

Media interface with teenagers on reproductive health : Impact study

Akhila Animalla and Rajani Nallanagula

Department of Home Science, Sri Padmavati Mahila Visva Vidyalayam, Tirupati

ABSTRACT

The media-adolescent reproductive health interface has in the current digital and information era become a very strong but convoluted relationship. This critical review article will review research done to evaluate the influence of both old media (including television, radio and print) as well as some new media (social media, websites, blogs, and mobile applications) on the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of teens pertaining to their reproductive health. Teenagers are an extremely important population group in terms of health, and are becoming increasingly exposed to public health sources of information (aided by no filters or guidance in many cases), which is largely unregulated. The traditional media, which has been utilized in the past in raising awareness and that enjoyed some form of decline in popularity and exposure among young people, still plays a role in determining the extent of awareness. Conversely, new media introduces huge potentials of personalized, peer-to-peer and interactive content and equally brings up issues of misinformation, sensationalism and privacy. Using the analysis of empirical studies, interventions in the area of public health, and the media trends, this review indicates the influence of the convergence of media technologies on sexual and reproductive health education between teenagers. Digital literacy, parental mediation, and culturally sensitive content are also highlighted by the study as a way to generate the maximum of positive impacts. The suggestions of including the presence of media strategies in the education programs on adolescents health are addressed, and efforts are suggested toward the collaboration of educators, medical workers, anyone engaging in content creation, and the policy developers. **Keywords:** Reproductive health, Teenagers, Media influence, Social media, Traditional media, Health communication, Adolescents, Digital literacy, Sexual education

Introduction

Adolescence is a very critical stage in development accompanied by tremendous physical, emotional and psychological changes. One of the most key but controversial areas in this time is reproductive health that presupposes an extensive range of aims like puberty, menstruation, contraception, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), consent, and gender identity ^[1]. Nonetheless, reproductive health education still fails to become comprehensive or exhaustive among teenagers, as it is culturally forbidden, poorly represented at schools, and poorly communicated to families ^[2].

In this respect, the media (traditional and digital) has become a very strong agent of information on reproductive health among adolescents. The conventional media or the media composed of TV, radio, and newspaper has

always been an important part of the campaign on promoting good health where people are made aware about HIV/AIDS, family planning, and safe sex. These mediums have been particularly useful even in collectivities where formal reproductive education is absent or stigmatized. Nevertheless, with the development of a digital era and wide availability of the internet, there have been stunning changes in how adolescents receive information. New media (including social media applications such as Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok, blogs, forums, and mobile health apps) provides adolescents with ready and peer-mediated access to potentially negatively socio-contextualized information on reproductive health ^[3]. These social media sites have the potential to help with empowerment, make it easier to talk with your GP about how to deal with sexual health, and youth participation. Nevertheless, there are also risks associated with them, such as misin-

*Corresponding author.

E-mail address: akhilaanimalla786@gmail.com

Received 2026-04-25; Accepted 2026-04-30

Copyright @ Journal of Food and Dietetics Research

(acspublisher.com/journals/index.php/jfdr)

formation, an exposure to inappropriate content, privacy infringement, and being more vulnerable to online bullying^[4,5].

The media impact on teenage reproductive health is thus two-fold; it works as the empowerment tool on the one hand and the potential of damage on the other hand. It would require an in-depth study on the impact of various mediums of media on the knowledge, attitudes and behavior of adolescents with regard to reproductive health. This review describes the relationship between adolescents and media in musings of reproductive health education and it outlines the good expressions as well as the bad ones. It also gives emphasis on digital literacy, culturally contextual messaging, and parent/institutional mediation in harnessing the positive learning value of the media and at the same time reduce its risks.

Therefore, by integrating empirical research and theoretical approaches, the article adds to the blank discourse on adolescent health promotion. It demands systematized, media-proper approached policies of health education, publicity, and internet information control to provide the young generation with correct, convenient, and age-acceptable reproductive information in the era of the internet.

What is Sexual and Reproductive Health?

