Not Just Flirting

The unequal experiences and consequences of nude image-sharing by young people

Independent research by Revealing Reality
About Revealing Reality

Revealing Reality is a multi-award-winning insight and innovation agency. We enjoy working on challenging projects with social purpose to inform policy, design and behaviour change.

Many of our projects, particularly those in the media space, have uncovered areas of insight that we feel are under-researched.

To prompt action and begin necessary conversations, we have made the decision to embark on a series of self-funded projects exploring these areas – enabling us to become thought-leaders in the space of online media habits and behaviours.

We would like to say a big thank you to the PSHE Association, which has supported this project and was instrumental in facilitating access to secondary schools that made it possible to conduct a large-scale survey on such a sensitive topic across a demographically wide sample.

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WHY WE HAVE DONE THIS RESEARCH

Foreword by Revealing Reality
The exchanging of nude images by young people is commonplace. But we suspected that its consequences do some of them real harm, with the vulnerable suffering the most, writes Damon De Ionno.

Do all young people share nude images?
Is sharing nudes merely a harmless form of flirting in the digital age?
Isn’t it actually an illustration of sex positivity?
Is the experience of image-sharing the same for boys as for girls?
Can’t young people simply opt out if they don’t want to share or see nude images?
Does nude image-sharing have any knock-on effects?

Over the last few years, Revealing Reality has been commissioned by a range of public and private-sector clients to explore and develop understanding of young people’s online behaviours, experiences and harm.

“So we felt it was important to gather and share evidence of what was happening so we could answer questions like those above.

We wanted to test our hypothesis that there were significant inequalities between who was most likely to face harm, how able they felt to speak up or act to prevent it, and the part it played in their relationships more widely.

While other studies have described the scale of image-sharing behaviour, we felt there was a need for research that specifically sought to understand and reveal at scale the structural inequalities that we suspected were reflected – and potentially even magnified – through young people’s experiences of image-sharing.
The impetus we felt to do this research grew after the “Everyone’s Invited” initiative – which encouraged young people to share their stories of sexual harassment and violence – revealed the extent of the dissatisfaction girls can feel over how they’re treated. Some of the shocking stories and spokespersons who garnered most airtime were those from private schools. In our experience across numerous research projects, inappropriate sexual behaviour happening to and between more privileged children was likely to be at least as widespread and serious among more disadvantaged children – potentially more so. But disadvantaged young people are likely to feel less entitled or empowered to speak out – or even to expect better in the first place. We wanted to reveal what was happening.

At the same time, narratives around nude-image-sharing – among people who acknowledged the scale of the activity – were often expressed in binary terms. Either it was considered an illegal activity, the sharing of child sex abuse material (CSAM), which should be stopped, or it tended to be dismissed as ‘just what kids do nowadays’ – a contemporary version of flirting, an empowered and empowering expression of sexuality.

For this research we wanted to explore specifically whether, far from being a situation that disproportionately affected relatively privileged children, experiences of image-sharing may in fact be worse for more disadvantaged children. And that while in some cases nude image-sharing may be empowered or part of flirting, in many cases it can turn into or mask experiences or outcomes that are not just harmless fun.

“We wanted to test our hypothesis that there were significant inequalities between who was most likely to face harm, how able they felt to speak up or act to prevent it, and the part it played in their relationships”

We hope you find this research illuminating and that it is used to raise awareness, inform policy and improve experiences for young people.

Damon De Iongno is the managing director of Revealing Reality
WHY THIS RESEARCH WAS NEEDED

Foreword by the PSHE Association
Understanding the landscape of image-sharing and equipping teachers with tools to discuss it are the best ways to ensure young people are well supported in all schools, says Jonathan Baggaley

The sharing of nude and nearly nude images between young people is far from a new issue for schools. For more than a decade teachers have been at the sharp end, dealing with the impact on individual students and school communities, handling safeguarding issues and trying to keep pace through the PSHE education curriculum.

Doing so consistently and effectively has been a challenge without fully understanding the role of nude image-sharing in young people’s developing relationships and amongst their peer communities in such depth. And without having a clear picture of the disparities and power imbalances that make it so damaging for some over others, on both an individual and cultural level.

That’s why this landmark Revealing Reality report is so important. It sheds unprecedented light not only on the extent of the issue but the unequal way in which it affects young people depending on their gender, socioeconomic circumstances and self-perception.

So how can education make a difference? Though just one part of a potential solution, education is a crucial. The findings – though alarming – allow us and others in the education sector to better understand the complexity of the issue and support teachers and schools to help. It gives us a basis on which to create solutions – starting with our new PSHE lesson plans – that get to the heart of the issue.

By exploring the pressures and consequences, and the disparity with which they are experienced depending on circumstances, we can think beyond the binary of a blunt “just say no” approach or an uncritical acceptance of nudes as a new form of flirting. Instead, we must all grapple with the underlying motivations and misconceptions that power the problem.

“The findings – though alarming – allow us and others in the education sector to better understand the complexity of the issue and support teachers and schools to help”

Giving insight into the extent and reasons why, for example, the issue is so much more challenging for girls, prompts us to highlight and address this disparity in the classroom. And its suggestion about the impact of school culture more generally reminds us of the importance of a whole-school approach involving the curriculum,
pastoral support and school policies all working together coherently.

Regarding the curriculum, this report provides yet more argument for the importance of all young people being guaranteed an education that helps them stay safe, helps prevent them harming others and supports them to think and act independently but responsibly.

“The lesson plans and teacher guidance we created to accompany this research aim to help teachers shift the narrative around both consensual and non-consensual nude image-sharing”

Since September 2020 it’s been compulsory for schools to cover relationships and sex aspects of the PSHE curriculum. This important step by the Department for Education – and Ofsted’s increased focus on PSHE education – provides a platform from which schools can begin to address these issues, but only if they are supported and empowered to do so.

Schools are on a journey towards getting this right, with many doing so effectively and others working on ensuring better PSHE education. Key to all of this is making sure it is delivered by trained teachers, though regular high quality lessons and as part of a coherent programme.

The lesson plans and teacher guidance we created to accompany this research aim to help teachers shift the narrative around both consensual and non-consensual nude image-sharing. They explore the feelings and pressure associated with receiving unwanted nudes or being coerced into sending an image. And they challenge perceptions and social norms related to image-sharing and encourage young people to discuss strategies to manage unwanted images, unwanted requests and pressure to send or request images themselves.

We hope the findings of this research and the lesson plans we’ve developed will provide teachers with new tools to tackle this existing but evolving issue.

Jonathan Baggaley is chief executive of the PSHE Association
WHAT THE RESEARCH INVOLVED

Large-scale survey plus in-depth interviews with young people and professionals working with children
In-depth qualitative interviews with 22 young people

Researchers interviewed 22 young people aged 14 to 22 in all nations of the UK, finding out in detail about their personal experiences of sharing nude or nearly nude images. Interviews were conducted in person and covered a wide range of topics about the respondent’s social life, family and personal life from early childhood through to their current circumstances. As well as using recruitment partners to recruit young people who wanted to take part, we partnered with the PSHE Association who shared information about the research with their network of schools across England, which enabled us to speak to a wide range of young people. The focus of these interviews was on uncovering the wide range of experiences people have had of image-sharing, and participants often had specific, sometimes negative incidents in mind which had led to them taking part.
Interviews with 7 professionals working with children

In addition to speaking to young people themselves, researchers interviewed 7 professionals working with children in a range of roles. These included headteachers, a school behaviour officer, an ex-safeguarding lead, a youth worker and two PSHE educators working independently and at a local authority. These interviews were designed to understand staff experiences of image-sharing in secondary schools, the ways it was taught within the curriculum and how young people were supported with negative experiences of image-sharing.
To understand the scale of the experiences young people had described in the qualitative work and the themes emerging from analysis, a survey was designed to capture data from 15- to 18-year-olds across the UK.\(^2\)

We wanted to survey children in schools so that they were likely to feel less inhibited than, for example, if their participation had required parental involvement. We also wanted the survey to be part of a dedicated whole lesson in which it was appropriate to ask a series of questions on this sensitive topic, which would not have been possible using a paid-for children’s sample.

We worked with the PSHE Association, which created a lesson plan that included students completing the online survey, and shared this across their national network of schools in England, ensuring as many schools as possible had the opportunity to participate. This lesson plan was carefully designed so that it didn’t create research effects, i.e. it didn’t influence the answers students gave. As such, it didn’t focus on image-sharing; instead its intended learning outcomes were to further students’ understanding of participation in research, consent, privacy, use of data and influences over a decision to participate in a research study. This meant we could be confident they were informed about what it meant to consent to take part in research before they took the survey.

Revealing Reality researchers also reached out directly to schools up and down the UK to see if they would be interested in participating, with the aim of ensuring the survey sample was as representative of the wider population of 15–18-year-olds as possible. In total, 5,197 students completed the survey, from 64 schools and colleges during the autumn term of 2021. This includes a small number (72) of 14-year-olds who chose to complete the survey and are included.

We emphasised that wherever possible, we were keen for whole classes to participate, to improve the quality of the sample by covering a broader range of children. However, it is important to note that the survey sample is not perfectly representative of children in the UK as the composition was to some extent dependent on which schools and classes chose to participate.

Overall, due to the size and diversity of the sample, we feel confident in being able to draw the conclusions that we have from the survey data and have been able to make much needed comparisons between groups. In most cases, data is reported among specific sub-groups rather than the total sample to focus on these comparisons, and data is often reported among those who report having shared or received nude images.
LGBT+ inclusivity

In this report we have focused on gendered differences in experiences between girls and boys, particularly in heterosexual relationships and encounters, because we have more data on these and we found clear evidence of differences between the two groups across the quantitative and qualitative research.

The survey sample includes a proportion of young people identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans (approximately 800 out of 5,197 – see table below). As this sample size is comparatively smaller, especially when doing analysis based only on those who reported sharing nude images, and because it covers a wide range of experiences, it would be harder to draw conclusions from the evidence specifically relating to LGBT+ young people. We are always careful not to generalise from diverse experiences and this area would benefit from further research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How would you describe your sexual orientation?</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gay or lesbian</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisexual/pansexual</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sexual orientation</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straight or heterosexual</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>3,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know / prefer not to say</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>424</td>
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<tr>
<th>How would you describe your gender?</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-binary/other</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>2,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>2,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to say</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
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Defining socio-economic grade and disadvantage

We wanted to explore whether experiences of image-sharing differed by the relative economic and social ‘status’ of the young people involved for different groups. For this reason, when citing evidence from the in-depth interviews, where we were able to talk to and meet the respondents in person, we have referred in this report to their socio-economic grade (SEG).

Traditionally, SEG is based on the classification of someone’s working status and job role. As we were interviewing young people SEG was estimated based on the working status and income of their parents. For the survey, because it’s not reliable to rely on children to accurately report their parents’ jobs, we used a separate set of indicators of disadvantage (see page 71).

Definitions of SEG

In this research, we have assigned all participants in the qualitative interviews socio-economic grade. These are based on the standard National Readership Survey definitions, which have been used by the research industry for more than 50 years.

There are six groups, but, as is standard practice, we have combined some of the smaller groups to create four grades.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Types of job</th>
<th>% of population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Higher or intermediate managerial and professional</td>
<td>~26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Supervisory, clerical, junior management</td>
<td>~29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Skilled manual workers</td>
<td>~21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE</td>
<td>Semi-skilled, casual, unemployed</td>
<td>~24%</td>
</tr>
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Note: an updated version of SEG, the NS-SEC is recommended by the ONS but is a less simple classification, so SEG is often still used in market research as it is accessible and simple.
Ethical considerations and safeguarding

**Asking about sensitive topics in the survey**

Due to the sensitive nature of the content, the survey was targeted at those aged 15 and over, although we know that image-sharing often happens much younger than this. It was also important that the survey was completed in an environment in which these topics could be discussed, which is why schools were encouraged to use PSHE lessons to participate. Students taking the survey were not obliged to answer any questions and were provided with ‘prefer not say’ options throughout, as well as the ability to leave the survey at any time. Teachers were informed ahead of time what topics were included so they could judge the suitability for their students and were provided with resources and places people could be signposted for information and support should any issues arise.

**Protecting the anonymity of those who took part in the research**

All students completed the survey anonymously, so their responses could not be linked back to them. We have used pseudonyms to refer to respondents who took part in the qualitative research, and have changed certain details such as their location, to protect their anonymity. Respondents gave informed consent for their information to be used in this way.

**Safeguarding**

Researchers followed usual safeguarding procedures, which put the wellbeing and safety of those who take part above anything else.

For the quantitative research, in addition to the details mentioned above, the following measures were taken to safeguard children taking the survey:

- It was given to children only if they were in a class where they could be expected to be aged 15 or older.
- There was a ‘prefer not to say’ option in answer to all questions and it was not compulsory to answer any of the questions.
- The wording and topic of the questions was designed carefully to avoid introducing new ideas to young people.
- The survey was only run within the PSHE lesson environment using the agreed lesson plan on informed consent to research.

