Psychology of Violence

"Anything I Could Do to Not Have It Paralyze Me Was Welcome": Coping Strategies Employed by Survivors of Image-Based Sexual Abuse

Jaclyn A. Siegel, Abbey M. Miller, Michelle A. Krieger, and Asia A. Eaton

"Anything I Could Do to Not Have It Paralyze Me Was Welcome": Coping Strategies Employed by Survivors of Image-Based Sexual Abuse

Jaclyn A. Siegel[1, 2], Abbey M. Miller[2], Michelle A. Krieger[2], and Asia A. Eaton[2]
[1] Department of Psychology, San Diego State University
[2] Department of Psychology, Florida International University

Objective: Image-based sexual abuse (IBSA) is a form of technology-facilitated sexual violence in which intimate photos or videos are nonconsensually taken, shared, and/or threatened to be shared. The shift to fully virtual social interactions during the COVID-19 pandemic facilitated a spike in IBSA victimization during this time, and—with many organizations functioning at limited capacity—survivors had limited resources available to them to manage the distress associated with victimization. The purpose of this study was to understand the coping strategies used by diverse survivors of IBSA during the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States. ***Method:*** We conducted structured interviews using a trauma-informed approach. Using codebook thematic analysis, we analyzed the data from 36 survivors of IBSA during the pandemic ($M_{age} = 31.01$; two participants did not disclose age). The sample was diverse in terms of genders, races, and sexual orientations represented. ***Results:*** We identified five groups of coping strategies employed by participants: avoiding distressing feelings, reputational damage control, retaliatory sextortion, seeking emotional support, and pursuing justice. Many participants used multiple strategies to manage the distress associated with their IBSA victimization. ***Conclusions:*** Survivors of IBSA cope with their victimization in diverse ways, some of which have not been previously reported in coping strategies literature and may be unique to the experience of IBSA.

Keywords: sexual violence, image-based sexual abuse, cyber sexual violence, coping strategies, revenge porn

Image-based sexual abuse (IBSA) is a type of technology-facilitated sexual violence that involves "the nonconsensual creation and/or distribution of nude or sexual images and threats to distribute such images" (Eaton & McGlynn, 2020, p. 190). IBSA exists on a continuum of harm, alongside other forms of sexual and intimate partner violence (Eaton et al., 2021). IBSA constitutes a wide range of behaviors including, but not limited to, nonconsensual pornography (i.e., sending sexual images of someone without their consent), "deepfakes" (i.e., using artificial intelligence to create a sexualized image/video of someone), sextortion (i.e., threatening to share someone's nude or sexual images or videos), sexualized photoshopping (i.e., digital manipulation of pornographic images such that a victim's face is superimposed over the actor's face), and "upskirting/downblousing" (i.e., nonconsensually taking a photo under someone's clothes; Henry & Flynn, 2019).

IBSA was acknowledged by feminist scholars as early as the 1980s (Dworkin & MacKinnon, 1988). Yet, its rapid growth over the last 2 decades is staggering. In one study of over 6,000 adults in the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, 37.7% of participants had experienced at least one form of IBSA since the age of 16 (Powell et al., 2024). Victimization starts young,

with one study revealing that roughly 3% of a nationally representative sample of adolescents in Norway (Pedersen et al., 2023) and between 8% and 32% of randomly sampled adolescents in five European countries (Wood et al., 2015) had experienced IBSA. Studies have revealed that rates of IBSA have been on the rise since 2016 (Powell et al., 2020), making IBSA a troubling and increasingly prevalent element of the sexual violence landscape.

Despite the prevalence of IBSA, empirical research on the phenomenon is scant, and the covert and secretive nature of IBSA results in methodological challenges for studying it (for a review, see Paradiso et al., 2023). Notably, there is a dearth of validated measures for evaluating the prevalence of IBSA. Consequently, some of the existing research suggests that IBSA victimization is more common in girls and women than in men (Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020), some suggests that IBSA victimization is more common among men (Walker & Sleath, 2017), and other research suggests that IBSA victimization rates do not vary by gender (e.g., Pedersen et al., 2023; Powell & Henry, 2019). This may be due, in part, to measurement inconsistencies. However, this may also be a function of the specific form of IBSA under consideration. For example, women may be at greater risk for nonconsensual intimate image distribution (e.g., Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020) and "upskirting" (Hall et al., 2022), whereas men may be at greater risk for sextortion (e.g., Eaton et al., 2023; O'Malley & Holt, 2022). Given the various challenges of studying IBSA and the lacuna of research on this experience, developing the foundational literature on this phenomenon remains essential. In this study, we aimed to understand the coping strategies employed by survivors of IBSA.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Asia A. Eaton, Department of Psychology, Florida International University, 11200 SW 8th Street, DM 208, Miami, FL 33199, United States. Email: aeaton@fiu.edu

Impact of IBSA

Research on IBSA is quickly growing, with literature consistently revealing that IBSA victimization is associated with adverse psychological outcomes. A large survey of American adults revealed that victims of IBSA reported significantly worse mental health outcomes compared to nonvictims (Eaton et al., 2017), and research has revealed that IBSA victimization is associated with significantly higher levels of distress than other forms of technology-facilitated abuse, such as online sexual harassment (Champion et al., 2022). Research on the mental health consequences of IBSA has revealed that IBSA victimization is associated with depression, paranoia, anxiety, low self-esteem, loss of confidence, sense of worthlessness, self-harm, self-blame, and suicidal thoughts and behaviors (Bates, 2017; Huber, 2023). In interviews with survivors of IBSA, participants reported that IBSA was like "torture for the soul" (McGlynn et al., 2021, p. 557). Participants described a fear that their reputations had been permanently damaged, fear of revictimization or others learning of their abuse, ruptures to their sense of self and interpersonal relationships, fear of existing in public spaces and online, and social withdrawal out of embarrassment or shame. Other survivors have described the experience as "life ruining" (Henry et al., 2023, p. 867) and like they had been split "into two separate people" (Henry et al., 2023, p. 867).

