

Understanding Online Sexual Risk Behaviour of Adolescents

Specifically; sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming

Master dissertation by Coco Sips, 2016

‘Once I received a video on Snapchat from someone I knew, he had a six-pack (body) and lowered the camera each time a bit...I thought ‘oh gross, iehh’. I knew him from Instagram’

- Quote of a 14 year old female student -

‘Still I hope that together as a society we shall take up the challenge to help our young people, the next generation, discover their sexuality, and experience it both with and without Social Media’

- Quote of a teacher -

Understanding Online Sexual Risk Behaviour of Adolescents in Vocational Secondary Education

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Preface & acknowledgements

Over the past year I – Coco Sips, Master student Health & Society at Wageningen University – have been working as an intern at SOA AIDS Nederland. The first half year I studied the experiences of teachers and MHS experts with the Long Live Love MBO program. The past half year I have written my dissertation on online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents. SOA AIDS Nederland is part of the foundation AIDS Fonds – STOP AIDS NOW! – SOA AIDS Nederland. Their mission is to combat sexual transmitted infections (STI's) and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), and to enhance sexual health. Specifically the Youth Program of SOA AIDS Nederland aims to enhance relational and sexual health amongst adolescents, age 12 – 25, with focus on the prevention of STI's. SOA AIDS Nederland initiated this research project in which I studied determinants possibly leading to online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents, age 12 – 18, in vocational secondary education.

This research project gave me responsibility to work independently and provided the opportunity to show my willingness and ability to make this project a success. Working in a team of experts that have years of experience enriched me both professionally and personally. I have been able to develop my research skills, and especially working with young people has been complementary to my first research 'Long Live Love MBO', and a valuable experience. Personally I feel privileged to work and learn from some of the best in their profession, always understanding, sharp, and joyful. Over the past six months my life changed, both intentionally and unintentionally, nevertheless influencing the course of my life. Finalizing this research project, my dissertation, successfully was one sure element keeping me focussed and striving. My practical experiences with SOA AIDS Nederland were explorative at first, now they are still explorative but also a confirmation that I made the right decision to specialize myself in health advocacy. I am ready to take on the next challenge – *giving birth to my first son* – and most definitely making a profession of my ambitions for sexual health education and Intervention Mapping!

My thanks go out to all my colleagues on the Youth Program SOA AIDS Nederland, who all have been very supportive and made my office days one of the best. I am grateful to Suzanne Meijer and Lisette Schutte for asking important questions and giving their practical insights that helped shape the direction of my work. A note of thanks goes to Reint Jan Renes for his supervision during the writing of my dissertation. My special thanks also goes out to my family and partner Jan, whose love and unwavering support always help to keep me on course.

Coco Sips

Acronyms

HIV	- Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LLL	- Lang Leve de Liefde
	- Long Live Love
MBO	- Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs
	- Intermediate Vocational Education
MHS	- Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst (GGD)
	- Municipal Health Services
PRO	- Praktijkonderwijs
	- Practical education
SANL	- SOA AIDS Nederland
	- STI AIDS Netherlands
STI's	- Sexueel Overdraagbare Aandoeningen (SOA)
	- Sexually Transmitted Infections
VMBO	- Voortgezet Middelbaarberoepsonderwijs
	- Intermediate Preparatory Vocational Education

Executive summary

'Adolescence' is a period in life in which young people are more likely to engage in risky behaviours. Often they face pressure from peers to use alcohol, drugs, or to engage in sexual relationships at earlier ages, putting themselves and others at risk of intentional or unintentional harm. Several studies pointed out that some sexual oriented behaviours, regarded as risky, are more prominent among students in practical education than students in the same age from higher education. In that perspective, the planned development for a toolkit to support schools in actively preventing and tackling online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents was initiated. This research project concerns the first step of the planned development, namely, conducting a needs assessment to investigate what determinants lead to risky online sexual behaviour -specifically: sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming- of adolescents (age 12 to 18) in vocational secondary schools. This report closes with an advice on the desired behavioural outcomes, which the intervention 'toolkit' could focus on and provides insight into the determinants that possibly lead to risk behaviour.

An adapted theoretical framework, based on Green & Kreuter's precede model, has been applied to provide clear structure and demarcation of the project. Personal determinants and environmental factors possibly leading to either positive and/or negative experiences with online sexual behaviour were assessed. With questions based on the outline of this model, two focus group discussions with students, eight individual interviews with students, and four individual interviews with teachers, from vocational secondary education were conducted. A qualitative data analysis software program, called 'MAXQDA', has been used for the coding of the interviews.

Findings show that: *self-efficacy; risk perception; knowledge; attitude; social perception; and personal disorders*, are important personal determinants to consider in developing the toolkit. Environmental factors – including the role of agents – to consider are: *role of school management, social professionals, the police, and the parents; and social and cultural norms & values on sexuality and gender*. It is expected that a program - toolkit - focused on these determinants will facilitate students who engage in sexting or webcam sex, to do this in a safe and more conscious state of mind, defensible against undesired – negative - experiences; and, that students are less susceptible for grooming. A solution to minimizing online sexual risks resulting in negative experiences with sexting and webcam (ab)use, or grooming, demands an intervention that considers the broader context in which sexual education is provided. Furthermore, results show that determinants possibly leading to online sexual risk behaviour are more coherent than the adapted precede model used in this study allows for. A model that enables overlap and coherence between the factors and determinants might enhance the understanding of online sexual risk behaviour.

Table of content

Preface & acknowledgements.....	3
Acronyms.....	4
Executive summary.....	5
1. Introduction.....	7
2. Background.....	8
2.1. Population at risk.....	9
2.2. Objective and research question.....	10
3. Literature study.....	11
3.1. Conceptualization.....	11
3.2. Online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents.....	14
3.3. In sum.....	21
4. Theoretical Framework.....	24
5. Methodology.....	26
5.1. Research design.....	26
5.2. Data collection.....	26
5.3. Data processing.....	32
6. Results.....	33
6.1. Results 'students'.....	34
6.2. Results 'teachers'.....	43
6.3. Summary on results.....	52
7. Discussion.....	54
7.1. An answer to.....	54
7.2. The precede model.....	55
7.3. Comparison of results.....	56
7.4. Strengths & limitations.....	60
8. Conclusion.....	60
9. Recommendations.....	61
9.1. The desired behaviour.....	61
9.2. Personal determinants.....	62
9.3. Environmental factors.....	62
10. References.....	64
11. Appendices.....	72
Appendix 1: orientation meetings 'online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents'.....	73
Appendix 2: overview of characteristics 'student participants focus group discussions'.....	77
Appendix 3: interview guide focus group discussion (in Dutch)	78
Appendix 4: overview of characteristics 'student participants individual interviews'.....	80
Appendix 5: overview of characteristics 'teacher participants'.....	81
Appendix 6: lay-out informed consent (in Dutch)	82
Appendix 7: interview guide individual interview 'students' (in Dutch)	83
Appendix 8: interview guide 'teachers' (in Dutch)	85
Appendix 9: code scheme 'focus groups discussions & individual interviews'.....	87

1. Introduction

This report describes the research process and outcomes of the research project ‘online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents at vocational secondary schools in the Netherlands’.

Young people experiment and explore boundaries with relationships and sex. They also do that online; they make friends, date and flirt via apps, fall in love and have online sex (Meijer, 2015). It is part of their sexual development and maybe it is safe to say that doing ‘it’ online is only a natural result of the growing technology in our Dutch modern society. However, ‘sexual contact’ despite whether it happens online, is not without risks. Annual reports from institutions, that support victims of online sexual abuse, such as Helpwanted.nl, indicate increases in the amount of reported online sexual abuse cases. Also, schools, especially vocational secondary schools, reached out to organizations such as STI AIDS Netherlands (SANL) for support regarding the prevention of online sexual abuse. SANL initiated, together with a number of other professional institutions, the planned development of a toolkit on online sex risks as a supplement to the school-based sex-education program called ‘Long Live Love’ (LLL). See *box 1* for an overview of what the toolkit will consist of.

This online sex risks toolkit will be systematically developed using the Intervention Mapping (IM) protocol, which maps the path from identification of a problem to development and evaluation of an intervention in six steps (Bartholomew et al., 2011). This research project solely concerns the first phase of the planned development of the toolkit, the performance of a needs assessment (step 1 of intervention mapping; Bartholomew et al., 2011). It will serve as input for the further development of the toolkit. A needs assessment allows the researcher to explore situations as they are now, and the way they should be according to involved actors. That way the gap between the current and the ‘necessary’ will identify needs, purposes, and objectives which later can be used to create matrices of change objectives, which specify the desired outcomes of the intervention (step 2 of intervention mapping; Bartholomew et al., 2011) (Rouda & Kusy, 1995).

As part of this research (needs assessment) a brief literature study, and subsequent qualitative study is conducted in order to gain insight into the potential determinants that lead to risky online sexual behaviour of adolescents, age 12-18, in vocational secondary education. Vocational secondary education refers to ‘VMBO’ (voortgezet middelbaarberoepsonderwijs: *intermediate preparatory vocational education*) and ‘PRO’ (praktijkonderwijs: *practical education*).

Box 1: toolkit

As described in the application 'safety online' (SANL, 2015)

The toolkit will target students, teachers, school management and parents.

Its goals are to:

- Improve detection and care surrounding online sex risks at vocational secondary schools (intermediate preparatory vocational education and practical education);
- Stimulate the development of school policy concerning online safety;
- Prevent problems by making young people aware of online sex risks and increase their online defensibility;
- Support parents in guiding their children around online (sex) risks.

The toolkit will consist of:

- An educational module, both classroom-and web-based;
- A film;
- A guide for teachers;
- A protocol and guide to safety policy;
- A letter for parents.

2. Background

In a national survey from 'EenVandaag jongerenpanel' (One Today youth panel) among Dutch youth, more than half of school students (55%) report that sexy photographs or videos have been circulating in their school (Rutgers WPF, 2014). Even before the explosive growth of smartphone use, 5% of boys and 2% of girls (aged 12 to 15) had already sent someone a naked photograph or video of themselves ('Sex under the age of 25', 2012).

Distribution of sexy photographs or videos does not per se have to result in sexual abuse, but the following risks apply:

- Naked photographs/sex videos made in confidence *may* end up being distributed online out of anger (revenge porn) or bullying (shame sexting). Dutch law treats this as a criminal offence (Public Prosecution and Police, 2013);
- Naked photographs/sex videos *can be* used to blackmail the recipient into sending more photographs, having webcam or physical sex or paying money (sextortion);
- When a trusted peer contact online turns out to be an adult intending to perpetrate sexual abuse and/or exploitation (grooming, loverboys) (Meijer, 2015).

According to Helpwanted.nl and the Dutch police there is an increase in the number of young people experiencing negative consequences of online sex or being victim of a crime committed online. Figures generated by Helpwanted.nl, show that in 2014 a total of 1,331 reports of online sexual abuse were received, an increase of 77% compared to 2013 (Meldpunt Kinderporno op het Internet, 2015). Dutch police keep no figures, but confirm the rise, mentioning that they receive reports from minors (both girls and boys) daily, whose naked photographs have been distributed without their consent (Meijer, 2015). The rise is partly explained by the surge in the use of smartphones and associated social media that develops alongside an evolving society where norms and values also change accordingly.

Today, media offer young people tremendous opportunities to develop and discover the world (Meijer, 2015). The online contacts that young people engage in, contribute positively to identity building. However, the digitized society also forms challenges. Considering the risks and negative consequences there is one group in particular that requires additional support, namely young people between the age of 12 and 18 years old (Valkenburg, 2014).

2.1. Population at risk

'Adolescence' is a period in life in which young people are more likely to engage in risky behaviours that may have negative consequences for their health, even later in life (Department of Health, 2004). Often adolescents face pressure from peers to use alcohol, drugs, or to engage in sexual relationships at earlier ages, putting themselves and others at high risk of intentional or unintentional harm. Several studies pointed out that some sexual oriented behaviours, regarded as risky, are more prominent among young people in practical education than students in the same age from higher education (Schakenraad, Janssens, Lammers & Brants, 2008; Cense, Van de Walle & Van Dijk, 2011). For example in the study 'Seks onder je 25ste' (sex under age 25), conducted by SANL and Rutgers (De Graaf, Kruijjer, Van Acker & Meijer, 2012), young people, especially boys, in practical education have in general more sexual experience (specifically; kissing, feeling and caressing, fingering, masturbating and sexual intercourse) than higher educated students in the same age group. However, from fourteen years onwards there are no differences between educational levels anymore. Another interesting result from that study concerns how young people think about their sexual self-image. There are especially differences in gender on this aspect; girls in practical education think sex is 'gross' and also mention more often than boys that they are not yet ready for sex. Statistics of young people regarding themselves as 'pretty' is also much lower amongst girls than amongst boys (De Graaf, Kruijjer, Van Acker & Meijer, 2012). When looking at social pressure from peers, numbers pointed out that about 20% of the boys and 12% of the girls, in practical education, hear from their peers that it is stupid to have never had sex yet. Adolescents from higher educational

levels mentioned not to be part of a 'social group' when inexperienced with sex, gender specific: boys (11%) and girls (5%). A total of 162 boys and 126 girls participated in the study 'Seks onder je 25ste'.

In 'Seks onder je 25ste' questions about Internet behaviour (sexually) were asked as well. Sexually oriented experiences online seem more evident among girls in practical education than girls from higher education. For example, 11% of the girls in practical education mentioned to have shown her breasts or genitals in front of the webcam, whereas, 2% of the girls from higher educational levels mentioned to have done this (De Graaf, Kruijer, Van Acker & Meijer, 2012). These percentages should be interpreted with caution as girls from practical education were asked 'ever in their life' and the other girls 'in the last half year'.

2.2. Objective and research question

The main objective of this research project is *to investigate what determinants lead to risky online sexual behaviour -specifically: sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming- of adolescents (age 12 to 18) from vocational secondary schools*. Findings are expected to provide input for the toolkit to support schools in actively preventing and tackling online sex risks.

The initiative from SANL to take action upon this call comes in the first place from schools being obliged to provide a safe school climate. Second, new legislation makes schools explicitly responsible for conducting a social safety policy from August 2015 (Pijpers, 2015). Schools have a key role with regard to awareness, detecting and responding to incidents. When it comes to online sex risks however, they are inadequately prepared to respond appropriately. There is a lack of policy and an urgent need among both teachers and managements for detailed guidance on ways of keeping attention focused on this subject. To use media properly, young people need to learn what is unsafe online, how to become resilient, how to set their own boundaries and to respect those of others.

The impact on social safety of an individual can be great even if there is no online sexual abuse (Meijer, 2015). For example if a naked photograph is circulated at school, it is often underestimated that the resulting feelings, including shame, and strong reactions from the student's acquaintances (where 73% judge 'own fault') can lead to psychological problems, isolation, absence, and diminished learning performance (1Vjongerenpanel, 2015). The existing literature however, gives insufficient insight into the risks, and people are unable to fully assess the impact on the victim and those around him or her. Action is only taken if the situation escalates, and in the ensuing hectic situation it is impossible to obtain relevant information and support. Attention is focused mainly on those who are directly involved and not on those around them, the distributors and bystanders, but that is precisely what is required for an effective approach according to Valkenburg (2014). Moreover, recent

campaigns and existing teaching materials have drawn attention to risks, such as sexting (onuitwisbaar.nu), grooming and webcam sex abuse (qpido.nl). These particularly highlight the danger of online sex due to the threat from paedophiles, loverboys and untrustworthy strangers. In so doing, they overlook the fact that most incidents occur between contemporaries and/or within relationships of trust (Meijer, 2015). LLL provides the desirable and necessary perspective of sexual development, and the program recognizes boundaries and stimulates the courage to assert them. Yet, the program devotes limited attention to the digitized society (online contacts) and online sex risks. The Internetsoa.nl campaign did this successfully, but is out-dated (Pijpers & Pardoën, 2007; Meijer, 2015).

With the information gathered from this research project, the researcher will bring out an advice to SANL on the desired behavioural outcomes on which the intervention 'toolkit' could focus and provide insight into the determinants that lead to the (problem) behaviour (meaning: sexting, webcam abuse and grooming). The outcomes of the needs assessment can be used to formulate 'change objectives', step 2 in the intervention mapping protocol (Bartholomew et al. 2011; Rouda & Kusy, 1995), which will specify the determinants that the intervention should focus on to bring about behavioural change.

Main research question

What determinants lead to risky online sexual behaviour – specifically: sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming – of adolescents (age 12 to 18) from vocational secondary schools?

3. Literature study

This chapter of the report provides insight into what is already known about online sexual activities and risk taking behaviour of adolescents. First, an elaboration on the key-concepts of this research is given. Second, an extended review on possible determinants and consequences of online sexual risk-taking behaviour of young people will be provided.

3.1. Conceptualization

Terms such as sexting and grooming are becoming more and more popular in the media and are consequently not unfamiliar anymore among Dutch society. Drouin et al. (2013) highlight in their published article 'Let's talk about sexting, baby', that existing studies are inconsistent in their definition of sexting and measures of sexting behaviour. This would make comparing the existing studies difficult. Making an attempt to be more transparent and making this study more comparable, the terms *risk behaviour*, *sexting*, *webcam (ab)use* and *grooming* are operationalized. Definitions are

based on previous studies, attempting to make them complete but also explicit. In this report, the following terms will be operationalized as follows:

Risk and risk behaviour

As the current research project focuses on 'online sexual risks' it is important to understand what is meant by the term 'risk'. Rousseau, a philosopher from the 18th century, was the first to approach the term 'risk' as within reach of human activity and responsibility, and not something that was insuperable (Rousseau, 1980). He also emphasized that people, due to their activity can become more vulnerable to threats, and their perception regarding those threats influences their behaviour (Dynes, 2000). In this research 'risk perception' is referred to when talking about perception of threats. To relate to the period in which we currently live, Beck (1992) states that 'risks' in these modern times are especially in response to human activity and emphasizes the relation between risk and technical development. This last note fits the contours of this research, where new technologies enhance youth to engage in online (sexual) contact and social media in general.

According to Fischhoff (1992) youngsters, by engaging in risk behaviour, are able to test and learn to exercise control over their own lives. He furthermore explains the relation to cognitive, emotional and social development of young people engaging in this type of behaviour. Fischhoff argues the importance of going through the phase of adolescence to: (1) learn to balance out positive and negative consequences of risk behaviour and possible alternatives (cognitive), (2) learn to deal with own impulsive behaviour and provocations by others (emotional), and (3) learn to anticipate to and take responsibility for own behaviour and consequences for others, and the development of own social norms and values (social). Fischhoffs' explanation is in line with the scope of the current research, exploring the shifting point where the consequences from online sexual risk behaviour shifts from a positive to a negative experience, focussing on determinants that lead to that behaviour (Fischhoff, 1992). Also, Boyer explicitly mentions the '*probability of undesirable results*', which confirms that the outcome of risk behaviour is not exclusively negative. The risk behaviour might just as well have positive results, such as more self-confidence or increased stress tolerance (Baumrind, 1987). Considering all the above, when discussing 'risk behaviour' in this research it refers to '*engagement in behaviours that are associated with some probability of undesirable results*' (Boyer, 2006).