Sexual and reproductive health (SRH) refers to a state of physical, mental as well as social well-being concerning everything that deals with reproductive system and not just the non-diseased condition or infirmities^[6]. It entails that men and women are able to enjoy healthy and pleasurable sex life, freedom to make their own reproductive decisions namely whether to reproduce, when and how frequently to reproduce, the availability of accurate information, birth control mechanisms and healthcare services. The protection against sexually transmitted infections (STIs), reproductive tract infections, and pregnancy-related, childbirth, and abortion-related conditions is also under the concept of SRH^[7]. It is an essential part of overall health and gender equality as well as social development based on the involvement of fundamental human rights.

The significance of Reproductive Health among Adolescents

Young persons aged 10-19 are at a transitional stage of development during which the sexuality of the individual begins to form and an inquiry is made concerning sexual behaviors associated with reproduction. They are prone to misinformation), peer pressure, and high-risk behaviors that can result in the early pregnancies, STIs, HIV, and unsafe abortions at this age^[8]. Adolescent reproductive

health has been linked with adverse outcomes that impact not only attainment of educational level, emotional states, but also social and economic development on a long-term basis. Adolescent SRH, therefore, is a social and developmental, as well as, health issue^[2]. Availability of quality reproductive health information and services that are age appropriate enable the adolescents to make well informed choices and be able to face healthy adulthood.

The Role of Media (Traditional and New), in Adolescent Reproductive Health

Media is a huge factor that contributes to knowledge and perception of reproductive health in adolescents. Conventional forms of media, such as television, radio and newspapers, have been used in the past as a venue to host public health campaigns and education. Nonetheless, the advent of new media, including social media platforms, YouTube, blogs, and mobile health (mHealth) apps, has changed the pattern of access to and use of SRH information by teenagers^[9]. The potential digital media hold to democratize access to information is equaled to the exposure of the adolescents to misinformation, hypersexualized information, and peer influence without filters^[10]. Media has two sides to it, so we have to maneuver around it so as to take advantage of its growth as a healthy medium of communication.

Knowledge enhancement by media

Strategically applied media can be an effective means of increasing adolescents sex and reproductive knowledge. It is believed with evidence that interactive, peer-mediated, and culturally sensitive content that is presented via digital devices will engage adolescents and lead to healthier behavior^[11]. To take a few examples, it can be mobile apps and websites providing SRH advice, YouTube videos teaching young people about menstrual hygiene, or Instagram information campaigns regarding consent making the educational experience relatable and confidential. Self-directed learning and information-seeking behavior also occurs through such interactive features as chatbots and online quizzes. With the help of the professional content creators and healthcare providers, media can narrow the gap between awareness and action.

Why Comprehensive SRH Education is needed on Adolescents

Although information is getting readily available, most adolescents do not have organized and reliable sexual and reproductive health education. In other cultural contexts to talk about sexuality is a taboo and formal systems of

education do not always incorporate comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) so the young people are uninformed or misinformed ^[2]. A strong and immediate necessity lies in the inclusion of SRH in school based curricula and community Health programs as well as in youth friendly media information. Arming adolescents with facts, beliefs, and skills to make informed choices can lead to safer practices, lesser health risks and ensuring they have stronger capability in making informed choices in living an independent life. These goals can be achieved through multi-sectoral approach that should include schools, parents, healthcare workers, and media professionals.

Nature and Scope of the Study

This study is exploratory and analytical in nature as it seeks to look into the complex interdependence between media consumption and reproductive health awareness among teenagers. It explores the ways in which traditional media (e.g. television, radio, print media) and new media (e.g. social media, websites, apps) inform teenagers, their perspectives and behaviors related to sexual and reproductive health. Considering the growing tendency of young people to be attached to digital content, the presented study is based on the background of a fast-changing media world, where the information can be accessed quickly, in a wide variety of forms, and quite frequently, without any rules and governance ^[3,12].

The review also incorporates a diverse literature on global and regional studies and gives an outlook on the view that occurs in different media presentations of teenagers receiving information on reproductive health and how they perceive it and internalize the information. It targets teenagers aged 13-19 that is, the stage where learners are highly vulnerable to external influences through curiosity ^[1]. The research synthesizes the results of health communication studies, health data, studies of the media, and psychology to conduct an analysis of patterns, gaps, and areas where intervention can be applied.

This study has many aspects which include different aspects of reproductive health education like knowledge of puberty, contraception, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), gender identity, consent and relation and evaluate the effects of media content on these factors. It also examines how the demographic characteristics, which may include gender, socio-economic background, the cultural setting, and digital literacy contribute to the interaction with media among adolescents [2,5].