The consequences of IBSA victimization also extend to the physical and interpersonal domains. Some survivors report physical consequences, such as weight loss and sickness, difficulty concentrating at work and school, and harmful behaviors like increased alcohol use (Champion et al., 2022; Huber, 2023). The impacts of IBSA can have direct and indirect negative consequences for survivors, some of which may contribute to long-term educational, interpersonal, and economic disadvantages (Espinoza, 2015). Some people report restricting the space they take up in the world for periods of time after they learn of their victimization, avoiding areas where they knew their perpetrator might be, or deleting social media accounts (Huber, 2023; O'Malley, 2023).

Coping With IBSA

To our knowledge, only one study to date has explored the ways that survivors cope with IBSA victimization. A recent study by O'Malley (2023) examined over 3,000 posts from a popular forum for survivors of sextortion. Posters reported three primary forms of coping: confiding in trusted others, staying offline, and seeking professional mental health care. This scholarship lays the groundwork for understanding IBSA coping; however, this work focuses only on the experiences of those who have been victimized by sexual extortion, one of the few types of IBSA that predominantly affects men (Eaton et al., 2023; O'Malley & Holt, 2022), and these data were collected from an online forum, data from which is unlikely to generalize to the larger population of survivors. Therefore, additional research on IBSA coping strategies is warranted.

Research on coping with in-person forms of sexual violence suggests that survivors can use approach coping or avoidance coping strategies. Avoidance coping may include denial, disengagement, and fantasizing, whereas approach coping involves choosing active strategies to address the distress, such as seeking counseling or engaging with support groups (Littleton & Breitkopf, 2006). However, some of these strategies may not be effective or available

to those victimized by online sexual violence. For example, domestic violence shelters and related organizations may not be equipped to help survivors of online sexual violence. In addition, during the COVID-19 pandemic, social supports including family, friends, and community members became more difficult to access. Furthermore, survivors of IBSA may be hesitant to connect with others about their experiences out of fear that others might seek out or further spread the images. For these reasons, in the present study, we sought to inductively examine the coping strategies used by diverse survivors of IBSA during COVID-19 in the United States, without making assumptions about coping strategies that have been identified in previous research on in-person sexual abuse.

The Present Study

In this study, we aimed to: (a) build on the limited literature base exploring the experiences of survivors of IBSA and (b) develop a foundational understanding of the coping strategies employed by survivors of IBSA. Given that our approach was inductive in nature, we did not test explicit hypotheses with this approach.

Method

Participants

The initial sample was composed of 42 participants; however, we were not able to confirm the veracity of six participants' stories due to inconsistencies or failure to report IBSA victimization (e.g., instead reporting an experience of online sexual harassment). Fraudulent responses are increasingly common using online recruitment strategies (see Teitcher et al., 2015); therefore, we took a conservative approach and included only the experiences of participants whose stories were generally consistent and thorough. We discuss the potential limitations of this approach in the Discussion section.

Our final sample consisted of 36 participants who had experienced IBSA during the COVID-19 pandemic. Two participants did not report any demographic information. However, among the 34 participants who reported age, the average age was 31.01, and the standard deviation was 8.12. The sample was composed of 19 men, 15 women (three of whom identified as transgender women[1]), and two participants whose gender was unknown. Seventeen participants identified as Black/Caribbean Black/African, 11 participants identified as White, three participants identified as Latino/a or Hispanic, two participants identified as Asian, and one identified as mixed/other race; two participants did not disclose their race. The sample was primarily composed of individuals who identified as heterosexual ($n = 22$). However, some participants identified as bisexual ($n = 5$), gay ($n = 4$), lesbian ($n = 2$), and other ($n = 1$).

Procedure

Participants were recruited through several methods. Most participants (70%) were recruited from an earlier quantitative study on cyber sexual violence (Eaton et al., 2023). In this survey-based online study of over 2,000 U.S. adults, participants were recruited

---

[1] Participants selected a category that was most appropriate for them. The "woman" category did not specify cisgender or transgender; however, the "transgender woman" category specified. Therefore, it is possible that women participants who identified as women were also transgender.

from Qualtrics panels using proportional quota sampling. Those participants who reported being victimized by IBSA during COVID-19 had the opportunity to enter their email addresses at the end of the survey to be contacted about their potential participation in the current qualitative study. The remaining participants (30%) were recruited using snowballing, social media posts, and the Cyber Civil Rights Initiative listserv. All participants self-identified as age 18 years old or older, living in the United States, and being the survivor of IBSA during the COVID pandemic.

Eligible participants were contacted by a research coordinator via email and assigned a trained interviewer who corresponded with the interviewee about preferred interview times. All seven interviewers were women who had received training in trauma-informed interviewing and qualitative interviewing. All interviews were conducted and recorded via Zoom. Interviewees chose a pseudonym that was used for the duration of the interview. Consistent with best practices in trauma-informed interviewing (Isobel, 2021), before the consent procedure, participants were screened for suicidality. For those participants who did not report thoughts of self-harm, the interviewer proceeded to review the consent form with the participants. The interview began upon receiving consent from the participant. At the end of the interview, all participants were debriefed, including being provided with a support sheet containing contact information for support hotlines and online resources should the interview have caused them distress. Participants received a $30 Amazon gift card in appreciation of their participation.

All interviews were initially transcribed using Otter.ai and then reviewed by research assistants to correct any errors. Interviews were structured in nature and lasted from 13 min to 95 min, with most lasting between 30 and 45 min in length. Some participants shared limited information about their experiences, but others—particularly those whose victimization had gone on for longer or those who had engaged with the criminal justice system—spoke for longer. However, all participants were asked the same set of questions. We aimed for consistency across interviewees by encouraging interviewers not to deviate too far from the interview schedule. Probes and clarifying questions were allowed. The interview spanned topics including, but not limited to, the IBSA experienced, coping strategies, and recommended structural solutions. Our sample size determination was grounded in the principle of *information power* (Malterud et al., 2016). Specifically, our study aim was quite narrow, the dialogue quality was strong, and we used a cross-case analysis. However, we did not rely on established theory, and we wanted to include participants from a variety of backgrounds with diverse IBSA experiences (Malterud et al., 2016). As such, we aimed to recruit until we had sufficient information to draw meaningful conclusions about IBSA from a diverse participant pool.