For the qualitative interviews, these measures included:

- Gaining parental or guardian consent for all children participating aged under 16;
- Taking all reasonable steps to ensure that those taking part understand the nature and implications of their participation;
Ensuring respondents are aware they do not have to answer any questions or talk about any topics, that they do not want to;

Giving all respondents the option to ask any questions before, during and after the interview;

If a researcher ever believes a participant to be suffering from, or at risk of, significant harm, then they must report this to the relevant agencies, notwithstanding confidentiality (this condition is made clear to all participants and their parents or guardians before informed consent is obtained);

All researchers carrying out interviews have enhanced DBS checks and are experienced conducting research with young people on sensitive topics.

Legal and practical definitions of nude image-sharing by children

Nude image-sharing among under 18-year-olds is a topic that must be treated with sensitivity, both emotionally and legally.

While children themselves rarely discuss it in these terms, this report describes the creation and distribution of indecent images or videos of children, which is a crime. Throughout this report we are therefore frequently describing illegal acts committed by children.

The UK Council for Internet Safety (UKCIS) has published guidance for educational settings on the response to nude image-sharing among children. This guidance sets out the view that the law criminalising indecent images of children was created to protect children and young people and not to criminalise them. The law was also developed long before the mass adoption of smartphone cameras and social media platforms among children, which has radically changed the nature and prevalence of this behaviour. The view of UKCIS is therefore that while the police may be required to make investigations into cases of nude image-sharing among children, the criminal justice response and formal sanctions against a child or young person should only be considered in exceptional circumstances.

Considering this guidance and our own reflections on the portrayal of this behaviour in our research, we have taken the decision to avoid introducing legalistic language or frameworks throughout the report, choosing instead to report experiences and behaviours largely in the voices of the children who took part in the research.

Naturally, discussing these behaviours with children has involved careful consideration of our safeguarding responsibilities and was a primary consideration in the design of the research methodology.

We hope that we have struck the right balance in treating this issue with the severity and seriousness it warrants while fairly reflecting the perspectives and voices of the children who shared their experiences with us.
Limitations – including likely under-reporting

This research approach is not without its limitations. Most significant is that the research relies on self-selection and self-reported data – people and schools chose to participate in the work and we are relying on personal testimony. Although we are confident in the conclusions that can be drawn from the extensive qualitative and quantitative data we collected, we believe it is important to highlight a number of challenges.

Firstly, we suspect that the overall rate of image-sharing is likely to be under-reported – children were asked to complete the survey in class, and we must recognise this environment may well have had an impact on what they felt comfortable reporting.

We also believe that certain groups of students are less well represented in the survey sample than others – schools in areas with higher rates of deprivation, for example, are limited, while representation of independent schools is relatively high. Nonetheless, we aimed for the participation of as many whole classes as possible to create as balanced a sample as we could.

While the in-depth interviews were conducted with participants from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the majority of the survey responses came from schools in England.

Taking all this into account, we believe this work still makes use of some of the most complete data available on this topic.
INTRODUCTION

Nudes are normal but experiences vary hugely, and it is crucial to understand why.
Nudes are normal but experiences vary hugely, and it is crucial to understand why

Sharing and receiving nude or nearly nude images is now a common and normalised part of young people's experience of growing up. But this research shows it is not an equal experience. And it is often not a positive one.

Not all young people share nude images themselves, but a huge number of young people have received or seen nude or nearly nude images. Sometimes the images are of people they know, sometimes they are of strangers.

Teenagers are all aware that their peers share and/or receive nude images and they often discuss it from quite a young age.

This is not the first research to attempt to quantify the extent of nude image-sharing among young people, but we believe it provides unique evidence that some children have a significantly worse experience than others: the negative impacts of image-sharing tend to reflect or even magnify existing inequalities.

It's also clear from talking to professionals who work with children that schools can take quite different approaches to nude image-sharing among their students.

Doing such a large study – which also included in-depth qualitative interviews with young people about their experiences of image-sharing – has allowed us to understand:

- Why young people share nude and nearly nude images
- How they feel about nude image-sharing
- What they see and experience as the consequences of image-sharing
- Differences between boys' and girls' experiences of nude image-sharing
- Differences between experiences of nude image-sharing by different socio-economic groups
- How, in practice, nude image-sharing is enabled.

The rich findings and insight this research reveals open up possibilities to have better-informed conversations with young people about their experiences of nude image-sharing, whether as teachers, PSHE practitioners, parents or other providers of support.

We are delighted that the PSHE Association, which helped disseminate the survey to ensure we were able to reach children across a wide range of over 64 schools, nearly all in the UK, and has used the findings in this research to develop tailored lesson plans to help teachers consider new ways to engage their pupils on this topic in a relatable way.
We hope the evidence uncovered in this work will also inform the development of policies and services provided for young people and their families, not only those specifically focusing on young people's personal and social development, but when considering real-life experience of structural inequalities.

Having a data set of this size and richness has enabled us to demonstrate and describe how in many cases, nude image-sharing is not just a present-day form of harmless flirting, but an often fraught experience imbued with power imbalances.

- Boys and girls tend to share nudes for different reasons and have differing experiences
- Girls’ experience of nude image-sharing is more frequently negative
- Girls from disadvantaged backgrounds have the worst experiences of nude image-sharing
- Children’s confidence – or lack of confidence – about their bodies seems to shape their experience of nude image-sharing

In this report, we explore each of these themes in turn – revealing both what nude image-sharing among young people looks like at scale and bringing to life the reality of image-sharing for the young people we spoke to.

**Who is this report for?**

This report is for everyone who wants to understand this aspect of young people's experience of growing up and to be able to consider what education, support or interventions might reduce the risk of young people facing negative consequences of image-sharing.

The relatively recent prevalence of smartphones among teenagers combined with the pace of technological change means image-sharing is an experience that many parents, teachers and others may not have had themselves growing up, and may struggle to relate to or accurately imagine.

We wanted to reveal the reality behind perceptions that nude image-sharing is ‘simply what kids do these days’ and that it is generally harmless or even empowering – to show that there is often more to it than ‘just flirting’. While some children certainly feel it’s a harmless part of their sexual experience and development, this research demonstrates that not all young people have a positive experience and that negative effects, where they exist, can be deep and long-lasting.

To help bridge this gap, we wanted to add to the existing data that shows image-sharing is a widespread and normalised experience for young people by conducting the most detailed survey of its kind on this subject. We wanted to provide a large enough data set that it can be used to illustrate how common image-sharing is, while also being able to examine the data to explore differences between boys and
girls, and young people with different levels of advantage, disadvantage and self-confidence, so that the data could be considered where it ‘intersects’ with other areas of policy focus or service delivery.

We offered all schools that took part in the research access to their own (anonymised) data so they could learn more about their students’ experiences and feelings and consider any changes they wanted to make.

What do we mean by nude image-sharing?

- In this research, we focus on children's and young people's experiences of sharing nude or nearly nude pictures or videos, which we refer to collectively as 'nude images' or 'nudes'.
- Nearly nude images might include pictures or videos of young people in swimwear or underwear.
- Some of the images young people tell us about in this research are of a young person's whole body, others are of just one part of their body, including images of genitals. Some pictures and videos are of sexual activity, for example masturbation.
- For ease, we use 'images' to cover both pictures and videos, as young people themselves don't draw a distinction.
- In this research we asked young people about their experiences of sharing images, of having images shared with them, and of their awareness of other people sharing images.
- In the quantitative research, we also explored various scenarios around image-sharing, asking young people ‘what if...’ questions to capture what they thought or imagined the consequences would be for those involved if nudes were shared beyond their original recipient, for example with wider peer groups.
- In the qualitative research, young people often described similar scenarios that they had experienced or witnessed themselves.

At the same time, we wanted to get beneath the facts and figures, spending time talking at length to young people to shed more light on their narratives and expectations around image-sharing, the choices they feel they face, and the outcomes they hope for or fear.

This report aims both to convey young people's experiences at scale and to share rich stories that illustrate what image-sharing looks like for individuals.

We hope these experiences will be explored by parents, teachers, those working with young people to support their personal, social and emotional development, and service providers or policy-makers working with children and families to reduce disadvantage and its effects.
WHAT IS HAPPENING?

Nude image-sharing is a normal part of growing up for many young people.
Nude image-sharing is a normal part of growing up for many young people

Not all young people share nudes, but they are aware of it going on around them

Sharing nude images has become a normalised part of young people's lives. Even if they're not sharing images themselves, lots of young people are being sent images; and even if they're not being sent images, they are often being asked to send them to other people.

The majority of young people we surveyed said they'd never shared a nude or nearly nude image of themselves. Of girls aged 14 to 16, 17% said they had shared, and 11% of boys. This rises to 26% of girls and 23% of boys aged 17 to 18.

But six in 10 girls and three in 10 boys said they'd been asked to share a nude by someone else. And more than half of girls and nearly a third of boys said they had been sent a nude or nearly nude image.

Most young people say they aren’t sent nude images very often. But for a minority it’s a frequent experience, happening to them at least once a week. Among the young people we interviewed, several said there were years at school when image-sharing was commonplace.

“It was normal for couples to send pictures... It was a normal thing for pictures to be shared as well. You would see pictures all the time.”

Morag, 22, Edinburgh, C2
Q: Have you ever sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of yourself? *Among total sample*

**Girls**
- Total by age:
  - 15: 20%
  - 16: 12%
  - 17: 18%
  - 18: 24%

**Boys**
- Total by age:
  - 15: 13%
  - 16: 18%
  - 17: 24%
  - 18: 32%

**Key**
- Blue = Yes
- Orange = No
- Grey = Prefer not to say

Q: Have you ever been asked to share a nude or nearly nude image or video before? *Among total sample*

**Girls**
- Total by age:
  - 15: 60%
  - 16: 80%
  - 17: 67%
  - 18: 58%

**Boys**
- Total by age:
  - 15: 79%
  - 16: 72%
  - 17: 58%
  - 18: 51%

**Key**
- Blue = Yes
- Orange = No
- Grey = Prefer not to say

Q: Has anyone ever sent you a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before? *Among total sample*

**Girls**
- Total by age:
  - 15: 54%
  - 16: 39%
  - 17: 51%
  - 18: 50%

**Boys**
- Total by age:
  - 15: 30%
  - 16: 45%
  - 17: 45%
  - 18: 42%

**Key**
- Blue = Yes
- Orange = No
- Grey = Prefer not to say

*BASE: Total sample. Girls n=2629; Boys n=2127; 15 n=1891; 16 n=1596; 17 n=968; 18 n=219. n= number of respondents*
Professionals working with children agreed, and many said they realised that the instances that came to their attention were likely to represent only a small fraction of image-sharing activity.

“I think it is prevalent, much more than we know”
Headteacher

“It is just part of their existence... it is young people’s culture”
Youth worker

One in three of the girls we surveyed said they were first asked to share a nude image when they were 13 or younger. Being asked to share images at these young ages was less common in boys, though still reported by a small minority.¹¹

For boys who’d sent a nude, a quarter of them said they had first done so before they were 14.¹² We heard similar recollections from some of the boys we interviewed.

---

**Q:** How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? Among the total sample

34% of girls and 9% of boys were first asked to share a nude aged 13 or younger

BASE: Girls n=2585; Boys n=2067.

**Q:** How old do you think you were when you first sent a picture or video like this? Among those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

33% of girls and 25% of boys first sent an image aged 13 or younger

BASE: Girls n=514; Boys n=285.

n= number of respondents
“It was either when I was 12 or 13... It was with somebody my age when I was doing it... At first it was just like [texting] pictures of our faces and stuff, but eventually it went into more sexual pictures.”

Chris, 18, Newcastle, DE

Young people share images with people they know – and people they don’t

Of those who said they’d shared nudes, both girls and boys were most likely to say they’d sent them to someone they knew, either someone they were in a relationship with at the time, or someone they knew and were chatting to online, even if they weren’t in a relationship with them13.

“I have sent them, yeah... I wouldn’t unless I knew them reasonably well. And I wouldn’t unless it was in some form solicited [the other person had indicated they wanted them].”

Erin, 18, Enfield, AB

“I would never do it out of a relationship.”

Ailis, 17, Northern Ireland, DE

Q: Have you ever sent nude images or videos to any of the following types of people, or in any of these ways? Among those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Someone I am/was in a relationship with at the time</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone I knew and was chatting to online or on social media, but wasn’t in a ‘relationship with’</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone I have/had only spoken to online or on social media (never met in person)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone I don’t really know at all</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A friend (but you wouldn’t consider close)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close friends</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A group chat</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posted publicly on social media (e.g. Snapchat, Instagram)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BASE: Girls n=513; Boys n=279 n= number of respondents

Revealing Reality Not just flirting | What is happening? 27
One-fifth of girls and boys who'd shared nudes said they'd do so with someone they didn't really know at all. More than a third said they'd shared images with someone they'd spoken to online or on social media but never met in person.

Chris’s experiences of sharing nudes at a young age were with strangers online:

“Most of the time [chats with strangers on Omegle] would just start as role play, and then eventually we would start talking without the role play, and we’d get to know each other.”