Sexting

There are four different roles that people can partake in during sexting behaviour, namely *victim* (one who is harmed), *perpetrator* (one who makes decisions that result in harming others), *distributor* (one who disseminates harmful content) and/or *bystander* (one who observes abuse done to someone else) (Robinson, 2013). The initiative taker (one who initially decides to engage in

sexting) can be the victim, perpetrator or distributor. In understanding the term 'sexting', considering the intention of the initiative taker may be valuable because in the case of sexting this intention can be either positive (good intention) or negative (bad intention). For example, there could have been a positive intention in the first place, occurring within confidence, where afterwards that confidence is broken for which the good intention turned into a negative experience. According to Drouin et al. (2013), when talking about sexting behaviour, three particular elements should be considered; (1) the content of sex messages, (2) the medium used to transmit sex messages, and (3) the relationship context in which these transmissions occur. Their research revealed that text messaging was the primary medium used to send sex pictures and videos, and sexting was common across all types of romantic relationships (committed, casual sex and cheating). Also, the prevalence, motivations and risks associated with sexting varied by relationship context.

In line with the above, sexting in this report refers to *the transmission of sexually explicit content (videos, photos, text messages) via phone or Internet. Communication channels are for example, text messages, smartphones, or visual and web 2.0 activities on social networking sites* (Van Outytsel, Ponnet and Walrave, 2014).

Webcam (ab)use

In the case of webcam usage, there can be just as with sexting, a positive or negative intention behind the behavioural action. As said before, flirting, falling in love and having online sex e.g. via webcam, is part of sexual development and can therefore be a very exciting, fun and pleasant experience. A webcam is an electronic device that is connected to a computer and can be used to communicate - both verbally and non-verbally - (video chat), with one or more people (Digital Unite, n.d.). When talking about webcam abuse there is clearly a negative connotation to the words. Therefore, in this research webcam abuse *refers to when a perpetrator asks or forces children or young people to do sexual things in front of the camera* (ECPAT, n.d.).

Grooming

According to the NSPCC groomers are people who increasingly exploit their victims by persuading them to take part in online sexual activity. It is easier for groomers to hide their identity online, for example pretending to be someone else to start the conversation and become 'friends'. Typically, groomers spend time learning about a young person's interests from their online profiles and use the knowledge to build up a relationship (NSPCC, 2016). Various methods can be used to groom, such as social media sites, instant messaging apps, online gaming platforms and thus also 'sexting' and 'webcam'. Other than with sexting or webcam usage, the intention of the initiator to groom is always regarded as negative and therefore will be convicted as a sexual crime, up to a maximum of two years in prison (Nederlandse Politie, 2016). Another difference is that grooming can take place online

and offline. In this report, 'grooming' refers to: *when someone builds an emotional connection with a young person (<18 years old) to gain their trust for the purposes of sexual abuse or exploitation* (NSPCC, 2016).

In general, sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming can be actions undertaken by a male or female and they can be of any age. Whether a person will be convicted in response to sexting or webcam sex depends on the age of the people involved. By Dutch law it is prohibited to transmit sexually explicit content when it involves a minor (<18 years old) (Nederlandse Politie, 2016). However, when the transmission of such content happens solely among minor peers, sexting and webcam use for sexual purposes are 'tolerated' when consent was given by all parties involved (Mediawijzer.net, 2015).

This research focuses on Internet risks, such as sexting, webcam (ab)use, and grooming, experienced by adolescents in the age range between 12 to 18 years old attending vocational secondary school. This focus is based on existing literature that emphasizes the distinction between adolescent and adult sexual behaviour. As Temple et al. (2014) mentions, 'it plays an important role within adolescents' sexual development process', and Van Ouytsel, Walrave and Van Gool (2014), 'it has distinct legal consequences for those involved. Moreover, adolescents' engagement in sexting may differ from adult sexting, as it is often driven by specific peer group dynamics (Ringrose, Harvey, Gill & Livingstone, 2013; Walrave, Heirman, & Hallam, 2014).

3.2. Online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents

Literature content is written according to the phases of the Precede Model of Green & Kreuter (2005). The Precede model will be used to build a logic model of the problem to help determine what is already known and what questions still need to be asked. The structure of the model is useful to analyse and assess health and quality-of-life problems, and their causes (Bartholomew et al., 2011). The four phases of the model are, phase 1: quality-of-life; phase 2: health problems; phase 3: behaviour and environmental factors; and phase 4: determinants (Bartholomew et al., 2011). The phases in the Precede model are not entirely applicable to this research because; (1) online sexual risks do not directly cause health problems, but the negative consequences could lead to mental health problems and lower quality of life; and (2) because this research project not only focuses on the negative impact and quality-of-life, but also includes the positive impact and quality-of-life. About 95% of the existing literature focuses on the negative consequences of sexual online risk behaviour, regarding this type of behaviour as a problem. However, recent studies increasingly stress to focus on what drives young people to engage in sexual online risk behaviour, and by doing so, consider the positive impact and quality-of-life as well. It may help to get a better understanding of the motives behind the behaviour. Therefore, an adapted Precede model will be applied to conform

to an integrated approach including two main perspectives: (1) online sexual behaviour as a problem, and (2) online sexual behaviour to explore sexuality and sexual development.

In line with the objective of this research and structure of the Precede model, *personal determinants*, *environmental factors*, and *the impact of online sexual experiences* are explored based on the existing literature. Most of the literature on online sexual behaviour focuses on sexting, and webcam as a possible tool used for sexting. To our knowledge limited literature exists on grooming in particular.

Personal determinants

The reason for which young people engage more in online sexual behaviour is already partly explained. However, the phenomenon is one that is complex and multifactorial, therefore first an elaboration on the personal determinants of young people engaging in online sexual behaviour is provided.

A study conducted by Van Ouytsel et al. (2014) '*The association between adolescents' characteristics and engagement in sexting*', shows that a number of personality traits (personal determinants) are significant predictors of teenagers' engagement in sexting. Van Ouytsel and colleagues focussed on four personality traits that they compared between Belgian students who engage in sexting and Belgian students who do not. (1) *Sensation seeking*, youth who scored higher on this trait were found to be more likely to engage in sexting. (2) *Experiential thinkers* were found to be more likely to engage in sexting than their opposing rational thinkers of the same age. According to the Rational-Experiential Inventory (REI) an experiential thinking style is related to 'extraversion', 'agreeableness', 'favourable relationship beliefs', and 'emotional expressivity' (Pacini & Epstein, 1999). Other researchers found similar associations, for example Temple et al. (2014), between *impulsivity* and engagement in sexting. Again, another research found a link between sensation seeking, as well as impulsivity with a range of sexual risk behaviours (Charnigo et al., 2013). (3) *Depression* is the third trait that Van Ouytsel and colleagues found to be significant in relation to the engagement in sexting among adolescents. Thus, adolescents with symptoms of depression might be more likely to engage in sexting. With this outcome the researchers emphasise the importance of more research on sexting and its psychosocial associations across cultures, as there are other researchers – for example Temple et al. (2014) - who found no significant relation between depression and engagement in sexting (Van Ouytsel et al., 2014). (4) As a fourth trait Van Ouytsel et al. focussed on a coping strategy, namely it was found that the *students' response to economic stress* was a significant predictor of adolescents' engagement in sexting. Several previous studies already found socioeconomic status (strain) as a predictor of certain types of health risk behaviour, such as

'smoking' (Hanson & Chen, 2007), and a number of deviant or negligent behaviours of adolescents (Agnew, Matthews, Bucher, Welcher & Keyes, 2008; Ponnet, 2014). Jang, Song & Kim studied the association between a variety of strains, amongst others the economic strain, and cyberbullying perpetration (2014). They found this relation to be significant, which might imply that the engagement in sexting is another way for adolescents to cope with economic stress or other strains they experience in their environment.

A Dutch study, conducted by Kerstens & Stol (2012), focussed on two specific psychosocial traits in relation to sexual online behaviour. (1) A *low self-control*, defined as impulsive, insensitive, physical (as opposed to mental, risk-taking, short-sighted, and non-verbal (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), associates to becoming an online sexual perpetrator (also, Pratt & Cullen, 2000). Moreover, Schreck, Stewart & Fischer (2006) and, Van Wilsem (2010) found that a low self-control associates to becoming a victim of negative online sexual experiences. (2) In the second trait they focussed on the *psychosocial wellbeing* of adolescents, defining this as people's positive evaluation of their lives (Diender & Seligman, 2004). The researchers looked into the experiences of adolescents with: 'receiving an undesired sexual request', more often experienced by girls than boys; 'level of education', in which such requests are more often experienced among adolescents from lower educational level; and 'Internet behaviour of adolescents', youngsters who spend above average time online, have a higher chance of receiving such undesired requests. This also holds for adolescents who feel more comfortable online than offline (Kerstens & Stol, 2012). In conclusion, the study found a relation between both, low self-control and a lower psychosocial wellbeing, and negative experiences with sexual online behaviour. The researchers point out that there is no causal relationship found, but to consider the possibility of cause and/or consequence of these two traits, in further research.

What can the current research project add?

Following from the above it will be interesting to look at coping strategies of young people when engaging in sexual online behaviour. The current research project pays attention to coping strategies, as part of self-efficacy of adolescents, during field research.

Environmental factors

Individual characteristics leading to certain behaviours always take place in, and can be triggered by a particular context. In the below paragraphs attention will be given to specific environmental elements that should be considered in relation to online risk behaviour. Country context, social environment and relationship styles are elaborated on.

Country context

In a recent study Baumgartner et al. (2014) explored the possibility of generalizing results from previous studies on sexting behaviour by adolescents, mainly conducted in the United States, as there was only limited knowledge about sexting from European studies. They found that traditionalism significantly predicted gender differences in sexting, and that this varied across countries. In The Netherlands the amount of boys and girls engaging in sexting was more or less equal (boys: 1.1% and girls: 0.7% - total: 0.9%) (Baumgartner et al., 2014). According to Baumgartner and her colleagues the differing values between countries can be partly explained by the existing norms and values of that country. As such, in the more traditional countries, gender differences were more profound. This was explained as girls possibly being more restricted in their behaviour, specifically in their sexual behaviour than boys living in the same culture. Several other studies found that not only biological differences but also cultural context determines whether adolescent boys and girls engage in online risky behaviour (Perry & Pauletti, 2011; Wilsnack, Vogeltanz, Wilsnack & Harris, 2000; and Block, 1983).

The Netherlands is defined as a country that is less traditional implying smaller/fewer gender differences. However it still seems relevant to consider contextual and cultural influences. Cultural differences not only exist between countries but also within countries. Narrowing down, it seems reasonable to explore the norms and values (cultures) that exist within schools, classes and among peer groups. Arnett (1992) argues that norms and values existing within a social environment, expressed by parents, peers, schools and neighbourhoods, as less distal factors may still determine the strength of specific behaviours. He uses in his example 'sensation seeking', explaining how restrictive parenting may limit an adolescents' manifestation of sensation seeking, independent of the restrictiveness of the country as a whole (Baumgartner et al., 2014).

Social environment

In further studying the social environment it can be relevant to consider the current availability of technology, in particular the availability of social media in modern society. As Chalfen (2009) explains, today young people live at the intersection of four different sub-cultures (media, techno-culture, visual, and adolescent). Within these sub-cultures young people are consumers but increasingly become the media makers, making digital technologies and cameras embedded into their everyday lives. In line with that, Van Doorn (2011) argues that new technologies provide both a new form of the 'normal' for young people's cultural activities and consequently transcend their relationships into digital spheres of reality via social media networks. These developments make it increasingly difficult for young people to distinguish virtual from the material and physical concrete (Van Doorn, 2011; and Ringrose et al., 2012). That these technological advancements provide new

means of developing and maintaining relationships may be clear, however they also provide young people with greater power over their digital lives (Simpson, 2013). This latter note becomes a challenge for parents in monitoring their children's online behaviour, happening in a world beyond their view (Haddon & Vincent, 2014). According to Sorbring, Hallberg, Bohlin & Skoog (2015) parents play a significant role in their children's (online) sexual development. Amongst others they found that parent's open communication about sexuality and control strategies/monitoring result in lower sexual activity. Similar to what Arnett (1992) found on restrictive parenting possibly limiting adolescents' manifestation for sensation seeking.

Van Ouytsel, Walrave, Ponnet and Heirman (2014) explored the relation between emotional and psychosocial conditions and engaging in adolescent sexting behaviour. In particular *peer pressure* and relating conditions such as *popularity*, were explored in their literature review. Objectively speaking these conditions are part of the social environment, however when talking about the 'perception of...', which is subjective, the conditions should be regarded as personal determinants.

A number of studies found that peers might play an important role in adolescents' engagement in sexting behaviour. Rice et al. (2012) found that the probability of engaging in sexting was higher in students who knew another person who had engaged in this behaviour, compared to students who never had sent a sext. Two other researchers found that (1) engaging in sexting by adolescents at risk was significantly associated with the perceived approval of this behaviour by friends, but also by parents and the media (Houck et al., 2014), and (2) that sexting is positively associated with peer pressure (Lee, Moak & Walker, 2013). Furthermore, Vanden Abeele et al. (2014) show that having engaged in sexting was significantly associated with the need for popularity and self-perceived popularity with the other sex. Also here there seems to be gender stereotyping, because when looking at girls only, for them having engaged in sexting was significantly associated with a lower perceived same-sex popularity. Whether girls do this to gain popularity when they regard themselves as unpopular, or whether sexual permissiveness of girls who engage in sexting might negatively affect their popularity with other girls is still unsure (Vanden Abeele et al., 2014).

What can the current research project add?

Each school, or more specific each class, may claim a different social environment, formed by norms and values that regulate the functioning of that particular 'community'. It will be interesting to explore the influence of the social environment both as objective phenomenon (as part of environmental factors), as well as subjective, meaning the perception of young people (as part of personal determinants), and the relation to online sexual (risk) behaviour.

Relationship styles

Entirely looking at a different type of context is what Lenhart (2009) did in her study 'Teens and Sexting'. She found that the participants who were active in sexting belonged to either one of the three main contexts displayed below:

- (1) Exchange of images solely between two romantic partners;
- (2) Exchanges between partners that are shared with others outside the relationship and;
- (3) Exchanges between people who are not yet in a relationship, but where at least one person hopes to be.

Albury and Crawford (2012) aim in their study to identify the broader legal and political environment in which sexting occurs. They also emphasise the importance of culture and relating gender 'ideas' of how men and women should or should not behave. They use Lenhart's contexts to differentiate between who engages in sexting behaviour and put into perspective what the responsibilities are of the ones involved. Looking at whether sexting happens within a trust relationship and consensus of one or more people, and whether there is adherence to the trust and responsibility or not, is essential when discussing sexting behaviour within broader context (Albury & Crawford, 2012). A quote by Wildly Parenthetical perfectly displays the essence of taking into account the various roles and context in which this type of risk behaviour appears. The quote is a reaction to the campaign *Megan's Story*, produced by ThinkUKnowAustralia (2010), in response to sexting. In short, Megan, a teenage girl who sends a screenshot of her décolleté (in bra) to a boy, intended for his eyes only, from her class. The boy forwards the message to other classmates; boys responding suggestively and girls in disgust. Finally the teacher also gets notice of the photo and shakes his head in disappointment towards Megan. Megan breaks down and runs from the classroom. See the campaign video on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DwKgg35YbC4> (ThinkUKnowAustralia, 2010).

Quote: *'All I could think was that if we didn't have such fucked-up ideas about teenage girls and their sexuality, it wouldn't be damaging to forward the sext, it wouldn't be anything that anyone would want to do and if it did happen, he [the forwarder], and not she [Megan], would be the one who would be shamed'* (Wildly Parnethetical, 2010). What becomes clear from this quote is that 'blaming the victim' is something that is not uncommon, not even in a professional campaign such as *Megan's Story*.

What can the current research project add?

Open discussion about stigmatized topics or shameful topics seems necessary in order to dig deeper and get a more complete picture of what actually happens. Field research will provide more insight into the opinions of young people on what is socially accepted and what is not,

in relation to online sexual behaviour. Attention will be given to gender beliefs and the different roles that one can have in online activities (perpetrator, distributor, victim, bystander).

Impact of positive and negative experiences of online sexual activities

As Samimi and Alderson (2014) claim, sexting appears to be seen as just another form of sexual exploration. In a way similar to premarital sex, that has become more socially acceptable throughout the years. It would be safe to say, according to Crimmins and Seigfried-Spellar (2014), that sexting will only increase in popularity when technology becomes more readily available and affordable. To become popular a medium needs however more than the practical availability of technology alone, so the question is 'what positive impact does sexting have on young people?' A study among undergraduate students (mean age: 21 years old), explored the motivation behind sexting and found three main positive 'sextpectancies'; (1) *sexting makes one feel sexy*, (2) *sexting makes one excited*, and (3) *sexting makes it easier to flirt* (Dir, Coskunpinar, Steiner & Cyders, 2013). In their study, not surprisingly, more positive sextpectancies were linked to more frequent sexting, whereas more negative sextpectancies were linked with lower rates of sexting. Men had more positive sextpectancies than women, the author attributed this gender difference to the idea that society has about women having a double standard. Meaning that it is more acceptable for men to be promiscuous than it is for women (Dir, Coskunpinar, Steiner & Cyders, 2013).

Besides the exciting sexual exploration that sexting, and online sexual activities in general offers, there may also be unforeseen and unintended consequences to these types of behaviour. There is some existing literature on the negative psychological and social impact of sexting. As Reyns, Burek, Henson & Fisher (2013) explain, individuals who intentionally engage in sexting may unintentionally later become *victim of (cyber-)harassment* or *(cyber)bullying*. This may then again lead to *embarrassment, mental health problems* such as, depression and *poor performance in school* (Lenhart, 2009; Mitchell, Finkelhor, Jones, Wolak, 2012; Theodore, 2011). There have been few cases of students who have committed *suicide* after being cyberbullied and harassed for a sexted photograph that became public (Ryan, 2010).

Another way of impact is when the judicial system of a country holds *prosecution* against distributors of semi-nude/nude photos/videos of underage people, which can be regarded as child pornography (Ryan, 2010). In the Netherlands this is only the case when the perpetrator is an adult (>18 years) and the 'victim' is <18 years.

