviors but was slightly more common among those who found sex as highly pleasurable or among those who had histrionic personality traits.
Gámez-Guadix, Santisteban, & Resett (2017)	Spain	Analyze the prevalence and personality profiles of adolescents engaged in sexting	The overall prevalence of sexting behavior among adolescents was 13.5%, showing increasement by age. Personality profile of those engaged in sexting was characterized by high scores on extraversion and neuroticism, and low scores on conscientiousness and agreeableness.
Gottfredson & Hirschi (1990)	USA	Present a general theory of crime and related behavior.	Essential element of criminality is the absence of self-control which is learned early in life.
Harris (2017)	USA	Utilize the multiple goals theoretical approach to examine sexting.	There are instrumental, relational, and identity goals associated with sexting. Specific goals are important for relational outcomes (e.g. relationship, communication…).
Hasinoff (2013)	Canada	Explore concern about negative effect of digital media on how girls communicate and who they can communicate with, and propose new	There are widespread concerns related with it that the online predators will target minors, particularly girls and concerns about 'disinhibited' girls. It is suggested a model of

		model of viewing sexting	viewing sexting as a media production which has positive conotation, especially among youth.
Henderson & Morgan (2011)	USA	Understand motivation of sexting among teens and young adults	Sexting is frequent behavior among teens and young adults, which usually sext with romantic partner. The main reason for sexting is to be sexy or initiate sexual intercourse. Those who sexts are more prone to higher number of sexual partners.
Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo (1978)	USA	Utilize set of factors which explains personal crime using victimization survey data from a number of cities in the United States.	Differential pattern of personal victimization exists across demographic groups which is usually related with their lifestyle's exposure to risky situations.
Kopecký (2011)	Czech Republic	Investigate the prevalence of sexting, types of sexting, and motivation for sexting among preadolescents and adolescents. It also examines the risk and consequences of sexting.	Two basic forms of sexting were putting sexts on the Internet and sending sexts, with its prevalence under 10%. Youth sext because of different reason, for example because of boredom or influence of environment/group, to make intimate contact, to self-present, to arouse another person, or unplanning. Youth are usually aware of the danger of sexting and its consequences (e.g. blackmailing, sexual attacks etc.)
Kopecký (2014)	Czech Republic	Examine occurrence of cyberbullying among university students from the victim perspective.	Students are exposed to various forms of cyberbullying, where the most common reported forms of cyberbullying described by the victims of the attacks were verbal abuse and drop-calls.
LaFontana & Cillessen (2002)	USA	Assess children's perceptions of popular and unpopular peers	Children's perceptions on popular and unpopular peers is complex. Popularity is associated with prosocial and antisocial behavior, and most children view

		using multimethod approach.	popularity as a function of dominance. There were found negative correlates of (un)popularity.
Lenhart (2009)	USA	Determine how and why teens participate in sexting.	Around 4% to 30% of teens participate in sexting, whereas older teens and those who pay their own phone bills were much more likely to participate in sexting they younger teens or those teens who did not pay for a bill or pay a portion of cost. Sexting is happened between two romantic partners, between partners which shared sexts outside the relationship, or between people who were not in relationship, but hoped to be.
Lippman & Campbell (2014)	USA	Investigate the relational, normative, gender, and age dynamics of adolescent sexting.	Girls were more likely to sexts than boys, but also experienced more pressure to sexts and more judgment due to sexting than boys. Among older adolescents sexting occurred primarily with the context of flirting, romance, or sex, whereas among younger it has occurred with friends as a fun. Although, there is a fear of reputational damage due to sexting among youth continue to sext because of normative climate and desire for approval.
Ploharz (2017)	USA	Determine, using an evolutionary lens, the possible adaptive reasons that individuals may choose to engage in sexting behavior.	Sexting, most likely perceived as a mate attraction behavior, is used to utilize a short-term mating strategy and expecting positive outcomes from that behavior.
Renfrow & Rollo (2014)	USA	Analyze personal narrative to examine the ways that youth navigate sexting and	Youth perceive risk of sharing sexts, but try to minimize the perceived risk through content control strategies such as "keeping it fun," limiting explicitness, and creating

