

Youth Involvement in Sexting:

Findings from the Youth Internet Safety Studies

Kimberly J. Mitchell, Lisa Jones, David Finkelhor, and Janis Wolak

This is the fourth of a series of bulletins highlighting the results of the 3rd Youth Internet Safety Survey (YISS-3). YISS-3, conducted in 2010, was the first of the YISS studies to explore the issue of sexting. This bulletin documents the prevalence of youth involvement in "sexting" as well as key characteristics of the episodes.

Several concerns have fueled the considerable attention to the problem of "youth sexting" among the media, parents, professionals, educators and law enforcement ¹⁻³. (Sexting generally refers to sending sexual images and sometimes sexual texts via cell phone and other electronic devices.) One is that youth may be creating illegal child pornography, exposing them to possibly serious legal sanctions^{4,5}. Another is that youth may be jeopardizing futures by putting compromising, ineradicable images online that could be available to potential employers, academic institutions and family members.

These concerns have been abetted by frequently cited statistics about the supposed widespread teen involvement in sexting. The most common reference has been to a National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy study ⁶ showing that 20% of teens had sent or posted nude or semi-nude pictures of themselves. However, this research as well as other often cited studies ^{7,8} have flaws that compromise their findings ⁹. For example, the National Campaign study, used an Internet panel rather than a true population sample and included 18 and 19 year olds, and not just minors.

Moreover, none of these studies has made distinctions that allow a careful assessment of the problem from a policy perspective. Studies have asked respondents about "nude or semi-nude", "nearly nude" or "sexually suggestive" images that might, in fact, be no more revealing than what someone might see at a beach. In some studies, sexting was defined to include text messages that could contain no images. And many studies did not distinguish between taking and sending an image of oneself as opposed to receiving or disseminating an image of another youth. For policy purposes, it is important to look at whether images are created or simply received and whether images might qualify as child pornography, but such information is not currently available.

How YISS-3 was Conducted

- Telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,560 young Internet users, ages 10 through 17. See Table 1 for details of the 2010 sample.
- "Internet use" was defined as using the Internet at least once a month for the past six months at home, school, a friend's home, a library, a cell phone, or some other location.
- One parent or guardian was interviewed first for about 10 minutes.
- With consent of the parent or guardian, youth were interviewed for about 30 minutes.
- Care was taken to preserve privacy and confidentiality during youth interviews.
- Youth participants received \$10 checks and information about Internet safety.
- The YISS interviews took place from August 2010 to January 2011.

YOUTH INTERNET USE PATTERNS IN 2010

Youth Internet use was widespread in 2010 (see Table 2).

- Almost all youth (97%) were using the Internet from home. Almost half of youth (47%) were using the Internet from cell phones.
- 94% of youth said they used the Internet in the past week.
- 32% of youth said they used the Internet for more than 2 hours per day.
- Many youth (69%) also said they used the Internet 5 to 7 days per week in 2010.
- Most youth used the Internet to talk with people they knew in person offline, like friends from school (93%); fewer talked with people they met online (40%).

Table 1. Youth & Household Characteristics for the 2010 YISS Sample, %

Youth and Household Characteristics	2010 (n=1560)
Gender (male)	50
Age	
10 to 12 years old	21
13 to 15 years old	45
16 to 17 years old	34
Race	
White, non-Hispanic	67
Black, non-Hispanic	13
Hispanic or Latino, any Race	10
American Indian/Alaskan Native	3
Asian	3
Other (includes bi-racial)	2
Don't know/not ascertainable	2
Parental marital status	
Married	78
Living with a partner	2
Separated	2
Divorced	10
Widowed	2
Single, never married	6
Youth lives with both biological parents	66
Highest level of education in household	2
Not a high school graduate	3
High school graduate	14
Some college education	19
College graduate	37
Post college degree	28
Annual household income	
Less than \$20,000	12
\$20,000 to \$50,000	18
More than \$50,000 to \$75,000	16
More than \$75,000	45
Don't know/missing	9

Table 2. Youth Internet Use Patterns in 2010

Table 2. Touth internet Ose Patterns in 2010				
Internet Use	2010			
Characteristics	(n=1560)			
Location(s) youth used Internet in past year ^a				
Home	97			
School	89			
Friend's home	70			
Cellular telephone	47			
Other place (includes library)	38			
Last time youth used Internet				
Past week	94			
Past 2 weeks	3			
Past month or longer	3			
Number of hours youth spent on Internet on a				
typical day when online				
1 hour or less	38			
More than 1 hour to 2 hours	31			
More than 2 hours	32			
Number of days youth went on Internet in a				
typical week ^b				
1 day or less	4			
2 to 4 days	27			
5 to 7 days	69			
How youth used Internet				
Went to chat rooms ^c	48			
Social networking sites	80			
Who youth talked to online ^d				
People youth knew in person offline	93			
People youth knew only online	40			

^a Multiple responses possible.