A study conducted among young adults (18-25 years) emphasises that sexting has not only legal and social health consequences but that it is also associated with various other jeopardizing health

behaviours. Benotsch, Snipes, Martin & Bull (2012) found that participants engaging in sexting, were more than twice as likely to have *sex with multiple partners* and to have *unprotected sex*. Also, *substance use* and *sexually transmissible infections (STI's)* were conditions associated with engaging in sexting behaviour. The researchers warrant for paying attention to these and possible other health risks in similar studies, as their findings suggest that some individuals who engage in sexting may still incur new sexual risks (Benotsch, Snipes, Martin & Bull, 2012). Whether these health risks are also experienced among adolescents is yet unknown. In the study 'Seks onder je 25ste' the average age of 'having sex for the first time' is 16.6 years old, when looking at gender differences, boys in the ages 12-14 years old have in general more experience with sexual intercourse than girls. However, after that age group girls/females have in general more experience with sexual intercourse than boys/males until 24 years old. When looking at sexual experience in relation to educational level, both for males and females applies that in general lower educated have more experience than higher educated people. Except for the first age category (12-13 years old), there is no difference between educational level and sexual experience (De Graaf, Kruijer, Van Acker & Meijer, 2012).

What can the current research project add?

The impact of online sexual risk behaviour will be further explored to obtain a complete picture of the experiences of students and teachers with online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents. It is for example questionable whether adolescents (age 12-18) would identify the same motivations for their sexting behaviour as adults, as found by Dir, Coskunpinar, Steiner & Cyders (2013). Focus group discussions and individual interviews will provide more insight into the motivations for, and impact of sexting experiences. However, as this research focuses on determinants leading to online sexual health risks, no specific conclusions will be drawn on behalf of these findings, unless relevant in relation to the determinants.

3.3. In sum

To make the information of the literature a little more apprehensible, a short summary on the determinants and environmental factors that relate to online sexual risk behaviour, and the impact it may have on people and their quality-of-life, is provided.

The behaviour

A specific group in our society seems to engage more in Social Media and spend at least part of their time online, namely the population at risk- adolescents (age 12-18). Literature shows that this group in particular is therefore more likely, than for example adults or small children, to engage in *online sexual risk behaviour*. There are three different roles that an agent, someone from the population at risk, can engage in during the performance of online sexual risk behaviour, namely: *the victim*,

perpetrator or *distributor*. Although most of the existing literature focuses on sexting, it is not unimaginable that determinants and factors influencing sexting and webcam (ab)use, possibly also lead to grooming events. It will be interesting to explore this knowledge gap in the following qualitative part of this research project.

The behaviour is influenced by personal determinants of adolescents, and environmental factors (the environment these adolescents live in), and can have positive as well as negative impacts. Next to short-term consequences, there can also be a positive or negative impact on the quality-of-life of the people; this would imply a more long-term impact.

Personal determinants

From the literature several personal determinants came to the fore that may influence the online sexual risk taking behaviour of the population at risk. Personal determinants are classified under more general personal factors to be able to keep a broader perspective and possibly add valuable information from field research. Based on existing knowledge the personal determinants are; *demographics* (gender, level of education, depression, and frequency of Internet use); *knowledge*; *attitude* (sensation seeking, experiential thinking, and low/high self-control); *social perception*; *risk perception*; and *self-efficacy*. In the context of the current research the terms will be referred to as follows: ‘attitude’ refers to the students’ positive or negative evaluation of self-performance of online sexual behaviour (based on: Ajzen, 1991); ‘social perception’ refers to the students’ perception about online sexual behaviour, which is influenced by the judgement of significant others, such as parents, peers or teachers (based on: Amjad & Wood, 2009); ‘risk perception’ can be measured by perceived susceptibility ‘will the risk of online sexual behaviour have negative consequences for me?’ (based on: Janz & Becker, 1984); and ‘self-efficacy’ refers to students’ beliefs about their capabilities to produce designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events - online sexual activities - that affect their lives (Bandura, 1997).

Environmental factors

As far as the literature focussed on environmental factors, there are four main origins under which several sub-factors can be classified. These are: *country and cultural context* (measured by: norms and values, gender beliefs, and traditionalism); *the social environment* (measured by: peer pressure, and popularity); *legal and political environment*; and *relationship styles* (trust relation, and consent). There are also agents that are part of the environment of the population at risk, who possibly could be of influence to the behaviour of this population. Agents that might be of influence are: *parents*,

teachers, and *peers*, the latter group might in relation to the risk behaviour also function as '*bystanders*'. The environmental factors could have direct impact (positive and/or negative) on the short-term and quality-of-life (long-term).

Impact

As already mentioned there can either be positive or negative consequences to the online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents. Starting with the positive impact: *social acceptance* (for example measured by popularity); *feeling sexy*; *feeling excited*; and it would be *easier to flirt*, are all experienced as positive consequences of online sexual risk behaviour by adolescents. Then, the negative experiences of the behaviour: *becoming a victim of (cyber)harassment/bullying*; *embarrassment*; *poor school performance*; *conviction*; *unprotected sex*; *substance use*; and *mental health problems* (such as, depression). Most of these consequences are rather short-term, therefore there has been made a distinction between positive and negative impact (short-term, and can be health related), and positive and negative impact on quality-of-life (long-term, and are usually related to well-being).

These positive and negative consequences (short-term) are logically influenced by the behaviour, as well as the environmental factors of the population at risk.

Impact on quality-of-life

The existing literature shows that the positive impact on quality-of-life can be primarily classified under the term *sexual development*. The negative impact on quality-of-life are resulting from the negative experiences people had. Consequences that negatively affect the well being of these people are: *social and/or professional exclusion*; *lower quality-of-life* in general; and can even lead to *suicide* in extreme cases.

The positive and negative impact on quality-of-life are both directly influenced by the positive and negative experiences of the population at risk. Also, the impact on quality-of-life can be under direct influence of the environmental factors.

The existing literature provides interesting and valuable information on what is already known about the determinants that may influence online sexual risk behaviour. However, it is also possible to conclude that the majority of the existing literature starts with the assumption that online sexual behaviour is 'a problem', considering solely the negative consequences of that behaviour (Van Ouytsel et al., 2014; Jang, Song & Kim, 2014; Schreck, Stewart & Fischer, 2006; and, Van Wilsem, 2010). Recently there are some researchers that take a more 'grounded' approach (Naezer, current PhD research; Krebbekx, current PhD research). Having a grounded approach allows the researcher

to explore a phenomenon from the perspective of a population at risk, usually by means of observation, letting them decide whether and what exactly is negative or positive (Trochim, 2006). As this research aims to investigate what determinants lead to risky online sexual behaviour of adolescents, from the perspective of the population at risk, it will be interesting to consider both views. Therefore, both perspectives are integrated into the approach. See also *Figure 1: theoretical framework*.

The following sub-research questions are distilled based on the above literature study. They help answering the main research question: *what are determinants of risk behaviour that lead to internet risks, specifically, sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming?*

Sub-research questions

1. *What types of online sexual behaviour - or online sexual activities - do adolescents engage in?*
2. *What are positive and negative experiences of adolescents with engaging in online sexual activities, and what are their motives?*
3. *What are the experiences of teachers with guiding their students being active on social media, especially engaging in online sexual activities?*

4. Theoretical Framework

Figure 1, on the next page, provides visualization - theoretical framework - of the approach that is applied in this research.

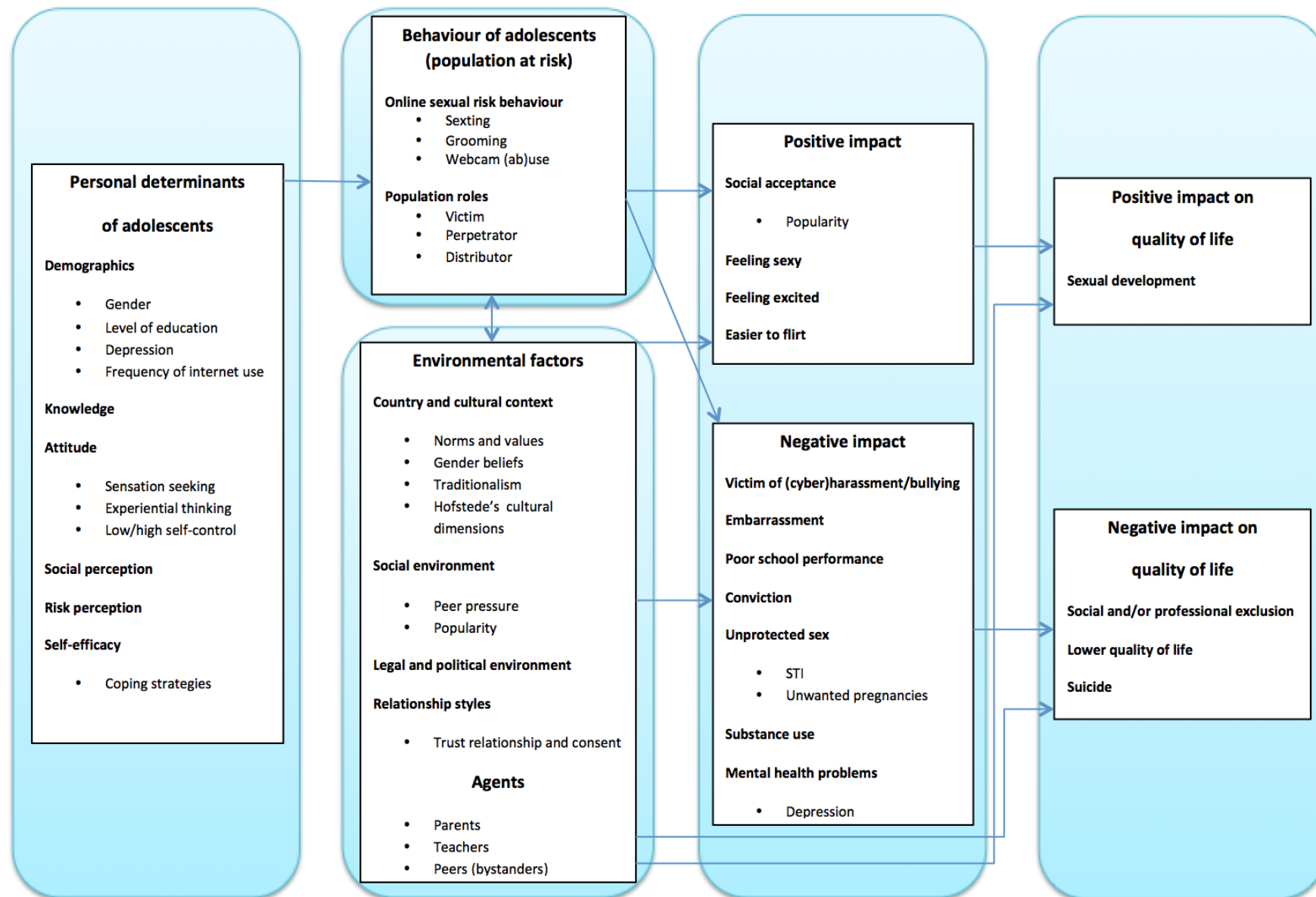


Figure 1: theoretical framework based on the Precede Model of Green & Kreuter (2005).

5. Methodology

This section of the report provides an overview of the methodological aspects of this research project. First the research design will be described; hereafter the data collection and data processing will be elaborated on.

5.1. Research design

The nature of this research is exploratory. Literature and empirical research are combined to add new knowledge and improve the understanding of young people engaging in online sexual activities that might or might not result in a negative experience. A qualitative research design including the combination of multiple methods – triangulation – has been applied. Qualitative data methods, in the form of focus groups and individual interviews, are especially useful to gain a broad range of information on one specific target group and phenomenon, without the intention to generalize results (Carter & Henderson, 2005). See *Figure 2* for a visualization of the research design.

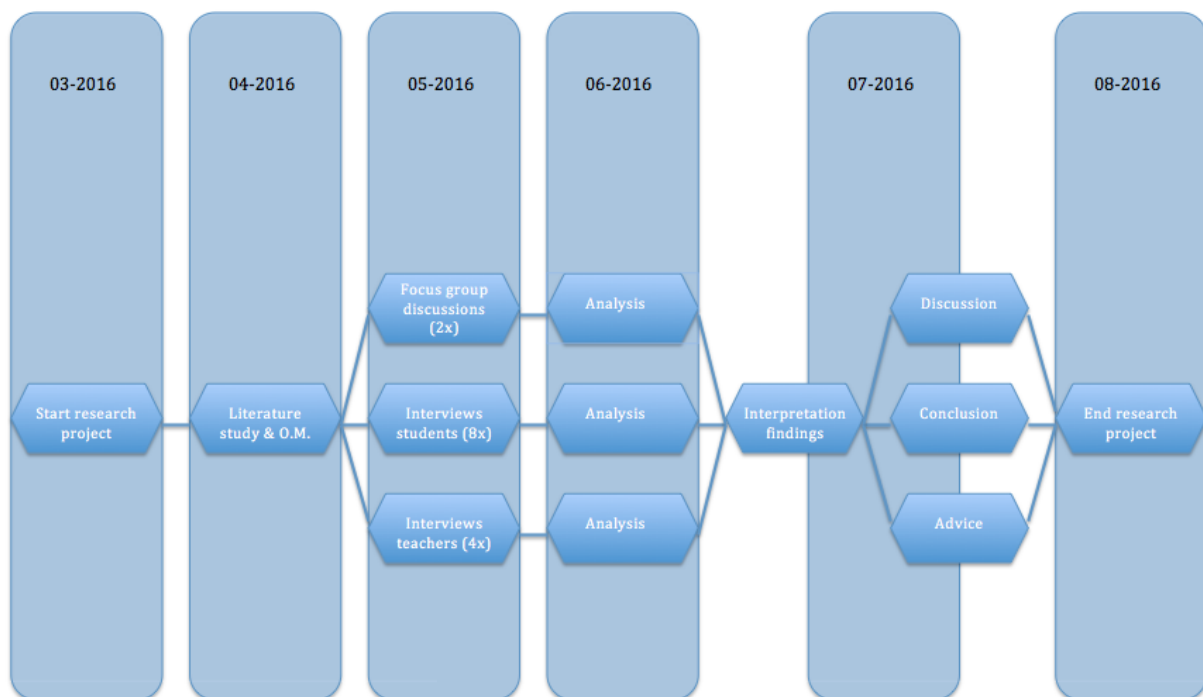


Figure 2: Research design (O.M. refers to Orientation meetings)

5.2. Data collection

Methodological decisions were partly already decided upon by SANL during the application development. As such it was already decided that a short literature review, focus group discussions with students, and individual interviews with teachers and students would form the basis of data collection. Literature study and orientation meetings provided information and formed an inspiration

source for the set up and formulation of interview questions. See *Figure 3* for a visualization of the data collection set up.

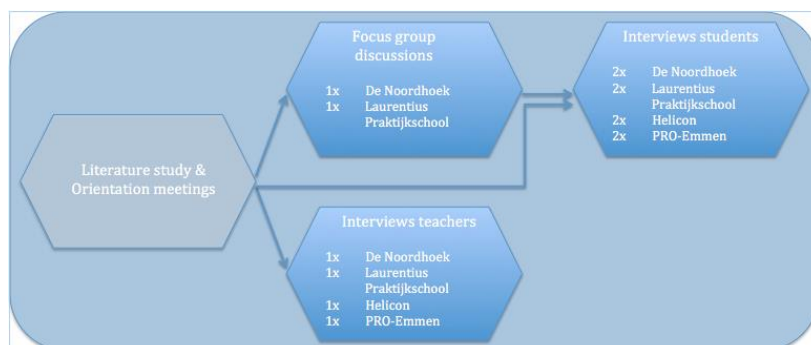


Figure 3: Data collection set up

Orientation meetings

A kick-off meeting was organized with colleague professionals from different organizations to gain input on what they regard as important for this projects' needs assessment. Moreover, a PhD student doing her research on young people and their use of social media for the purpose of friendships, relationships and sexual development, provided context and inspiration. The two most important insights are summarized below and were taken into account during the development of the interview guides.

The first element concerns the actual online risk behaviour of young people and the different roles they can play during this type of activity. 'Blaming the victim' is a phenomenon that occurs during these activities, talking about sexting, webcam abuse and grooming. It should be guarded that not only focus is emphasized on the 'victim', but also the perpetrators, distributors and bystanders for that matter. This introduces the second element, which concerns factors from the environment in which young people live and are influenced by in acting out the specific behaviour. Norms and values, existing on societal level, within school, within the family and even more narrow, in class, are important to consider in group dynamics, stereotyping and gender differences, and for example possible stigmatization concerning the topic. These factors can also be reviewed in relation to the different roles a person can partake in during these behavioural activities. More extended summaries on these two orientation meetings can be found in *Appendix 1*.

Literature study

A brief literature study has been performed in order to gain insight into what is already known about adolescents and Internet sex risks, in which both national and international literature applies. Information has been used to give direction to subjects of discussion for both focus groups and interviews. As it concerns a scoping review, the search will not be exhaustive.

Literature has been gathered via colleagues who have conducted or are momentarily doing research on the same or similar subject (Marijke Naezer, PhD student at the institute of Gender studies; Reint Jan Renes, Dr. at Wageningen University). Also, professionals who are involved in the project of the planned development of the toolkit have been able to provide relevant literature (Justine Pardoën, Willemijn Krebbekx). Moreover, literature has been gathered via searches on Google Scholar and Pubmed. Keywords included: young people (youth, adolescents, youngsters, children); sexting; webcam sex (abuse); grooming; Internet risks; determinants; behaviour (both Dutch and English). Keywords were used in various combinations and separately. Besides the scientific literature, various (policy)reports and internet websites were explored, such as internetsoa.nl; blog ouders; and blogs written by Marijke Naezer and Willemijn Krebbekx on sexting; 'Seks is een game'; 'De seksparadox: Nederland na de seksuele revolutie'.

Recruitment

The qualitative data has been collected by conducting two focus group discussions with students in two groups of four to six students. Additionally, qualitative data has been collected via twelve individual interviews, of which eight with students and four interviews with teachers. All participants come from four schools (vocational secondary education), from different regions.

During the application of the project at large (the toolkit), SANL already recruited two teachers from different vocational secondary schools, who were interested in partaking in the project. It concerns a teacher at 'De Noordhoek' in Gorinchem, and a teacher at 'Helicon' in Eindhoven. Two other vocational secondary schools were recruited via a convenient sampling strategy. It concerns one school in the urban agglomeration of the Netherlands - Laurentius Praktijkschool, Delft -, and another school located in more peripheral area - PRO-Emmen, Emmen. Through already existing contacts that participated in a Long Live Love project by SANL in the past, teachers from in total 30 schools were contacted via e-mail and telephone. There was a high non-response; about 25 teachers did not reply and three teachers declined the request. Reasons for declining are: no time and already preoccupied with other projects concerning social safety.