		determine meaning of sexting within college context.	plausible deniability. Further, youth offer accounts aimed at neutralizing their discrediting actions by claiming normality and benefits, and by justification using comparison.
Reyns, Henson, & Fisher (2014)	USA	Utilized the self-control and opportunity criminology theory to explain sexting.	Low self-control is positively related to sexting and these relationships is mediated by certain lifestyles and routines.
Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone, & Harvey (2012)	UK	Understand, using qualitative methodology approach, the complex nature of sexting and the role of mobile technologies within peer teen networks.	Data revealed the following key findings related with sexting: sexting refer to a range of activities, it is usually coercive behavior with more adverse effect on girls, it reveals wider sexual pressures, even younger children are affected, and sexting practices is culturally specific. Authors emphasize that additional support and resources within sexting are necessary.
Sesar, Dodaj, & Šimić (2019)	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Development of theoretical model to explain motivational determinants of sexting behavior.	Sexting behavior explained by a set of individual characteristics and contextual characteristics which have been empirical confirmed.
Temple & Choi (2014)	USA	Examines whether adolescents who report sexting have more psychosocial difficulties, compared to their non-sexting counterparts.	Sexting is associated with impulsive and high-risk behaviors, but not a marker of mental health.
Temple, Le, van den Berg, Ling, Paul, & Temple (2014)	USA	Understand whether engagement in sexting exhibit more psychosocial health	Sexting was associated with impulsive and high-risk behaviors (e.g. substance use), but not found to be marker of mental health.

		difficulties among adolescents.	
Van Ouytsel, Van Gool, Ponnet, & Walrave (2014)	Belgium	Investigate the relationship between adolescents' characteristics and engagement in sexting.	Engagement in sexting is significantly associated with sensation seeking, experiential thinking styles, depression and response to economic stress.
Van Ouytsel, Ponneta, Walrave, & d'Haenens (2016)	Belgium	Analyze which components of the social learning theory are related with sexting among adolescents.	Positive attitudes towards the sexting and perceived approval of sexting by the peers are related to engagement in sexting, both within and outside intimate relationship, while controlling some of demographic data. Sexting outside intimate relationship is also influenced by the excitement and the sensation that youth get out of engaging in sexting.
Vanden Abeele, Roe, & Eggermont (2014)	Belgium	Explores the prevalence and predictors of sexual contact, as well as risk through mobile phone use.	Significant number of adolescent report sexual contact and conduct risks involving the mobile phones. There are different contextual and mobile phone use predictors that explain risky mobile phone practice.
Walgrave, Heirman, & Hallam (2013)	Belgium	Examine predictors of sexting behavior among adolescents by applying the theory of planned behavior.	Subjective norm is the most important predictor, followed by adolescents' attitudes towards sexting. Study highlighted the importance of context in which sexting occurs.
Walker, Sanci, & Temple-Smith (2013)	Australia	Provide young people's views on the nature and origins of sexting.	Sexting is not gender-neutral activity and many of those who sext do so in response to pressure.
Weisskirch & Delevi (2011)	USA	Understand how adult romantic attachment styles are related to	Sexting can have a different meaning for youth. For example, for some it is a technological form of flirting, for others

		sexting behavior and attitudes.	just a way of communication within a relationship while for some of participants it as a behavior necessary to preserve or maintain relationship. Those with anxious attachments are more prone to sexting (sending sext) and have positive attitudes towards sexting.
Wolak & Finkelhor (2011)	USA	Provide typology of sexting based on a review of cases obtained from a national survey of law enforcement agencies.	Complex nature of sexting, which stems from legal issues and variety of behavior and activities included in sexting. The paper highlights divided of sexting into the two broad categories: aggravated and experimental sexting.
Wolak, Finkelhor, & Mitchell (2012)	USA	Examine characteristics of police-investigated sexting cases and their outcomes in response to clinical and other concerns about the risks of sexting behavior.	Youth sexting is a diverse phenomenon, and many of police-investigated sexting cases included aggravating circumstances that raised concerns related to health and risky sexual behavior.