Chris, 18, Newcastle, DE

A few felt it was “safer” to share nudes with people they didn't know, as they were less likely to “get shared around” in their local area

Some of the young people described feeling less worried about their photos being “leaked” or shared around their local area when they shared nudes with strangers, whom they assumed did not live nearby, as opposed to people from their local area or friends of friends. Ellie explains why she thinks people would be less scared about their nudes being leaked by a stranger.

“I feel like someone would more likely send something to a stranger than a friend of a friend, or from your town, ‘cause people know people and it might get around... But if it’s someone you don’t know and you don’t show your face and you don’t actually tell them where you’re from, even if they do screenshot or post it, there’s nothing to link it to you or where you’re from or get it around your area. It could happen still, but people are less scared to do that.”

Ellie, 16, Hampshire, C1
Ellie saw sharing nudes as a normal part of growing up

Ellie, 16, Hampshire, C1, lives with her parents and two sisters in Hampshire. She goes to a local comprehensive secondary school, and is about to go to college where she will study a mixture of BTECs and A levels.

She told us she had been sending and receiving nudes frequently since she was 14.

Ellie felt that exchanging nudes was a normal and expected part of flirting. She said seeing a nude of someone allowed her to assess whether she was attracted to them before meeting in person. Similarly, getting compliments for her nudes gave Ellie the confidence that a potential partner found her attractive before they became more intimate – it allowed her to “check” they liked the way she looked.

“Some people have different, like, types – someone might like a skinny girl, someone might like a bigger girl. So [nudes] put into perspective [who] they are actually speaking to. Because obviously if you’ve never met them before and it’s quite early days, you don’t want to end up leading someone on but not be officially attracted to someone when you first see them.”

Ellie also told us that sending nudes often felt like the only way she could get to know someone better, given her age and the restrictions imposed by her parents.

“[When you’re older] there are more things you can do, but when you’re young you’re quite restricted [in] how you can get to know someone. You can’t go out late or to each other’s houses.”

Ellie reflected that she sometimes felt pressure to send nudes to make sure the person she was talking to didn’t lose interest in her. Though she didn’t enjoy this, she saw this as a normal teenage experience.

“Well now he has [sent nudes] I sort of have to, and if I don’t then he might not want to speak to me.”

Ellie also frequently received unsolicited nude images and videos from people she didn’t know on Snapchat. She told us that she typically felt “disgusted” by this.
Images received and sent ranged from underwear selfies to young people taking pictures of themselves performing sexual acts

Girls were much more likely than boys to report receiving pictures of people’s genitals and sexual activity. Of all the girls who said they’d ever been sent a nude, nearly three-quarters said the images were typically of genitals, compared with just under four in 10 boys who said the same. For girls, this made it the most common type of image they received. The second most common type of image girls said they received was of sexual activity, for example masturbation – 51% of those who’d received nudes said they were of this, compared with 38% of boys.

“It’s either abs or dick pics or videos of them masturbating, those sorts of things.”

Ellie, 16, Hampshire, C1

Boys reported they were most often sent a picture of one naked body part, for example someone’s bum or boobs, or a picture of someone in their underwear – both were reported by just under 60% of boys who’d received a nude.

Q: What types of pictures have you sent? Among those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Picture</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Picture in underwear</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture of just one body part naked (e.g. bum or boobs)</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topless picture</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirror shot (picture of full body in the mirror)</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture in swimwear (e.g. holiday picture in bikini or trunks)</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fully naked picture</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual activity (e.g. masturbation)</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture of genitals (penis or vagina)</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: = Girls
= Boys

BASE: Girls n=513; Boys n=279, n= number of respondents
This pattern was reflected when the children who had shared images were asked what types of images they had sent. The images the girls most commonly reported sending were of themselves in their underwear or of one naked body part\textsuperscript{18}.

“They [images] never included my face, but it was my whole body, like, naked or in underwear." ["Why never your face?"] Just in case any of them did get leaked or anybody, you know, screenshotted them.”

Vicki, 20, Manchester, DE

Meanwhile, the boys most often said they sent a picture of their genitals, a topless picture or a picture of sexual activity, for example masturbation\textsuperscript{19}.

---

The images young people took were influenced by body ideals portrayed on social media

The majority of young people we interviewed described being keen to portray themselves in a certain way in images of themselves, whether in nude pictures, or public posts on social media.

Body ideals were heavily influenced by what young people were seeing on social media, particularly Instagram. Ella spoke about the pressure to look perfect when posting pictures online:

“I’ll post a photo on Instagram and then delete it in week... There’s quite a lot of pressure to look a certain way... Like the way all these Instagram models look, you just want to look like that.”

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE

Airbrushing and editing photos was common:

“Everyone pretty much uses face tune. I don’t. But someone I know uses it a lot. If you were to look at the pictures and then look at her right next to it, like even if it was the same makeup, same day, she doesn’t look anything like her pictures.”

Vicki, 20, Manchester, DE
This pressure to look a certain way influenced the types of nude images young people were sending too. In the survey, nearly three in 10 girls who had shared a nude said they were copying poses they had seen on social media\textsuperscript{20}.

Erin shared the common trends she had seen in nude image-sharing:

\begin{quote}
“Boys are only gonna send pictures if they’re, like, hard. And girls are only gonna send pictures if they’re looking, like, an ideal certain way. For boys it’s more like, all dick pics look the same. For girls there’s less of a pose but there’s an ideal of what you’d want to look like, you’d want to make your boobs look big, and, like, perky and round”.

Erin, 18, Enfield, AB
\end{quote}
WHY IS IT HAPPENING?
There is often a mismatch between what boys and girls experience and expect, especially when there is a power imbalance.
There is often a mismatch between what boys and girls experience and expect, especially when there is a power imbalance

Children report a range of motivations for sending nudes. These include intimacy and sexual gratification, but also pressure, expectation and validation – and often a combination of two or more of these.

In some cases, young people share nudes to be intimate or for sexual gratification

Young people talk about sharing images as a way of indicating they like someone, building up to dating or as part of a sexual relationship. Many young people report that sharing nudes is part of intimacy and sexual gratification, or simply an expectation within relationships.
Of young people who’ve sent nudes, over half said they did so because they wanted to turn someone on\textsuperscript{21} and a similar proportion said they did so because it’s “an intimate thing people in relationships do”\textsuperscript{22}. They see image-sharing as part of an unfolding relationship, a sexual exchange, which might involve masturbation or be part of foreplay before a physical sexual encounter.

For example, Jack regarded image-sharing as a part of flirting.

“It was always... you’d be single [and] speaking at, like, that flirtatious stage... That’s when you’d send your images and stuff, while you were flirting.”

Jack, 19, Manchester, C2

Vicki said the same:

“We lived far away. We’d flirt and it would get sexual. We’d end up exchanging images.”

Vicki, 20, Manchester, DE

Ailis said she’d swapped images with her boyfriend when they were going to see each other in person later that day,

“If he was going to come over to my house, or him saying: ‘I can’t wait for you to come over.’”

Ailis, 17, Northern Ireland, DE

Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? Among those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I wanted to turn someone on</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s an intimate thing people in relationships do</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s a normal ‘phase’ when starting a relationship / ‘seeing’ someone</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’ve wanted to check/make sure the person I’m talking to finds me attractive</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BASE: Girls n=513; Boys n=279. n = number of respondents
Some young people feel they need to share images before beginning a relationship

Young people often see image-sharing as a normal phase at the start of a relationship or when they first start ‘seeing’ someone. It's a part of flirting or judging whether the other person is ‘into’ you. For some it’s a way to check if the other person will find them attractive or be ‘okay’ with their body if they were to have a physical sexual encounter.

“I think just to get know a little bit of each other. When you get close to someone, it would be like the next bit was to get a picture off them... I think that was just what was necessary”

Jack (19, Manchester, C2)

Josie said she and her boyfriend had swapped nudes before they had sex so there were “no surprises”.

“We just talked about sexual scenarios and obviously we weren’t having sex at that point. I was curious, I did wanna see it.”

Josie, 17, Newcastle, C2

Others felt more confident exploring their sexuality virtually. An ex-secondary school PSHE teacher and sex education innovator said:

“Young people are more confident online – they might talk dirty online but never in person.”

Ex-secondary school PSHE teacher and sex education innovator
But for some, pressure, fear or a need for validation is a more significant driver of why they share images

In quite a lot of cases, image-sharing doesn't seem to be motivated by pleasure or as an expected but usually enjoyable part of a new relationship, but because one or both parties feel a sense of unwanted pressure to share nudes.

“Sometimes I’ve felt really pressured into sharing pictures back... One time a boy threatened to say a lot of stuff if I didn’t”

Danielle, 16, Rochester, DE

A lot of children – particularly girls – said they’d felt pressured to send images, or had done so primarily because someone had asked them to, or because they worried the other person might lose interest if they didn’t.

“If you’re speaking to someone and they send you something, they might then expect you to send something back... They might say ‘Well, I’ve sent something now’ and try to use it against you to convince you to send something back... I feel like people will feel more pressure to and think ‘Well, now he has, I kind of have to.’”

Ellie, 16, Hampshire, C1

Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? Among those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Girls n=513</th>
<th>Boys n=279</th>
<th>Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I want someone to think I’m attractive</td>
<td>41% (+30%)</td>
<td>30% (-10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt pressured into it</td>
<td>46% (+10%)</td>
<td>10% (-25%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’ve wanted to impress someone</td>
<td>29% (+25%)</td>
<td>25% (-10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BASE: Girls n=513; Boys n=279, n = number of respondents

Revealing Reality Not just flirting | Why is it happening?
Girls described feeling this pressure within relationships as well. Vicki said her ex-boyfriend would send her pictures “randomly” and say he wanted one back.

“If I wasn’t in the mood, at my family’s… if I didn’t send one back he’d threaten to break up. So I felt I had to send one back.”

Vicki, 20, Manchester, DE

Girls also more often reported that they wanted people to know they weren’t frigid, that they thought the other person might lose interest if they didn’t send an image, that they wanted to impress someone and that they wanted someone to think they were attractive.

“When the relationship gets a bit meh, like maybe they’ll break up with me, I’ll send them more random nudes because I want them to like me.”

Jasmine, 18, Wales, DE

Freya thought validation was one of the main reasons some of the girls at her school had shared nude images:

“Because they probably wanted like, I don’t want to say validation, but, not all of them—I don’t know them all personally—most of them wanted validation from the boys and wanted to be known as one of the pretty girls, if you know what I mean.”

Freya, 17, Norwich, DE

Adults working with children made similar observations. A youth worker who worked with vulnerable young people felt the main motivation for girls sending nude images was “getting someone to like them” and it “raising their self-esteem in the moment”.

“There is a lot of pressure to send nudes and impress guys on Snapchat. Girls want to impress and they want to be in a relationship, it gives them validation.”

Sex education innovator and former PSHE teacher

Girls also reported more often than boys that they had shared nudes because it made them feel good about themselves.

A number of children said they liked receiving positive comments about the way they looked. For example, Ella, who said:

“It’s like an ego boost as well because you just want the compliments.”

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE
Sometimes sharing nudes looks more transactional

Many young people told us about situations where nudes were seen or treated as more of a transactional, even tradeable commodity. Some people collect them. Some people ‘bait’ others to send them, to add to their collection. Some deliberately ‘leak’ them. People hold onto them as an ‘insurance policy’ against their own nudes being leaked by someone else.

More than one in 10 young people reported that people ask for nudes in case the other person in the relationship treats them badly. More than a third said people ask for them because they get status for having them.

This behaviour doesn't look like flirting. It appears to be about power, status and value exchange. And this changes the dynamics and the impact on people.

Nial and his friend would share any nudes sent to them with each other, as “content” to masturbate to:

“I used to have this group with just another friend, sometimes I would just post people’s nudes into it, just every time we got one... That was very young, when I was like 14, 15”.

Nial, 20, London, AB
For Morag, nudes have always been associated with power and status

Morag, 22, Edinburgh, C2, lives in Edinburgh, where she has just graduated after studying law at university and now works in a supermarket. She is the first person to go to university in her family and is planning to join the Navy if she can’t find a traineeship.

Morag is from a small town between Edinburgh and Glasgow and while she has moved away for university she goes back regularly as all her friends and family still live there. Her parents are both police officers in the local area and her siblings all still live at home so Morag has strong ties to her home town.

Morag attended the local Catholic school in her town where she said sharing nudes and teen pregnancies were common. For Morag, nudes have always been associated with power imbalances between boys and girls. They’ve also often been used a way to get status among peers, rather than as a positive part of flirting, dating or sex.

Morag first came across nudes at high school, when a boy shared images that he’d taken while having sex with a 12-year-old girl into a group chat. Morag described how the boy was praised by his peers for doing this, while the girl was shamed and acquired a “reputation” which she could never shake off.

“[He shared it] to prove to his pals that it was happening... the photo went around the whole school. The boy got applause for it, the girl was called a slut. The reputation never left her... He got a boost and she got downtrodden.”