The four participating teachers have been the contact person for each school and participating students. The four schools provided in total eighteen students and four teachers. (1) *De Noordhoek*: six students for a focus group; two different students for individual interviews; and one teacher. (2) *Laurentius Praktijkschool*: four students for a focus group; two different students for individual interviews; and one teacher. (3) *PRO-Emmen*, and (4) *Helicon*: each two students for individual interviews and each one teacher.

Sample selection

A broad range of students in terms of age and school year provide a rich view on these young people's online sexual behaviour. Moreover, in vocational secondary education difference in level is more determined by social background and possible personality disorders than by age or school year. The selection of students was predominantly left to the teachers as it was assumed that the teacher has the best insight into the background and ability of the students, relevant to partake in this research. Some criteria were made clear beforehand. See *box 2* for inclusion criteria.

Box 2: inclusion criteria

- The schools of the participants should be located in different regions in the Netherlands, including urban agglomeration and peripheral area.

Student participants:

- Students go to vocational secondary education (practical education or intermediate preparatory vocational education).
- Students are in the age range between 12 and 18 years old.
- Part of the students has a different cultural background than Dutch.
- Students have experience with online sexual behaviour or are familiar with it via peers or friends.

Teacher participants:

- Teachers teach at vocational secondary education (practical education and/or intermediate preparatory vocational education).
- Teachers have experience with providing sexual education according to – or based upon – the LLL program. The usage of additional course material, outside LLL, is acknowledged.

Methodological instruments

A semi-structured interview style was used to be able to probe questions to obtain in-depth information. Interview questions for the focus group discussions and individual interviews with teachers are based on (1) research questions, (2) input from orientation meetings, and (3) input from previous studies as visualized in the theoretical framework. Interview questions for individual interviews with the students are, in addition to the above, based on input from the focus group discussions. Topics from previous studies that provided input include; attitude towards online sexual behaviour; social and risk perception of online sexual behaviour; self-efficacy; and the social environment in which young people live. Anonymity and confidentiality were preserved throughout the study. See *Table 1* for an overview of concepts and question topics per instrument.

Table 1: overview of concepts and question topics per instrument

Instruments	Concepts	Question topics
Focus group discussions	Behaviour of adolescents	Online friendships, relationships and sexual activities such as, sexting and webcam sex Connecting (online), and meeting known and unknown people in real life
Individual interviews students		
Individual interviews teachers	Personal determinants of adolescents	Demographics Knowledge Attitude Social perception Risk perception Self-efficacy
	Environmental factors	Social environment (role of teachers, peers, friends, parents, police, others)
	Impact of adolescents' behaviour	Positive experiences (impact) Negative experiences (impact)
Individual interviews teachers	Role teachers in signalling risky behaviour of adolescents	Difficulties Enhancing strategies
	Implementation toolkit internet risks	Role of school management Specific elements/themes

The interviews were all conducted face-to-face. An informed consent from the parents of the student participants, for both the focus groups and interviews, was sent to all participating schools. However it was left up to the school management whether they regarded it necessary for the students' participation. In the end no school decided to ask for permission by applying the informed consent. Oral permission for voice recording was requested beforehand. See *Appendix 6* for a layout of the informed consent (in Dutch).

Interview guide 'focus group discussions'

Interview questions focussed on the students' *experience with social media for the purpose of friendships, relationships and sexual activities*. Questions also concerned personal elements such as *knowledge* and *attitude* towards online sexual behaviour and activities, and their *perception* of it; environmental elements such as the *social environment*, how teachers, peers and for example parents influence the behaviour; and the possible *impact of the behaviour of students*. Interview questions for the focus groups were less intended to draw out personal stories, but formulated to gain insight into group dynamics and e.g. possible gender differences. Questions were often formulated in 3rd person, and a short sexting scenario was given to draw out their opinions. See *Appendix 3* for the interview guide used for focus group discussions (in Dutch).

The interview guide for focus group discussions was pilot-tested with a group of three 17 years old students in their third year of higher general secondary education. A convenient sample was used for the pilot-test, as the participants were familiar to the researcher. Based on the pilot the interview guide was shortened and personal questions were formulated in 3rd person.

Interview guide 'students'

Interview questions for the individual interviews with students concerned the same topics as questions that were used for the focus group discussions. The main difference with the interview guide for focus group discussions is in the formulation and personalization of the questions. Questions are directed to draw out personal stories and experiences. Additionally, *grooming risk factors* were emphasised in one question. More sensitive questions, such that ask for more personal experience, were asked towards the middle/end to build a mini-relationship and minimize social desirability. The fore last question focussed on a negative experience with online activities/behaviour and the last question on their most exciting and fun experience, with that to end on a positive note. See *Appendix 7* for the interview guide used for the individual interviews with students (in Dutch).

Interview guide 'teachers'

Interview questions focussed on teachers' experience with online risk behaviour of the population at risk (their students). Question topics are similar to the other two interview guides but formulated to gain the perspective of the teacher. Additionally, questions that focus on the *role of the teacher in*

signalling online risk behaviour, and questions that focus on *difficulties and enhancing strategies to facilitate students in vocational secondary education with online sexual behaviour*, were asked with respect to the implementation of a toolkit on internet risks. See *Appendix 8* for the interview guide used for the individual interviews with teachers (in Dutch).

Research population ‘focus group discussions’

Two focus groups were conducted at two different schools (De Noordhoek in Gorinchem & Laurentius Praktijkschool in Delft). Focus group discussions are used to examine opinions, beliefs and norms and values about online sexual activities (Molzahn et al., 2005). An advantage of conducting the focus groups before the individual interviews is that relevant themes discussed during these discussions provided input for the more in-depth and possibly more personal conversation during individual interviews (Lambert & Loiselle, 2007).

The population that participated in the focus group discussions were (1) a group of six students in the fourth year of vocational secondary education, in the age between 15 to 18 years old, and (2) another group of four students in the second year of vocational secondary education, in the age between 14 and 15 years old. Students were from the same second or fourth class, and thus familiar with one another. See *Appendix 2* for an overview of characteristics ‘student participants focus group discussions’.

Research population ‘individual interviews’

Individual interviews were conducted in order to be able to explore personal experiences of the students and teachers (Molzahn et al., 2005).

There are two types of interviewee populations involved in this research project. (1) A total of eight students - 14 to 17 years old - who are in their second, third or fourth year of vocational secondary education were interviewed. The interviewee students are a representative sample of the class, considering gender and cultural background. See *Appendix 4* for an overview of characteristics ‘student participants individual interviews’. (2) Four female teachers - age 40 to 50 years old - one of each selected vocational secondary school, were interviewed. See *Appendix 5* for an overview of characteristics ‘teacher participants’.

5.3. Data processing

All interviews and focus group discussions were voice-recorded and transcribed verbatim. For the coding of this data a qualitative data analysis software program was used called ‘MAXQDA’ (Release 12.0.2). According to the steps provided by this program, starting from organizing and categorizing data, to coding, retrieving and analysing, qualitative data will be processed (VERBI GmbH, 2015).

Coding of the data has been done based upon pre-determined codes, called top-down and few codes were added during the coding process, called bottom-up. The top-down codes are according to the umbrella concepts as modelled in the theoretical framework, and based upon concepts that relate to the research questions. Top-down codes involve topics that concern the actual behaviour of adolescents, *sexting*, *webcam (ab)use* and *grooming*; personal determinants, such as *attitude*, *knowledge* and *social perception*; environmental factors, such as the *social environment*; and what might be mentioned about the *impact of online sexual risk behaviour*. Additional top-down codes that solely concern the teacher interviews include, *the role of teachers in signalling online risky behaviour*, and topics that concern the *implementation of a toolkit on Internet risks*. The bottom-up codes that emerged during the coding process, concern two other types of potential online sexual risk behaviour, namely *flirting* and *pornography*. As part of personal determinants, *personal disorders* emerged in relation to online sexual risk behaviour of students from vocational secondary education. The two latter bottom-up codes (pornography and personal disorders) were emphasized during teacher interviews. See *Appendix 9* for an overview of the code scheme.

The main researcher coded the interviews but to reduce researcher bias, researchers from SANL were regularly consulted. For example, codes, the code scheme as well as the interpretation of several text fragments, were discussed.

Interpretations on data and reflection on the meaning of it were written by shortly summarizing the most often mentioned topics per theme and sub-theme based on the code scheme. Quotes have been used to reflect meaning and interpretation.

6. Results

The results extracted from the focus group discussions and interviews, held amongst students and teachers that have insight in and/or experience with online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents, are described below. Student results and teacher results are separated. Regarding the student results, focus group discussions and individual interviews are combined, as much of the results are comparable and it is stated there where different. Topics (results) are described there – based on the code scheme – where most mentioned by student and teacher interviewees. Quotes are used to exemplify the results: **FG#** = Focus group discussion; (within **FG#**) **F#** or **M#** = Female# or Male#; **F#** or **M#** = Individual interview Female# or Male#; **T#** = Teacher#. In *Appendix 2, 4 and 5* you can find an overview of all the participants by interview type and number (#).

6.1. Results ‘students’

Behaviour of adolescents

General usage of social media

WhatsApp, Snapchat*, Instagram*, Hot or Not (a dating app), Facebook, FaceTime, Skype and YouTube are social media that all respondents are familiar with. The first three mentioned are regularly used by almost all respondents, where Facebook, FaceTime and Skype in a lesser amount. Especially Facebook is less popular among the respondents and only used to see what is going on in other people’s lives without any form of communication. All these social media are used predominantly via the telephone because it is easier and available at any time, whereas the computer is not. Other things that were more often mentioned are games, especially shooting games by boys, and usage of the Internet to find information about school projects etc. Only few respondents mentioned to use the Internet to find advice on relational or sexual basis, one respondent active in sexting mentioned to regularly go on Dreamers Forum to find and provide relational and sexual information. About half of the respondents mentioned to use social media to joke around - with a group of friends – by e.g. calling familiar or unfamiliar people with a threat or acting out in a flirty or sexual way.

Not all respondents engage in (online) relational or sexual activities. Differences in level of activity do not seem to be based on age or level of education but in other personal determinants. As such two respondents mentioned to neither engage in flirting via Internet nor sexting, or any other (online) relational or sexual activity. These respondents were unsure about their sexual identity and preferences. As this respondent describes: **Quote F1** (age 17) *‘I’m not focussed on that yet, I’m more like, I don’t even know whether I’m into boys or girls so I’m still very much occupied with myself, I’m even still a little in the clinch with myself so...that makes it hard to also focus on others.’*

*Snapchat: an online tool to communicate with each other via photos and short videos. The sender can put a time frame of maximum 10 seconds to control how long the receiver can see a particular photo/video. Also, the tool attends the sender when the receiver makes a screenshot from a particular photo.

*Instagram: an online tool especially focussed on photos and videos, where one can follow and like others to get to know each other.

Online flirting and sexting

According to all respondents, flirting via Internet and sexting is a common phenomenon among adolescents. The respondents mentioned WhatsApp and Snapchat as most used tools, for flirting via

Internet and sexting. Most respondents mentioned emoticons as being often used to flirt or communicate with others. Flirting in general happens in most cases online and with people which adolescents are unfamiliar with in real life. The initial contact is often made via Instagram. After the initial contact has been made the conversation continues on WhatsApp or Snapchat. However online flirting is more common than flirting in real life. Most respondents, predominantly females, mentioned to prefer flirting in real life because it is more trustworthy, keeping in mind this is face-to-face and one can see the non-verbal communication. Also females consider flirting in real life as more manly. **Quote FG2** *'F1 (age 14): Perhaps they don't dare to flirt in real life...just via Internet, typing is easier than saying it in real life...most of the time when someone tells you right in the face you are quiet afterwards, via WhatsApp you can first read and then you think 'I will say this and this' so then you type back. F2 (age 14): Flirting in real life just doesn't happen anymore...F1: No, just everything via app...except for the real men, they just approach and come straight to you hahaha...that is much better! F2: It gives more of a feeling that it's fake when via Internet. F1: Yes! In real life you think 'oh he really means it, otherwise he wouldn't do this'. F2: Over the app you may think that other people are there as well. F1: Yes! That they are joking around with friends...M3 (age 14): Yes that happened to me once!'*

According to the respondents sexting happens predominantly via Snapchat, WhatsApp, and via Instagram and Hot or Not. It is not uncommon to receive naked photos/videos or requests from unfamiliar people. Snapchat is preferred because of the short time frame and the sender gets notice when the receiver makes a screenshot. Two of the eighteen students mentioned to have engaged in sexting themselves (both in individual interviews), all other students were familiar with sexting indirectly e.g. via peers. Sexting does not happen necessarily within a relationship but mostly between two individuals, however several respondents mentioned that naked photos are also sent within group apps, not only by following distributors. When people engage in sexting it does not necessarily mean they are sexually active in real life. **Quote F5** (age 14) *'On Hot or Not, well most of the time there was nothing to see but when there was something to see it was gross...they would talk dirty stuff like eh 'do you want to send a naked photo?' that kind of stuff...boys I didn't know, 14/15 years old...like 'do you want sex or do you want to show photos of your breasts?'* **Quote M8** (age 16) *'Well, see you have got like these smileys 😊, that look like this (in love)...and then you say 'I have got something good for you' and then it's a fix, it's done like that sometimes...'*

Grooming & webcam (ab)use

All respondents were familiar with the above-mentioned concepts, however only few had experience directly or indirectly via for example peers or had heard about it via television or Internet. Grooming, as operationalized in this research, is according to the respondents a phenomenon that rarely

happens and not something they experienced. All respondents however do have online contact with unfamiliar people; often in a non-sexual way but flirting and getting to know new people to start a relationship is not uncommon. Especially Instagram and Hot or Not are social media used to get to know new people. Although grooming is not experienced, online contact with unknown people is normalized among all respondents. The difference between online and offline seems to influence the perception of these young people on 'knowing' people and their reference towards 'friends' online and offline. As this respondent describes: **Quote F5** (age 14) *'Once I received a video on Snapchat from someone I knew, he had a six-pack (body) and lowered the camera each time a bit...I thought 'oh gross, iehh'. I knew him from Instagram.'* Deciding whether one would like to get to know a person online is in the first place based on photos, after that one can start an online conversation. Two female respondents: **Quote F5** (age 14) *'On Hot or Not when you see a handsome boy you send a heart, and when he is ugly then just a cross...then you get informed that the boy fancies you too and you start a conversation.'* **Quote F3** (age 15) *'They say 'hey, how are you...I like you' with a kiss, then they ask for your phone number and the conversation continues via WhatsApp, finally you meet and so on.'* Respondents mentioned several ways to determine whether they can trust someone online to build an online relation or even in real life. Among the answers are; checking via Facebook (via profile photo and other background information) whether it is the person he/she says it is; starting a conversation with that person online; checking via webcam on Skype; via other online friends or friends you also know in real life; and to meet that person in real life. In addition to the latter one respondent mentioned to go to a public place and/or take a friend with her. Several respondents met their boy or girlfriend online and regarded their first meeting as exciting, a little scary but fun. **Quote M6** (age 15) *'I don't know many of my contacts on Instagram but I am in a group where I know three or four people, so that is for me trustworthy. I say 'hi how are you?' when I really fancy a girl and then we continue the conversation and I might give her my phone number and we continue over WhatsApp...or someone likes your photo or places a comment under your photo.'*

Webcam (ab)use was only mentioned by one or two respondents. Webcam is predominantly used for Skype and FaceTime with friends and family and in none of the cases for sexual purposes. During a focus group discussion one male respondent explains how he uses Skype: **Quote FG1** *'M2 (age 17): Yes, my girlfriend and me always. When I go to bed I always leave Skype on for her, for when something happens or when she is afraid...I just leave it on all night long.'*

Additionally, few respondents mentioned something about loverboys and pornography. One respondent described how she ended up two times in the hands of loverboys. She mentioned to have had a difficult childhood and after the loverboy incidents had to move and change schools. Her case links to sexting: **Quote F3** (age 15) *'It was near the supermarket 'Plus' where I met him, I thought*

'he is nice' and then he asked if I wanted to be his girlfriend...we were together three weeks and then I walked away from home because of a fight with my mom, and I went to his house...when I wanted to go to school he forced me to stay in the house.' **Quote F3** (age 15) *'Well it was kind of forced like 'you have to send a photo otherwise I spread your phone number' really a little threat it was, I didn't like it because it was like 'you have to do this and that'.* Pornography may be different from other online sexual behaviours, since it is one-sided without communication involved. None of the respondents mentioned to watch porn, however said their friends/peers do.

Personal determinants of adolescents

Gender

In this paragraph 'gender' refers to what behavioural differences between males and females are noticed by the students in relation to sexting. According to the respondents males are more down-to-earth and would therefore send a naked photo easier than females. Females on the other hand feel ashamed about their body and might therefore be more reluctant. Respondents' opinions were diverse on whether males send sexts more often than females, however males tend to ask for naked photos/videos sooner than females. Respondents mentioned that males distribute naked photos/videos more often than females because of jealousy, e.g. after a break-up. Acting 'cool' and showing off was also in connotation to males sending naked photos/videos. **Quote M8** (age 16) *'Boys are way more down-to-earth about sexting, girls are more like 'I'm ashamed of my body' she doesn't dare and boys are way cooler about it like 'yes well pff, send one and done.'*

Knowledge

According to all respondents not engaging in sexting behaviour is the ideal situation. Sending naked photos/videos without facial recognition is a second best option. Reasons to not engage in sexting are: people save photos/videos on their device; photos/videos will always exist online; parents get angry; blackmailing after sexting; and one respondent regarded himself too young to engage in sexting. The two respondents who did engage in sexting find that despite the excitement and satisfaction to build a trust relation, the disadvantages outweigh the advantages. **Quote FG1** *'F1 (age 15): Well, I think it is already smarter without the head...M2 (age 17): Yes, it is smarter but still...F1: Yes it's still not...yeah I think, I wouldn't do it...M3 (age 17): A bit of a smart guy can track who it is in like no time...F6 (age 18): If you send it via WhatsApp you definitely know who it is...F1: Yes but you have also like these chat sites and stuff ...M4 (age 15): Yes but that person forwards again and the person who receives that one cannot know for 100%, that is an advantage.'*

Although many respondents mentioned not to know how to give advice in a difficult situation such as shame sexting, knowledge would come to the surface during the focus group discussion.