2.4 Exclusion Criteria

The two articles were excluded from the review because they were either duplicate or did not meet the specific objective set for our review, as agreed upon by authors. One discarded study referred to duplicate reference, and additional study did not include specific information on sexting and its motivational determinants.

3. Results

3. 1. Article analysis

Authors analyzed selected articles and obtained agreement on the way the articles are going to be categorized. As presented in Table 1, the authors reviewed and discussed main purpose and main findings of the analyzed articles. Analyses and creation of table were completed by an iterative process with all authors participating in the multiple rounds of analysis through discussion and critique before making consensus.

3.2. Study characteristics

Across the 46 published articles, 37 were research articles, seven were review articles and two were books. The research articles include quantitative (26 studies), qualitative (9 studies) and mixed methodology (2 studies). Among quantitative studies, the population of primary interest were adolescents (e.g. high school; n=13 studies), youth adults (e.g. college adults; n=12 studies) or households (n=1 study). All quantitative studies, expect two studies, were conducted on mixed gender sample and/or were based on transversal methodological approach. Regarding the qualitative studies, three examined aspects of sexting using content analysis approach, three using interviews on adolescents, two using open-ended questions on high-school adolescents or undergraduate participants, and one conducting focus group on adolescents. Two studies used mixed qualitative and quantitative approach to examine aspects related with sexting or perception of peers on behavior using mixed sample of adolescents or youth adults. All review articles, expect one, were based to understand the current state of sexting in general (n=1), from the legal perspective (n=1) and from current or new theoretical perspective (n=4). One review article, as well as two books were based on the crime theory approach which might be useful for sexting explanation.

3.3. Literature review of sexting typology

The construct of sexting behaviour underwent the largest degree of multidimensional perspective with the work of Calvert (2009, 2013) and Wolak and colleagues (Wolak & Finkelhor, 2011; Wolak et al., 2012). The notion that sexting has different forms was first recognized by Calvert (2009) who divided sexting into two categories according to the subject depicted in the images: primary sexting and secondary sexting. Primary sexting refers to sending sexts depicting the sender him/herself, while secondary sexting relates to forwarding sexts from others depicting someone else. The author acknowledged that primary sexting usually occurs with the permission of the person depicted in the photo/videos, while secondary sexting may not be consensual. In addition to these forms, Calvert (2013) has suggested that one type of sexting, without the permission of the individuals depicted in them, is revenge sexting. It typically includes sharing sexts that are uploaded on the Internet by former partners. Revenge sexting follows the Drouin and Tobin (2014) definition of unwanted but consensual sexting, where someone sexts in response to being pressured.

Indeed, in their typology of sexting, Wolak, with other researchers (Wolak & Finkelhor, 2011; Wolak et al., 2012) have emphasized the legal implications of sexting. They have proposed "aggravated" sexting which involves criminal or abusive elements of sexting and "experimental" sexting which does not imply any criminal or harmful intention in sexting. Aggravated sexting

involves elements of adults soliciting sexual images from minors, other instances of minors sending images to adults, or other illegal adult involvement, as well as elements of criminal or abusive behaviour by minors, such as sexual abuse, extortion, threats etc. In a case of experimental sexting, young people usually sext in order to create a romantic relationship or seek sexual attention.