Moreover, positive and negative implications of media influence are analyzed in the study. On the one hand, the media has the ability to increase knowledge and debunk

discourse, promote positive behaviours^[13]. On the one hand, it may contribute to creating myths, fostering unhealthy body image perception, exposing children and adolescents to sexually explicit content and encouraging unsafe sex practices in case of the content consumption without the critical media literacy ^[4,14]. This polarity is the reason why a balanced and evidence-informed approach is necessary in examining the role of media in reproductive health of adolescents.

Overall, the research does not confine itself to the evaluation of media content only since it goes further to cover the social and cultural context that surround the adolescents as they use media. The lessons realized during this review will be passed on to policy makers, lawmakers, teachers, medical practitioners and media representatives on how to formulate effective, youth friendly and culture-specific communications in offline and online setting of the reproductive health learning.

Significance of the Study

This study is important because it is a topical investigation of the ways in which the changing media environments impact the teenage interpretation of reproductive health which is a field that has a direct correlation with public health consequences, gender equality and youth empowerment. The current generation of young people is online, digital natives who, in search of information on health-related issues, bypass usual gatekeepers, like parents, schools, or medical helpers and prefer to consult media (and, in particular, social media) as their primary sources of information gathering^[3]. Media can be used as an effective instrument to raise awareness, decrease stigma, and foster safe behavior; they can also become a source of misinformation, unrealistic expectations, and risk-taking behavior due to sexual safety when the content is not age- and culturally-appropriate^[4,5]. The present study is important as it closes the gap in health communication and adolescent psychology and media studies to establish an interdisciplinary conceptualization of the role played by media in defining sexual and reproductive health behaviors. The study helps to design effective interventions to use the media and diminish its risks because it focuses on the possibilities of using media and risks to achieve this. In addition to that, this raises the prominence of media literacy and critical thinking as one of the key skills that adolescents must have in the age of digitalization. The results of this study have applications not just in health content producing agencies or operator of digital platforms, but also affect both policymakers and teachers in areas where reproductive care education may not have formal teaching

as yet, or are socially prohibited to be discussed in developing nations (UNESCO, 2018; WHO, 2011).

Literature Review

Singhal & Rogers, (2003)

Researchers investigated the application of traditional media particularly television and radio in playing the role of health education to developing nations. In their work, they stress the success of the so-called edutainment which is attributed to insertion of educational messages in terms of something entertaining such as soap operas and radio series. These means were rather successful when it comes to raising awareness regarding reproductive health, family planning, and HIV/AIDS. The authors asserted that storytelling has the potential to breach all these obstacles which include illiteracy and resistance of culture. Their paper demonstrated how the family planning programs such as the case of Tinka Tinka Sukh in India resulted to the use of contraceptives and communication among the families. Notably, their study gave a template of application of culturally sensitive, media-based interventions in dealing with the taboo subject. Traditional media is also still relevant in the places that lack access to digital media.

JJ Montgomery and D Chester (2009)

This paper critiqued how the digital age transformed health communication and what it means to the health of adolescents. As claimed by Montgomery and Chester, sexualized displays and gender stereotypes found in marketing and media to youth have been rising, penetrate and shape the teens knowledge on relationships and sexuality. The co-authors also raised question marks on the commercial interest of the digital platforms which they put on promoting engagement rather than on education. As they noted the possibilities of digital media in raising the question about health, they raised concerns that teenagers are becoming targets of unsuspected messages that encourage irresponsible sexual acts. Their study supported government policies and ethics among producers of content, particularly when it came to online advertising and social media. It underscored the importance of striking a balance between liberating youth and ensuring responsibility of media.

Rideout, Fox & Wellbeing Trust (2018)

The young adult population and teenagers of the United States were the target populations which are studied through this research in terms of their digital health behavior. The authors have discovered that more than 80

percent of adolescents are utilizing online resources to find the health-related information, including reproductive and mental health topics. Social media could be used as a comfortable meeting place and a way to access peer discussions. Nevertheless, the research mentioned the issues of quality and credibility of online sources. Lack of media literacy in the teens usually leads to wrong interpretation or beliefs on the wrong health content. The report suggested the incorporation of digital media in structured health education course and development of critical thinking abilities. It demanded development of youth friendly medically accurate online health information.