Respondents mentioned to ignore, delete, block, or report someone as spam when people act disturbing online; mostly people that are unfamiliar to the students. Other methods that were mentioned to protect oneself online are to place a sticker in front of the webcam, track an IP-address, go to the police, and in one case to shield your account. Once something disturbing happened online, respondents would advise to talk to someone they trust. Who students trust differs per person and situation, many mentioned their parents, the teacher or their friends. For example one would not talk to their parents because they would get angry or feel ashamed about what they had done, others would not talk to their friends because of weariness for further dissemination via gossip.

Attitude

All respondents mentioned to delete naked photos/videos after having received them, out of respect for the sender. In general the attitude towards people who send sexts is that it is stupid, weird, and people who engage in that kind of behaviour are gross (the latter comment came from the youngest participant – 14 years old). Respondents mentioned people who become victim of shame sexting, that it is sad for them but also his/her own responsibility and one can expect that people forward such sexts, and therefore one can only expect a negative reaction such as bullying. Respondents mentioned that the distributor (the one who forwards after having received) of sexts is stupid to break the circle of trust, regarding the 'victim'. A larger amount of the respondents mentioned that it is much better to see and do 'it' in real life so therefore not to engage in sexting. One female respondent mentioned despite that it is stupid to engage in sexting: **Quote F7** (age 16) *'It happened here in school few times I believe...First of all I think it is stupid, sending naked photos while you might as well just visit that person if you want to show it...yeah well I think also 'it is just a body, everyone has one so who cares?'* A male respondent said the following: **Quote M4** (age 15) *'I think it is also sad for them...but on the other hand it is also their own fault, because they send those photos themselves so you can expect that people will forward such photos ...that is why I prefer to do it in real life...'*

The attitude of one male respondent who engaged in sexting mentioned that despite the pleasure he experienced from sexting, he would advise others to not do it, which he explained as follows: **Quote M8** (age 16) *'Best is just not doing it, but if you do than do so within a relation of trust, and yes it is fun but just like with cocaine... just as addictive but really satisfying, but you will feel worse afterwards because you really want it so bad. Look, you should actually do it within a relationship, then it is OK... when you just have a fuck buddy...that is not normal, that is weird because in fact sex is much better I believe with someone you love...'* This respondent once experienced shame sexting, he gave the impression to act down-to-earth, as he describes: **Quote M8** (age 16) *'When I'm being*

bullied over something like this in school, I will just ask school like 'can I have classes at home for a while?' and then just let it cool-down for some time'

Social perception and risk perception

In exploring how adolescents perceive people who engage in sexting and their perception of risk in relation to sexting, several statements were made by the respondents.

Concerning social perception, most respondents state that people who engage in sexting do this to get attention from peers. Some respondents mentioned that especially when males send naked photos/video, they would do it to gain popularity, e.g. by the size of their penis. Another reason mentioned was that people who engage in sexting, especially senders, do this because they feel insecure. The further dissemination of sexts by distributors is according to many respondents because, especially males, want to show off to their friends and peers. **Quote M4** (age 15) *'I know a girl like that, she was sending naked photos to someone all the time...like as if she wanted a lot of attention from the boys...'* In terms of trust, almost all respondents come to the conclusion that actually no one can be trusted online. However, one cannot examine the (real) non-verbal reaction of someone online when for example chatting. Respondents mentioned that it is easier and more comfortable to chat online. **Quote FG2** *'M3 (age 14): I actually think if you send a naked photo and it comes on the Internet than it is your own fault when it gets disseminated. F1 (age 14): Regret comes afterwards they say...M4 (age 15): With telling a secret it is actually the same... M3: Also that is your own fault, when you tell someone a secret. F2 (age 14): hm a bit yes...F1: yeah a bit, you will get into a fight at some point anyway and then you gossip. F2: You do say it in confidence...F1: Trust is difficult. F2: You have to contemplate before you trust someone.'*

In terms of risk perception a distinction should be made between sexting and grooming. First, respondents mentioned that although flirting and talking about sex is easier online, face-to-face communication is more trustworthy in this case because what is said/done online will always exist and come out when people gossip. The latter seems more a fact than a perception, according to the students. Also, people might take a screenshot and use it against the sender. Additionally many respondents mentioned that it is alright to engage in sexting without facial recognition. **Quote F3** (age 15) *'I saw some naked photos of people with face...so I said 'that is not smart because they can put in on Internet and then you are the fool'...I just keep my face out of sight (interviewer: and what if there are any other personal marks of recognition?) Well, then I will also remove that...'* Second, all respondents are aware that people can pretend to be someone else online, a risk for grooming. Some respondents mentioned to be weary when people say 'weird' things, such as proposing to meet, but many explained how they would make sure that the person really is who he/she says is.

Methods that were mentioned are: checking a persons' Facebook profile; meeting in real life; meeting in a public place; taking a friend along to the meeting. All these methods incline a continuation of the conversation or contact with an unknown person. **Quote M6** (age 15) *'Well I know what the dangers are because some people act like someone else, so I know that...so I started to watch out for that but then I found out that it was the 'right' person on the phone so yeah I took the chance and it turned out to be OK'* Third, referring to some of the answers respondents gave, their time perception is important to mention. Terms such as, 'a long time' or 'short time' are interpreted differently, e.g. 'long time' can be either three weeks or two years, in the same situation.

Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy was measured by asking whether students find it difficult to say 'no' when they are asked to send a naked photo for example. Most respondents mentioned they would say 'no' if it was an undesired request. On the other hand almost all respondents also mentioned they would find it difficult to say 'no' or could imagine that other people would find that difficult because of the consequences a decline might have. Reasons that were given are: the person with the request would get angry; the person with the request might break-up (the relation or contact); the person with the request would think less of the person who did not want to send a naked photo; afraid to get stalked; or afraid to get bullied. **Quote F1** (age 17) *'I won't show my body to others like yeah...the part of saying 'no' that is difficult, when that person won't like you anymore or you might get into a fight and it gets you 'into shit' so to say...that kind of stuff.'* **Quote FG2** *'F2 (age 14): Girls are more likely to send sexts quicker M4 (age 15): yeah F1 (age 14): Boys keep more distance, and girls they try...F2: Yeah most of the time boys ask F1: Yes and then girls still send it because they don't dare to say 'no', because you are completely in love with that person...'*

Environmental factors

Country and cultural context

Respondents mentioned religion several times in relation to sexting. Christian and Muslim belief seem to influence the decision of whether to engage in sexting or not, either because respondents adhere to a religion themselves or their family does, especially father or mother. Possible negative consequences it has on the relation to 'God' or their family influence students' sexting behaviour. As this respondent explains: **Quote FG1** *'M3 (age 17): By the way, it is ehm against my beliefs, I am Christian and eh M2 (age 17): I don't give a shit...M3: I would never ask a girl such a thing like a naked photo, and not just because...I mean it may sound like if I weren't Christian then...but neither then.'* **Quote F5** (age 14) *'My dad is Turkish so if he hears that (a naked photo) he gets really angry with me...and yes his culture is really different from my mothers...or I get a big lecture, also possible. My dad doesn't even allow me to have a boyfriend so...'*

Gender differences on societal level were also investigated. According to all respondents there is a difference between - how people react - when girls engage in sexting versus when boys engage in sexting. Differences that were mentioned are 'when girls engage in sexting': the reaction is more intense; they get more bullied; and they are called 'whore' or 'slut'. 'When boys engage in sexting': something will be said about it but after that it is done; and there is not much commotion. Most respondents do not know why this difference exists. Additionally, some respondents mentioned that there are more naked photos of boys in circulation than of girls. However, other respondents did not notice any gender difference in relation to the amount of naked photos circulating. **Quote FG2** *'F2 (age 14): With girls I think it's more intense F1 (age 14): Immediately like she is a whore, a slut etc. with a boy it's just 'iew gross, what are you doing?!' I think...M4 (age 15): I think a girl is a slut when she does that F1: See! I told you...M4: A boy is not a slut F2: This is really bad...M4: Yeah well, I don't know why there is a difference but there is M3 (age 14): Yeah...F1: Girls will be called names by each other because we are a little snappy and stubborn.'*

Social environment

Respondents mentioned that the reaction of peers to receiving or knowing about a naked photo being sent around is negative, especially towards the 'victim'. Negativity is being expressed by means of further distribution of the photo and gossiping, negative facial expressions towards the victim such as eyeballing, calling names such as 'whore' or 'slut', and bullying. Many respondents mentioned that the general picture of people who engage in sexting by sending sexts of themselves do this to get attention. The person who distributes the sexts further is stupid to do so, but on the other hand this is the 'victims' own fault. **Quote F3** (age 15) *'He did it for attention, which he didn't get! Haha, everyone was pissed with him...like 'be normal, go find someone who does give you attention, we will not!'* Most respondents mentioned that if they were to get involved in a difficult situation such as could happen with sexting or grooming, they would want to talk to one of their parents. It depends however on the gravity of the situation and situation at home. Depending on the situation, respondents mentioned that they might feel ashamed or to be afraid parents might get angry with them. The situation at home should be open and welcoming to talk about such subjects. Religion might block that openness. After the parents, the teacher or trust person in school are a second best option to go to for advice. Some respondents mentioned friends to be the first to go to for advice, others the last because of potential gossiping. Overall, respondents emphasized that a person, whoever that may be, you trust and feel comfortable with is the best person to go to for advice. **Quote FG2** *'M3 (age 14): Go to your parents or teacher M4: Well, the teacher not really because they will talk behind your back with other teachers...or go to a friend you know already for years F2 (age 14): In that case I wouldn't go to my parents because they will get angry F1 (age 14): Yeah F2: I think I*

would go to the teacher or something F1: Yes...F2: But yeah in that case they might also talk to your parents...F1: Better that the teacher tells than yourself F2: My parents would feel ashamed...M4 (age 15): I would just tell my dad, he rarely gets angry.' **Quote F5** (age 14) 'I would tell my mom, she says 'block' if it is someone weird online...my friends might gossip about it, no one would like that I think'

Relationship styles

When talking about sexting or webcam use respondents mentioned that trust is an important issue. Some respondents add that being in a relationship contributes to trustworthiness and is a prerequisite for e.g. sexting. Regarding sexting and the further dissemination of sexts, respondents mentioned that although being in a relationship should safeguard for further dissemination, it is still stupid to sext because one should know that 'people' can break the trust relation that way. **Quote M8** (age 16) 'Yeah well, there is always the risk, yeah for me it is less of a risk because I just really know my friends well so...but that is always the risk if you are looking for someone new eh...yeah that people will gossip and forward your sexts to others.' **Quote F3** (age 15) 'When I was 10 years old I got a cell phone. I had a boyfriend at that time and he said 'If you send a naked photo of yourself than I will send one back' ...yeah it is trustworthy but when the relationship was over I thought 'what will you do now with those photos?' Time perception seems to relate to trust in the sense that being with or knowing someone for a certain amount of time adds to the trustworthiness of a person. As this respondent explains: **Quote M6** (age 15) 'I don't send naked photos easily, it depends on whether I trust that person...I will have to know that person for at least three, four...five months, or maybe a year or two, then I think it is trustworthy.'

Impact of adolescents' behaviour and their quality of life

A distinction has been made between the positive and negative impact of sexting. First, respondents mentioned that online flirting and sexting is or might be exciting and therefore a fun activity. The countless online possibilities make for example flirting easier and it is not uncommon to get to know your boyfriend online. One respondent experienced sexting as something positive because it builds a trust relation, as he explains here: **Quote M8** (age 16) 'Well it is weird but it forms a relation of trust I think, and it is intimate too, but it really gives a feeling that I can trust someone and that he/she can trust me...and like 'yeah it was nice' and it feels good to get compliments and to give them. It is something strange, not the usual but it gives some sort of strange beautiful friendship...and it is also exciting, look it is thrilling (sexual) so that is also quite cool.'

Second, results show that online communication in general can incline a negative impact because people miss non-verbal communication for which fights get sooner out of control, as this student explains: **Quote F1** (age 17) 'In this girl WhatsApp group a lot happens too but I only read it, I never say something in it because I don't know what to say because sometimes I don't get it

either...and yeah, it's like you say something wrong or that I react in the wrong way and then we are in a fight again so...' The most intense negative impact, in relation to the 'victim', seems according to the respondents that once a sext, especially a naked photo, gets online it can never be erased for which it will always 'haunt' you. Other negative consequences that were mentioned are: gossiping; fights between people; getting a name such as 'whore' or 'slut' (calling names); bullying; and threats or blackmailing regarding the sext. Measured by duration of negative impact it might be a few days up to two years that such negative impact influences a 'victims' life, according to the respondents (bystanders). **Quote M4** (age 15) *'A girl I know, she once sent a naked photo of her boobs...but yeah then she got bullied from school.'* Additionally, a gender difference in relation to negative impact is that it seems more intense for females than it is for males when a sext comes out. **Quote FG2** *'F2 (age 14): I think girls get more bullied, for a boy it's just a comment and then finished F1 (age 14): Yeah, they won't talk about it anymore...F2: A girl is weaker or something, I don't know F1: Boys are bolder in speaking up for themselves I think...M4 (age 15): Yeah a girl gets more bullied because a boy just gives a big mouth M3 (age 14): Yeah!'* Respondents mentioned that the negative impact for the distributor of a sext could be negative facial expressions such as eyeballing, for a few days and after that back to life as it was. Furthermore, one male respondent who engaged in sexting mentioned that he would feel bad – guilty - about himself after sexting within a relation of trust (sending and/or receiving).

6.2. Results 'teachers'

Behaviour of adolescents

General usage of social media

According to the teacher respondents, Instagram, Snapchat, WhatsApp and Facebook are popular social media in their student's daily life. Students share a lot of information with others, especially personal information such as selfies (photos taken by themselves of themselves) and what they are doing at that exact moment. Other than communicating with others via Internet, students also play games online. Positive aspects of social media are the possibility to communicate and help each other at 'any' time. Negative aspects that are mentioned by the teachers are bullying situations that arise online of which they have hardly any control. Making a fool of others or calling names are ways of using social media negatively. In several cases teachers mentioned to set up a class group app which can enhance the bonding process between students and teacher.

Online flirting, sexting, grooming and webcam (ab)use

According to the teachers there is a large difference in sexual activity between classes and groups of students, not always related to age. For most first year students, relationships and flirting already

play a role in their daily lives but sex does not per se. Flirting and even relationships might exist more online than offline (in real life) according to the teachers. One teacher mentioned here that age or level of education has less influence on students' sexual curiosity and activity. Instead, a home situation, where openness and communication about the topic exists, might have more influence.

According to the respondents, sexting happens between two people or when it gets distributed, more people will get involved. It is only in the latter case that teachers get notice of sexting among the students. In this case sexting already turned into a bad situation. Instagram, Snapchat and WhatsApp are three social media most used for sexting. On Instagram students might use anonymous accounts to engage in sexting, for example to gather naked photos or Photoshop such photos. These accounts can only be traced with help of the police. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'I can only base these comments on complaints I got within this school. As a coordinator 'social safety' I also have to deal with publication sites of Instagram, accounts that youngsters make under a false name, an untraceable name. Gathering sexually tinted photos, criticizing photos or whore 018883 (an account where naked photos are being criticised) you know, that kind of things where photos of girls with naked poses are being gathered and Photoshopped.'*

With respect to grooming and unfamiliar people online, teachers mentioned that students often have contact with people they are unfamiliar with, and that it seems normal to the students that those people have an opinion about them. Respondents also mentioned that girls are being recruited via Snapchat and grooming sometimes happens. **Quote T2** (age 40) *'Students often have contact with strangers, that is what I always hear. It is also normal that these strangers think something of you, or say something about your photo. Most students accept really anyone, except if these people are annoying they might block someone.'*

Webcam (ab)use seems to happen rarely. Again, if it happens the situation already escalated. According to one of the teachers, webcam (ab)use, when it escalates, gets more attention from bystanders than for example sexting because it is judged to be even more extreme than a photo. It will have more and longer impact than sexting usually has.

Dangers of risk behaviour of adolescents

Respondents all emphasized that not being able to give notice of their personal boundaries results in not respecting the boundaries of others and/or own boundaries. Examples that were given concern the 'adolescent brain' – wanting and doing things at one moment and not always being able to oversee the consequences -, but also normalization and copy behaviour of what young adults see on television - e.g. pornography - especially among autistic youngsters. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'You can discuss if a boy or girl, or man or woman, has the desire to film him/herself and send it to*

someone...people are of course free in their choice to do so. However, whether someone who is under 18 and in their prime of personal and physical development, and perhaps has not even discovered whether to be into males or females or whatever, or to be transgender...there is barely any time for that as already in such early stage, stereotyping pornographic poses are being expressed that I am wondering whether that fits the stage of development someone is in when 13 years old...and you see that copy behaviour which cannot be discovered yet by themselves...'

Personal determinants of adolescents

Demographics

As already mentioned, the adolescent brain cannot always oversee the consequences of their online sexual behaviour, which adds to the susceptibility of the target group. This is not directly referable to age, however it became clear that the more personally and physically developed students are and the more sexual experience students have, the less judgemental they will act towards peers and the more they can oversee consequences. A large variety of personalities and characteristics among students exist in vocational secondary education. Respondents mentioned that students from vocational secondary education are more easily influenced and susceptible to online risks. A student's home situation, especially cultural background, plays a bigger role among students from vocational secondary education and could induce their susceptibility. Another form of susceptibility that relates to the students level of education is that personal disorders are not uncommon among these students. **Quote T3** (age 49) *'These kids are all different, we have autistic children, kids with ADHD...someone with autism wouldn't get as easily caught up in sexting or grooming, and someone who is not motivated for school would, because the person is more developed socially, but again less didactic...but well, also students who don't have such disorder come here, a lot of them have a difficult home situation, parents who are 'weak' themselves and cannot oversee the consequences.'*

According to the respondents, gender differences are noticeable among students usage of social media. Although females seem more conscious about what they post on Internet, they communicate and post more about their private lives than males do. Males may use social media more to show off with e.g. their body. Some respondents however also mentioned that the difference between online and offline is bigger with males than females, emphasizing that females are in general more open, where males seem to use social media as more of an outlet. **Quote T4** (age 44) *'I think boys are more down to earth, they post something without thinking of it anymore, and they won't post their entire private life...whereas girls can be really like 'I feel fucked up and this and that', and I don't see that happening with the boys.'*

Knowledge

During the interviews, teachers mentioned less about the knowledge students do have when it comes to online risk behaviour, and predominantly talked about knowledge that is still missing. Especially not being able to oversee the consequences of online sexual behaviour constitutes part of the knowledge that students do not have at their disposal. Additionally, consciousness about their online actions and being able to think thoroughly about what they do, seems difficult for this target group, as this respondent explains: **Quote T3** (age 49) *'I asked 'can you be identified?' he did it via Snapchat...so I said 'go and change everything on your account', but he said 'you only can see my penis and not my face' ...so I said 'yes but your name is connected to your account!'... only then he realised and said 'oh shit, yes!' and then he turned red and was completely off guard...so yeah really that link.'*

Attitude

First, respondents mentioned something about the attitude of students in relation to sexting and grooming behaviour. In terms of sexting, students might have a positive attitude towards engaging in sexting because it is easy and they can do it, for example, from a 'safe' place such as their own bedroom. Insecurity was mentioned as a relating behaviour that might nurture a positive attitude towards sexting and grooming. This insecurity could make students more susceptibility towards accepting what others say about them, including strangers. In terms of grooming, one teacher mentioned that feeling ashamed might be an underlying cause of why students would not talk about grooming experiences. Second, a student's attitude towards how to deal with sexting situations is diverse, according to the respondents. Towards the 'victim' students can act judgemental and call names such as 'whore', laugh at the 'victim', but also have pity and therefore offer support. Towards the distributor, students can pursue that person in popularity, but others might tell the person that it is not OK to disseminate sexts and/or inform the mentor or teacher. **Quote T4** (age 44) *'Sometimes their reaction can be really fierce; people who, without thinking, condemn others for what they have done, but also people who deliberately bully...some might say 'I think that is bullshit, I should be able to do what I want (disseminating sexts).'*

Social perception

According to the respondents, there are some strong social perceptions among students that might explain their engagement in sexting behaviour, including the dissemination of sexts. In an attempt to seduce someone, to gain popularity among peers, and especially in relation to females, acting out pornographic poses to adhere to certain sexual norms and values. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'Especially girls who make 'porno-like' shots and think they have to adhere to those kind of...whereas if you really get into a conversation with them about what excites them and what they really like (sexually), they have*

no clue what you're talking about. Unfortunately they do it only to perpetuate a pornographic image, which is for themselves not satisfying at all.'