Note: Some categories do not add to 100% because of rounding and/or missing data.

Measurement of Sexting

In 2010 we created a series of five screener questions that asked about three types of sexting involvement: 1) receiving nude or nearly nude images, 2) forwarding or posting such images, and 3) appearing in or creating such images. When youth answered yes to screeners, follow-up questions gathered details about their responses, including the content of the "nude or nearly nude" images. The screeners asked:

- 1. Has anyone ever sent you nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of kids who were under the age of 18 that someone else took?
- 2. Have you ever forwarded or posted any nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of other kids who were under the age of 18 that someone else took?

^b Based on youth who used Internet in the past 2 weeks (n=1491).

^c Includes video and non-video capable chat rooms.

d Answers not mutually exclusive.

- 3. Have <u>you</u> ever taken nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of yourself?
- 4. Has someone else ever taken nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of you?
- 5. Have you ever taken nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of other kids who were under the age of 18?

When youth responded positively to a screener question, interviewers asked if the incident occurred in the past year. Interviewers then asked extensive follow-up questions about up to two unique past year sexting episodes. Our prevalence estimates were created based on youth-level data, some of whom reported more than one sexting type incident. An algorithm was used to choose incidents for follow-up with a hierarchy that selected first for incidents in which pictures were taken and second for incidents in which pictures were distributed. No youth were left uncounted based on this algorithm. Follow-up questions included whether the images depicted breasts, genitals or someone's bottom which we used to define images that were "sexually explicit."

Types of sexting involvement (Figure 1 & Table 3)

- A total of 149 youth (9.6%) reported appearing in or creating "nude or nearly nude" images or receiving such images in the past year.
- We differentiated three dimensions of the incidents that youth reported.
 - The first dimension was whether youth appeared in or created images versus receiving images. Of youth reporting involvement in sexting, 39 (2.5%) appeared in or created images; 110 youth (7.1%) received images, but did not appear in or create them.
 - 2. The second dimension, among those who appeared in or created images, was whether a youth was pictured in an image.
 - The third dimension was whether images were sexually explicit (i.e., might qualify as child pornography).
- Of the 39 youth who appeared in or created images, 61% were girls, 72% were ages 16 or 17 and 6% were 10 to 12. Most youth created images of themselves (1.8% of sample, n=28); some were photographed by someone else (0.3%, n=5); and some photographed other youth (0.4%, n=6).

• Of the 110 youth who received images but did not appear in or create them, 56% were girls; 55% were ages 16 or 17 and none were younger than 12.

What Youth Said about Sexting

Youth who appeared in or created images

"I was just dating a boy and he wanted a picture and I just sent him my picture." - Girl, 17

"Well, I did not have a boyfriend at this time, and I was curious as to what my body would look like to other people ..., so I took some pictures."

- Girl, 17

"I was getting dressed at my boyfriend's house and this girl was there and she took a pic of me and sent it to someone and it got around the school, and after a month it went away." - Girl, 16

"We were just messing around and being guys. It wasn't anything sexual." - Boy, 16

"It was like 10PM at night and I couldn't sleep and I just took a picture." - Girl, 13

Youth who received images

"Someone sent me a picture of my boyfriend and another girl, and he's no longer my boyfriend.."

-Girl, 17

"[I was] sitting in room and playing guitar. Got text message. Opened it. It showed pictures of breasts, vagina. I immediately erased it."

- Boy, 15

"This boy had 4 pictures of a naked girl – he was showing everybody in the classroom." - Girl, 16

"In girls locker room and some girl asked if anyone wanted to see a pic of her and her boyfriend and we thought it would be them hanging out but they were in bed together."

- Girl, 14

"I saw a little girl with an older guy and she was down in his personal area." - Girl, 13

Were images sexually explicit? (Table 4)

One of the goals of this study was to determine how youth define "nude or nearly nude", since this phraseology has been used in previous studies and been the basis of reported statistics on sexting. We asked youth whether images "showed breasts, genitals, or someone's bottom".