Due to the growth of the sexting field, a closer look at the different types of sexting, their potential for use in research and practice is needed. In terms of understanding sexting categories, the description offered by the above-mentioned authors was created according to the subject depicted in the sexts or according to the aim behind the sexting behaviour. We believe that these authors have contributed significantly to conceptualization of sexting behaviour. However, we find important to incorporate and motivational aspect of sexting using theoretical framework and by summarizing numerous theoretical and empirically supported determinants of sexting into a smaller set of broad sexting conceptualization.

3.4. Literature review of theoretical models of sexting behaviour

Sexting is motivational behaviour and before proceeding to our conceptual framework of sexting typology it is necessary to review current theoretical models of sexting which can be grouped according to the two frames of understanding sexting: deviant or normal behaviour.

The most dominant models employed to explain sexting behavior as a deviant behavior have been criminological models (self-control and opportunity model). Self-control theoretical model (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) suggests that individuals possessing low self-control are more likely to engage in crime and delinquency. Considering in the light of sexting, those low on self-control are more prone to risk-seeking such as a sexting. Another criminological theory which can be applied to sexting is crime opportunity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cohen et al., 1981; Hindelang et al., 1978). This theory posits that the opportunity, arisen through lifetime experience of risky situations and activities, represent a fundamental element in the criminal or victimization acts. Theoretical rationale of opportunity perspective for sexting is that use of online technologies, time spent engaged in these activities, exposure to sexting, being in a romantic relationship, organizational membership (fraternities, sororities, athletic teams), heavy (binge) drinking, and drug use may facilitate engagement in sexting behavior (Reyns et al., 2014). Another theoretical model that reflects the idea of deviant behavior is social learning theory which postulates that deviant behavior is learned in the interaction and imitation of role models. Positive attitude toward sexting and perception that peers approve sexting behavior contribute to involvement in sexting outside of romantic relationship (Van Ouytsel et al., 2016).

Ploharz (2017) has used an evolutionary based approach to provide insight into the sexting behaviour among college students a normal behaviour. In terms of evolutionary theory (see Ploharz, 2017) sexting has been found to use to fulfil short term mating strategies, as a way to attract a mate. Individuals risk tolerance in the domain of mate attraction and their expectation on sexting outcome appears to be important in decision to engage in sexting. His data supported the evolution perspective of sexting as an adaptive behaviour. Recently, multiple goal theory has been utilized to explain sexting. Multiple goal explanation of sexting includes the idea that individuals attempt to have the multiple goals in their sexting interaction which may facilitate more or less desirable communication and other specific outcomes (see Harris, 2017). Those goals typically can be categorized into relational maintenance goal (intimacy and connection with one's relational partner), flirtation goal (desire to be seen as attractive playful, and fun), sexual solicitation goal (attempt to engage in sexual behaviour with the other person), and conversation goal (desire to engage in or reciprocate a sexual discussion with one's partner) (Harris, 2017).

The review of presented theoretical explanation of sexting suggests that most of the theories have sought to explain sexting and its definition independently using various elements of motivational mechanisms of sexting. They are quite distinctive, have not resulted in systematic research effort and have been influential as an approach to social, criminal or health-related problems.

Seeking to understand sexting behavior Sesar et al. (2019) recently offered a theoretical framework which integrates the numerous determinants of sexting that already exist in the literature. Authors found this theory uniquely positioned among other theories for conceptualization sexting typology since it postulates and systematically organized motivational determinants of sexting which are currently identified in the literature. According to this theoretical model of individual and contextual variables of motivation to sext, individual characteristics include demographic variables, cognitive variables and intimate relationship variables. Demographic variables refer to age and gender - boys and older youth experience more sexting than girls and younger youth. Cognitive variables are those related with positive attitudes towards sexting, possibility of gaining social emancipation and peer pressure among youth, which increases likelihood to engage in sexting. Intimate relationship variables are considered as feeling of pressure to sexts from partner, flirtation with the partner and desire to gain intimacy in relationship through sexting. Finally, contextual variables refer to cultural values to sexting. Cultural values are classified as "traditional" and "non-traditional". Traditional values

usually have been related with restrictive nature of sexuality and unequal gender roles promoting sexual passiveness of women and dominancy of men. However, non-traditional values refer to more sexual permissive behaviour with less pronounced gender roles in their expression of sexuality. According to model, the greater engagement in sexting could be predicted by less traditional values. Contextual variables do not directly contribute to engaging in sexting but have an indirect effect through the complex relationship between the individual variables and sexting.