Analytic Strategy

Data were coded as per the tenets of codebook thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2022). Codebook approaches to thematic analysis employ a codebook early in theme development, with themes often reflecting topic summaries (Braun & Clarke, 2022). We took a bottom-up, inductive approach to data coding and identified semantic themes, meaning that themes were interpreted through their explicit or surface meanings (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Our epistemological approach to the data was critical realist in nature.

We followed the six general steps of thematic analysis, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Given the importance of trustworthiness in qualitative research (Nowell et al., 2017), we employed specific trustworthiness strategies suggested by Nowell et al. (2017). We first familiarized ourselves with the data by reading through each of the transcripts in their entirety. We read again, specifically rereading the portion of the interview transcript that focused on how participants dealt with learning of their victimization. During this phase, we started taking initial notes and discussing general ideas about the shape of the data. We then identified our initial codes, which were data-driven. As suggested by Nowell et al. (2017), we maintained an audit trail throughout our coding decisions to keep track of the ways our understanding of the data changed throughout the coding process. After an initial round of coding, we reorganized codes into higher order themes and created a preliminary codebook with themes, subthemes, and definitions. When we revisited the data, trying to apply this codebook, we adjusted the labels and grouping of themes to best reflect participants' experiences. Although the changes at this stage were not extensive, we maintained clear documentation in our notes about the ways that our codebook shifted to more accurately capture participants' motivations for employing specific coping strategies (Nowell et al., 2017). After applying the revised codebook to the data and identifying exemplary quotes, we defined and named our themes and wrote our report.

Positionality

Given that the social location of the research team has the potential to influence the ways that data is analyzed, collected, and presented (Yeh & Inman, 2007), it is important that qualitative researchers locate themselves in relation to their analyses. The data analysis team consisted of four cisgender, White women with academic training in psychology. We bring varying ages, educational statuses, sexual orientations, and experiences of sexual violence into the research process with us. As a team with diverse topical expertise (e.g., image-based sexual abuse, feminist activism, mental health) and diverse professional experiences (e.g., industry work, advocacy, and academic research), we bring varied skill sets and perspectives into this research. Through discussions with the team over several months, the multiple lenses through which we view this data have converged on an analysis that reflects and incorporates our perspectives. We acknowledge that we offer a partial perspective on this data, and we encourage other researchers—especially men and people of color—to continue bringing diverse perspectives to this scholarship.

Results

Most participants employed various coping strategies to manage the distress associated with learning that they had been victimized by IBSA. However, the coping strategies in which participants engaged could largely be categorized by five underlying motivations: avoidance, reputational damage control, retaliation, support, and justice. Below, we provide a more comprehensive summary of our analysis (for a table with themes, subthemes, and exemplary quotes see Table 1).

Table 1
Themes, Subthemes, Definitions, and Additional Exemplary Quotes for Codebook Thematic Analysis

Theme	Subtheme	Definition	Exemplary quote
Avoiding distressing feelings	Distraction	Coping through behaviors to avoid thinking about IBSA experience	I didn't—I didn't want to, again, I did not have the distractions of normal life around me so it was it was important that I dive into my work and not dwell on [sic] the harassment situation, because at that time, I've recently had a court settlement happen now, but at that time it was um very raw still and so anything I could do to not have it paralyze me was welcome. (Anonymous)
	Substance use	Coping through using alcohol to avoid thinking about IBSA experience	I started drinking like taking more alcohol than I was a bit before to be able to help me forget about the past. (Shadow)
	Social withdrawal	Coping through isolation and removal from social/online life	Isolated myself. I was shy. I didn't want to meet any of my peers who saw the pictures. Yeah, generally I can say it affected my- my social life. (Willy)
Reputational damage control		Coping through removing images from the internet	Alright, first thing we did was to take down the pictures to remove them from the media. Of course, the damage had already been done, because some people who are not supposed to see and how the pictures that already seen them, so we had to delete most of them. And explaining to those people who are close to me what happened. (Martin)
Retaliatory IBSA		Coping through threatening the perpetrator with IBSA	At first when I told I, when I actually said I wasn't gonna do it and it started resulting into blackmail. It started coming out, you know, little, little tiny little payments. Then, I think they got to a point where I could no longer keep up. So it was at that point upon or that okay. I have to like, you know, kind of push back. I was like okay what's up if you want to go online, if you want to go viral with my posts, I have photos of you as well. (A)
Seeking emotional support	Disclosure to family and friends	Coping through revealing IBSA experience to trusted friends, partners, and family	I told my brother. No, I didn't tell an organization. I only told my brother and I told him not to tell anyone, so we kept it between ourselves. (John Clark)
	Participation in virtual forums and communities	Coping through reading and sharing IBSA experience online to get support/advice	Yeah, it's just this group on Reddit that I joined. Yeah. And um, like I said I'm kind of a loner so I like to talk to people online instead of like go out and, you know? But I kind of just talked to a couple of other girls who had had the same thing happen to them, you know. Just kind of—this is when it initially happened because I was just so overwhelmed and mad and sad and … you know you go through the series of feelings. (Michelle)
	Professional help seeking	Coping through talking to doctors or therapists	I would actually say my biggest support was my therapist … she was one who I'd actually talked to, because she's trained, because she knows how to word things, because she knows how to say whatever. (Yvonne)
Pursuing justice	Reporting to authorities	Coping through working with a lawyer or other justice-focused agency	I have a lawyer now so dealing with the legal system in a positive way now. (Jessica)
	Going public	Coping through sharing experience with media or social media	I had publications who included my story and-and like I went public and that was with the help of the [redacted] from the Cyber Civil Rights Legal Project … but that ended up being a really empowering good experience (Nikki)

Note. IBSA = image-based sexual abuse.

Avoiding Distressing Feelings

Given the distressing feelings that may arise upon learning of IBSA victimization, it is unsurprising that some participants engaged in coping strategies that involved *avoiding distressing feelings.* These strategies were largely characterized by a desire to stifle the intense emotions that arose from learning about the abuse. Within this theme, we identified three subthemes: distraction, substance use, and social withdrawal.