- Only 54% of the 39 youth who appeared in or created images reported pictures that met these criteria, as did 84% of the 110 youth who received images.
- For 46% of youth who appeared in or created images and 16% of those who received images, "nude or nearly nude" included youth wearing underwear or bathing suits, sexy poses with clothes on, and pictures focused on clothed genitals.

Other key features of sexting (Table 4)

- Twenty-one percent of respondents appearing in or creating images reported feeling very or extremely upset, embarrassed or afraid as a result, as did 25% of youth receiving images.
- Twenty-eight percent of youth who appeared in or created images and 28% of those who received images reported incidents to an authority (e.g. parent, teacher, police) or an authority found out some other way.

- Youth stated that over half of the incidents in both categories occurred more than once in the past year.
- In most of the episodes the person responsible (when it was not the respondents themselves) was someone the youth knew in person.
- The most commonly reported reason for incidents was "romance as part of an existing relationship;" pranks and jokes or trying to start a relationship were also noted.
- A notable minority of incidents where youth appeared in or created images (31%) included an aggravating component usually alcohol or drug use.
- Adults were involved in a minority of sexting incidents; they were all young adults, ages 18 to 21.
- One of the concerns about sexting is that youth will forward and distribute images they create or receive. However, only a small proportion of youth reported forwarding or posting images. Pictures were distributed in 10% of incidents when youth appeared in or created images and 3% when youth received images.

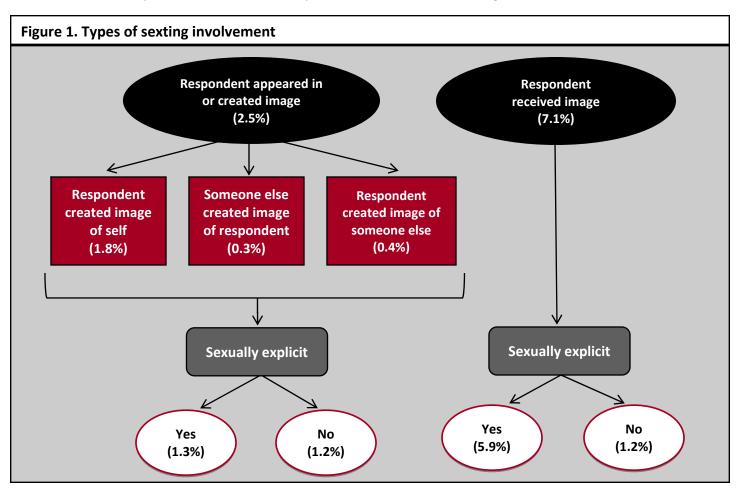


Table 3. Youth and Incident Characteristics Based on Type of Sexting Involvement in 2010 (Continued next page)

YOUTH CHARACTERISTICS	Respondent appeared in or created image (n=39), %	Respondent received image (n=110), %	χ²
Age of youth			
10	3	0	13.6*
11	3	0	
12	0	0	
13	10	11	
14	0	15	
15	13	19	
16	31	27	
17	41	28	
Mean age (SD) ^a	15.7 (1.7)	15.5 (1.3)	0.7
Gender of youth			0.13
Girl	61	56	0.3
Boy	39	44	0.5
INCIDENT CHARACTERISTICS	55		
Nature of the incident			
Youth saw nude or nearly nude pictures/videos of other kids who were			
under the age of 18 that someone else took	0	100	
Youth took nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of self	72	0	
Someone else took nude or nearly nude pictures/videos of youth	13	0	
Youth took nude or nearly nude pictures/videos of other kids who	13	U	
	15	0	
were under the age of 18	10	2	2.6
Youth distributed the sexual images	10	3	3.6
Number of times this happened in past year	4.1	20	4 7
Once	41	39	1.7
Twice	23	33	
3 to 5 times	26	22	
6 or more times	10	6	
Technology used	_	0	0.4
Social networking site	5	8	0.4
Text messaging	44	56	1.9
Cell phone camera/cell phone	21	26	0.5
Instant messaging	10	6	0.6
Digital/video camera	21	2	16.1***
Disclosed to authority	28	28	0.0
Distress: Very/extremely			
Upset	15	22	0.7
Embarrassed	21	12	1.8
Afraid	13	4	4.3*
Any of the above	21	25	0.4
Why respondent thought it happened			
Romance as part of existing relationship	51	54	7.7
Bullying/harassment	0	1	
Prank/joke	23	11	
Blackmail, coercion, threats	3	2	
Conflict or revenge (not related to romance or bullying)	0	1	
Trying to start relationship	5	11	
Get someone to notice you	3	7	
Some other reason	13	7	
Don't know	3	6	

^a F statistic

^{*} p ≤ .05; *** p ≤ .001.