3.4. New conceptualization of sexting typology

In this paper a sexting typology is proposed derived from the review of the existing literature on the topic of sexting and motivation for sexting. We did not develop new theoretical framework of sexting motivational behaviour since it was not ours intend to suggest new motivational factors in explaining sexting rather to organizes prior research into a diverse sexting typology. Within our typology we integrated theoretical assumptions of models viewing sexting as deviant and normal behaviour, as well as those of recently developed model by Sesar et al. (2019).

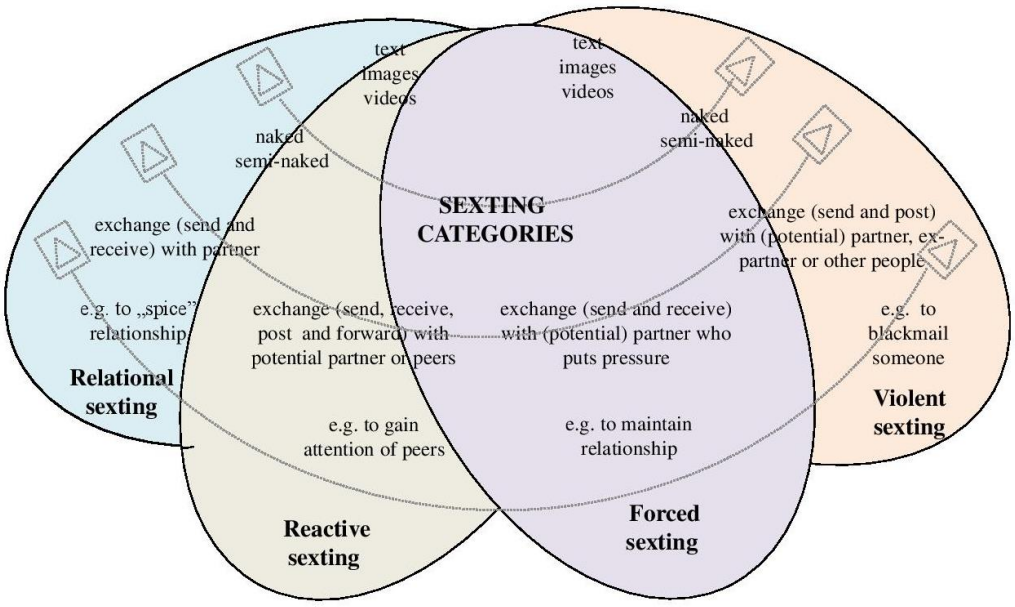
Our typology is partially based on crime opportunity theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cohen et al., 1981; Hindelang et al., 1978) by taking into account their assumption of using online Internet technology as a tool which enables youth to simply participate in sexting in order to maintain intimate relationship or gain attention from a partner. Assumption about positive attitudes towards sexting and peer influence was adopted from social learning theories (Van Ouytsel et al., 2016). From evolutionary theory (see Ploharz, 2017) we incorporate their assumption that youth participate in sexting in order to seduce a (potential)partner or gain his/her attention, and from multiple goal theory assumption about multiple motives and goals to participate in sexting rather than one motive were applied in developing sexting categories.

Furthermore, the model of Sesar et al. (2019) was used as a framework for structuring the various empirically supported motives into this specific conceptualization and definition of sexting. Like previous models, Sesar et al. (2019) argues of sexting as a motivational behaviour determined by multiple motives.