These sort of experiences were typical throughout Morag’s time at school. She described how girls’ nudes would frequently be ‘leaked’ into group chats, with significant consequences for the girls’ reputations but no repercussions for the boys.

She felt that leaking nudes was motivated by “competition” between boys, who wanted to prove to their friends that girls were into them, and who wanted to “feel good” about themselves.

“All the way through school it was such a thing... [It was] not surprising at all when a picture got leaked.”

Though nude images of Morag had never been leaked around school, she told us that she had felt pressured to send nudes while in a previous relationship. She said a boy had made her feel bad for not wanting to share her nudes, telling her that he was sad and lonely. She hadn’t wanted to share nudes as she felt self-conscious about her weight, but decided to after he asked her repeatedly. She later found out that this boy had shown his friends nude images of a number of girls he was talking to, including the photos she had sent him.

More recently, Morag felt it was “normal” for girls in her circle of friends in her home town to have OnlyFans profiles where they could sell nude images and videos for money. She told us that a lot of the interest in these profiles was from people the creators knew in real life (and often had gone to school with) who saw getting nudes from someone they knew as more exciting than watching anonymous internet porn.

“[A boy said] I can get porn for free online, but I won’t get the porn sitting behind me in English. I want to see what it looks like.”
Perceptions of and motivations for image-sharing vary considerably between boys and girls

One theme that emerged in many of the interviews, and was reflected in the large-scale survey in schools, was that there can be a huge difference between why boys send nudes and how they think girls feel about them, and why girls send nudes and how they feel about sending and receiving them.

Boys are more likely than girls to think that sharing a nude will turn someone on or will prompt the recipient to share one back. And a higher proportion of boys than girls said that sending nudes was “an intimate thing people in relationships do.”

“I think they [girls] enjoy receiving more than sending. How could a girl say she doesn’t want to see it when she is telling me all of these things she wants to do?”

Nial, 20, London, AB

But when girls received an image they hadn’t asked for or wanted, their most frequent reaction was to feel disgust. Seven in 10 girls said this was how receiving an unsolicited image made them feel.

Chart here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disgusted</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprised/shocked</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amused (It was funny)</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upset</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatened</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flattered/pleased to receive it</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It doesn’t make me feel anything</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of these</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q: When you receive a picture or video from someone when you hadn’t asked for one, have you felt any of the following? Among those who report having received a nude when they didn’t ask for one

Key

- = Girls
- = Boys

BASE: Girls n=1449; Boys n=516. n= number of respondents
Ailis, 17, Northern Ireland, DE, described how she felt when she received an unwanted 'dick pic'.

“It was disgusting, I was like ‘Eurgh’. I’ve never asked for them. If you’re having a conversation and it’s getting a bit flirty they’ll send them. I would just change the subject and not reply as it’s not the type of thing you want to be seeing.”

Ailis, 17, Northern Ireland, DE

Several girls we interviewed described being unsure how to respond, lacking confidence or not wanting to appear rude, even when someone had sent them an unsolicited nude.

Asked how she responded to being sent nudes she didn’t want, Ella said:

“You just say ‘Thank you’ or something.”

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE

As well as disgust, four in 10 girls said they were surprised or shocked when they received an image. Just over a third said they were amused. Girls also reported feeling angry, upset and threatened or frightened. Nearly a quarter said receiving an unsolicited nude image didn’t really make them feel “anything”.

2% OF GIRLS who had received a nude image without asking for one felt flattered or pleased

Base: All girls who reported to have received an unsolicited nude or nearly nude image, n=1449. n= number of respondents
Just 2% said they were flattered or pleased to receive an image they hadn’t asked for.

Morag, 22, Edinburgh, C2, said dick pics were never a turn on.

“It just looks like any other, they all just look the exact same. It’s never any more impressive”.

Morag, 22, Edinburgh, C2

Jasmine said the same:

“I’ve never been interested in dick picks. It’s just all the same to me, they don’t do anything for me.”

Jasmine, Wales, 18, DE

This imbalance in motivations and reactions to image-sharing between boys and girls can contribute to and perpetuate a cycle of behaviour in which girls are more likely to have the most negative experiences.

- Boys share images because they think this will turn the recipient on. They typically send pictures of their genitals or of them masturbating.
- Girls report that their reaction to receiving images is most often disgust, shock or finding it funny
- Girls share images for validation, to get attention, or because they feel pressured
- Boys report that receiving images brings them sexual gratification or, if shared on, can bring them status among their peers

Young people did not always equate consent to image-sharing with consent to physical sex

The young people interviewed for the qualitative research talked of images being unsolicited, but didn’t tend to talk specifically about consent – and how they felt consent to nude image-sharing differed from consent to physical sex – until they were prompted.

For Ellie consent featured less in conversations about and experiences of, image-sharing than in-person experiences:

“I feel like it is more casual. Like, people will just send. Okay, some people might ask, like, ‘Oh do you want me to send?’ Or ‘Do you mind?’ But most of the time it is just more casual and people just send it with image-sharing. But then when it comes to actually doing stuff, I think consent is more there. Like with the actual sexual acts rather than image-sharing.”

Ellie, 16, Hampshire, C1
“I suppose you choose whether to send them or not. No one makes you, really, you can always say no. [But in terms of receiving them] it literally just doesn’t exist, consent of receiving them. People just send them, they don’t ask.”

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE

“When my nudes were leaked, you know, that was kind of just well, what did you expect? There was no discussion around consent and boundaries. It was just ‘You sent it. They can do what they want.’ And that’s kind of the risk you take.”

Cheryl, 22, Surrey, C2

One factor in the apparent lack of concern about consent when image-sharing could be that it was less clear what could be done about non-consensual image-sharing. Vicki didn’t feel much could be done about an unsolicited nude:

“You can’t really ring the police on a dick pic you’ve been sent online, they’re not really gonna do much about that are they?”

Vicki, 20, Manchester, DE
Differences between boys and girls over image-sharing mirrored wider differences in how they viewed sexual behaviour in schools

We asked the boys and girls who took part in the survey some questions about their perceptions of the wider culture of sexual behaviour in their school, so we could understand their feelings about the context in which nude image-sharing was taking place.

As with many of their answers to questions about image-sharing, there were notable differences between boys' and girls' perceptions of the wider culture around sex and relationships – including inappropriate behaviour – within their schools.

A much higher proportion of girls than boys said people at their school were tricked or pressured into sending nude pictures. Similar patterns of difference were seen when young people were asked how often people felt pressured into having sex when they didn’t feel totally comfortable doing so and how often people spread intimate details about someone else around the school, for example a story about their sex life. Girls consistently reported these things happening more often. On the whole, those who had shared nude images were more likely to report a range of negative behaviours withing their school happening frequently.

Q: How often do these things happen at your school?

Among total sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Girls %</th>
<th>Boys %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People are tricked or pressured into sending nude pictures 'all the time' or 'quite frequently'</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People have felt pressured into having sex when they didn't feel totally comfortable 'all the time' or 'quite frequently'</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone spreads intimate details about someone else around the school (e.g. a story about their sex life) 'all the time' or 'quite frequently'</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key

- Girls
- Boys

BASE: Total sample: Girls n=2407; Boys n=1908. n = number of respondents
HOW IS IT HAPPENING?

Young people report that Snapchat is used most often for sharing nudes.
Young people report that Snapchat is used most often for sharing nudes

We asked young people taking the survey what platforms were usually used to share nude images. Of those young people who had ever been sent a nude or nearly nude image, 82% reported that when people send nudes they ‘usually’ or ‘always’ used Snapchat to do so. The platform young people reported was next most widely used was Instagram’s direct message function. More than two in 10 young people who had been sent a nude reported Instagram direct messenger was ‘always’ or ‘usually’ used when people sent nudes. A further third said it was used ‘sometimes’ or ‘occasionally’. Twelve per cent of young people who had been sent nudes reported that people ‘always’ or ‘usually’ used Twitter, and 7% said this about Discord.

A very small minority of young people reported young people were using other platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger and TikTok.

Q: How much do people tend to use these different apps/sites to send nude or nearly nude images or videos? Among those who report having received a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

What platforms survey respondents report tend to be used for sending nudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Platform</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Usually</th>
<th>Sometimes/Occasionally</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Prefer not to say</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snapchat</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instagram (private messenger)</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discord</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whatsapp</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other messaging app</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook (messenger)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TikTok</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key
- = Always
- = Usually
- = Sometimes/Occasionally
- = Never
- = Not sure
- = Prefer not to say

BASE: Those who report having received a nude or nearly nude image or video. Total n=1846-1968 (base varies per option). n= number of respondents
A note on the platforms used to create, share and distribute nude imagery of young people

- While this survey shows that children report Snapchat as the most often used platform for sharing nudes, this is likely to refer only to the services on which children report nudes being originally created or sent to them. Other sources suggest child abuse imagery is regularly created and shared among adults via other platforms.

- The Internet Watch Foundation’s (IWF) annual report says that 73% of the child abuse imagery cases reported to them were found on image hosting websites and that self-generated child abuse images and videos are commonly created using live-streaming services.

- WhatsApp reported that it bans approximately 300,000 accounts per month for sharing suspected CEI (child exploitative imagery). Facebook’s transparency reports illustrate that it has “taken action against” 16.5 million pieces of content in relation to child sexual exploitation in the three months January-March 2022.

- The migration of self-generated child abuse imagery (which the IWF reports as an exponentially growing category of material) from platform to platform is poorly understood and incredibly difficult to ascertain.

- Many platforms, including Snapchat, use PhotoDNA technology to automatically detect and report the distribution of previously identified child exploitation material, which aims to reduce recirculation of material. But this system is not able to identify new imagery or videos of this nature.

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Why is Snapchat the most used platform for nude image-sharing among young people?

Snapchat is viewed by young people as “where you go” when they want to exchange nudes with another person.

Young people, especially girls, also talk about being messaged on Instagram or other platforms by people they don’t know, who then suggest they ‘move’ to Snapchat. They assume this is because the other person wants them to send nudes or to send them nudes.

They describe a range of functions on Snapchat that make it the place where they tend to share nudes. Sometimes they understand these functions, sometimes they don’t; sometimes they realise there are ways around some of the functions they think make Snapchat the ‘safest’ place to share nudes, sometimes they don’t.
You get added by them and you look on Snapchat and on Snapchat you can’t tell who anyone is ‘cause it’s just a user name, so you add them back and then they message you and they’ll be, like, 30, and you’re like ‘How did you even get my Snapchat?’ [They know to add you using] Quick Add. I don’t know how it comes about but it’s random people.”

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE
“I was sitting in the pub with my sister and my boyfriend and I had a random Snapchat add and I was like ‘Who is this?’ and I accepted it and he straightaway sent me a message […] and I opened it up and it was just a dick and I screamed and threw my phone on the table.”

Morag, 22, Edinburgh, C2

“I could just open my Snapchat, message them being like ‘Who’s that?’ and the next thing you know, they could be asking for nudes or straight up sending one.”

Danielle, 16, Rochester, DE

2. There are large networks of one-to-one and group chats
Young people in this research said they use Snapchat to communicate with their peers both one-to-one and using group-chats. Many young people we spoke to have hundreds of ‘friends’ on Snapchat who they are in frequent contact with, and they are often in multiple group chats of sizes ranging from five or 10 to up to 100 – e.g., their
school class or year group, friendship group, or groups based around clubs or social events.

Young people told us that, typically, nudes are first shared in one-to-one chats, but they then can be forwarded on to large group chats within only a couple of clicks.

“My friend, her ex-boyfriend at the time was in a group chat, and she would tell us ‘Oh, he sent a picture of this girl and this girl.’”

Teresa, 20, Stockport, C2

We also heard stories in the interviews of images that had been first sent on Snapchat subsequently being shared more widely using other platforms, for example WhatsApp, often via large groups.

3. Images ‘disappear’

By default, an image shared within Snapchat group chats disappear after 24 hours if viewed by all chat members, or after one week if all chat members have not yet viewed it. Images shared within one-to-one conversations automatically disappear once viewed, but this can be changed, to delete after 24 hours. Young people commonly report that Snapchat is seen as the default app on which to share nudes because of this feature. However, images sent in a chat or group chat can be saved in the chat, and will last until they are unsaved by the person who saved them.
“I’ve not had any nudes on [Facebook] Messenger and no one I know has had nudes on Messenger. I suppose it’s just a lot more permanent”

James, 22, Cardiff, C1

The person who sends a Snap can see whether their image has been received or opened. Images sent via Snapchat can be screenshotted, but a notification will be shown to the sender that this has been done – which is seen by young people as a deterrent against non-consensual saving or screenshotting.

“I first started using Snapchat to send nudes when I was, like, 15, because... it timed out after 10 seconds, and it would notify you if they screenshotted it. So I kind of knew what was being done with it.”