Self-efficacy

Respondents mentioned that for adolescents in general, acknowledgment is an important aspect in their life for that period. It helps them to grow confidence. Several teachers explained how some students are more in 'need' of that acknowledgement than others and are therefore more susceptible for online risks such as sexting, grooming and webcam (ab)use. It is especially these students who have difficulty with defensibility and expressing their boundaries, teachers worry about. **Quote T2** (age 40) *'An adolescent is looking for his/her own identity, so I think one is waiting for such acknowledgment because you are insecure, or thinking 'am I good enough?' or 'am I looking good?'...so, anyone who comes at you with 'oh you are so pretty'...there is one girl from another class, she was always really in the background but now she is becoming more feminine, but really insecure, so she accepts really any stranger and what they say about her...that is actually really dangerous in her case.'*

Environmental factors

Country & cultural context

This paragraph will elaborate on three elements; (1) societal norms and values; (2) societal gender differences; and (3) culture and religion. First, respondents emphasized their notification of stigmatization surrounding the subject 'sexuality'. Noticeable when e.g. parents do not show at parent meetings organized to talk about students' sexual development, and their denial towards possible sexual risk behaviour of their children. But also as this teacher explains: **Quote T1** (age 50) *'...as you hear in the staff room 'women who give breastfeeding are gross'. I think that links in the sense that we still have problems talking about sexuality, which is morally seen quite shocking.'* Another trend is 'blaming the victim', as this teacher explains: **Quote T1** (age 50) *'Really socially, you hear this trend 'she just shouldn't do such nasty things' (sexting), a bit in the line of 'well, then she shouldn't have put on a short skirt', or not do this, or not walk outside at 24:00 o'clock...that is really scary!'* One respondent mentioned how she notices the sexual norm changes among her students from 'sex should be pleasurable' to 'sex should be extreme'.

Second, socially there are a number of gender differences elaborated on by the respondents. Prejudgement towards females engaging in sexting is common among both males and females. According to one respondent this is due to the strain our society still has with sexual desire among females. Unanimously teachers experienced bigger consequences for females than males, when engaged in sexting. Females are more often victim of communal hate Instagram accounts, called

names such as 'whore', and pursued longer than males after a sexting event. Additionally, it seems normalized by both males and females to slate females when they engaged in e.g. sexting: **Quote T2** (age 40) *'Differences in how girls experience sexuality is big, I heard the girls once say 'yeah well, then I just let him have me anal, that is how I stay a virgin' it is really the same (in judgement and dealing with sexuality).'* Where males might be proud of their penis and are accepted when engaging in sexting, females are often ashamed. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'The way in which girls are being judged when they make a masturbation video and it gets disseminated...it is almost regarded as reasonable, like a punishment that she sent such a video to her lover...so actually it is legitimized to slate her and call her 'whore', and 'dirty' and 'slut', and associate negative expressions.'*

Third, respondents mentioned that culture is an important influencer of students, especially at vocational secondary education, usually a multi-cultural environment. Most common cultures and religions are Surinamese and Antillean, where adolescents are usually sexually developed and active sooner, and Islam and Christianity, where adolescents are usually sexually active later. Moreover, religious families that are Muslim or Christian often have a closed attitude towards sexuality, which makes it difficult for schools to discuss sexual matters. The respondent who teaches at PRO-Emmen experienced that the Southeast Drenthe region lacks provision of sexual education in schools, and adds that the mentality of people in this region makes it hard to discuss sexual matters, due to shame and stigmatization. **Quote T3** (age 49) *'The Southeast Drenthe is behind on other regions. It's a bit the mentality here like 'we don't know', shame, stigma...but that is easily overruled by saying 'no, not for us' that stubbornness, unable to speak about it...'*

Social environment

Within the social environment there are various groups of people that can have influence on the behaviour of adolescents. According to the respondents especially peers, friends, parents, and staff at school can either have a positive or negative influence. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'Increasingly we try to cooperate with the parents, because many boys who engage in sexting, their parents chuckle about it...I have never heard parents chuckle because their daughter masturbated in some kind of pornographic pose. So they learn from our societal view...and I think, parents are of course the first, but actually everyone in our society is responsible.'* The class environment is an important influencer as group dynamics in, for example group apps can, in a short time, become bully tools, but could also influence for the better e.g. friends can be supportive. Parents are often mentioned as ideally the first to contact in troublesome situations. The relationship with parents is important for adolescents, to have the possibility to discuss anything. However, respondents also added that it could be different per person who is best to turn to in such a situation. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'It is very personal, some will go to their parents, which is ideal I think...many go to the mentor, but there are also many*

students who will go to a different teacher. I think it is really diverse... as long as they go to someone.' Within these schools there are confidantes, pedagogues, care- coordinators, and a director available in case a student or group of students require advice from specialists.

Legal & political environment

All schools have close ties with the regional police office. Some teachers mentioned that their school has one specific police officer, like a district officer, who can be summoned when needed. Especially in cases of grooming and the dissemination of naked photos, there is cooperation between school and the police.

Impact of adolescents' behaviour and their quality of life

The impact of adolescents' behaviour can either be positive or negative. Results show that what could have positive influence, might also turn out negatively for an adolescent. First, according to the respondents, social media in general facilitates contact with peers. **Quote T2** (age 40) *'Well, it is easy to communicate. Their world becomes smaller, and I mean in a positive sense so, someone can come closer...These are often children who actually don't have a lot of friends, they didn't have that without the digitalization, and now they actually sort of do...I think that it has benefits for students in vocational secondary education.'* Flirting and sexting might enrich the student with attention, acknowledgment, and sometimes popularity among their peers. The possibility to flirt and sext online might feel safe and can enlarge self-confidence and a positive stimulus towards making the first contact or 'flirty' move towards peers. Whether online sexual behaviour can be viewed as positive for their sexual development is yet to be found out, according to the teachers.

Second, respondents mentioned that the negative consequences overrule the positive. The positive safe feeling of online communication might as well lead to the thought or feeling that one is sooner ready for the 'next level', things such as 'I love you' are communicated easily. Whether adolescents continue their rapid relational or sexual involvement offline as easily as online seems logical but unsure. Respondents did mention how adolescents normalize extreme sexual poses and events online, as this teacher explains: **Quote T3** (age 49) *'A negative thing is also that students normalize the wrong things. A good example is autistic people and porn; when they watch porn it might scare them off, so if they think 'that is normal, I should do that too', whereas they actually feel like 'I don't really want that'...and also because they believe anything from anyone, you can easily pretend to be someone else...'* Teachers, have seen adolescents who engaged in sexting being bullied, both online and offline, and how it can take 1 to 2 weeks up to several years before bystanders leave the matter alone. The dissemination of sexts goes fast, and can spread within school, but also regional or further. Especially in the first period (few days up to few weeks) after a sext came out the 'victim' might not come to school out of shame. A severe negative impact relates predominantly to

females. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'Are they alright, pretty, not too round, pointy, hanging or god knows what' that question is universal and stays for ever...only its a big risk on such scale, if you see those girls, sometimes after years...it is enormous, so you can't say 'well, now they know, they won't do that ever again'...I think it is really on large scale. Not only the shame in the moment that is gets disseminated, but it stays with them for a very long time.'*

Role teachers in signalling risky behaviour of adolescents

A trust relation with and between the students is necessary in preventing, signalling and responding to e.g. shame sexting, grooming and webcam abuse. Teachers apply different methods to achieve a trust relation and combat risky behaviour of their students, however few elements are common within their methods. In the prevention of sexual risky online behaviour, respondents mentioned, discussing norms & values, discussing rules, setting boundaries, and getting into a conversation with students about sexual education, starting with identity and defensibility, developing further into the biological aspect, and especially the fun side of sex. In dealing with a troublesome event such as shame sexting, grooming or webcam abuse, respondents mentioned to first get into a conversation with the students involved ('victim', distributor(s), and bystanders), signalling the directory board and depending on the severity of the case, signalling the police. Teachers mentioned not to emphasise the role of the victim, but focus on the role of the distributors and bystanders. The parents of the 'victim' will be contacted to discuss how to go from there.

Enhancing strategies in educating adolescents about online sexual risk behaviour are: focussing on the involvement and experience of students by means of short videos, strip stories, theatre acts; repetition; and providing the education in gender divided groups, as teachers experienced both genders to discuss sexual matters more freely that way. Existing programmes, applied by some teachers, that enhance the previously mentioned strategies are: It's Up to You; Make a Move; Can You Fix It; Challenge day; and Girls Talk Plus. The two latter programmes focus especially on the defensibility and (self)-confidence of the participants. **Quote T4** (age 44) *'Once a guest speaker selected one student to show what he had learned about her online, well that student was in shock. Never thought how her private life was for everyone to see on the Internet, and how difficult it is to make it undone, so often really innocent...'yeah but he is my boyfriend so...' Us, teachers, then show by getting into a conversation with them 'yes, but where are your limits, what is OK and what is not...'*

There are a number of difficulties that teachers experience in signalling and combating sexual online risky behaviour. First, respondents mentioned that signalling risky *online* behaviour of students is not an easy task, as it happens out of their sight and control. Moreover, when a

troublesome event occurs online, the victim often does not express any complaints out of shame, for which teachers are dependent of others (e.g. student peers) to signal for help. One teacher added that the rapid development of social media and technology makes it hard for her to have knowledge on what keeps her students occupied online. Second, cooperation of parents is difficult to establish. According to the respondents it is difficult for parents to discuss sexual matters with their children. One respondent added this is not a problem of parents alone, societies view on sexuality in general makes it even more complex for teacher to generate a positive change in adolescents online sexual behaviour. Third, culture and related gender views make it difficult sometimes for teachers to discuss sexual matters. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'In the first place it's the role of the parents, but also in their education, schools, to dare initiate the conversation, not only the technical side of sexuality but also 'who am I?' which is the first basic question from birth onwards...also, 'what is my body?', 'what do I want, and what not?', and 'what do I like?', and this last question parents barely dare to ask. For parents this is scary and something they don't want to think about. I think increasingly schools start to grow in this, but many schools still do nothing or barely something about this...schools are often afraid it will scare the parents off. Well, it won't scare them but you have to be clear about why and what your goal is, and what you want to prevent.'*

Implementation toolkit Internet risks

For the implementation of the toolkit all respondents mentioned the importance of protecting adolescents without prohibiting them to engage in for example sexting. A number of elements and methods can be used to protect and support students in their online sexual behaviour and development. Parents, teachers, school management, other school staff members (such as pedagogues), the police, and even society in general can play a role in supporting and protecting the students. Respondents mentioned, in relation to this specific target group, the importance of emphasizing defensibility, especially of females, and learning and growing in ones (sexual) identity and acceptance. Starting early with talking and learning about ones self-image and identity is necessary, and according to one respondent it is too late by the time students are in secondary education. Teachers expressed several times their wish to be educated themselves about stereotyping (gender), and cultural and religious groups, especially Christianity and Islam. As this respondent concludes: **Quote T2** (age 40) *'It's about girl empowerment, I think we can still much improve on that aspect. Empowering girls, because there is still no gender equality. And culture, we need more knowledge on cultural aspects and influence. You may not catalyse immediate change with knowledge, but it can get you one step further, students at least can see 'ah the teacher knows something about it.'* Additionally, one teacher emphasized the importance of a toolkit reflecting elements about discrimination and cyber bullying in relation to sexual online risk behaviour.

On school management level, respondents mentioned the importance of a supporting basis of colleagues and management, by means of motivation, money and time availability to implement a toolkit and educate not only students, but also parents on online sexual risk behaviour. In providing the possibility for teachers to participate in courses and training sessions, but also in engaging parents, contact lines with the police, other schools in the region, and social professionals, school management can play an important role. All teachers emphasised the importance of repetition for this target group, one respondent explained her initiative of a four year-plan on sexual education, supported by the entire school and even being adopted by some other schools in the region. However, she added, there is still a lack of governmental support for schools to implement such plan successfully. **Quote T1** (age 50) *'There is insufficient governmental support, too few guidelines for schools to successfully implement a constructive plan. All the time you see articles and researches with recommendations, and then comes the state secretary with a beautiful quote 'schools should take up on this and that', so we all say 'yes indeed we should'...but then practically nothing happens, too little time, too little training, too little financial support, but also too little cooperation with the parents!'*

6.3. Summary on results

The main results will be shortly summarized based on the three sub-research questions: (1) *what types of online sexual behaviour - or online sexual activities - do adolescents engage in?* (2) *What are positive and negative experiences of adolescents with engaging in online sexual activities?* And (3) *what are the experiences of teachers with guiding their students being active on social media, especially engaging in online sexual activities?*

(1) Online sexual behaviour of adolescents

Young people engage in flirting with known and unknown people online. It is not uncommon to meet your boyfriend or girlfriend online. Sexting and webcam (ab)use are less common, and grooming happens rarely. Snapchat, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Hot or Not are popular social media among young people to engage in flirting, sexting, webcam (ab)use, and meet new people. Watching pornography is a common online activity according to teachers, and only done by some peers, according to students.

(2) Experiences of adolescents

Positive experiences of young people with online flirting of students at vocational secondary education is foremost the ease to communicate and get in contact with (new) people. It is safe, behind a screen, and exciting. Also, according to teachers, it can increase ones self-confidence. Sexting and webcam use (for sexual purposes) can be fun and exciting. Building a trust relation was also mentioned as one of the positive sides of sexting and webcam sex. Despite the positive sides of

sexting and webcam sex, all students were partly or entirely against sexting and webcam sex. Unanimously they said it would be better to engage in sexting or webcam sex without facial recognition.

Negative experiences of young people with online flirting are that people (peers) will gossip, once a 'story' comes out; also, many students did not like the fact that people can pretend to be someone else online. Social media in general also has the disadvantage of messages coming across incorrectly, for which fights can arise more easily. The negative sides and experiences of sexting and webcam sex seem to overrule the positive ones. According to students, making a screenshot and/or further dissemination of a sext or sex video is a common and logical consequence. Bullying the victim and for that reason, and/or because the victim feels ashamed, having to miss school for one or two weeks, or having to change schools is a common consequence when a sext or sex video comes out. According to the students, despite these severe consequences it is still the victims' own fault, and thus a logical result from their own 'stupid' act. Other negative experiences are manipulation, threatening, and blackmailing, after a sext or sex video was sent. These tactics are often used by loverboys. The sender or 'victim' might feel guilty after having engaged in sexting or webcam sex.

(3) Experiences of teachers

Teachers' experiences in guiding students preventing them from and responding to negative online sexual experiences are clustered according to enhancing strategies and difficulties they experienced. Enhancing strategies or methods used by teachers are: building a trust relation with and between the students; getting into a conversation with students about (own) sexual identity and acceptance of it; and working on defensibility of especially females. Existing methods, used by teachers to increase defensibility and self-confidence, are 'Challenge day' and 'Girls Talk Plus'. Important in a strategy or method is also the interactivity with students and responding to the experience 'world' of students, so that they can identify themselves with what is being told or shown (e.g. theatre or short movies). Repetition of classes is also essential in guiding these students. Separating males from females can be helpful during sexual education in general. Other enhancing factors are support from school management, social professionals, the police, and especially the parents.

Difficulties experienced by teachers are first and foremost, noticing that something is wrong. It is hard for teachers to get a grip on social media, as it happens out of their sight and control. Moreover, victims often feel ashamed and therefore would not call for help, making teachers dependent of other students, peers to signal for help. Social and cultural norms and values on sexuality and gender can make it difficult for teachers to educate students. In educating adolescents, the parents are vital, yet cooperation from parents is often difficult to establish. Societal views, especially the ones existing in a students' social environment, influence the attitude and social

perception of students. 'Blaming the victim' and gender norms are difficult views to change. Lastly, the influence of personal disorders, such as autism, adds another complexity to the teachers' role in guiding these students. Normalization of 'extreme' sexual poses, especially regarding females, and copy-behaviour from what students see on the Internet e.g. in pornography, is alarming. This type of behaviour is typically seen among autistic children, but to a certain extent perhaps experienced among adolescents in general, according to teachers.

7. Discussion

In the discussion that follows, first the main research question will be answered. Second, the precede model of Green & Kreuter (2005) will be discussed. Third, results will be compared, based on interview type (focus group discussions and individual interviews) and interview group (students and teachers), to indicate similarities and differences. Furthermore, the third section will compare results of the current study to results of other studies and theories. Fourth, the strengths and limitations of this research project will be elaborated on, and finally a conclusion and recommendations will be provided.

7.1. An answer to

The main research question: *What determinants lead to online sexual risk behaviour – specifically: sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming – of adolescents (age 12 to 18) in vocational secondary schools?*

The precede model has been a guiding tool throughout this entire research. Based on the literature a defined model of known determinants was provided and facilitated the structure used in this report. In line with the precede model an answer to the main research question will be provided. The personal determinants and environmental factors found in this research are similar to some of the determinants used in the Health Belief Model (HBM), such as perceived susceptibility, perceptions of social influences and self-efficacy (Janz & Becker, 1984; Ajzen, 1988; Bandura, 1986). The determinants can help explain online sexual risk behaviour to better understand students' motivations, and develop input for toolkit.