Chandra-Mouli, Lane & Wong (2015)

This review has considered some of the interventions widely applied in sexual and reproductive health education of adolescents and seen what does not work. It condemned the top-down strategies that do not look at participation of youth, cultural background and changing behavior of media consumption. The authors also realized that media-driven campaigns are also ineffective when they are not specific to the adolescent demographic. They stressed the need to use interactive, relatable and age-appropriate content appealing especially on already used channels by teens. Another focal point the paper addressed was the importance of the meta-message of gender norms, power relations, and stigma as it pertains to reproductive health messaging. They have contributed to the emergence of more evidence-based and all-inclusive strategies of engagements among youth. It strengthens the thoughts that there cannot be a superficial use of media but it needs to be integrated well.

Moreno et al. (2013)

Moreno and others investigated the use of social networking sites, particularly Instagram by adolescents to chat about intimate health-related topics such as sexuality and mental health. They have found an existing language and coded signs with which adolescents share their information about self-harm and sexual issues without causing adults to notice them. The paper emphasized the twofold nature of social media: it is a place of peer support and a place, which could potentially fit the harmful behaviors. According to their request, there should be more policies of digital health surveillance and improved provider participation in the online community. Their results were an alarming issue regarding adolescents to base health beliefs on interaction with peers instead of the experts. This paper recommended that the intervention should not be only on the youth level, but also on professionals who should be trained on digital outreach.

Byrne (2021)

The study by Byrne reviewed the experience of teenagers with sexual and reproductive health material on social media. It was shown in the study that the social media may include the means to empower and educate people but the dangers of being exposed to misinformation and pornography as well as peer pressure cannot be ignored. As Byrne emphasized, teenagers are, as a rule, unable to distinguish between credible health data and the content produced by users and propagated as myths or personal views. Moreover, teenagers will be tempted to engage in sexual explorations depending on the actions of the influencers. It proposed the use of media literacy in school education and reproductive health information accessible to adolescents. Uniting public health organizations and technology companies to provide vetted educational content on the popular platforms was also encouraged by Byrne.

Livingstone, & Helsper, 2007

In this research, the notion of the digital divide and its influence upon the access of the youth to health information were covered. Livingstone and Helsper discovered that although access to internet is increasing there are still inequalities in terms of digital literacy along with the interpretation of information. Lower socio-economic status or country adolescents could be able to access the media but lack the ability to critically evaluate what they are seeing and reading. The authors proposed the digital inclusion known as the digital inclusion, i.e., not only access without providing skills to use the media and navigate it. Their research forms a baseline in the study of how the influence of media on reproductive health is different among various adolescent groups. It emphasizes the fact that media based learning needs inclusion, accessibility, and local institutions.

UNESCO (2018)

The technical guidance document on sexuality education prepared by UNESCO reiterated how media can be important in an effort to disseminate correct sexual and reproductive health information to a wider population using age appropriate information. The report gave weightage on the inclusion of media literacy in the programs of comprehensive sexuality education. It also realized the potential impact of both the traditional and digital media in reaching the adolescents, especially in areas where the formal education is restricted due to some of the cultural or political factors. The information promoted the adoption of online spaces, videos, animations, and social media campaigns on how to deal with the myths and stigma over sexual health.

Notably, UNESCO placed emphases on participatory lessons with adolescents participating in the process of creating content. The model has since informed a number of national curriculum developments in countries around the world.

World Health Organization (2011)

The media is one of the tools that WHO determined through its guidelines in preventing adolescence pregnancy and reproductive health risks as a fundamental instrument in communication to the community. The entity placed a lot of emphasis on the significance of juxtaposing media campaigns with school based and community interventions. WHO made a demand of inclusive messages that speak both of boys and girls, and the impact of gender norms and peer relationships. The recommendations stated the use of mass media, digital media in targeting teens with explicit, non-judgmental information. WHO also pointed out the necessity to streamline collaboration with broadcasters and digital content creators to create entertaining, scientifically sound health-related media. Their lobby there is still being felt in the international teen health policies.