Cheryl, 22, Surrey, C2

However, many young people told us about workarounds that they had used or knew of other people using – e.g., taking a picture of a Snap on someone's phone screen using another phone or device. It is widely recognised by young people that sending a nude via Snapchat is not a guaranteed way of preventing images being shared on without consent or 'leaked'.

“But sometimes there’s ways you can do it [screenshot on Snapchat] where it doesn't come up. If you half go into the chat and swipe across half but not fully. Then you can do it without [Snapchat telling the person their image has been screenshotted].”

Nick, 14, Cambridge, AB
Ella stopped sending nudes after her ex-boyfriend shared images of her in a group chat

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE, lives in south London with her mum, sister and two brothers. Her parents separated when she was aged three, but she regularly sees her dad as he lives around the corner. Her mum is unemployed, and her dad is a lorry driver and helps to financially support her and her siblings.

She is in year 13 at the local state school, where she has one big group of friends. She told us her friends would describe her as outgoing, lively, and loud.

Ella told us she communicates with all her friends using Snapchat. She also used to use Snapchat to share nudes, which she said she's been doing with boyfriends or people she was talking to but not in a relationship with since she was 15. She said she shared them only on Snapchat because you get a notification if someone takes a screenshot.

Ella described how if she sent a nude, she always asked for one back as an “insurance policy”, the implication being that if someone ‘leaked’ a nude image of her, she would leak theirs in return. However, she was aware this wouldn't guarantee that someone wouldn’t share her nudes more widely and said the negative consequences were less serious for boys anyway.

When she was 16, her ex-boyfriend shared her nudes in a Snapchat group chat after she’d broken up with him. She knew he had screenshots of her nudes – and she previously had screenshots of his nudes too as an insurance policy – but she had deleted his after they split up, assuming he would do the same. But three months later some male friends told her that her nudes had been posted in a group chat.

She said no one took a screenshot of them.

“They could have but they didn’t, I was just lucky that I was friends with them."

“I said to him, I acted like I still had them [nudes of him]. I said, ‘Delete them or I will post yours everywhere.’ It was an empty threat; I didn’t have anything.”

Ella said she hadn’t sent nudes since then – but she often still receives unsolicited nudes.

“Consent doesn’t exist, people just send them, they don’t ask.”

She said when she went out, boys would come and ask for her Snapchat and if she gave it to them, they would start messaging.

She also gets added on Snapchat by older men who she doesn't know. She’s not sure how they find her.

“You get added by them and you look on Snapchat and on Snapchat you can’t tell who anyone is, because it’s just a username. So you add them back and then they message you and they’ll be, like, 30. And you’re like, ‘How did you even get my Snapchat?’”
WHAT IS THE IMPACT?
Negative experiences of image-sharing are worse for some groups than others.
Negative experiences of image-sharing are worse for some groups than others

**Girls have more negative experiences of image-sharing than boys**

Boys’ and girls’ experiences of seeing, sending and receiving nude images are often quite different. The findings from our large-scale survey indicate there are differences in how often boys and girls share nudes, the reasons they do so and the kinds of pictures they share. There are also differences in the kinds of images they like or want.

Both boys and girls also tend to believe that the potential risks or negative consequences of image-sharing are significantly worse for girls than boys.

The interviews we’ve done with young people reflect these differences in motivation and experience.

**Girls are more likely to be asked to send nudes, at a younger age and when they don’t want to**

Girls are much more likely than boys to have been asked to send a nude, and at a younger age. When asked how old they were when they’d first been asked to send a nude, more than one in three girls said they’d been 13 or younger. Only just over a third of the girls in the survey said they’d never been asked at all.

### Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? Among total sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had ever been asked to share a nude</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were first asked to share a nude aged 13 or younger</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boys</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had ever been asked to share a nude</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were first asked to share a nude aged 13 or younger</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BASE: Total sample: Girls n=2407; Boys n=1908. n= number of respondents
Nearly one in 10 boys had been asked for a nude when they were 13 or younger. But two-thirds had never been asked for a nude at all.

“I got sort of pressured into a lot of situations... I was 15, being bullied, just split up with my first boyfriend... so I got pressured into sending a lot of nudes”

Cheryl, 22, Surrey, C2

“Some people are just very straight up about it, like ‘get your ass out’ and stuff like that. That’s not how you ask people. Some people are, like, gradual.”

Danielle, 16, Rochester, DE

Girls are more likely to feel uncomfortable about requests for nudes, and four times as likely as boys to have told someone to stop asking them for nudes. These findings were reflected in the interviews with girls, who described telling boys to stop asking them for pictures.

“I’m just like, ‘I don’t want to,’ and then some of them go on and are like ‘Yeah but why? Yeah but why?’”

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE

Q: Have any of the following things happened to you?
You have told someone to stop asking for nude pictures/videos from you

Among total sample

16% v 4%

Key

= Girls

= Boys

BASE: Total sample. Girls n=2657; Boys n=2157
n = number of respondents
A PSHE education officer from a London local authority said image-sharing behaviours reflected broader patterns in relationships between girls and boys.

“Boys typically have more power in relationships to ask girls to send nudes, and girls want the sexual desire of boys – it’s high school currency.”

PSHE education officer from a London council

Girls are more likely to receive unsolicited or unwanted nude images

Though it was still a minority, girls were nearly four times more likely than boys to be sent a nude image by someone they didn’t know, and which they didn’t want\textsuperscript{53}.

“I think it’s them adding me by search [on Snapchat or Instagram] and then I’ll just go to add them because I think they’re someone from my school and then it was just like [I’m] bombarded with just porn or nudes.”

Freya, 17, Norwich, DE

In addition, nearly half of girls who’d shared a nude themselves had been sent a nude image they didn’t want by someone they did know, compared with less than a fifth of boys\textsuperscript{54}.

\textbf{Big numbers to include here:}

\begin{itemize}
  \item #16\% of girls who’ve received an unsolicited image from someone they didn’t know
  \item #17\% of boys who’ve received an unsolicited image from someone they didn’t know
  \item #18\% of girls who’ve ever shared a nude who received an unsolicited image from someone they didn’t know
  \item #19\% of boys who’ve ever shared a nude who received an unsolicited image from someone they didn’t know
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{53}n= number of respondents

\textbf{Key}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Girls
  \item Boys
\end{itemize}

Q: Have any of the following things happened to you? - Someone you don’t know has sent you a nude picture you didn’t want

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Among total sample</th>
<th>Among those who have sent nude images</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16% v 4%</td>
<td>58% v 22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BASE: Total sample, Girls n=2657; Boys n=2157
n= number of respondents

BASE: Girls n=513; Boys n=279

Revealing Reality \textbf{Not just flirting} | What is the impact? 58
I’ve had people send me pictures that I just don’t want to see... like this boy two days ago, he just sent me so many pictures... I thought I knew him... and I said no, I’m like seeing someone right now... and then later he just kept sending them to me later that evening, even though I’d said no.”

Erin, 18, Enfield, AB

Girls are more likely to have pictures taken without permission or shared without consent

The responses to the survey indicate that girls are more likely than boys to have an image taken of them without their permission.

Girls are also more likely than boys to have had a nude image of them shared with or shown to other people without their permission.
The consequences of sharing nude images are worse for girls than boys

During the interviews we conducted, we heard numerous times that based on their experience and observations, both boys and girls believed the potential negative consequences of image-sharing were worse for girls than boys.

After hearing some of the stories in the interviews, we asked boys and girls doing the survey to imagine some hypothetical scenarios in which young people were sent nudes without asking for them, and in which nudes were ‘leaked’ beyond their original intended recipient.

What emerged clearly was that both boys and girls believe the consequences of images getting leaked were significantly worse for girls than for boys. In some cases,
young people believed that the boys involved – either as the ‘leaker’ or the person whose images were leaked – would actually gain status as a result.

We asked the children who took part in the research to imagine three scenarios taking place in their school, and to consider what the likely outcomes would be for those involved.

**Scenario 1:**

*Imagine that a girl in your school sent a nude selfie to a boy in her year who she was seeing. The boy then shared the picture in a WhatsApp group with his friends, and people around the school ended up seeing it.*

**Question:** *What do you think would normally happen in this situation to the boy and the girl?*

The answers to this question are interesting because they confirm firstly, that both boys and girls think there would be different outcomes for the boy and for the girl in

---

![Chart](chart.png)

*Chart: What do you think would normally happen in this situation [scenario 1] to the boy and to the girl? Answers boys vs girls.

80%

82%

Key

= Girls

= Boys

**Q:** *What do you think would normally happen to the girl in this scenario (scenario 1)?*  

**Among total sample**

- **They would get status from doing it**
  - Girls: 10%
  - Boys: 12%

- **People would think they were funny**
  - Girls: 5%
  - Boys: 4%

- **People would tease them for it**
  - Girls: 68%
  - Boys: 80%

- **People would shame them for doing it**
  - Girls: 61%
  - Boys: 80%

- **People would be angry with them**
  - Girls: 30%
  - Boys: 82%

- **People would be sympathetic to them**
  - Girls: 3%
  - Boys: 65%

- **They would lose social status**
  - Girls: 53%
  - Boys: 71%

- **People wouldn't really care they had done it**
  - Girls: 11%
  - Boys: 19%

- **People would never share naked images with that person in future**
  - Girls: 32%
  - Boys: 30%

- **People would be more likely to ask for nude pictures in future**
  - Girls: 47%
  - Boys: 61%

- **If the school found out, they would punish them**
  - Girls: 57%
  - Boys: 45%

- **If other people had pictures of this person, they would share them around the school**
  - Girls: 32%
  - Boys: 38%

**BASE:** Girls n=2657; Boys n=2157 n= number of respondents

Revealing Reality **Not just flirting** | What is the impact?
the scenario and secondly, because nonetheless the boys imagine the outcomes to be different than girls do.

Girls themselves believed that the outcomes for the girl in the scenario would be worse than the boys thought they would be for her. Four-fifths of girls thought the girl would be teased, a similar number thought she would be shamed, and more than seven in 10 thought she’d lose social status. Over three-fifths of girls also thought people would be more likely to ask the girl for nude pictures in future.55

Girls also believed that the outcomes would be less bad for the boys than boys themselves thought they would be.

However, boys and girls were agreed that the outcomes in this scenario would be significantly worse for the girl than the boy. They were agreed that while the girl might get some sympathy, she would also most likely be teased or shamed and probably lose social status as a result of having her nudes shared. Most of the children thought none of these things was likely to happen to the boy.

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**Q: What do you think would normally happen to the boy in this scenario (scenario 1)?**

*Among total sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome Description</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They would get status from doing it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would think they were funny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would tease them for it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would shame them for doing it</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>People would be angry with them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>People would be sympathetic to them</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>They would lose social status</td>
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<tr>
<td>People wouldn’t really care they had done it</td>
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<td>People would never share naked images with that person in future</td>
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<td>People would be more likely to ask for nude pictures in future</td>
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<td>If the school found out, they would punish them</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If other people had pictures of this person, they would share them around the school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**

- **Girls**
- **Boys**

**BASE: Girls n=2657; Boys n=2157**

**n= number of respondents**

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Revealing Reality *Not just flirting* | What is the impact?
The young people we interviewed described very similar real-life experiences among their peers at school.

For example, Jack, 19, Manchester, C2, described a situation in which a girl at his school had sent a topless picture and a picture of her genitals to a boy she was going out with. He took screenshots of them and shared them with other people, many of whom made derogatory comments about the girl and the images. It was the girl who was shamed, not the boy. “He shared that everywhere and she got loads of stick for it,” he said.

Teresa, 20, Stockport, C2, described a boy who had accidentally posted a nude on his story page. She said he “was teased for about two weeks”. But a female friend of hers had her nudes leaked and “everyone was calling her easy...pretty sure she was depressed then. It was really bad, she had counselling and stuff like that”.

A significant minority of all girls reported being sent unsolicited images from boys they knew or telling boys they knew to stop sending them images.

But the experience for boys who do share unsolicited images is not always perceived as negative. In the interviews we did with young people, and based on survey respondents’ answers when we asked what would happen when a boy shared an unsolicited image, it became clear that sometimes boys could actually gain social status for sending an unsolicited image.

Scenario 2

Imagine that a boy in your school randomly sent a 'dick pic' to a girl in their year on Snapchat, without her asking him to.

**Question:** What do you think would normally happen in this situation to the boy and the girl?

Boys' and girls' answers to what would normally happen to the girl in this situation were pretty similar – and the most popular response given – by nearly half of boys and girls – was that people would be sympathetic to the girl\(^54\).

But there were differences between what girls and boys thought would happen to the boy who’d shared the picture without being asked. Boys were more likely to think the boy would be teased or shamed or that they would lose social status. But nearly a third of boys thought people would think the boy was funny, and a quarter said they’d gain status for sharing the image\(^57\).

This echoed what professionals working with young people tended to observe. An ex-safeguarding lead and now assistant principal said boys were rewarded for poor behaviour around image-sharing and, in some cases, gained status, whereas for girls it was the opposite.