 Table 3 Cont. Youth and Incident Characteristics Based on Type of Sexting Involvement in 2010

YOUTH CHARACTERISTICS	Respondent appeared in or created image (n=39), %	Respondent received image (n=110), %	χ²
Person responsible			
Youth respondent	87	0	124.8***
Someone met online	3	18	
Boy- or girlfriend (or ex-)	3	6	
Friend or acquaintance from school	5	61	
Friend or acquaintance from someplace else	3	9	
Knew some other way or not sure	0	6	
Gender of this person			
Male	39	56	3.7*
Female	61	44	
Age of this person			
Younger than 18 years	97	92	1.5
18 or older	3	8	

^a F statistic

Table 4. Characteristics of Nude or Nearly Nude Images or Videos of Minors in 2010

	Respondent appeared	Respondent	
Incident	in or created image	received image	X ²
Characteristics	(n=39), %	(n=110), %	^
Pictures showed breasts, genitals, or someone's bottom			
Yes	<u>54</u>	<u>84</u>	13.9***
Naked breasts	31	63	11.9***
Genitals	36	56	4.8*
Someone mooning camera	10	15	0.6
Someone's bottom (not mooning)	21	28	0.9
Someone completely nude	26	53	8.5**
Sexual intercourse	0	5	2.2
Masturbation	10	13	0.2
Some other sexual contact	0	9	3.8*
No or don't know / not ascertainable	<u>46</u>	<u>16</u>	
Kids wearing underwear	31	10	9.5**
Kids wearing bathing suits	18	8	2.9
Focused on private parts but clothed	10	5	1.1
Sexy poses with clothes on	23	9	5.1*
Number children in images			
One	82	90	3.5
Two	13	5	
3 to 5	0	2	
6 or more	5	3	
Adult (18+) was in images	8	5	0.3
Aggravating features			
Kids under influence of alcohol or drugs	13	8	0.7
Violence	3	1	0.6
Trickery or deception	3	3	0.003
Without person's knowledge	8	7	0.007
Against will	5	1	2.6
Money exchanged	3	0	2.8
Other promises or gifts	10	3	3.6
Any of the above	31	15	4.3*

^{*} $p \le .05$; ** $p \le .01$; *** $p \le .001$

^{*} $p \le .05$; *** $p \le .001$.

There is a tendency in our rapidly evolving society to be easily alarmed about changing youth mores, a tendency we have referred to elsewhere as "juvenoia" 10. Sexting has been greeted in many media portrayals as yet another sign of the hyper-sexualization of youth and extreme risk-taking. In fact, however, many indicators of youth sexual behavior such as teenage pregnancy, and the number of youth with multiple sexual partners have been improving in recent years 11, in spite of such concerns. It is incumbent on youth-serving professionals not to respond or abet media portrayals that promote alarm. Sexting may not indicate a dramatic change in youth risk-taking or youth sexual behavior. It may just make some of that behavior more visible to adults and other authorities. Good research and sympathetic clinical assessment is necessary to understand the nature and extent of activities such as sexting, before strong recommendations about how to counsel and educate youth and their families are developed and disseminated.

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

- 1. Estimates of youth involved in sexting vary considerably depending on what activities are included in the concept of sexting. The percentage of youth who have, in the past year, appeared in or created sexually explicit sexual images that potentially violate child pornography laws is small (1%). But if sexting is defined as appearing in, creating or receiving sexually suggestive rather than explicit images, the survey finds 9.6% of youth who used the Internet in the past year involved in this way. Many previous surveys on sexting have used the more expansive definition that captures sexually suggestive images and includes receiving such images, with percentages similar to our 9.6% 9. However, the much more detailed information obtained by the current survey suggests that the percentages of youth who appear in or create sexually explicit photographs that could meet the definition of child pornography, is much smaller.
- 2. Results about sexting are reassuring. Only a small percentage of young people are appearing in or creating sexting images that could be considered illegal child pornography. Moreover, few of these images were being forwarded or posted, situations that could put youth at risk of having their images circulated online. Our lower and more accurate measurements may be particularly important for those interested in applying a norms-based approach to prevention, one that tries to dissuade youth from the perception that risky behaviors are the norm within their peer group.