Some participants reported engaging in behaviors to distract themselves from the feelings associated with their IBSA victimization. As one participant, Anonymous, mentioned:

> [Due to the pandemic] I did not have the distractions of normal life around me, so it was it was important that I dive into my work and not dwell on the harassment situation, because at that time—I've recently had a court settlement happen now, but at that time it was very raw still, and so anything I could do to not have it paralyze me was welcome.

Participants in this sample distracted themselves in various ways. Like Anonymous, some participants reported that they distracted themselves with work. Others reported distraction through reading books, playing sports, listening to music, watching movies or television, working out, watching YouTube, and scrolling through TikTok. Although these strategies did not address the underlying emotions associated with their victimization, participants noted that the feelings associated with victimization were so intense that they were grateful for anything that could bring them even a few moments of relief.

Some participants channeled their energies into supporting other survivors of IBSA, which we call "meaningful distraction." One participant who engaged in meaningful distraction was Yvonne, who had returned to school after her victimization to write a thesis on improving the culture for women in her organization. She explained, "I'm actually devoting my thesis to—ultimately, ultimately, I want to improve the culture for women in [her field] but that can look any which way, and I'm working through that right now." For participants who engaged in meaningful distraction, working to improve the lives of others helped them to make meaning of their experiences. For example, Jessica explained that she had thrown herself into work, which was related to cybersecurity. She shared:

> That has also been a source of support, both for people who I've met through those experiences and just the work itself has been rewarding, sometimes very difficult, and I've had to, at times, kind of step away from it, because my own experience was still so fresh, or even, at times, kind of ongoing. … It was also … a positive way for me to try and channel some of the pain that I was feeling, and the pain that I had experienced to try and do something positive with it.

Some participants coped through substance use, particularly alcohol use. Two participants indicated that they noticed themselves drinking more heavily following their victimization. One participant, Chad, explained, "There was a time I tried [coping] through alcohol. … It was related, it actually—it's the one that led to it, because before, I was not an addict, and after the trauma—it led me into drinking more alcohol." By using substances, participants blocked out the thoughts and memories associated with their victimization.

Some participants indicated that they withdrew from their social and online circles as a way of avoiding reminders of their abuse or to simply avoid speaking about their victimization. Some participants withdrew from their social lives, expressing that they had less interest in seeing friends and colleagues. As Willy put it, "I just didn't want to see anyone. My self-esteem was really low. I was ashamed." This social withdrawal ranged from spending less time with friends to physically moving out of the state. For others, however, withdrawal came in the form of social media avoidance. By isolating themselves from social situations, participants were able to avoid the topic being brought up by others or being reminded of their victimization online.

Reputational Damage Control

For some participants, actively mitigating the potential for adverse consequences associated with their victimization was an essential coping strategy. The primary way that participants engaged in *reputational damage control* was through the deletion of the IBSA (on their own or with the use of a paid service). For participants who were able, some either deleted photos or videos or paid a professional service to apply the Digital Millennium Copyright Act to have the photos taken down. For some, addressing the perpetrator directly and asking for the photos to be taken down was their first line of defense; however, this strategy was usually unsuccessful. Some participants were able to delete the photos themselves or report them to social media and have them taken down. Others paid to have the content removed. Participants often referred to the use of this service as "Digital Millennium Copyright Act takedowns." One participant, Leah, explained, "I found that service very helpful because every hour they spent doing that instead of me was an hour where I wasn't panicking and being re-traumatized." The photos being taken down reduced the likelihood of others seeing the abuse, thereby protecting her from further reputational harm.

Retaliatory Sextortion

Upon learning of their victimization, some participants retaliated against their abuser. We refer to this as *retaliatory sextortion*, as participants sought to "get back at" their abuser by threatening to share the images. Though, according to participants, they did not actually intend to post the photos. Given that IBSA often happens in the context of romantic or sexual relationships, the survivor of the initial abuse sometimes also had intimate images of the abuser. This "quench-fire-with-fire" (V) approach involved the survivor of IBSA threatening to release nude pictures or videos of the abuser. One participant, V, explained:

> [My friend] said I, too, should you know, kinda like threaten her just the same way she did threaten me, so, you know post [her] nudes and you know, sex videos online, just the same way. I, too, have a couple of her friends you know, as friends, and I think after I sent that, I think she never, you know, mentioned that again.

Although this strategy was not common (endorsed by three participants, notably all male), it was a novel approach that has not yet been articulated in previous research literature on IBSA.

Seeking Emotional Support

Participants also coped by *seeking emotional support*. Support-based coping strategies included reaching out to others to manage the feelings associated with their IBSA. We identified several subthemes within this broader category of responses: disclosure to friends and family, participation in virtual communities, and professional help seeking.

The most common way in which participants sought emotional support was through disclosure to friends and family. Disclosures were often made to friends, present significant others, siblings, parents, teammates, coworkers, and pastors. Participants explained that they limited their disclosures because they felt ashamed, out of fear of judgement from others, or anxiety that others would see the images that were shared. Some participants reported that the people close to them in their lives were able to provide emotional support or practical advice for coping with their victimization. However, when participants were blamed or otherwise judged for their disclosure, they were less likely to share their experiences with others. For example, Camille explained:

> If I tell like the people I'm close to, they don't get it. They'll ignore me or if I tell, like the guys that I'm seeing because I get so upset about it,

they think that I'm angry at them and then we usually break up, so I just stopped telling anyone because it serves no purpose.

Some participants sought support from the people close to them. Others turned to internet communities to read others' stories and connect with those who had experienced similar abuse without revealing their identity. Participants sought support on social media sites such as Reddit, Quora, and Facebook. Given that there is no centralized network of IBSA survivors, joining these communities and sharing their stories allowed participants to find others who had gone through similar trauma and learn how they had managed the situation. However, some participants ultimately decided to leave these groups when being on social media was regarded as putting them at risk for future revictimization.