Guse et al. (2012)

The systematic review assessed how well internet-based interventions are useful in sexual health promotion in adolescents. Passive information-based websites were less effective in comparison to web platforms and apps that are interactive and theory-driven. Such functions as quizzes, stories, video testimonials, and peer forums increased interaction and memory of the material. Nevertheless, the inconsistency in the quality of programs and the necessity of regular evaluation were predicted by this study. It suggested the co-development of digital tools with young people in behavioral health theories. Their study reinforces the possibility of using technology in adolescent health education provided that it is user driven, scientifically energized, and maturely moderated.

Objectives of the Study

- 1.To examine the role of traditional media (television, radio, newspapers) in disseminating reproductive health information among teenagers.
- 2.To analyze the influence of new media (social media platforms, websites, mobile applications) on teenagers' perceptions and decision-making regarding reproductive health.
- 3.To compare the effectiveness of traditional versus new media in delivering accurate, age-appropriate, and culturally sensitive reproductive health education to teenagers.

- 4.To identify the risks and challenges associated with adolescents’ exposure to unregulated or misleading reproductive health information in media.
- 5.To recommend evidence-based strategies for integrating media literacy and responsible media use into adolescent reproductive health education.

Relevant Statistics on Teenagers, Media, and Reproductive Health

Adolescent use of media statistics

- India has one of the largest populations of adolescents (10 19 years) in the world with more than 250 million of adolescents.

According to the Internet and Mobile Association of India, smartphone access to the Internet among the Indian teens (13 to 19 years) exceeds 95 percent.The most popular among the Indian teenagers to consume information, including health-related ones, are YouTube (88 percent), Instagram (77 percent), and WhatsApp (72 percent).The average number of screen time per day among teens is 7 to 9 hours and more than 2 hours on social media specifically.

The Influence of the Traditional Media

A state survey conducted by the NFHS-5 (National Family Health Survey, 2021) indicated that merely 23 percentage of the adolescent girls in India (1519 years) living in rural settings had consumed the traditional media such as the radio or newspaper in order to learn reproductive health. On the contrary, exposure to programs on TV-based reproductive health initiatives like Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti

Hoon in urban areas resulted in a 12-15 percent expansion in the awareness of contraception.

The wrong information and digital risks

The WHO (2022) has reported that 56 percent of adolescents around the world claimed they had seen misleading or false information concerning sexual health on social media. Through a study done by Guttmacher Institute (2023), 40% of the teens surveyed felt that pornography taught them the correctness of sex, indicating the severe consequences of the unsupervised media content.

Difference of Digital Intervention

- A 20212022 UNICEF India digital reproductive health communication program aided by WhatsApp and Instagram was able to target over 5 million adolescents and recorded a 17% growth in SRH (Sexual and Reproductive Health) awareness ratings after the intervention.
- Adolescents having adolescent sex education interventions online in the form of interactive contents were twice as likely to report contraception use.

Gap and Needs

According to the Youth in India Report, the vast majority of teenage girls, 68 percent and young men, 54 percent of them feel inconvenient or in fact unwilling to speak with their parents or teachers about sexual and reproductive health and instead resort to the media and peers. All of 26 percent of Indian schools do not provide sexuality education in a complete manner, creating a void, which in some cases can be fulfilled by media, but not necessarily factually [2].

Dimensions of the Conceptual Framework

Dimension	Traditional Media (Old Media)	Digital Media (New Media)
Medium Type	Television, Radio, Print Newspapers/Magazines	Social Media, YouTube, Blogs, Mobile Health Apps
Content Delivery	One-way communication, scripted educational broadcasts	Two-way, interactive, peer-driven and algorithm-based feeds
Accessibility	Widely available in low-tech regions; mass outreach	Widely used by urban, tech-savvy teens; mobile-first access
Credibility of Information	Often government/public health regulated	Mixed—peer-shared content, unregulated platforms
Appeal to Teenagers	Low to moderate (depends on format)	High due to visuals, trends, influencers

Control Over Message	Controlled by content creators, health institutions	Decentralized, user-generated, algorithm-influenced
Engagement Level	Passive (watch, listen, read)	Active (like, comment, share, co-create)
Impact on Behavior	Limited but trustworthy; gradual mindset shift	Immediate influence; risk of misinformation or peer pressure
Cultural Sensitivity	Often generalized, slow to evolve	Can be customized, but may clash with traditional norms
Media Literacy Need	Low to moderate	High—requires critical evaluation skills