The model differs, however, by explaining only those motivational factors supported by empirical research. Indeed, authors expand on previous model by promoting the influence of cultural factors on sexting. They ignore personality traits since there is scant research linking sexting and personality traits, and a limited number of researchers has emerged inconsistent findings (Adetoal & Olanrewaju, 2015; Alonso & Romero, 2019; Delevi & Weisskirch, 2013;

Dir 2012; Dir et al., 2013b; Ferguson, 2011; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2017; Temple et al., 2014; Van Ouytsel et al., 2014). We also believe that it makes problematic to include personality traits if it is empirically and theoretical recognized that sexting varies across contexts. Inspired by this theoretical conception we were the first to propose conceptualisation of sexting while stressing the role of motivational and individual determinants. Focusing in pulling together multiple motivational factors that are supported by empirical evidence or postulated by existing theories, this models also forms part of "integrated theory". The elements of different empirical findings or theories are incorporated into one new structured framework which allows researchers and practitioners to understand the heterogeneity of sexting behaviour.

We offer taxonomy of four distinct forms of sexting: relational sexting, forced sexting, reactive sexting and violent sexting. We also suggest that different elements of sexting interact with the motivation to produce sexting behaviour. An overview of sexting categories and the associated examples of sexting motives can be found in Figure 1.



Relational sexting

Relational sexting involves individual efforts to sex in order to initiate or maintain intimacy and a relationship with a (potential) partner. The relational sexting viewpoint is rooted in a framework which positions sexting as a normal, healthy aspect of sexuality, intimacy and communication within a partner relationship (Döring, 2014; Hasinoff, 2013; Renfrow & Rollo, 2014). That is, what is typically termed sexting is thought to be a sign of love or trust towards a partner in an established relationship (Albury & Crawford, 2012; Delevi & Weisskirch, 2013; Döring, 2014; Ringrose et al., 2012; Weisskirch & Delevi, 2011). Temple and Choi (2014)

suggest that sexting may also reflect a message from young people that they want to initiate actual sexually behavior or their readiness for intimacy. Essentially, sexting is viewed as a vehicle through which young people gain the acceptance and attention of a potential partner (Lipmman & Campbell, 2014), or to pursue a sexual or romantic interest in someone with whom they want to begin a relationship (Englander, 2012; Lenhart, 2009; Henderson & Morgan, 2011; Kopecký, 2011).

This form of sexting is very often used to maintain intimacy during a time when the partners are physically separated (Albury & Crawford, 2012; Döring, 2012; Walker et al., 2013). Furthermore, it could be an alternative to more explicit physical sexual behaviour for those who do not wish to engage in sexual intercourse for medical or religious reasons. Although more research is needed in this field, some authors (Chalfen, 2009; Lippman & Campbell, 2014) state that young people sext because it allows them to express sexuality without putting them at further risk of unintended pregnancy or sexually transmittable diseases.

In terms of the elements that underlie sexting, young people engaged in relational sexting will receive sexts from (potential) partners or will send or be asked to send sexts to them. We propose that relational sexters will not engage in posting sexually explicit content on the Internet or forwarding it to others. From the perspective of media type and sexual content, young people will sext different contents (text, images or videos) with different degrees of sexuality (e.g. naked or semi-naked photos showing different body parts). In addition, individuals engaged in sexting by exchanging images will mostly share images of themselves.

Reactive sexting

Reactive responding can be viewed as an opportunistic form of sexting. Individuals, who engage in reactive sexting send, receive, post, or forward to others sexts with intent, as a form of self-expression, or to explore their identity by experimenting with their sexuality (Dir et al., 2013a; Lenhart 2009; Henderson & Morgan, 2011). However, when they engage in sexting, they see it as something fun and playful. Some authors state (e.g. Bond 2011; Cooper et al, 2016) that young people exchanging sexts, see it as a way of "relieving boredom", generating humour and gaining popularity' among their peers.