Girls were less likely to think people would tease the boy or shame them and more likely to think the boy would get status for sharing the image or people would think the boy was funny.
Responses to scenario 2

Q: What do you think would normally happen to the girl in this scenario? Among total sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They would get status from doing it</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would think they were funny</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would tease them for it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would shame them for doing it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be angry with them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be sympathetic to them</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They would lose social status</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People wouldn’t really care they had done it</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would never share naked images with that person in future</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be more likely to ask for nude pictures in future</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the school found out, they would punish them</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If other people had pictures of this person, they would share them around the school</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q: What do you think would normally happen to the boy in this scenario? Among total sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They would get status from doing it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would think they were funny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would tease them for it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would shame them for doing it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be angry with them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be sympathetic to them</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They would lose social status</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People wouldn’t really care they had done it</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would never share naked images with that person in future</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be more likely to ask for nude pictures in future</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the school found out, they would punish them</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If other people had pictures of this person, they would share them around the school</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: Girls = red bar, Boys = green bar

BASE:
Girls n=2657; Boys n=2157
n= number of respondents

Revealing Reality Not just flirting | What is the impact?
It’s worse for girls whose images are leaked than for boys whose images are leaked

During the in-depth interviews, the majority of boys and girls alike said that the consequences were worse for girls whose images were shared widely, than they were for boys.

This was borne out in the survey when we asked young people about the following scenario.

Scenario 3

The girl who had received the ‘dick pic’ without asking [for it] took a screenshot of it and shared it in a WhatsApp group with her friends, and it got shared around the school.

Question: What do you think would normally happen in this situation to the boy and the girl?

Both boys and girls believed that the consequences for the boy whose image had been shared without permission would not be as bad as for the girl whose image had been shared without permission in scenario 1. However, boys believed the outcome for the boy in this scenario would be worse than the girls imagined it would be.

The respondents we interviewed were unambiguous about the consequences being worse for girls.

Ellie said she didn't think boys worried about their images getting leaked as much as girls did.

“I don’t think boys worry about it that much. I think boys just see it as it’s just their dick so they can just deny it’s even them. It’s not like their face is in it, so they can just say ‘I never did’.”

Ellie, 16, Hampshire, C1

Meanwhile, Nial said he’d only really be worried if his employer saw a nude image of him.

“I don’t really mind if someone else, like another girl, sees it. I’m just thinking if it got into the wrong hands and ended up on the internet somewhere.”

Nial, 20, London, AB
### Responses to scenario 3

**Q: What do you think would normally happen to the girl in this scenario?**

Among total sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They would get status from doing it</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would think they were funny</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would tease them for it</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would shame them for doing it</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be angry with them</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be sympathetic to them</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They would lose social status</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People wouldn’t really care they had done it</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would never share naked images with that person in future</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be more likely to ask for nude pictures in future</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the school found out, they would punish them</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If other people had pictures of this person, they would share them around the school</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Q: What do you think would normally happen to the boy in this scenario?**

Among total sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They would get status from doing it</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would think they were funny</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would tease them for it</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would shame them for doing it</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>41%</td>
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<tr>
<td>People would be angry with them</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>39%</td>
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<tr>
<td>People would be sympathetic to them</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They would lose social status</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People wouldn’t really care they had done it</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would never share naked images with that person in future</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would be more likely to ask for nude pictures in future</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the school found out, they would punish them</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If other people had pictures of this person, they would share them around the school</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**

- **= Girls
- **= Boys

**BASE:**

- Girls n=2657;
- Boys n=2157

n = number of respondents
Josie summed it up:

“Ah yeah, all the girls get slut-shamed for such a long time and then they wouldn’t have any friends left... nothing bad ever happens to the boys.”

Josie, 17, Newcastle, C2

Ella had similar reflections:

“It’s not as bad for a boy, is it? Like, it happens to them and no one bats an eyelid but when it’s a girl it’s like ’Whoa!’; they just make a big deal out of it.”

Ella, 17, Birmingham, DE

“Aboys don’t get much hate for it, whereas for a girl it’d be talked about and talked about and for a girl it’ll not be forgotten”

Ailis, 17, Northern Ireland, DE

This was also reflected in the interviews with professionals. A PSHE education officer at a London local authority said:

“The fall-out on reputation disproportionately affects girls – we see boys asking girls for nudes and sharing these with their friends on group chats on Snapchat. Other girls will call her a slag and boys will make advances to her thinking she is ‘easy’.”

PSHE education officer at a London council

“I don’t doubt there are a lot of dick pics going around, but I don’t think they look at it the same way or there is the same stigma attached. There doesn’t seem to be an impact on boys if their images are shared on... whereas girls are ostracised.”

Behaviour officer and head of year at a secondary school
Nial ‘leaked’ others’ nudes and had his images leaked too, but felt it wasn’t really a problem for boys

Nial, 20, London, AB, is studying economics at a university in the Midlands where he lives with six housemates. He grew up in a relatively affluent part of north London with his parents and two siblings. His dad works in digital marketing and his mum is a teacher at a local secondary school. Nial enjoyed growing up where he did, was very comfortable, and feels he’s been set up well for the next stage of his life.

Sport, especially football, is very important to Nial. He has always played football, and having a reputation for being good at it is a core part of his identity. He also loves “the social aspect of it, which is amazing”. Beyond sport, he spends a lot of time partying and going out with his mates. Nial gets on best with people who love going out and “aren’t afraid of having a good time...[and] taking risks”.

Having always been confident and good at sport, Nial has always been popular. He’s never had any trouble making friends, and has had sexual relationships with girls since he was 14.

This started with sending and receiving nudes, which he’s been doing since 14. He said he found “everything” about sending nudes fun, and primarily used the images he received for sexual gratification. He emphasised that he doesn’t keep or store up the nude images he’d been sent.

“If I get a nude, I’m just using it for content, I’m not keeping it”

However, when he was at school, he and his friends used to exchange stories about their sexual activity, and also share with each other nudes there were sent by girls.

“We had this group, and when one of us got sent a nude we would just post it in there. This was when we were like 15, I wouldn’t do something like that anymore.”

He had been involved in multiple incidents where image-sharing had led to negative consequences for girls. This included an incident where the police told him and his friends to delete images of a 15-year-old that they all had on their phones.

On a different occasion, Nial described himself and his friends teasing a girl that he had received nudes from and who several of them had had sexual contact with. They repeatedly added her to a WhatsApp chat to mock her about it. When she tried to leave, she’d just be re-added. Nial reflected:

“She was someone who was struggling and needed attention. We’d all done something with her”

Another time, a girl took a screenshot of a nude that Nial had sent her, which she then ‘leaked’ around his school. Nial said that he “didn’t really care” about this, and that after some initial gossip, interest in it quickly died away.

“Boys are too horny and don’t really care [about sending nudes]”
Nial was aware that his experience of having his nudes shared had been markedly
different to many of the girls he knew.

“Boys are known for being lads. It’s always been like that. It’s one of those things
everyone knows about: that girls get it worse, girls will always get it worse. Whether
that’s fair or not. Obviously, it’s not.”

Jasmine, who was bullied, started sending nudes at 14 for validation and now sells videos of herself
stripping on OnlyFans

Jasmine, 18, Wales, DE, was born in North Wales, but moved around a lot as a child because her stepdad was in the Army. She said she’d always had a rocky relationship with her mum and recently found out that her biological father, who she has never met, is in prison.

Jasmine was badly bullied at school, and described herself as the “not-so-good-looking kid” who everyone thought was “weird”.

Jasmine was first asked to send nudes by boys at her school on Snapchat from the age of 13. She first sent a topless photo to a boy at school when she was in year 9 at age 14. She explained that she had a lot of insecurity and challenges forming friendships, and the validation of having boys ask her for pictures and complimenting her on how she looked was a powerful driver.

“So when I was 14 the boys would say, like, ‘Send me a picture, I like you’ and they’d convince me that they liked me. Obviously at the time I was so naive. And it got a bit addicting because they’d compliment me on it.”

“The boys were pressuring me – but it wasn’t like horrible pressure, they were like ‘Oh, I’d love it if you did this, or I think you look amazing, you look beautiful, wow’.”

“I got bullied a lot. I was insecure at the time. I was the not-so-good-looking kid. It just made me feel liked and accepted.”

Jasmine described frequently sending nude pictures to boys who asked her for them throughout years 9 and 10. She said she developed a reputation at school for being willing to send them to anyone who asked. When she was still 14 she described a scenario where an explicit video of her was shared about school and she was badly bullied by both boys and girls at school in the aftermath.

“The boys were, like, begging for videos and stuff. I sent a video of me fingering myself.

“It didn’t happen straightaway when they got shared around the school, it took about two weeks and then all of a sudden I’m walking through school [at] 14 years old and my nudes were on everyone’s phones, and then within two months they were put on all the school iPads.”
When Jasmine was 16 she had an argument with her mum which resulted in her leaving home. She spent a period of time sofa-surfing and staying with different friends, but also had some nights where she was stuck without anywhere to stay. When she was 17 Jasmine started selling nudes via Snapchat to local men to make a bit of money, pretending she was 18.

“I was still 17. I’d go on the Facebook group called ‘Snapchat Add Me’. I’d pretend I was 18, link my Paypal to it too. Loads of guys were adding me and then I’d sell them my nudes.”

Now 18, Jasmine lives in Wales in supported accommodation for young people who have experienced homelessness. She runs an OnlyFans page where she posts videos of herself stripping, pole-dancing and performing sexual acts for subscriber fees.

“I stopping selling on Snapchat when I turned 18, I thought I can’t be arsed with this. But I’ve always posted sexy pictures of myself and I’ve always sexualised myself as a way of taking power back, and people said to me ‘why don’t you start an OnlyFans, get money for it’.”

“At first I just posted normal nudes on it. And people subscribed like mad because it was me and I’m already known for pole-dancing and all the things people say about me. Then I started doing videos once I plucked up the confidence, and now I’m just desensitised to the whole thing.”

Girls from less privileged backgrounds tend to have the worst experiences and face the worst consequences of all

While girls from all backgrounds talked to us in the interviews about negative experiences of image-sharing, there were some striking differences across socio-demographic lines.

This was reflected in the quantitative data. Analysis of young people’s answers to the survey questions we asked about nude image-sharing reveals that their experience was often worse – sometimes significantly so – if they were growing up in more disadvantaged circumstances.

This was particularly striking among disadvantaged girls. They got sent more nudes that they didn’t want, they were asked to share nudes more often, they did share nudes more often, they felt more pressure to share, they were younger when they were first asked to share and they suffered greater reputational damage if they did share nude images.
How are we defining ‘disadvantage’?

It was important we were able to analyse the data according to socio-economic indicators as well as demographic characteristics. We weren't able to use standard SEG designations because they are largely based on the head of household's job and income, and children can't be relied upon to report this accurately.

Instead, we captured a number of metrics that provided useful proxies for relative socio-economic advantage.

- Whether respondent receives free school meals – this is a useful proxy for low income households on account of the eligibility criteria used to determine who does or does not receive free school meals;
- Whether respondent's mother went to university – this has traditionally been a useful proxy for socio-economic status due to the disparity in rates of university educations among women in the UK in previous generations;
- Whether respondent's parents regularly worry about money each month – a subjective measure capturing perceived financial stresses/worries within the respondent's household.

None of these indicators is a perfect measure. However, at scale they provide a valuable way to look at general trends and differences across our sample. When talking about those who are 'disadvantaged' we are referring to people who reported at least one of these indicators. In reality, there is a huge variation when it comes to people's socio-economic position, and it was equally important to try to identify those who were most 'disadvantaged' – to do so we refer to those who reported multiple indicators.

Girls from less privileged backgrounds were more likely to report being asked for, and sharing, nude images

As we’ve seen, girls are more likely than boys to be asked to share nudes. The survey data shows that disadvantaged girls are the most likely of all to have been asked for them.

Nearly two-thirds of girls from a disadvantaged background had been asked to send a nude image, compared with half of the girls from non-disadvantaged backgrounds.58
Sharing and being asked for nudes - selected charts, by girls and indicators of disadvantage

% of girls that said someone had sent them nude or nearly nude images or videos before

- 0 indicators: 50%
- 1 indicator: 54%
- 2 indicators: 62%
- 3 indicators: 62%

BASE: All girls. 0 indicators n=983; 1 indicator n=1248; 2 indicators n=331; 3 indicators n=79. n= number of respondents

% of girls that said they had sent someone nude or nearly nude images or videos of themselves before

- 0 indicators: 19%
- 1 indicator: 19%
- 2 indicators: 24%
- 3 indicators: 27%

BASE: All girls. 0 indicators n=977; 1 indicator n=1245; 2 indicators n=329; 3 indicators n=78. n= number of respondents

% of girls that said they had been first asked to send a nude aged 13 or younger

- 0 indicators: 29%
- 1 indicator: 36%
- 2 indicators: 44%
- 3 indicators: 42%

BASE: All girls. 0 indicators n=959; 1 indicator n=1222; 2 indicators n=325; 3 indicators n=79. n= number of respondents

% of girls that said they received unsolicited nude images at least monthly

- Girls with 0 indicators: 35%
- Girls with 1 indicator: 38%
- Girls with 2 indicators: 40%
- Girls with 3 indicators: 58%

BASE: Those who report having received nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before: Girls, 0 indicators n=485; 1 indicator =657; 2 indicators n=199; 3 indicators n=48. n= number of respondents
Perhaps more importantly, those same girls from more disadvantaged backgrounds were being asked for nudes from a younger age on average. Four in 10 girls reporting two or more indicators of disadvantage had been asked to send nude images to others by the age of 13, compared with less than three in 10 among the girls reporting no indicators.\textsuperscript{59}

As well as being asked for nudes more often, and at a younger age, overall, more disadvantaged girls were more likely to report having received and sent nude images. Nearly one in four of the girls with two indicators reported having shared nude pictures or videos\textsuperscript{60} and six in ten had been sent them\textsuperscript{61}. This compares to just under one in five of the girls with fewer indicators having shared\textsuperscript{62}, and half being sent nudes by others\textsuperscript{63}.