Finally, some participants shared that they sought emotional support through professional help seeking. Most participants who had responses in this category shared that they had spoken with a therapist or counselor; however, others disclosed that they had spoken with doctors to get medication for managing the symptoms of depression and anxiety or called IBSA survivor hotlines. Participants reported a range of experiences with counselors, with some noting that their therapists—especially those who had specific expertise in trauma— were the most helpful resources for coping with their victimization. For example, Yvonne explained, "I would actually say my biggest support was my therapist … she was one who I'd actually talked to, because she's trained, because she knows how to word things, because she knows how to say whatever." However, for others, therapy was unhelpful, particularly when therapy was financially burdensome or when a therapist left or changed practices. Two participants whose abusers also engaged in in-person harassment also went to domestic violence shelters to seek support.

Pursuing Justice

The final theme we identified in participants' discussion of their coping strategies was pursuing justice. Justice-based coping strategies involved actions taken by the victim to hold the perpetrator accountable, specifically reporting to authorities and going public. For some, like Liyah, reporting to authorities was effective in stopping the situation. Liyah explained, "The police department, they were able to help out. The court was able to help out, you know, getting the restraining order. Those were really the only thing that helped stop that situation." Laws surrounding IBSA vary by state, and participants had diverse experiences reporting to the police. Some shared that the police either did not take the report seriously or explained that there was nothing they could do about it. Even when authorities did intervene, sometimes the intervention was ineffective. For example, Liyah shared that although she had made police reports, her abuser "just wasn't caring about no paper." This participant explained that she considered working with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). However, she explained, "When I asked [the FBI] if they could protect my location and identity from being revealed to my abuser, they said that they could not guarantee that. And without that guarantee, I chose not to pursue action with the FBI." Other legal interventions pursued included cease and desist orders and restraining orders.

Finally, some participants coped with their abuse by going public with their stories and experiences. Participants who "went public" with their stories did so in big and small ways, from sharing their experiences on social media to sharing their experiences with major news outlets. One participant, Nikki, explained:

I did a feature on [major news outlet]. … I was featured in that multiple part like investigative report, and so I went global with my story. … I went public and that was with the help of [name redacted] from the Cyber Civil Rights Legal Project … that ended up being a really empowering good experience.

Discussion

IBSA victimization is associated with a variety of adverse consequences, ranging from depression and anxiety (Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020) to suicidal thoughts (Smith & O'Malley, 2023). In our analysis of coping strategies employed by diverse survivors of IBSA, we identified five themes: avoiding distressing feelings, reputational damage control, retaliatory sextortion, support seeking, and pursuing justice. Participants often used various strategies in tandem to cope with the distress associated with their victimization. Below, we summarize the major findings and discuss their relations with prior literature on the subject.

The first theme we identified was avoiding distressing feelings. These strategies primarily included the use of distraction (with some pursuing meaningful distraction), substance use, and social withdrawal. Our finding that survivors of IBSA may cope through substance use is consistent with literature showing that many survivors of IBSA report problematic alcohol use (Champion et al., 2022; Eaton et al., 2023). Avoidance-based coping strategies can temporarily reduce immediate distress, but research suggests that avoidant coping strategies are associated with physical and emotional stress, anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder among survivors of in-person intimate partner, domestic, and sexual violence (Street et al., 2005).

Some participants engaged in strategies to mitigate reputational harm by attempting to reduce the number of people who might see the abuse or avoid revictimization. It is understandable that survivors of IBSA might want to delete the abuse from their computers, but the Cyber Civil Rights Initiative suggests that preserving evidence, rather than deleting it, is essential to pursuing justice in the legal system (Cyber Civil Rights, 2023). However, it is important to note that justice for survivors may not only include seeking penalties for the perpetrator via the criminal justice system, but may also include recognition, consequences, voice, and dignity (McGlynn & Westmarland, 2018). Some participants engaged in retaliatory sextortion to prevent their abuser from blackmailing them or posting their photos again. Although participants reported that this strategy was effective for ending their abuse, given that sextortion is a form of IBSA, this strategy is also illegal. Given that the potential ramifications of certain forms of IBSA may be more severe for women than for men (Ruvalcaba & Eaton, 2020), the effectiveness of this strategy for women survivors of IBSA is unclear.

Commonly, participants reported seeking social support from friends and family either in person or online, via online communities, and through counseling or therapy. These findings are consistent with O'Malley's (2023) recent findings that survivors of financial sextortion often confide in trusted friends and family and talk to mental health professionals, as well as Rubinsky et al.'s (2023) research on disclosure of IBSA to romantic partners. Disclosure and social support have been shown to buffer the effects of in-person sexual violence on negative psychological outcomes among women

(Catabay et al., 2019). However, additional literature has shown that this is generally only true for individuals whose disclosures are met with positive responses (see Sylaska & Edwards, 2014, for a review).

Participants reported that, when their disclosures were met with disbelief or judgment, they were less likely to share with others. The disclosure decision in instances of IBSA is complicated by the fact that survivors may fear that those whom they reach out to for support may later seek out the photos or videos of their abuse. Indeed, participants commonly reported that they limited the number of people to whom they disclosed out of fear of others seeing the images. It is perhaps for these reasons that some participants reached out to online communities of survivors—to avoid unnecessary disclosures to those close to them and potential negative reactions. Given that some participants indicated that they found support online, yet some survivors elect to avoid online spaces out of fear of revictimization (O'Malley, 2023), establishing safe online communities for survivors of IBSA is an important endeavor. Finally, some participants sought out professional help through therapists or medical doctors.

Some participants also sought justice by reporting to authorities or going public with their experiences. At the time of this writing, there is not a federal law criminalizing IBSA in the United States (Cyber Civil Rights, 2023). The legal landscape for IBSA survivors is therefore contingent upon the state in which they live when the IBSA takes place and the type of abuse they experience. Given rapid advances in technology, it is unsurprising that police often have a limited understanding of legislation surrounding IBSA (Bond & Tyrell, 2021). Barriers remain in place to appropriate police responding to IBSA, ranging from variability in state laws to victim blame to a general lack of knowledge about IBSA (Bond & Tyrell, 2021; Henry et al., 2018). However, it is also important to note that the criminal justice system routinely fails survivors of in-person and online sexual violence (see Murphy-Oikonen et al., 2022), so the establishment of new laws is only one piece of the puzzle in addressing IBSA and supporting survivors.