Conclusion

The media and teenagers interface are vital when it comes to influencing reproductive health awareness, attitude, and behaviours. As indicated in this review, both old and new media present exclusive opportunities and limitations to the delivery of sexual and reproductive health (SRH) information. Although the traditional media can offer systematic, reputable, and accessible media contents, their level of participation is not high in current technologically advanced teenagers. On the other hand, new media such as social media, mobile apps are an extremely interactive, highly engaging, and peer-to-peer driven content with the lack of regulation featuring mostly misinformation and toxic stereotypes. The results highlight the necessity of a cross-cultural incorporation of the proposals that encompasses media literacy training, trusted content production, and multi-platforming in covering wide-ranging groups of adolescents. An equal application of the two forms of media, together with the school-based education programs and parental support can make teenagers more informed about making responsible reproductive health decisions, which would lead to their long-term well-being and responsible adulthood.

Future Scope

Future studies on the media interaction with teenagers in relation to reproductive health should be extended beyond the focus on the urban-focused and digitally involved populations to marginalized and low-literacy and rural categorizations. With regard to the prolonged effect of traditional and digital media exposure, there is an urgent necessity of longitudinal research on the subject to determine how media exposure influences the behavior, decision-making, and health outcomes of adolescents. What is more, there are new possibilities to consider in terms of creating interesting, individualistic reproductive health education with the help of the changing environment of AI-based chatbots, influencers, and virtual reality, to name a few. In future studies, it should also be explored how the

gender gap in media accessibility and interpretation can be investigated and what kind of media interventions can be used to improve this situation. Inclusion of adolescent voices in media development and assessment activities will make future efforts more colourful and thus ensure there is relevance, inclusiveness, and empowerment of content.

References

1. World Health Organization. (2011). *WHO guidelines on preventing early pregnancy and poor reproductive outcomes among adolescents in developing countries*. Geneva: WHO.
2. UNESCO. (2018). *International technical guidance on sexuality education: An evidence-informed approach*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
3. Rideout, V., Fox, S., & Wellbeing Trust. (2018). *Digital health practices, social media use, and mental well-being among teens and young adults in the U.S.*
4. Byrne, J. (2021). Teenagers, social media and sexual health: Opportunities and risks. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 68(3), 445–452.
5. Chandra-Mouli, V., Lane, C., & Wong, S. (2015). What does not work in adolescent sexual and reproductive health: A review of evidence on interventions commonly accepted as best practices. *Global Health: Science and Practice*, 3(3), 333–340.
6. World Health Organization. (2022). *Sexual and reproductive health*. <https://www.who.int/health-topics/sexual-and-reproductive-health>
7. UNFPA. (2021). *Sexual and reproductive health and rights: An essential element of universal health coverage*. United Nations Population Fund.
8. Patton, G. C., Sawyer, S. M., Santelli, J. S., et al. (2016). Our future: A Lancet commission on adolescent health and wellbeing. *The Lancet*, 387(10036), 2423–2478. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(16\)00579-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(16)00579-1)

9. Strasburger, V. C., Hogan, M. J., & Mulligan, D. A. (2020). Children, adolescents, and the media. *Pediatrics*, 145(2), e20193659. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2019-3659>
10. Livingstone, S. (2016). *Children's rights and digital media: A policy agenda*. The Communication Review, 19(1), 39–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2016.1150593>
11. Guse, K., Levine, D., Martins, S., Lira, A., Gaarde, J., Westmorland, W., & Gilliam, M. (2012). Interventions using new digital media to improve adolescent sexual health: A systematic review. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 51(6), 535–543. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2012.03.014>
12. Livingstone, S. (2009). *Children and the Internet: Great expectations, challenging realities*. Polity Press.
13. Montgomery, K. C., & Chester, J. (2009). Interactive food and beverage marketing: Targeting adolescents in the digital age. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 45(3), S18–S29.
14. Moreno, M. A., Ton, A., Selkie, E., & Evans, Y. (2013). Secret society 123: Understanding the language of self-harm on Instagram. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 55(4), 505–506.