- But receiving and thus possession of potentially illegal images among young people is widespread enough that education about this and its consequences is strongly warranted. Young people need to be instructed that the possession of sexually explicit images of minors is currently a criminal offense, and that such images should be deleted and never retransmitted.
- 3. Sexting of explicit images involves a small percentage, but still a considerable number of youth. This raises the question of how the law should treat such cases. Subjecting youth to severe penalties for activities that would be legal for an 18 year old as long as no exploitation was involved is increasingly being recognized as not appropriate. States like Vermont have taken steps to decriminalize some forms of this behavior, while others have reduced the severity to misdemeanor status ^{12,13}.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For the purposes of compliance with Section 507 of PL 104-208 (the "Stevens Amendment"), readers are advised that 100% of the funds for this program are derived from federal sources. This project was supported by Grant No. 2009-SN-B9-0002 awarded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. The total amount of federal funding involved is \$734,900. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

REFERENCES

- Wolak J & Finkelhor D. (2011). Sexting: A Typology. Crimes against Children Research Center: Durham, NH. Accessed December 26, 2013 at http://unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/ CV231_Sexting%20Typology%20Bulletin_4-6-11 revised.pdf.
- 2. Koppel N & Jones A. (2010). Are 'Sext' Messages a Teenage Felony or Folly? *Wall Street Journal Eastern Edition*, 256(47):D1-D2.
- 3. Hinduja S & Patchin JW. (2010). Sexting. A Brief Guide for Educators and Parents. Cyberbullying Research Center. Accessed December 26, 2013 at http://www.cyberbullying.us/Sexting_Fact_Sheet.pdf.
- Lithwick D. (2009). Textual Misconduct: What to do about teens and their dumb naked photos of themselves. Slate. Accessed December 26, 2013 at http://www.slate.com/ id/2211169/.
- 5. Klepper D. (2011). Teen Sexting Penalties May Be Relaxed By States. *The Huffington Post*. Accessed December 26, 2013 at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/06/13/teen-sexting-penalties_n_875783.html.

- 6. The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, CosmoGirl.com. (2008). Sex and tech: Results from a survey of teens and young adults. Washington DC.
- 7. Cox Communications. (2009). *Teen online & wireless safety survey: Cyberbullying, sexting, and parental controls.* Cox Communications, National Center for Missing & Exploited Children, and John Walsh: Atlanta, GA.
- Associated Press & MTV. (2009). AP-MTV Digital abuse study, Executive Summary. Accessed December 27, 2013 at http:// www.athinline.org/MTV-AP_Digital_Abuse_Study_Executive_ Summary.pdf.
- Lounsbury K, Mitchell KJ, Finkehor D. (2011). The True Prevalence of Sexting. Accessed December 26, 2013 at http://unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/Sexting%20Fact%20Sheet%204 29 11.pdf.
- Finkehor D. (2010). The Internet, Youth Deviance and the Problem of Juvenoia. Talk given October 22, 2010. Recording accessed December 26, 2013 at http://vimeo.com/16900027.
- 11. Finkelhor D. (2008). *Childhood victimization: Violence, crime, and abuse in the lives of young people*. Oxford University Press: USA.
- Sacco DT, Argudin R, Maquire J & Tallon K. (2010). Sexting: Youth Practices and Legal Implications. Youth and Media Policy Working Group Initiative Accessed December 26, 2013 at http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/Sacco_Argudin_Maguire_Tallon_Sexting_Jun2010.pdf.
- 13. Calvert C. (2009). Sex, cell phones, privacy, and the first amendment: When children become child pornographers and the Lolita Effect undermines the law. *Community Law Conspectus*, 18(1), 1-65.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

More information about the Youth Internet Safety Surveys and other youth victimization is available on the Crimes against Children Research Center web site: http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/internet-crimes/



CRIMES AGAINST CHILDREN RESEARCH CENTER

126 Horton Social Science Center Durham, NH 03824

(603) 862-1888 (603) 862-1122 FAX

www.unh.edu/ccrc