Participants also pursued justice by sharing their experiences publicly. Public disclosure of sexual violence is often seen as a healing experience by survivors, as it allows them to adopt an activist identity and reclaim their narrative (Gundersen & Zaleski, 2021); however, it also has the potential to be retraumatizing (Gueta et al., 2020). In our sample, participants who did so indicated that their public disclosure was "empowering" or helpful.

Limitations

This study had several strengths, but it is not without its limitations. First, our sample was not necessarily representative of the broader IBSA survivor landscape. For example, although our sample was quite diverse, our collection and interpretation of this data are limited by our recruitment approach. Participants in this study often revealed that they avoided social media, so our social media recruitment was likely not as far-reaching as we might have hoped. Next, we followed the recommendations of Teitcher et al. (2015) in removing participants whose stories were egregiously inconsistent; however, trauma survivors do not always share clear, thorough stories of their experiences. Therefore, it is possible that our conservative approach inadvertently omitted the data from participants who were otherwise eligible. Second, participants in this study had diverse IBSA experiences, ranging from sextortion to nonconsensual pornography, but different coping strategies are likely employed by people victimized by different IBSA tactics. In addition, while this study explored the types of coping strategies used by survivors, we could not test the effectiveness of these strategies. There is an expansive body of literature on the effectiveness of coping strategies used by survivors of in-person violence; however, it is unclear whether these findings easily map onto the experiences of survivors of IBSA, given that IBSA is a public experience with an ever-present threat of revictimization and few opportunities for justice. Finally, male participants may have chosen to share less information with female interviewers than they might have with individuals who had identities that were more similar to their own (e.g., Kane & Macaulay, 1993).

Future Research Directions

Our findings build on existing literature examining diverse coping strategies used by survivors of IBSA (see O'Malley, 2023). Although this is an important step toward understanding this experience, more research is needed to continue to fill the gaps in our collective understanding of IBSA. Future research should explore different coping strategies used by survivors of different types of abuse and the experiences of IBSA in more diverse populations more generally. Quantitative research with larger samples of IBSA survivors will allow for the examination of patterns of response to different types of abuse (e.g., perhaps people who experience sextortion may be more likely to use retaliatory sextortion than those who experience nonconsensual pornography).

Furthermore, researchers may wish to explore what justice would look like to survivors of IBSA. Given that the consequences of experiencing IBSA are qualitatively distinct from those of experiencing in-person sexual violence (see McGlynn et al., 2021), survivors of IBSA may perceive justice distinctly, as well. For example, justice for survivors of IBSA may include confirmation that the photos can never be shared online again, or that perpetrators are required to receive education on the harms of IBSA.

Researchers and practitioners may wish to explore restorative and transformative models of justice for IBSA (Amatta, 2018). Restorative justice refers to repairing the harm done to the victim/survivor, providing opportunities for the victim/survivor and offender(s) to discuss the impact of the harm, and determining the desired steps necessary to meet the victim/survivor's needs (Frederick & Lizdas, 2009). In the case of IBSA, rather than a blanket punishment or reparation for all perpetrators, each victim/survivor could determine the appropriate restorative steps for themselves based on their needs and specific harms incurred. For example, legal scholars have argued that the burden placed on survivors of IBSA for litigating IBSA is unappealing and that imprisoning IBSA offenders may ironically exacerbate their antisocial behavior (Hamilton, 2018). Therefore, the pursuit of IBSA remedies more meaningful and useful to the survivor and society, such as holding the perpetrator accountable for attitude and behavioral change, may be preferable to legal solutions.

Transformative justice, on the other hand, views crime as a community issue and encourages mediation and community circles to address conflict (Nocella, 2011). For example, research with young victims of peer-based IBSA finds that reporting to adults and legal recourse are undesirable, and alternative strategies for pursuing justice might include peer education and intervention (Dodge & Lockhart, 2022). Researchers should consider the potential role of

transformational or restorative justice—what this would look like and how survivors might respond to it—for addressing IBSA in future research.

Future researchers should also explore the effectiveness of different coping strategies employed by survivors of IBSA. Our analysis did not allow us to determine longitudinal outcomes of using specific coping strategies. We encourage future researchers to also consider diverse approaches to recruitment and the use of increasingly diverse research teams.

Finally, we strongly encourage interventionists to consider developing programming for educating people about IBSA and other forms of technology-facilitated sexual abuse. Most in-person sexual violence prevention programs administered at universities and high schools focus on in-person sexual harassment and violence. However, in the new technological and social media landscape, technology-facilitated abuse may be as prevalent, if not more so, than in-person sexual violence. Programs such as social norms campaigns or dissonance-based programs may aid in the prevention of IBSA and technology-facilitated sexual abuse moving forward.

Prevention, Clinical, and Policy Implications

Our findings have several practical implications for survivors of IBSA, as well as loved ones and professionals who may work with survivors of IBSA. For survivors of IBSA, it may be comforting and/or useful to learn about the ways that others have coped and healed from IBSA victimization. Given that some participants expressed that they turned to online message boards or communities of support to hear about others' experiences and how they managed them, this scholarship may serve a similar function for survivors. We hope that this article will provide alternatives to avoidance-based coping strategies for survivors and empower them with resources that can offer them guidance and support (e.g., Cyber Civil Rights Initiative, https://StopNCII.org).

These findings also have implications for individuals who learn that their loved ones have been subjected to IBSA. Participants in this study sought support through a variety of different sources, and disclosures to friends and family were common. Learning that someone has been victimized by IBSA may be distressing, but it is important to believe and respond positively to the survivor. In one study of responses to online disclosures of sexual violence, the most common types of responses were supportive, admonishing others, jokes and minimization, advice (including unsolicited advice), and further sexual harassment (Krieger, 2017). Those who are trusted with disclosures of sexual violence should consider providing supportive responses that do not pry into the details of the situation. In the Krieger (2017) study, providing tangible aid and resources was the least common type of response; however, providing resources and encouraging survivors to engage in active coping strategies may support their well-being.