All students and teachers experience online flirting as a common behaviour of adolescents. Social media enhances this behaviour, as it is easy to communicate with known and unknown people. The safety of a screen, and according to teachers the search for acknowledgment, might influence the receptiveness of students towards engaging in sexting and webcam sex, and their vulnerability in

relation to grooming. A low *self-efficacy* can be detrimental when adolescents are not able to say 'no', and use online flirting, and social media in general, for connecting to unknown people to increase their self-confidence. Furthermore, the *risk perception* of these students – *susceptibility* in particular – towards connecting and meeting with unknown people is low. This should be regarded as risky behaviour possibly leading to grooming events. A student's *attitude* towards (engaging in) sexting and webcam sex becomes more positive when there is no facial recognition. However, the experience of teachers is that students often do not realize there are many other ways to recognise a person. This suggests that the *knowledge* of students in dealing with social media could be improved. When a sext or naked video comes out, the *attitude* and *social perception* of students (bystanders), streaks with 'victim blaming'. Although students believe it is sad for the victim, they also believe it is their own fault, as they regard bullying a logical consequence of the victim's own 'stupid' act. Teachers emphasized the strong influence of *social environmental factors* on a student's *knowledge*, *attitude* and *social perception*, especially *social and cultural norms and values on sexuality and gender*. The *parents* in particular are vital agents in educating students, however cooperation from parents is often difficult to establish. All-embracing, *societal views on gender norms and sexuality* have great influence on both the social environment and personal determinants of adolescents, and form a complexity in catalysing behavioural change among students from vocational secondary education. Continuing on this last note, *personal disorders*, such as autism, adds another complexity to the teachers' role in guiding these students. Normalization of 'extreme' sexual poses and copy-behaviour, of in particular females, is alarming according to teachers. Again, the accumulation between social environmental factors and personal determinants makes these students more susceptible towards online sexual risk behaviour than adolescents without a personal disorder.

7.2. The preceede model

This study applied a theoretical framework based on the preceede model of Green & Kreuter (2005). The model provided clear structure and facilitated the demarcation of the project. However, using a linear framework might have shadowed the complexity and coherence between the different factors and determinants. It could be interesting to explore the possibilities of developing and applying a more coherent model to explore (online sexual) risk behaviour. A model that allows for overlap and coherence between the factors and determinants might enhance the understanding of online sexual risk behaviour. Based on the findings in this research, an idea for a more coherent model is displayed in *Figure 5*.

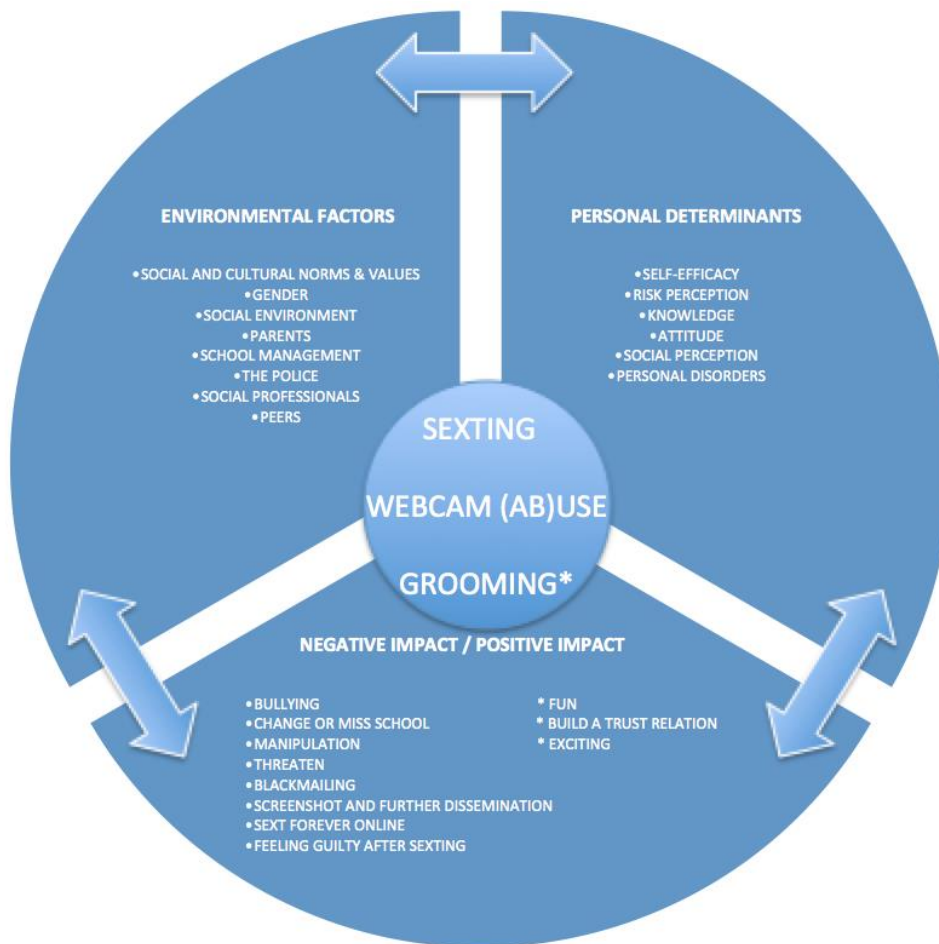


Figure 5: model to understand online sexual risk behaviour/ (*Grooming solely has negative consequences)

7.3. Comparison of results

A high level of interaction between the students during focus group discussions provided more insight into gender differences on societal level regarding online sexual risk behaviour. Especially interaction about norms and values that influence gender views and judgement were prominent. Results drawn from individual interviews with students allowed more personal stories and opinions to surface. Teachers provided complementing information by giving their view and experience with guiding students' online sexual risk behaviour. Especially, enhancing strategies and difficulties they experience in preventing, signalling and responding to risky situations, such as sexting, webcam abuse, and grooming.

An interpretation of the results that were most prominent is provided in the next paragraph. Prominence has been based on both, factors and determinants from within the theoretical framework, and ones that were additionally found. Based on factors from 'personal determinants' and 'environmental factors', viewed in relation to the risk behaviour of adolescents, results are compared.

A low self-efficacy in relation to online sexual risk behaviour

A study conducted by De Graaf, Kruijer, Van Acker and Meijer (2012) confirm results of the current research project on low self-efficacy of adolescents. They state there are gender differences in how young people think about their sexual self-image. Statistics of young people in practical education regarding themselves as 'pretty' is amongst females much lower than among males. Findings from the current study reveal that students' self-efficacy, especially of females, might be lower than appears at first sight. However, most student participants mentioned to say 'no' to undesired sext requests, all students added they would find it difficult to say 'no' or could imagine and give reasons why it might be difficult for people to decline such request. Additionally, teachers mentioned that adolescents, especially the ones with a low self-efficacy, are often in search of acknowledgement and acceptance. Whether this comes from a known or unknown person, online or offline does not matter. Putting this in perspective with (flirting) behaviour of students, connecting and meeting with unknown people in real life, this suggests that coping-strategies of adolescents with a low self-efficacy might be risky and possibly makes them more susceptible for grooming. In line with that, the current research found that enhancing strategies in preventing, signalling, and responding to e.g. sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming, should focus on guiding students in discovering and developing their sexual identity and acceptance of it, and working on defensibility of especially females.

Gap between knowledge and behaviour

All students seem to know the dangers that online sexual risk behaviour can bring about, a number of troublesome events were told, and for example their mentioning about the risk of people pretending to be someone else online. Nonetheless, their attitude and the way they deal with risks possibly leading to problem behaviour, does not always logically follow. Most of the participating students mentioned to have contact with and/or flirt with unknown people online. Questions about trust (when can you trust someone?) were answered with for example 'first you have to meet someone in real life', or 'first you have to know the person for a few months, or two years'. Online contact with unknown people and the two latter examples can be viewed as risky in relation to grooming. Thus, although students seem to possess the knowledge on the possible impact of grooming, they do not seem to know how to deal with or handle that information accordingly. Moreover, teachers mentioned that students are often not able to oversee the consequences of their own actions. Also, knowledge on how to protect an account or online profile is lacking according to the teachers. Interestingly, all students were aware of the possibility of shielding an account or block an unwanted connection. Yet again, the gap between knowledge and behaviour becomes apparent, as not many of these students mentioned to have actually protected their profile that way.

Unrealistic risk perception

The risk perception of these students seems not always realistic. Focussing on the susceptibility - 'will this happen to me?' - of the students towards possible negative consequences of online sexual risk behaviour seems unrealistic in two ways. One, underestimation, most students have online connections with unknown people, and would meet that person to find out whether he/she is trustworthy, despite their recognition of the possibility of people pretending to be someone else online and grooming. Two, overestimation, few students seemed unrealistic in overreacting to some questions regarding (sexual) behaviour. For example Skype with webcam would be 'dangerous' because the person on the other line, whether known or unknown, could film the meeting. Another example concerns meeting an unknown person in real life. This would be dangerous because he/she might stab you with a knife. Interpreting the results this way, the misbalance between the behaviour, knowledge, attitude and risk perception becomes clear.

Normalizing and copy-behaviour in relation to sexual identity

Teachers expressed their concern of normalizing and copy-behaviour of 'extreme' sexual poses, especially of females and their sexual development. Adding how for example sexual tinted music clips and pornography might disturb adolescents' sexual self-image and identity. Although not many of the student participants engaged in online sexual risk behaviour, such as sexting and webcam (ab)use, all were at least once, directly or in-directly involved via friends or peers. Also, students mentioned how online flirting and communicating is easier and more comfortable than in real life. Meeting your boyfriend or girlfriend online is not uncommon. Teachers complemented these results by mentioning that the difference between online and offline seems to get smaller in the perception of their students. Coming from this viewpoint, it is not unthinkable that students might continue their online flirty or sexual contact in real life with the same speed and ease as online. Teachers confirmed this perspective by expressing their concern about students extending their personal (sexual) boundaries because they are unaware of what their boundaries actually are, and thus copy and normalize the behaviour of others.

Gender differences on societal level

According to all respondents, student or teacher, the reaction towards females after an online sexual incident is stronger than if the 'victim' would have been a male. Gender perceptions of the students themselves differ. During focus group discussions, participants' opinion came stronger to the forefront than during individual interviews. For example 'a girl is a slut when she does that (sexting), and a boy is not'. During individual interviews with students the acknowledgement of gender difference would be emphasized, however often with an additional comment about how they

personally did not agree on that view. None of the students was able to elaborate on why this gender difference exists.

Baumgarten and her colleagues (2014) studied gender differences in relation to level of traditionalism and found that the amount of males and females engaging in sexting was more or less equal in the Netherlands. The current study found similar results in that respect, however also found that the existing norms and values influence not only the decision of engaging in sexting, but in a more profound way, the attitude towards and social perception of males versus females engaging in sexting. In that respect, females are more often and stronger convicted than males would have been after a sext came out. According to students the general view in class/school of girls being 'a slut' and boys 'just gross' or 'showing off', sticks for a longer period of time with a female 'victim'. Teachers emphasized that such school environment, and student attitude and perception is only a mere reflection of the family (cultural) norms and values, and societal views in general, regarded as the source of, and start for catalysing behavioural change.

One of the difficulties teachers experienced in relation to sexuality and gender views, and the multicultural school environment, as exists in vocational secondary schools, is their ignorance of especially Muslim and Christian cultures and beliefs. Moreover, knowledge is one thing but dealing with the stigma on sexuality and strong gender role division, for which collaboration from parents is difficult to accomplish, makes behavioural change even more complex. Another aspect that links to the societal view, not per se but more often connoted to females, is 'blaming the victim'. However, teachers seem to be aware of this phenomenon, it seems not always handled accordingly. As such, when the teacher picks up on a sexting event, the first step is to talk to the 'victim', and inform his/her parents. In case of the distributor, parents are not always informed, and depending on the severity of the incident and attitude of the distributor after the event occurred, the police will be informed.

Quote: *'All I could think was that if we didn't have such fucked-up ideas about teenage girls and their sexuality, it wouldn't be damaging to forward the sext, it wouldn't be anything that anyone would want to do and if it did happen, he [the forwarder], and not she [Megan], would be the one who would be shamed (Wildly Parnethetical, 2010).'*

Similar to the message that Wildly Parnethetical (2010) meant to bring across with the above-mentioned quote, the current study shows that societal views on sexuality are still stigmatized and gender unequal.

7.4. Strengths & limitations

This research project applied a triangulation method. Although only qualitative, a variety of sources (literature review, orientation meetings, focus group discussions and interviews) complemented one another and increased the reliability of this research project. For instance, focus group discussions provided relevant insight into societal gender views and individual interviews have been critical to gain insight into more personal stories and perceptions.

The interview guide for focus group discussions with the students was seen by several professionals in the field to provide input, and pilot-tested with a group of three 17 years old students.

The limited number of interviewees and social desirability of the student participants should be considered during the interpretation of the results and in terms of generalizability. However, social desirability was guarded for in the set-up of the interview guides (see methodology) it cannot be ruled out completely. Talking about sensitive topics such as, sexting, webcam (ab)use, grooming, and sexuality in general possibly increases the chance of students giving social desirable answers. As the results of this study also have shown, the attitude of these students can be judgemental, influencing social desirability especially during focus group discussions. Researcher and respondent bias should also be considered when drawing conclusions from this research. Only respondents from schools that use(d) Long Live Love were involved, which could have resulted in biased answers as both teachers and students are educated in online sexual risks.

Furthermore, this study applied the Precede model of Green & Kreuter (2005), adding significance by providing a foundation to structuralize determinants and giving guidance throughout the process towards answering the main research question. However, a model that allows for overlap and coherence between the factors and determinants might enhance the understanding of online sexual risk behaviour. Future research could provide more insight into uncovered areas, such as the experiences of students and teachers who are not educated in online sexual risk behaviours, and additionally diminish respondent bias.

8. Conclusion

Getting insight into the experiences of students and teachers with online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents in vocational secondary schools was central to this study - the first step of intervention mapping, conducting a needs assessment. Investigating what determinants lead to this behaviour – specifically: sexting, webcam (ab)use, and grooming – were leading in finding out more about the experiences of these two participating groups. The last part of this research report will provide a solid conclusion based on the findings, and bring out an advice on the desired behavioural outcomes

for the toolkit intervention to focus on, related to determinants that could possibly lead to risk behaviour of adolescents.

What can be concluded from the results and as discussed before, determinants that possibly lead to online sexual risk behaviour are more coherent than was assumed at the start of this project. In answering the main research question of this research project, the coherence between the determinants has been considered. This means that determinants leading to sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming are interlinked and possibly accumulating, regarded as a holism.

At the start of this research project, a clear distinction was made between determinants that lead to positive experiences and determinants that lead to negative experiences. Regarding the different influencing factors and determinants as coherent and more holistic, it can also be concluded that often determinants leading to (assumably) positive experiences, at the same time could be leading to negative experiences with sexting, webcam sex and grooming. Overall, findings have shown that in understanding online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents, several determinants play an important but also complex role. In order to minimize the negative consequences that online sexual risk behaviour can bring about, something needs to be done. A solution to minimizing online sexual risks resulting in negative experiences with sexting and webcam (ab)use, or grooming, demands an intervention that considers the broader context in which sexual education is provided.

9. Recommendations

Following from the results and in line with the conclusion, the main recommendations for a desired behavioural outcome, related to the identified determinants, are formulated. The advice can be considered during the further planned development of a toolkit on online sex risks.

9.1. The desired behaviour

The desired behaviour which is recommended to aspire during the development and implementation of a toolkit on online sexual risk behaviour, is: *students who engage in sexting or webcam sex, do this in a safe and more conscious state of mind, defensible against undesired – negative - experiences; and, students are less susceptible for grooming.* Students should be aware of the risks involved in sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming, and conscious about their own sexual identity, and personal and sexual boundaries. In terms of peers and bystanders it is desired that their behaviour towards, especially a 'victim' of, sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming is less judgemental and more understanding, which would show in less bullying. Furthermore, cooperation between school management – teachers – and parents is desired. It is important that school management facilitates the provision of sexual education, in terms of financial support, time availability, and motivating

teachers. Parents could play an enhancing role by discussing the broader context of sexual education, sexuality and identity with their children, and consequently playing a more involving role at school. Lastly, it is important that the police work in close collaboration with the school management, teachers and parents to create a solid network of support.

9.2. Personal determinants

The personal determinants that are recommended to focus on during the planned development of the toolkit intervention are: *self-efficacy; risk perception; knowledge; attitude; social perception; and personal disorders*.

A low self-efficacy of students in vocational secondary education could form a risk, as these students are often looking for acknowledgment and acceptance from known and unknown people online. This makes them more susceptible towards sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming. A low risk perception, susceptibility in particular, regarding connecting online and meeting with unknown people in real life, makes students more vulnerable for grooming events. The knowledge of students could be increased, especially in using social media and dealing with request for, or sexting, webcam sex - events -, and meeting unknown people in real life. Students are aware of the possible negative consequences, however are unable to deal with risks accordingly. Educating young people on how to use social media appropriately will help them to be able to oversee consequences better and make a more conscious deliberation on their decision to engage in sexting, webcam sex and contact (online/offline) unknown people. Furthermore, it is recommended that the intervention focuses on the attitude and social perception of students, on others engaging in sexting and webcam sex. 'Victim blaming' is a common negative consequence and should be addressed to create a better understanding of others engaging in these behaviours. Attitude and social perception are strongly influenced by environmental factors, for which catalysing change might be complex and considered on long-term. Lastly, personal disorders, such as autism, should be considered in the intervention. The diversity of students in vocational secondary education is large, intelligence quotient (IQ), but also students negatively influenced by a disrupted social environment, and students with personal disorders make up for this diversity. These personal determinants make students, especially females, more susceptible towards accepting things from known and unknown people, normalization of 'extreme' sexual poses, and copy-behaviour.

9.3. Environmental factors

The environmental factors - including agents - that are recommended to focus on during the planned development of the toolkit intervention are: *role of school management, social professionals, the police, and the parents; and social and cultural norms & values on sexuality and gender*.