Girls may seek to sext to gain attention, popularity and acceptance from boys (Lipmann & Campbell, 2014; Ringorse et al., 2012; Walker et al., 2013; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014). Furthermore, adolescents state that they or their peers engage in sexting to show that they are desirable and attractive, as well as to compete in relation to whose body looks better or more attractive (Chalfen, 2009; Lenhart, 2009; Ringrose et al., 2012; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014). These motives indicate that sexting for some peers may represents a way of demonstrating their

physical attractiveness and success with cross-gender peers, which are well-known as important indicators of an individual's visibility or social prominence in the peer group (Closson, 2009; LaFontana & Cillessen, 2002).

Motivated by the desire to gain popularity and better status in the peer group, some adolescents may participate in this form of sexting although they are aware that sexts may be forwarded not only within the peer group but also wider, without their permission (Bond, 2011). For that reason they send sexually explicit content to their peers with whom they are not in a romantic relationship (Lenhart, 2009). It follows from this that sometimes adolescents abuse their peers by sending sexts of themselves (Bond, 2011; Lenhart, 2009; Ringrose et al., 2012), which is in line with popular coercive strategies used by adolescents to achieve social domination (Ahn et al., 2010; Closson, 2009).

This form of sexting may account for exchanges of all types of sexually explicit content with different degrees of sexuality (e.g. naked, semi-naked, nearly naked self-images, images of others etc.). Individuals do this consensually but the people who receive sexts have not always given consent for receiving such content.

Forced sexting

Previous research has found that young people sext because of pressure from partners or potential partners (Döring, 2012; Lippman & Campbell, 2014). In the context of romantic relationships, pressure often occurs in situations where one of the partners requires a person with whom she/he is intimate to send sexually explicit content, or even to participate in mutual exchanges of such content (Döring, 2012; Lippman & Campbell, 2014).

Some girls consent to 'unwanted' sexting, because they believe it is a type of 'sexual compliance' or the 'undesirable price' they must pay to maintain a good relationship (Drouin & Tobin, 2014; Lippman & Campbell, 2014; Renfrow & Rollo, 2014). Usually, girls experience more pressure to sext than boys (Lippman & Campbell, 2014; Ringroseet al., 2012; Walker et al., 2013; Walgrave et al., 2013).

Regarding the elements of sexting, both genders will participate in sending or receiving sexually explicit contents. Both groups of young people will exchange different types of sexts with different degree of sexuality.

Violent sexting

This category of sexting may best fit the "aggravated sexting" conceptualization offered by Wolak and Finkelhor (2011). They suggest that aggravated incidents involve additional criminal or abusive elements beyond the creation, sending or possession of sexual images produced by

young people. These elements are related to adults soliciting sexts from minors or minors sexting with adults, and abusive behaviour such as sexual abuse, extortion, deception or even exchanging images without the knowledge or against the will of minors who were photographed. In the case of our typology, we believe that violent sexting also includes all aspects of sexting with the intent to harm another person. According to the literature, sexting is often used as a tool for blackmailing young people (Kopecký, 2014) or even as a tool for revenge on ex-partners (Walker et al., 2013). This category of sexting usually represents harmful, but not criminal behaviour. In some circumstances, such as abuse or extortion, it could also be related to criminal behaviour.

Within this framework, the elements of sexting would include asking to send sexually explicit content or posting sexually explicit content on the Internet, or even forwarding the content to third persons without permission. The content and degree of sexuality of the content was postulated to be various.