Therapists and counselors should know about the increasing prevalence of diverse forms of technology-facilitated sexual violence, including IBSA, to support survivors of this abuse. Although therapists working with survivors of in-person abuse may feel that they have expertise in supporting survivors, they should still take the time to educate themselves about new forms of abuse, such as deepfakes, to stay up-to-date on language and recognize the unique ways in which this type of harm can feel constant and unavoidable. Some of the impacts of technology-facilitated sexual violence are similar to those of in-person sexual violence, but there are elements of the experience that are meaningfully different, such as a constant fear that images will be reposted and restricted capacity to engage with online spaces (McGlynn et al., 2021). Counselors should know that survivors of IBSA may feel that they cannot share their experiences with others, particularly if their disclosures have been met with negative responses or blame in the past. Understanding that survivors may be engaging in avoidance-based strategies can help therapists to encourage more active coping strategies.

Law enforcement is encouraged to provide empathetic responses, instill confidence in the survivor that the officer takes the crime seriously, and treat the survivor with dignity and respect. Responding in this way has been found to reduce the mental health impacts of in-person crime victimization (Elliott et al., 2014). Some research has found that survivors are reluctant to report technology-facilitated violence to the police and that survivors report overwhelmingly negative responses when they do (Flynn et al., 2023). To encourage reporting and provide a safer environment for survivors, police should be up-to-date on the laws surrounding IBSA so that they may be able to appropriately support survivors. Although it may be hard to keep up with the shifting landscape of IBSA laws, police may be survivors' first line of defense. Police officers should also take these concerns seriously and work with survivors to pursue justice in whatever way is most appropriate for them.

References

Amatta, J. (2018). Ending sexual violence through transformative justice. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Partnership Studies*, *5*(1), 1–38. https://doi.org/10.24926/ijps.v5i1.915

Bates, S. (2017). Revenge porn and mental health: A qualitative analysis of the mental health effects of revenge porn on female survivors. *Feminist Criminology*, *12*(1), 22–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085116654565

Bond, E., & Tyrell, K. (2021). Understanding revenge pornography: A national survey of police officers and staff in England and Wales. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *36*(5–6), 2166–2181. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518760011

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). Conceptual design thinking for thematic analysis. *Qualitative Psychology*, *9*(1), 3–26. https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000196

Catabay, C. J., Stockman, J. K., Campbell, J. C., & Tsuyuki, K. (2019). Perceived stress and mental health: The mediating roles of social support and resilience among black women exposed to sexual violence. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, *259*, 143–149. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2019.08.037

Champion, A. R., Oswald, F., Khera, D., & Pedersen, C. L. (2022). Examining the gendered impacts of technology-facilitated sexual violence; A mixed-methods approach. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *51*(3), 1607–1624. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-021-02226-y

Cyber Civil Rights. (2023). *Legislative reform*. https://cybercivilrights.org/legislative-reform/

Dodge, A., & Lockhart, E. (2022). 'Young people just resolve it in their own group': Young people's perspectives on responses to non-consensual intimate image distribution. *Youth Justice*, *22*(3), 304–319. https://doi.org/10.1177/14732254211030570

Dworkin, A., & MacKinnon, C. A. (1988). *Pornography and civil rights: A new day for women's equality.* Organizing Against Pornography.

Eaton, A. A., Jacobs, H., & Ruvalcaba, Y. (2017). *2017 Nationwide online study of nonconsensual porn victimization and perpetration: A summary report.* Cyber Civil Rights Initiative. https://www.cybercivilrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/CCRI-2017-Research-Report.pdf

Eaton, A. A., & McGlynn, C. (2020). The psychology of nonconsensual porn: Understanding and addressing a growing form of sexual violence. *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 7*(2), 190–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/2372732220941534

Eaton, A. A., Noori, S., Bonomi, A., Stephens, D. P., & Gillum, T. L. (2021). Nonconsensual porn as a form of intimate partner violence: Using the power and control wheel to understand nonconsensual porn perpetration in intimate relationships. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse, 22*(5), 1140–1154. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020906533

Eaton, A. A., Ramjee, D., & Saunders, J. F. (2023). The relationship between sextortion during COVID-19 and pre-pandemic intimate partner violence: A large study of victimization among diverse U.S. men and women. *Victims & Offenders, 18*(2), 338–335. https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2021.2022057

Elliott, I., Thomas, S., & Ogloff, J. (2014). Procedural justice in victim-police interactions and victims' recovery from victimisation experiences. *Policing and Society, 24*(5), 588–601. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2013.784309

Espinoza, G. (2015). Daily cybervictimization among Latino adolescents: Links with emotional, physical and school adjustment. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 38*, 39–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2015.04.003

Flynn, A., Powell, A., & Hindes, S. (2023). Policing technology-facilitated abuse. *Policing and Society, 33*(5), 575–592. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2022.2159400

Frederick, L., & Lizdas, K. C. (2009). The role of restorative justice in the battered women's movement. In J. Ptacek (Ed.), *Restorative justice and violence against women* (pp. 40–59). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:Oso/9780195335484.003.0002

Gueta, K., Eytan, S., & Yakimov, P. (2020). Between healing and revictimization: The experience of public self-disclosure of sexual assault and its perceived effect on recovery. *Psychology of Violence, 10*(6), 626–637. https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000309

Gundersen, K. K., & Zaleski, K. L. (2021). Posting the story of your sexual assault online: A phenomenological study of the aftermath. *Feminist Media Studies, 21*(5), 840–852. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2019.1706605

Hall, M., Hearn, J., & Lewis, R. (2022). "Upskirting," homosociality, and craftmanship: A thematic analysis of perpetrator and viewer interactions. *Violence Against Women, 28*(2), 532–550. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012211008981

Hamilton, A. (2018). *Is justice best served cold? A transformative approach to revenge porn.* https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6w65739r