The more indicators of disadvantage a girl reported, the more likely she was to report receiving unsolicited nude images – i.e. without asking for them – at least once a month\textsuperscript{64}. The more disadvantaged boys and girls were both also more likely to report that they had sent unsolicited nude images to others\textsuperscript{65}.

\textbf{Q: How often do these things happen at your school? Among all girls, by indicators of disadvantage}

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& 0 indicators & 1 indicator & 2 indicators & 3 indicators \\
\hline
% of girls that said people are tricked or pressured into sending nude (at their school) & 8% & 11% & 18% & 24% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{Key} = Prefer not to say
\textsuperscript{Never} = Never
\textsuperscript{Very rarely} = Very rarely
\textsuperscript{Sometimes} = Sometimes
\textsuperscript{Quite frequently} = Quite frequently
\textsuperscript{All the time} = All the time

\begin{flushright}
BASE: All girls. 0 indicators n=898; 1 indicator n=1143; 2 indicators n=294; 3 indicators n=72 n= number of respondents
\end{flushright}
For disadvantaged girls, image-sharing takes place against a backdrop of higher reported levels of inappropriate and unpleasant sexual behaviour in school generally

Although not deliberate, when the “Everyone’s Invited” initiative – which invited young people to share their stories of sexual harassment and violence – grabbed media headlines from 2020 onwards, the initial focus was on sexual behaviour at private schools.

Subsequent revelations were not limited to private schools, and Ofsted’s resultant investigation into sexual harassment was based on a broad range of types of school with differing demographics. Ofsted found that sexual harassment took place at a variety of types of schools.

The survey we conducted for this research suggests that sexual harassment and other inappropriate or unpleasant behaviour were more likely to be reported by pupils who were more disadvantaged.

Girls with more indicators of disadvantage were more likely to report that people at their school were tricked or pressured into sharing nudes and slightly more likely to report some other negative experiences. Girls from a disadvantaged background were more likely to report having told someone to stop asking for nude images of them.

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For more detailed statistics, please see the table below:

### % of girls that said they had told someone to stop asking them for nude images

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BASE:** All girls. 0 indicators n=984; 1 indicator n=1256; 2 indicators n=338; 3 indicators n=79. *n= number of respondents*

### % of girls that said someone they had sent a picture to had sent it to other people without [their] permission

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BASE:** Girls who report having shared a nude or nearly nude image or video of themselves. Girls with 0 indicators n=181; 1 indicator n=232; 2 indicators n=79; 3 indicators n=21 (Please note, this is a very small base). *n= number of respondents*
Among those who had shared nude images, girls from more disadvantaged backgrounds were more likely to report doing so because they had felt pressured into it⁶⁷ or because they ‘wanted attention’⁶⁸ and were less likely to say that it made them feel good about themselves⁶⁹ or was because they liked receiving positive comments about how they looked⁷⁰.

It was also more common for them to report that their nude images had been shown and distributed without their permission. Girls reporting multiple indicators were twice as likely to report that someone they had sent a picture to had ‘sent it to other people without [their] permission’⁷¹; and one in four that someone they had sent a picture to had ‘showed it to others in person without [their] permission’⁷².

“I think it is often the very vulnerable children [involved in cases that the school is aware of] – often children who are already overly sexualised and most commonly have history of sexual abuse.”

Behaviour officer and head of year

Negative consequences of image-sharing are worst for disadvantaged girls

Putting together the findings from the survey and the interviews, we saw that reputation damage for girls becomes starker in peer groups from lower socioeconomic regions or backgrounds. In these environments, boys tend to maintain their status as ‘cool’ and desired by girls even after sharing other girls’ nudes without consent. In higher socioeconomic peer groups, girls tend to look down on and distance themselves from boys who behave this way.

The girls from more disadvantaged backgrounds, for instance, were slightly more likely to think a girl would get status from having her image shared around a school⁷³, while the boy who had shared the girl’s nude would be less likely to be ‘shamed’ for having shared it⁷⁴. And in the second scenario, where a boy sends an unsolicited ‘dick pic’ to a girl in his school, girls from more disadvantaged backgrounds were more likely to say that he would get status for this⁷⁵.

As an example, we can compare the ways Ailis, who is from a lower socio-economic background, and Erin, who is from a higher socio-economic group, reflect on expectations on and consequences for boys and girls around sharing and leaking of images.

“For boys, if you’ve received loads…it shows that you’re one of the top boys, because if you’ve received loads, it shows that you can get with girls….With boys, there’s not much drama, like it isn’t a big deal if a boy shares it….they don’t get as much hate for it or anything. Whereas if it was a girl, it would be talked about, and talked about, and talked about. But if it were a boy, it’d be forgotten about the next day.”

Ailis, 18, Northern Ireland, DE
“I think people worry a lot about their nudes getting leaked, but I think the chance of that happening is quite slim, unless you’re in a situation with people you don’t know that well... I think if you’ve been in a relationship with someone, there’s a formation of trust. Also I think that it’s kind of embarrassing... if a boy leaked his ex-girlfriend’s nudes, he’s never going to get a girlfriend again.”

Erin, 18, Enfield, AB

Some of the professionals reported this pattern too.

“The majority of students involved in the cases [of image-sharing] we see are more vulnerable, and they ultimately struggle the most with the negative outcomes.”

Ex-safeguarding lead and assistant principal.
Cheryl was pressured into sharing nude images with boys

Cheryl, 22, Surrey, C2, lives with her dad, having moved back home recently from London due to the pandemic. She grew up near the local town and lived with both of her parents before they got a divorce when she went to university. Cheryl studied acting at university and the majority of her friends live in London as she has few ties to the people she was at school with.

Cheryl is close with her dad, who is a builder, and her brother but stopped having contact with her mum, who she felt was overly controlling of her life.

For Cheryl, school was challenging as she struggled to have friendships that lasted and was bullied, particularly in her final two years before going to college. She described her school as ‘rough and massively underfunded’ and she felt that teachers weren’t concerned with the wellbeing of pupils.

Sharing nudes became a way that Cheryl felt she could connect with someone and this led to her being pressured to send images to boys at her school.

Her first experiences of image-sharing was when she sent pictures to her boyfriend when she was 15. The boy that Cheryl was dating was in the same friendship group as her and he had asked her to send him nudes. She did so as she wanted to make him happy. When he broke up with her she later found out that he had shared her photos with other people at her school and spread rumours that she was a “weird, slutty, bitch”.

The fall out from this relationship meant that Cheryl lost her friendship group and developed a reputation for being a “slut” at her school. Having seen the images she shared, Cheryl explained that other boys in her year would contact and pressure her to send them nudes.

“He went around and told everyone like, oh we’ve had sex and you know look at these pictures she sent me. Which gave me this slut reputation, which then meant that a lot of boys in the year were like, ‘oh I’m going to try my luck!’”

Cheryl explained that they would usually feign sympathy by telling her that they thought the bullying she was receiving was unfair and that they thought she was beautiful, before asking her to send them pictures. After she sent them pictures they would often share them on and make fun of her afterwards.

Reflecting on this now several years later, Cheryl said that she was vulnerable to them taking advantage of her because she had been incredibly lonely at that time, so was hoping that the boys who messaged her were being genuine and that she was pleased that they had been interested in her.

Her nudes were shared widely at school. This included an incident where her nudes were printed off and stuck on her locker.

“And then someone printed them out and stuck them on my locker... my locker was right outside the cafeteria so everyone going in and out would have seen them.”
Cheryl was so embarrassed about this that she did not seek any help and she also felt as though it was her fault for letting herself be pressured into sharing images of herself. When she spoke to her mum about what had happened to her, her mum said it had been Cheryl's fault for letting them trick her into it. She reflected:

"I blamed myself a lot. I had internalised a lot of the victim blaming that was being pushed on me by the other girls. So, I felt like I couldn't go to anyone because what was I going to say?"

Young people who are less confident in their appearance often have a worse experience of image-sharing

Another striking inequality that came across in the qualitative interviews was the difference between what was happening to confident, happy and popular young people compared with those who had more insecurities, or who were experiencing bullying, or who were less popular.

We heard numerous stories of young people who were deemed the ‘less attractive’ or ‘less cool’ kids at school experiencing some of the very worst examples of shaming or bullying in relation to image-sharing.

Girls and boys who felt unhappy with their appearance were more likely to report feeling pressured into sharing nudes or worrying someone might lose interest if they didn’t. They were also more likely to share nudes under pressure or for validation.

Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? Among those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I felt pressured into it</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone might lose interest if I don’t</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BASE: Those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude image or video of themselves. Girls ‘happy’ with their appearance n=267; Girls ‘unhappy’ with their appearance n=232; Boys ‘happy’ with their appearance n=194 Boys ‘unhappy’ with their appearance n=74 n= number of respondents

Revealing Reality Not just flirting | What is the impact?
For example Peter who was gay, said he preferred to know if someone didn’t find him attractive:

“I don’t really like my body or my face so I’d rather be told early by sending a nude.”

Peter, 16, Kent, C2

Several of the girls we interviewed said they often shared their nudes with their friends for feedback or validation before sending them to a sexual partner. For example, Vicki said:

“We [girl with girlfriends] share nudes.. just to get compliments or opinions on the nice underwear. Shall I send this? If I’m thinking of sending this, I’ll share. Whether I look good, is he going to like it? Is it too risky?”

Vicki, 20, Manchester, DE

Both boys and girls who are less happy with their appearance are more likely to take measures to ‘improve’ the photos they share.
Some young people are nervous exploring sexual experiences in real life. Image-sharing is felt to be a ‘safer space’. A preference for maintaining control and curating interactions during sexual exploration is desirable for some and can be more easily facilitated by image-sharing.

Girls who said they were unhappy with their appearance were slightly more likely to report a range of negative experiences of image-sharing, for example that someone they’d sent a nude to had shown or sent it to other people without permission. They were also slightly more likely to report that someone had sent them a nude picture they didn’t want.

Q: Have any of the following happened to you?

Among those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Advantaged vs disadvantaged girls</th>
<th>Girls – ‘happy’ with appearance</th>
<th>Girls – ‘unhappy’ with appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Someone you had sent a picture to showed it to others in person</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Someone you had sent a picture to sent it to other people without</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
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<tr>
<td>permission</td>
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<tr>
<td>Someone you know has sent you a nude picture you didn’t want</td>
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<tr>
<td>Someone you don’t know has sent you a nude picture you didn’t want</td>
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</table>


BASE: Those who report having shared a nude or nearly nude image or video of themselves.

Girls ‘happy’ with their appearance n=267; Girls ‘unhappy’ with their appearance n=232

n= number of respondents
CONCLUSION
Sharing nudes goes beyond a new way to ‘flirt’ when control over them carries social currency
Sharing nudes goes beyond a new way to ‘flirt’ when control over them carries social currency

On the surface, nude image-sharing among young people can look harmless – simply one form that flirting and developing relationships take in the digital era. Arguably this is natural human behaviour – any previous generations who’d had access to smartphone cameras and Snapchat would likely have done the same.

But if we delve a little deeper, we see that young people’s motivations for sharing nudes are often at odds with each other, even when the image-sharing is consensual. At its most benign, this can lead to misunderstandings or barriers between individuals within a relationship.

And once we take account of power imbalances between people sharing images it’s easy to see how these mismatched motivations can become potentially more harmful, where the party with the greater power dictates what image-sharing involves, and can – intentionally or otherwise – set off a chain of consequences that damages those who are weaker for whatever reasons.

We see that there are winners and losers. And it’s the least advantaged, the least empowered who lose out the most. They face a higher risk that the most negative consequences will play out for them, and they are the least likely to be able to speak
up or act to prevent this - because they don’t recognise what is happening, they don’t feel entitled to anything ‘better’ or they don’t feel able to use their voice to prevent it. This goes beyond image-sharing itself to the ways power imbalances shape relationships and experiences more widely, and the degree to which they are so often shaped by disadvantage and vulnerability.