4. Discussion

The current definitions of sexting in the literature refers to exchanged content, types of communication and levels of consensus, but our conceptualization incorporated and the fact that individuals sext in distinctive ways, driven by the interaction of various motives. Thus, sexting may have multiple motivations, and consideration of these motivations with the varied elements of sexting is aimed at advancing our understanding of sexting, and the resulting variations in its form. Our thinking regarding the different categories of sexting underlying motivational mechanism was influenced by the recent theoretical work of Sesar et al. (2019). We seem important to develop a taxonomy of sexting behaviour using a theory that integrates multiple determinants of sexting behaviour which are supported by empirical evidence. Empirical findings are immeasurably important in developing theory. The focus of this theory is grounded in the discussion "why" and "how" youth engage in sexting. We accepted Sesar et al. (2019) assumption of sexting as a function of motivation determined mostly by individual variables. However, we diverge from the proposed model in several aspects. First, we expand the theoretical model of motivation for sexting, encouraging discussion about the elements of sexting. Second, we consider sexting as a form of behaviour which has a variety of motivations resulting in different forms of sexting. Finally, we leave aside the contextual variables since these factors do not directly contribute to engaging in sexting but have an indirect effect through the complex relationship between the individual variables and sexting. These variables, which are most often insufficiently researched, may hinder understanding of the complex nature of the phenomenon of sexting.

The motivational dynamics underlying sexting behavior change in many circumstances, so we proposed sexting categories that are not static. Individuals' motives for sexting may change, depending on various circumstances, or they may even have multiple motives for sexting which clearly implies that one form of sexting can overlap with another form of sexting. For instance, sexting motivated by the desire to gain popularity with another person could be used with the primary intent of achieving an intimate relationship. This example suggests that the dynamics of sexting change from reactive to relational sexting behavior. A similar overlap may be evident between forced and reactive sexting, for example, when a person may seek attention through sexting due to peer pressure.

This sexting typology is important and different from other conceptualization because it views sexting from both normal and deviant perspective. Our framework offers a full characterization of sexting behaviour while still being parsimonious adding only of list of sexting antecedents present in the extant literature. The proposed typology of sexting behaviour is suitable for adolescents and youth adults. Motivation for sexting among adults, to our knowledge, has not yet been explored. Additional studies are needed to understand the motives for sexting among adults. Our conceptualization of sexting focuses specifically on the motivation to sext, and we recognize that a comprehensive understanding of sexting should be more complex. However, the narrow focus of our conceptualization enhances a more robust form of testing the empirically developed sexting categories.

5. Limitations

The present review must be qualified by several limitations. The limitations to our review are mostly related to the small number of studies assesses and due to it, as well as due to heterogeneity of data we could not conduct a review in a more rigorous manner using meta-analysis approach. Further, the literature research mainly obtained articles published to U.S. sample. However, sexting is a phenomenon which should be understand in the context of the culture which calls into the question proposed sexting categorization. Finally, we included studies which examined wide age range of sample, from teens to adults further limiting proposed sexting definition.

6. Conclusion

We believe that treating sexting as a unidimensional construct has led to contradictory findings from sexting research. Thus, we have proposed a typology that delineates sexting into four separate processes that reflect young people's motives for sexting. The current theory proposes that sexting motives stem from the perception of sexting as part of romantic relationships, social

status, or self-presentation, to a tool for violent behaviour. We believe that a multidimensional view of sexting should result in more accurate predictions of the prevalence and effects of sexting. We encourage future studies to expand and refine our definition of sexting. Hence, we encourage researchers to use qualitative data collected from participants involved in sexting for a deeper understanding of the model of distinct sexting typologies. For example, some preliminary insight into whether and how individuals engage in sexting could be provided using a verbal protocol analysis. Thus, verbal protocol analysis seems to us to be well suited for identifying the qualitatively various categories of sexting behaviours, as well as providing a more detailed description of each category.

The practical implication of this review demonstrated the necessity of inclusion current researches and theoretical findings in sexting operationalization. The integration of findings from different studies and reviews enabled us to make an overall conclusion about sexting definition and provide to other researchers and opportunity to test this conclusion. Findings from this review implicate that various form of sexting can exist and should be integrated into the research field, as well as into approach of assessment of the sexting in practical context.

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