Henry, N., & Flynn, A. (2019). Online distribution channels and illicit communities of support. *Violence Against Women, 25*(16), 1932–1955. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801219863881

Henry, N., Flynn, A., & Powell, A. (2018). Policing image-based sexual abuse: Stakeholder perspectives. *Police Practice and Research, 19*(6), 565–581. https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2018.1507892

Henry, N., Gavey, N., McGlynn, C., & Rackley, E. (2023). "Devastating, like it broke me": Responding to image-based sexual abuse in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Criminology & Criminal Justice, 23*(5), 861–879. https://doi.org/10.1177/17488958221097276

Huber, A. (2023). "A shadow of me old self": The impact of image based sexual abuse in a digital society. *International Review of Victimology, 29*(2), 199–216. https://doi.org/10.1177/02697580211063659

Isobel, S. (2021). Trauma-informed qualitative research: Some methodological and practical considerations. *International Journal of Mental Health Nursing, 30*(Suppl. 1), 1456–1469. https://doi.org/10.1111/inm.12914

Kane, E. W., & Macaulay, L. J. (1993). Interviewer gender and gender attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 57*(1), 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1086/269352

Krieger, M. A. (2017). *Responding to online disclosures of technology-facilitated sexual violence: A case study* [Poster presentation]. 2017 Canadian Psychological Association Conference.

Littleton, H., & Breitkopf, C. R. (2006). Coping with the experience of rape. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 30*(1), 106–116. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00267.x

Malterud, K., Siersma, V. D., & Guassora, A. D. (2016). Sample size in qualitative interview studies: Guided by information power. *Qualitative Health Research, 26*(13), 1753–1760. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732315617444

McGlynn, C., Johnson, K., Rackley, E., Henry, N., Gavey, N., Flynn, A., & Powell, A. (2021). "It's torture for the soul": The harms of image-based sexual abuse. *Social & Legal Studies, 30*(4), 541–562. https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663920947791

McGlynn, C., & Westmarland, N. (2018). Kaleidoscopic justice: Sexual violence and victim-survivors' perceptions of justice. *Social & Legal Studies, 29*(2), 179–201. https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663918761200

Murphy-Oikonen, J., McQueen, K., Miller, A., Chambers, L., & Hiebert, A. (2022). Unfounded sexual assault: Women's experiences of not being believed by police. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 37*(11–12), NP8916–NP8940. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520978190

Nocella, A. J., II. (2011). An overview of the history and theory of transformative justice. *Peace & Conflict Review, 6*(1), 1–10. http://www.antoniocasella.eu/restorative/Nocella_2011.pdf

Nowell, L. S., Morris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 16*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406917733847

O'Malley, R. L. (2023). Short-term and long-term impacts of financial sextortion on victim's mental well-being. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 38*(13–14), 8563–8592. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605231156416

O'Malley, R. L., & Holt, K. M. (2022). Cyber sextortion: An exploratory analysis of different perpetrators engaging in a similar crime. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 37*(1–2), 258–283. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520909186

Paradiso, M. N., Rollé, L., & Trombetta, T. (2023). Image-based sexual abuse associated factors: A systematic review. *Journal of Family Violence.* Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-023-00557-z

Pedersen, W., Bakken, A., Stefansen, K., & von Soest, T. (2023). Sexual victimization in the digital age: A population-based study of physical and image-sed sexual abuse among adolescents. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 52*(1), 399–410. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-021-02200-8

Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2019). Technology-facilitated sexual violence victimization: Results from an online survey of Australian adults. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 34*(17), 3637–3665. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516672055

Powell, A., Scott, A. J., Flynn, A., & Henry, N. (2020). *Image-based sexual abuse: An international study of victims and perpetrators.* https://researchmgt.monash.edu/ws/portalfiles/portal/319918063/ImageBasedSexualAbuseReport_170220_WEB_2.pdf

Powell, A., Scott, A. J., Flynn, A., & McCook, S. (2024). A multi-country study of image-based sexual abuse: Extent, relational nature, and correlates of victimization experiences. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 30*(1), 25–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600.2022.2119292

Rubinsky, V., Collman, A., & Tolman, C. (2023). "The abuse explains why I am a certain way": Post-abuse disclosures in romantic relationships. *Atlantic Journal of Communication.* Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/15456870.2023.2187802

Ruvalcaba, Y., & Eaton, A. A. (2020). Nonconsensual pornography among U.S. adults: A sexual scripts framework on victimization, perpetration, and health correlates for women and men. *Psychology of Violence, 10*(1), 68–78. https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000233

Smith, K., & O'Malley, R. L. (2023, March). *Suicidal ideation among men victims of financial sextortion* [Conference presentation]. 2023 Association for Women in Psychology Conference, Atlanta, GA.

Street, A. E., Gibson, L. E., & Holohan, D. R. (2005). Impact of childhood traumatic events, trauma-related guilt, and avoidant coping strategies on PTSD symptoms in female survivors of domestic violence. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, *18*(3), 245–252. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.20026

Sylaska, K. M., & Edwards, K. M. (2014). Disclosure of intimate partner violence to informal social support network members: A review of the literature. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, *15*(1), 3–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838013496335

Teitcher, J. E., Bockting, W. O., Bauermeister, J. A., Hoefer, C. J., Miner, M. H., & Klitzman, R. L. (2015). Detecting, preventing, and responding to "fraudsters" in internet research: Ethics and tradeoffs. *The Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics*, *43*(1), 116–133. https://doi.org/10.1111/jlme.12200

Walker, K., & Sleath, E. (2017). A systematic review of the current knowledge regarding revenge pornography and non-consensual sharing of sexually explicit media. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *36*, 9–24. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2017.06.010

Wood, M., Barter, C., Stanley, N., Aghtaie, N., & Larkins, C. (2015). Images across Europe: The sending and receiving of sexual images and associations with interpersonal violence in young people's relationships. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *59*, 149–160. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2015.11.005

Yeh, C. J., & Inman, A. G. (2007). Qualitative data analysis and interpretation in counseling psychology: Strategies for best practice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *35*(3), 369–403. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006292596