Once an image exists and has been shared with at least one other person, its creator can’t guarantee what will happen to it. What may start as flirting between two people can easily spread – to the rest of the class at school, across the school via large Snapchat or WhatsApp groups, beyond the school to the local area, and potentially across the world. Nude images of young people shared with other young people can easily find their way into the hands of adults whose intentions are harmful and whose actions are illegal. Given this potential for negative consequences, harm and unequal outcomes, the sheer scale of nude image-sharing gives pause for thought.

In our survey, almost a quarter of 17-year-olds (22% of boys and 24% of girls) reported they had shared at least one nude image at that age or younger. Some of them are likely to have shared many more than one image. At a minimum, that one annual cohort of 17-year-olds has created and shared more than 160,000 nude images.

Some of them may have been deleted, others seen only by the person they were first sent to. But if even a tiny proportion of them were shared more widely, that is still a lot of images of nude children circulating potentially far and wide each year.

And so we see that image-sharing by young people is not always just harmless flirting between two individuals. The question is what do we, as a society, do about the potential consequences? Do we accept them as a by-product of the digital age? Do we stand by and attempt to pick up the pieces? Or do we attempt to do more to empower, educate and find other ways to seek to prevent them? We hope this research will inform answers to these questions and provide evidence upon which action can be built.
REFERENCES
REFERENCES

1 Digital Romance – Brook and NCA-CEOP
   I wasn’t sure it was normal to watch it – NSPCC
   Understanding and Combatting Youth Experiences of Image-Based Sexual Harassment and Abuse

2 A small number of children (72) reporting to be 14 years old did complete the survey, and these responses were counted in the total sample.


4 The survey was also completed by pupils in a small number of English-speaking international schools outside the UK.

5 Q: Have you ever sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of yourself before? 73% answered ‘No’, Base: Total sample, n=5119.

6 Q: Have you ever sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of yourself before? 17% of girls aged 14 to 16 answered ‘Yes’, Base: All girls aged 14 to 16, n=1800. 11% of boys aged 14 to 16 answered ‘Yes’, Base: All boys aged 14 to 16, n=1539.

7 Q: Have you ever sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of yourself before? 26% of girls aged 17 to 18 answered ‘Yes’, Base: All girls aged 17 to 18, n=683. 23% of boys aged 17 to 18 answered ‘Yes’, Base: All boys aged 17 to 18, n=439.

8 Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? (Any age given or ‘not sure’). 60% of girls, Base: All girls, n=2585; 31% of boys, Base: All boys, n=2067.

9 Q: Has anyone ever sent you a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before? 54% of girls answered ‘Yes’, Base: All girls, n=2641; 30% of boys answered ‘Yes’, Base: All boys, n=2134.

10 Q: Approximately, how often do you get sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of people? 16% answered ‘Weekly’ or ‘Daily’ or ‘almost daily’, Base: All who reported they have been sent a nude or nearly nude image, n=2196.

11 Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? 34% of girls answered 13 or younger, Base: All girls, n=2585; 9% of boys answered 13 or younger, Base: All boys, n=2067.

12 Q: How old do you think you were when first sent a nude or nearly nude image? 25% of boys answered 13 or younger, Base: Boys who reported they have sent a nude or nearly nude image, n=279.

13 Q: Have you ever sent nude images or videos to any of the following types of people, or in any of these ways? 73% answered ‘Someone I am/was in a relationship with at the time’ and 57% answered ‘Someone I know and was chatting to online or on social media, but wasn’t in a relationship with’, Base: People who reported they have sent a nude or nearly nude image, n=860.

14 Q: Have you ever sent nude images or videos to any of the following types of people, or in any of these ways? 20% answered ‘Someone I don’t really know at all’ and 36% answered ‘Someone I have/had only spoken to online or on social media (never met in person)’, Base: People who reported they have sent a nude or nearly nude image, n=860.

15 Q: What kinds of pictures do people typically send when they send them directly to you? 73% of girls answered ‘picture of their genitals (penis or vagina)’, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1414; 39% of boys answered ‘picture of their genitals (penis or vagina)’, Base: All boys who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=648.

16 Q: What kinds of pictures do people typically send when they send them directly to you? Answered ‘sexual activity (e.g. masturbating)’ Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1414; Base: All boys who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=648.

17 Q: What kinds of pictures do people typically send when they send them directly to you? 57% of girls answered ‘picture of just one body part naked, e.g. bum or boobs’ and 58% of boys answered ‘picture in their underwear’, Base: All boys who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=648.

18 Q: What types of pictures have you sent? 75% of girls answered ‘picture in their underwear’ and 61% of girls answered ‘picture of just one body part naked, e.g. bum or boobs’, Base: All
girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=513.

19 Q: What types of pictures have you sent? 70% of boys answered 'picture of genitals (penis or vagina)', 58% of boys answered 'topless picture' and 47% of boys answered 'sexual activity (e.g. masturbating)', Base: All boys who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=279.

20 Q: Do you do any of the following? 29% of girls answered 'copy poses I've seen on social media', Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=513.

21 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? 53% answered 'it's an intimate thing people in relationships do', Base: People who reported they have a shared nude or nearly nude image, n=860.

22 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? 24% of boys answered 'So that someone will send one back', Base: All boys who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=279; 9% of girls answered 'So that someone will send one back', Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=513.

23 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? 63% of boys answered 'I wanted to turn someone on', Base: All boys who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=279; 50% of girls answered 'I wanted to turn someone on', Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=513.

24 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? 33% of boys answered 'it made/makes me feel good about myself', Base: All boys who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=279; 27% of girls answered 'it made/makes me feel good about myself', Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=513.

25 Q: Why do you think people ask others to send them nude or nearly nude images or videos? 14% answered 'people want them in case the other person treats them badly', Base: Total sample, n=5197.

26 Q: Why do you think people ask others to send them nude or nearly nude images or videos? 35% answered 'people get status (or 'lad points') for having them', Base: Total sample, n=5197.
Q: How often, if at all, do these things happen at your school? 24% of girls answered 'People have felt pressured into having sex when they didn't feel totally comfortable doing that (all the time or quite frequently), Base: All girls, n=2414; 9% of boys answered 'People have felt pressured into having sex when they didn't feel totally comfortable doing that (all the time or quite frequently), Base: All boys, n=1900.

Q: How often, if at all, do these things happen at your school? 40% of girls answered 'Someone spreads intimate details about someone else around the school (e.g. a story about their sex life) (all the time or quite frequently), Base: All girls, n=2411; 43% of boys answered 'Someone spreads intimate details about someone else around the school (e.g. a story about their sex life) (all the time or quite frequently), Base: All boys, n=1908.

Survey conducted between September and December 2021

Q: How much do people tend to use these different apps/sites to send nude or nearly nude images or videos? 82% answered 'Snapchat (always or usually this app people use to send nudes)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1968.

Q: How much do people tend to use these different apps/sites to send nude or nearly nude images or videos? 21% answered 'Instagram (private messenger) (always or usually)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1904.

Q: How much do people tend to use these different apps/sites to send nude or nearly nude images or videos? 36% answered 'Instagram (private messenger) (sometimes or occasionally)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1904.

Q: How much do people tend to use these different apps/sites to send nude or nearly nude images or videos? 12% answered 'Twitter (always or usually)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1870; 7% answered 'Discord (always or usually)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1874.

Q: How much do people tend to use these different apps/sites to send nude or nearly nude images or videos? 4% answered 'WhatsApp (always or usually)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1875; 2% answered 'Facebook (messenger) (always or usually)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1875; 2% answered 'TikTok (always or usually)', Base: People who reported they have received a nude or nearly nude image, n=1881.

Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? 34% of girls answered age 13 or younger, Base: All girls, n=2585.

Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? 36% of girls answered 'I've not been asked to send one before', Base: All girls, n=2585.

Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? 9% of boys answered age 13 or younger, Base: All boys, n=2067.

Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? 64% of boys answered 'I've not been asked to send one before', Base: All boys, n=2067.

Q: Have any of the following things happened to you? 16% of girls answered 'You have told someone to stop asking for nude pictures/videos from you, Base: All girls, n=2657; 4% of boys answered 'You have told someone to stop asking for nude pictures/videos from you, Base: All boys, n=2157.

Q: Have any of the following things happened to you? 16% of girls answered 'Someone you don't know has sent you a nude picture you didn't want', Base: All girls, n=2657; 4% of boys answered 'Someone you don't know has sent you a nude picture you didn't want', Base: All boys, n=2157.

Q: Have any of the following things happened to you? 46% of girls answered 'Someone you know has sent you a nude picture/video you didn't want', Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=513; 16% of boys answered 'Someone you know has sent you a nude picture/video you didn't want', Base: All boys, n=279.
Q: Scenario 1 - What do you think would normally happen in this situation (for the girl)? 80% of girls answered ‘People would tease the girl for it’, 82% of girls answered ‘People would shame the girl for doing it’, 71% of girls answered ‘The girl would lose social status’, and 61% of girls answered ‘People would be more likely to ask the girl for nude pictures in the future’; Base: All girls, n=2657.

Q: Scenario 2 - What do you think would normally happen in this situation (for the girl)? 46% of girls answered ‘People would be sympathetic to the girl’, Base: All girls, n=2657; 46% of boys answered ‘People would be sympathetic to the girl’, Base: All boys, n=2157.

Q: Scenario 2 – What do you think would normally happen in this situation (for the boy)? 31% of boys answered ‘People would think the boy was funny’ and 25% of boys answered ‘The boy would get status for doing it’, Base: All boys, n=2157.

Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? (Answered any of the ages or not sure) 64% of disadvantaged girls, Base: All girls who have 1, 2 or 3 indicators of disadvantage, n=1626; 53% of girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, Base: All girls who have 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=959.

Q: How old were you when someone first asked you to send them a nude or nearly nude image or video of yourself? (Answered ages 13 or younger) 43% of girls with at least 2 indicators of disadvantage, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=485; 38% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=657; 40% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=199; 58% of girls, 3 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 3 indicators of disadvantage.

Q: Have you ever sent a nude picture to someone who wasn’t expecting or asking for one? (Answered ‘Yes’) 10% of boys, 0 indicators, Base: All boys who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=104; 5% of boys, 1 indicator, Base: All boys who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=97; 21% of boys, 2 indicators, Base: All boys who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=28; 14% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=163; 13% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=196; 23% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=66.

Q: How often, if at all, do you get sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos without asking for them? (Answered at least once a month) 35% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=485; 38% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=657; 40% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=199; 58% of girls, 3 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have received a nude or nearly nude image with 3 indicators of disadvantage.

Q: Have you ever sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos of yourself before? 24% of girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=329.

Q: Has anyone ever sent you a nude or nearly nude picture or video of themselves before? 54% of girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, Base: All girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=1248; 50% of girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=983.

Q: How often, if at all, do these things happen at your school? Answered ‘People are tricked or pressured into sending nudes’ (all the time or quite frequently). 27% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=898; 28% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=1143; 39% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=294; 43% of girls, 3 indicators, Base: All girls with 3 indicators of disadvantage, n=72.
67 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude pictures or videos before? Answered ‘I felt pressured into it’. 43% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=181; 45% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=232; 53% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=79.

68 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? Answered ‘I wanted attention’. 19% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=181; 20% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls with 1 indicators of disadvantage, n=232; 28% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=79.

69 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? Answered ‘It made/makes me feel good about myself’. 51% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=181; 38% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=232; 42% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=79.

70 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? Answered ‘I like receiving positive comments about my body/how I look’. 39% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=181; 30% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=232; 25% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=79.

71 Q: What are all the reasons you have sent nude or nearly nude pictures or videos before? Answered ‘I like receiving positive comments about my body/how I look’. 39% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=181; 30% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=232; 25% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=79.

72 Q: Have any of the following things happened to you? Answered ‘Someone you had sent a picture to showed it to others in person without your permission’. 17% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=181; 24% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=232; 27% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=79.

73 Q: Scenario 1 – what do you think would normally happen to the boy? Answered ‘They would get status for having her image shared’. 7% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=984; 12% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=1256; 10% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=338.

74 Q: Scenario 1 – what do you think would normally happen to the girl? Answered ‘They would shame them for doing it’. 19% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=984; 17% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=1256; 14% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=338.

75 Q: Scenario 2 – what do you think would normally happen to the boy? Answered ‘They would get status for doing it’. 48% of girls, 0 indicators, Base: All girls with 0 indicators of disadvantage, n=984; 51% of girls, 1 indicator, Base: All girls with 1 indicator of disadvantage, n=1256; 57% of girls, 2 indicators, Base: All girls with 2 indicators of disadvantage, n=338.

76 Q: Have any of the following things happened to you? Answered ‘Someone you had sent a picture to sent it to other people without permission’. 17% of girls, unhappy with appearance, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image and are unhappy with their appearance, n=232; 13% of girls, happy with appearance, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image and are happy with their appearance, n=267.

77 Q: Have any of the following things happened to you? Answered ‘Someone you know has sent you a nude picture/video you didn’t want’. 67% of girls, unhappy with appearance, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=232; 61% of girls, happy with appearance, Base: All girls who reported to have shared a nude or nearly nude image, n=267.