Support from, and collaboration between school management, social professionals, the police and the parents is important to be able to catalyse change in online sexual risk behaviour of students. It is recommended to start the education in the first year of vocational secondary education. From the first year onwards it is necessary to repeat education each year, following the development of the students, and educational themes adapted accordingly so that the students are able to identify themselves with the subjects. It is even recommended to start educating in exploring and accepting ones self-image, sexual identity, and personal and sexual boundaries (defensibility), in primary school. These are also the fundamental themes that are recommended to start with in the first year of vocational secondary education, and to be repeated throughout the students' entire school period. Emphasis should be on the involvement of parents in educating their children, the students, on online sexual risk behaviour. Therefore, it is recommended that the intervention focuses on establishing collaboration between the school (teachers) and the parents. Existing social and cultural norms and values on sexuality and gender at home, the family but also among society at large, are extremely influential and important to consider in catalysing behavioural change. This means that gender differences should be taken into account. Following from the above it is recommended that the toolkit intervention will be implemented in the sense of a broader sexual education context, referring to sexual identity and defensibility, as part of Long Live Love.

10. References

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11. Appendices

Appendix 1: orientation meetings ‘online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents’

(1) Kick-off meeting toolkit online sexual risk behaviour of adolescents

21.03.2016

From 14.00 to 17.00 at STI AIDS Netherlands

Attendants:

- Jacqueline Kleijer en Justine Pardoën (Bureau Jeugd en Media)
- Ineke van der Vlugt (Rutgers)
- Fraukje Mevissen (Universiteit Maastricht)
- Ineke Schumacher (De Noordhoek Gorinchem)
- Suzanne Meijer, Hanneke Roosjes, Coco Sips, Lisette Schutte (Soa Aids Nederland)

Absent:

- Solange Jacobsen (Bureau Jeugd en Media)
- Liesbeth van den Oever (Helicon Eindhoven)
- Remco Pijpers (Mijn Kind Online/Kennisnet)
- Willemijn Krebbekx (UVA)
- Inge Eekhout (ECP)
- Nicole Tillie (Politie)
- Maaïke Pekelharing (Meldknop.nl-Helpwanted)

Summary of meeting in Dutch

Doel van de meeting: input van deskundigen verzamelen

Betreft ‘ouderbrief’ en rekening houden met protocol school

Normen en waarden lijken te vervagen bij de ouders.

Betreft ‘educatieve module’ en evt. andere onderdelen Toolkit

Therapiegroep Sexting slachtoffers

Het gaat niet alleen om de slachtoffers. Er zijn vier belangrijke groepen die binnen online seksueel contact een rol kunnen spelen:

1. Slachtoffers (victim)
2. Verspreiders (distributors)
3. Uitdagers (perpetrators)
4. Bijstanders (bystanders)

Het is bij de ontwikkeling van deze interventie erg belangrijk om aan te sluiten op het niveau van de scholieren. In dit geval is de beleving van de jongeren erg belangrijk om op in te spelen.

Interessant om te kijken in hoeverre sites als ‘hoer020’ impact hebben op het gedrag van jongeren.

Lees: Puberboek

Zie: seksuele vorming filmpje- gaat over ‘verspreiders’ - van Jeugd en Media?

Operationaliseren 'internet risico's' of online seksueel gedrag

'Sexting' (vertrouwelijk en kan beschouwd worden als 'normale' ontwikkeling) versus 'shame Sexting' (vertrouwen wordt geschaad; te maken met taboes)

Let erop tijdens literatuur studie dat je kritisch bent naar de onderzoeker! – wat is er precies onderzocht?

2 kaders waar rekening mee gehouden moet worden:

1. Wat is de maatschappelijke norm? (Is deze nog hetzelfde als tien jaar terug? Hoe veranderlijk is dit?)
2. Wat is de juridische norm?
 - Hoe verhouden deze 2 kaders zich tot elkaar?
 - Wat versta je precies onder internet risico's? (sexting, grooming, webcam seks/misbruik, en loverboys) Deze hebben overlap maar zijn ook verschillend en kunnen niet altijd onder 1 noemer worden genoemd.
 - Je zou het ook breed onder de noemer 'online seksueel contact' kunnen benoemen of check het Vlaggen systeem – Sensoa en Movisie
 - Operationaliseer in eigen onderzoek aan de hand van literatuur. Geef de jongeren zelf de kans om tijdens het kwalitatieve gedeelte van het onderzoek, definities te geven aan wat zij verstaan onder ofwel online seksueel contact (geen oordeel), of internet risico's (wel oordeel).

Focus groepen en Interviews

Geef jongeren de kans om anoniem (bv. Via een app) feedback te geven op de vragen. Dit geeft ook weer de kans om als jongere zelf aan te geven wat belangrijk wordt geacht.

b.v. Wat zou jij als onderzoeker gevraagd hebben aan jezelf betreft dit onderwerp?

Voor een voorbeeld van een topic list voor interview vragen 'Seks is een game' -> mail Hanneke de Graaf

Houd rekening met:

'Blaming the victim' – taboes; gender verschillen; algemeen normen en waarden

Zie onderzoek: Canadees onderzoek – weet niet precies welke...

Jongens versus Meisjes

16 jaar

13 – 15 jaar

Jongen = macho

Meisje = slet

'norm' heerst nog steeds?

LGBT uit de kast komen – online veiliger?

18+ jaar

Misbruikt door criminele organisaties: webcam misbruik

To do:

1. Literatuur lijst versturen en vragen voor andere relevante literatuur
2. Operationaliseren 'internet risico's'
 - a. Vlaggen systeem
 - b. Sexting vs. Shame Sexting
 - c. of i.p.v. Internet risico's -> online seksueel contact?
3. Lezen literatuur
4. Proposal

(2) Orientation meeting with PhD student on social media usage of adolescents

18.04.2016

From 10.00 to 12.30 at a café in Arnhem

Attendants:

- Marijke Naezer
- Coco Sips

Summary of meeting

Background 'Marijke Naezer'

Marijke is a PhD student at the institute for gender studies at the Radboud University, Nijmegen. Her research focusses on how adolescents (age 12 to 18) use social media for the purpose of friendships, relationships and development of their sexuality. With her research she tries to find out what it exactly is that young people do with these social media. What is the problem, and is there one by the perception of these adolescents? Her research involves participatory observations and focus group discussions.

My research and the purpose of this meeting

Generally speaking my research focuses on internet risks, specifically sexting, webcam (ab)use and grooming. By means of a needs assessment I would like to explore the boundaries of online risk taking behaviour from the perspective of young people. Obviously, the term 'risk' implies both positive and negative outcome possibilities, especially when talking about sexting and webcam usage. However, the term 'grooming' always carries a negative connotation to it in its definition. The purpose of my research is to discover what determinants lead to online risk taking behaviour that involves a negative experience. The young people, in this case youngsters in the age from 12 to 15 years old attending vocational secondary school, and their teachers are regarded as the experts in this field. Therefore, individual interviews with teachers and students will be conducted, and two focus group discussions in order to gather as much information as possible (considering time-span and the qualitative nature of this study).

With this meeting I hope to learn more about Marijke's research and her experiences with talking with youth about matters such as sexting. The intention is to gather as much information, to get better grip on the context in which my research takes place and to give direction (not only based on literature).

Discussion

How to use the Precede model?

How to include the following:

- Blaming the victim
- The influence of group dynamics
- The influence of stereotyping, especially concerning 'gender'

Marijke mentioned that she is not a big fan of using models when in concerns explorative studies such as this one. Her argumentation is particularly grounded in the angle from which she approaches her study. She finds that an open character is especially important when it concerns 'risky behaviour' or when formulated as a 'health problem'. Her starting point is then, not surprisingly, to not approach internet risk behaviour as a problem but rather as a phenomenon on itself, that both can result in positive as well as negative experiences. Therefore, to conceptualize terms such as Internet risks, sexting, webcam use and even grooming, be explicit but also as complete as possible without it becoming vague. Marijke proposed to let students and also their teachers help with defining the terms, based on their experiences. According to Marijke, using a model could withhold the researcher from having an 'open mind' to anything else that does not directly link to the focus

of the study. In line with that perspective we talked about the importance of discussing delicate subjects in class, between teacher and students but also among peers. For example, when talking about gay negativity it does not concern only LGBT and sexual discrimination, but rather discrimination in general and respect for one another. The core of the discussion goes often further than the subject under discussion.

Tips

During interviews and focus group discussion mind the following (in Dutch):

- belangrijk welke woorden je kiest. B.v. sexting en grooming zijn geen woorden die onder jongeren algemeen gangbaar zijn> zal hen mogelijk niet aanspreken
- belangrijk om veel ruimte te maken voor positieve ervaringen; dat sluit beter aan bij beleavingswereld van jongeren
- belangrijk om heel genuanceerd te praten over online activiteiten; een bepaalde activiteit is nooit zonder meer alleen maar gevaarlijk of ongevaarlijk
- expertise jongeren erkennen; zij nemen vaak al allerlei veiligheidsmaatregelen
- jongeren luisteren heel graag naar ervaringen van andere jongeren>hier gebruik van maken
- voorkomen van blaming the victim> ook veel aandacht voor rol van jongeren in andermans veiligheid
- ruimte maken voor andere risico's dan wat we als volwassenen verwachten. B.v. risico om gestigmatiseerd/buitengesloten te worden.
- Eventueel gebruik maken van filmpjes, foto's en verhalen om de discussie op gang te brengen en duidelijk te maken waar het over gaat, zonder expliciete woorden te gebruiken als 'sexting'.
-

Also the reaction of people in the various environments in which young people exist should be considered:

- Group dynamics
- Stereotyping, e.g. slut versus Macho
- Stigmatizing (LGBT, female, vulnerable groups in general)
- Trust (offline vs. online)

It might be interesting to talk about these matters, see whether uncovering such subjects is important in relation to Internet risk behaviour and how to overcome them. An interesting example I found in the book of Movisie 'Uitbuiters Uitgebuit' where they talk about minor prostitution of men having sex with men. They argue that the 'blind spot' for young men having payed sex with men comes from amongst others the idea (social norm) that males are tough and therefore automatically able to resist against sexual intimidation and abuse. The norms and values that 'rule' a class or society might be interesting to explore with respect to Internet risk taking.

Marijke advises to think about doing first the focus group discussions (FG) and afterwards the individual interviews, because that way the FG can be used to filter relevant themes before going in-depth about delicate subjects during the face-to-face interviews.

- It is important to think about 'what is regarded as the problem?' is this the behaviour?
- With respect to the Precede model it might be good to adapt the model so that the study can keep its open character (explorative); e.g. instead of Quality of Life use the concept 'impact of negative experiences'.
- Definitely, keep a broad view – the study can also include a definition search.

Appendix 2: overview of characteristics 'student participants focus group discussions'

FG	P	School	Location	Level	Class	Date	Duration Focus Group	Sex	Age	Cultural background
FG1	F1	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	25-05-2016	1.21.50	Female	15	Dutch
FG1	M2	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	25-05-2016	1.21.50	Male	17	Dutch
FG1	M3	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	25-05-2016	1.21.50	Male	17	Dutch
FG1	M4	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	25-05-2016	1.21.50	Male	15	Dutch
FG1	F5	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	25-05-2016	1.21.50	Female	17	Dutch
FG1	F6	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	25-05-2016	1.21.50	Female	18	Colombian (adopted)
FG2	F1	Laurentius Praktijkschool	Delft	Practical education	2 nd year	30-05-2016	50.25	Female	14	Dutch
FG2	F2	Laurentius Praktijkschool	Delft	Practical education	2 nd year	30-05-2016	50.25	Female	14	Dutch
FG2	M3	Laurentius Praktijkschool	Delft	Practical education	2 nd year	30-05-2016	50.25	Male	14	Dutch
FG2	M4	Laurentius Praktijkschool	Delft	Practical education	2 nd year	30-05-2016	50.25	Male	15	Dutch/Italian

FG: Focus group discussion/ P: Participant

Appendix 3: interview guide focus group discussion (in Dutch)

Voorstelrondje

Ik ben Coco Sips en ik doe onderzoek naar hoe en waarvoor jongeren als jullie internet en telefoon gebruiken, bijvoorbeeld voor vriendschappen en relaties.

Wij willen een les maken over het gebruik van internet, en bijvoorbeeld telefoon, voor op praktijkscholen. De reden dat ik graag jongeren betrek bij dit onderzoek is omdat ik jullie zie als de experts; jullie weten meer over dit onderwerp dan ik.

Kun je jezelf even voorstellen, waar je vandaan komt, en je leeftijd?

- *Naam:*
- *Man/vrouw:*
- *Leeftijd:*
- *Culturele achtergrond:*
- *Klas:*
- *Niveau:*

Afspraken

Het is vooral de bedoeling dat het een gezellig gesprek wordt! Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden, het gaat om jouw mening en ervaring. Alles wat we hier bespreken blijft binnen deze groep. Het is niet de bedoeling dat naderhand nog dingen worden besproken over wat andere hier hebben vertelt. Het zou heel fijn zijn als we om de beurt praten, zodat het geen chaos wordt. Het gesprek zal met mijn telefoon opgenomen worden. In dit onderzoek wordt alles wat je zegt anoniem gemaakt, dus niet jouw eigen naam. Is het allemaal duidelijk, zijn er nog vragen?

Vragen

Wat doen jongeren online en waarom?

1. *Wat doen jullie allemaal met je telefoon?* (Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram, WhatsApp, YouTube, games, Skype, Face-Time)

- *Met wie doe je dat dan?*
- *Doen jongens/meisjes dezelfde dingen met hun telefoon of verschillend?*
- *Stuur je weleens foto's of filmpjes/ krijg je die weleens/ wat zijn dat dan voor filmpjes?*
- *Heb je ook weleens de camera aanstaan met Skype of met Face-Time?*

2. *Waarvoor gebruiken jullie het internet, je telefoon?*

- *Praten met vrienden/klasgenoten? (in groepen/klas?)*
- *Nieuwe mensen leren kennen (Hoe vind je ze? /Hoe benader je ze?)*
- *Informatie zoeken (Wat voor info? /Waar zoek je?)*

- 2.a. *Wordt er weleens geflirt via het internet, de telefoon? (Hoe en door wie?)*

- *Wat is hier leuk aan? Wat is minder leuk? (Waarom?)*
- *Worden er wel eens rare dingen gezegd? (Wat dan? Door wie?)*

- 2.b. *Is praten of flirten gemakkelijker via je telefoon of in het echt? (Waarom?)*

Risico perceptie/Sociale perceptie/Gender

Het gebeurt weleens dat foto's van anderen doorgestuurd worden via mobiele telefoon. Stel dat een meisje een naakte foto van zichzelf doorstuurt naar een jongen (haar vriend).

4. *Heb je weleens gehoord dat zoiets gebeurt of is gebeurd? Wat vind je daarvan? (spannend, leuk, vervelend, eng) Waarom?*

Stel je voor dat die jongen de foto doorstuurt naar zijn vrienden.

4.a. *Heb je weleens gehoord dat zoiets gebeurt of is gebeurd? Wat vind je daarvan? Waarom?*

Stel dat het andersom was, jongen stuurt naakt foto naar een meisje (zijn vriendin) en ze stuurt de foto door naar haar vriendinnen.

4.b. *Gebeurt dat ook, of is zoiets weleens gebeurd? Wat vind je daarvan? Waarom?*

5. *Worden foto's vooral via de telefoon verstuurd, of ook via de computer? (Hoe; via WhatsApp/Snapchat?) Waarom?*

- App groepen of 1 op 1 gesprekken?

6. *Stel dat zoiets bij jullie in de klas zou gebeuren?*

- *Wat zouden jullie vinden van degene die de foto heeft doorgestuurd?*
- *Wat zouden jullie vinden van degene van wie de foto is doorgestuurd?*
- *Wat zou je doen?*

6.a. *Als jullie vriend of vriendin zou vragen of je een naakt foto wil sturen, wat zou je dan doen?*

- *'Nee': Is het lastig om 'nee' te zeggen? Wat is daar lastig aan?*
- *'Ja': Hoe zou je dat dan doen? Waarom?*

7. *Wat voor vervelende dingen kunnen er gebeuren via het internet chatten, de telefoon?*

7.a *Hoe proberen jullie dat te voorkomen?*

7.b. *Als er iets vervelends gebeurt naar wie ga je dan toe?*

7.c. *Welke tips voor andere hebben jullie, dat er geen vervelende dingen gebeuren via internet, de telefoon?*

8. *Is er nog iets wat je kwijt wilt, waar ik aan moet denken?*

Appendix 4: overview of characteristics 'student participants individual interviews'

P	School	Location	Level	Class	Date	Duration interview	Sex	Age	Cultural background
F1	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	15-06-2016	39.56	Female	17	Dutch
M2	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	4 th year	15-06-2016	38.11	Male	17	Dutch/Turkish
F3	Laurentius Praktijkschool	Delft	Practical education	3 rd year	06-06-2016	52.22	Female	15	Dutch
M4	Laurentius Praktijkschool	Delft	Practical education	3 rd year	06-06-2016	38.48	Male	15	Dutch
F5	PRO-Emmen	Emmen	Practical education	2 nd year	08-06-2016	35.30	Female	14	Dutch/Turkish/ Indonesian
M6	PRO-Emmen	Emmen	Practical education	2 nd year	08-06-2016	33.38	Male	15	Dutch
F7	Helicon	Eindhoven	IPVE (2)	3 rd year	01-06-2016	42.05	Female	16	Dutch
M8	Helicon	Eindhoven	IPVE (2)	3 rd year	01-06-2016	39.59	Male	16	Dutch

P: Participant

Appendix 5: overview of characteristics 'teacher participants'

P	School	Location	Level	Position(s)	Date	Duration interview	Sex	Age	Cultural background
T1	De Noordhoek	Gorinchem	Practical education	Teacher/mentor/ coördinator social safety	25-05-2016	1.06.19	Female	50	Dutch
T2	Laurentius Praktijkschool	Delft	Practical education	Teacher/mentor	30-05-2016	1.00.54	Female	40	Dutch
T3	PRO-Emmen	Emmen	Practical education	Teacher/mentor	08-06-2016	56.20	Female	49	Dutch
T4	Helicon	Eindhoven	IPVE and practical education	Teacher	01-06-2016	41.14	Female	44	Dutch

P: Participant

Appendix 6: lay-out informed consent (in Dutch)

Onderzoek vanuit SOA AIDS Nederland

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Aan de ouder(s)/verzorger(s) van

datum
betreft Toestemming focus groep discussie/ interview

Geachte ouder(s)/ verzorger(s),

Op (*datum*) wordt er een focus groep discussie georganiseerd/ staan er interviews gepland, door de organisatie SOA AIDS Nederland, over online internet risico's waarin vriendschappen, relaties en seks een rol spelen. De focus groep discussie/interviews zijn bedoeld voor onderzoek. Het doel van dit onderzoek is om inzicht te krijgen in wat jongeren op gebied van online seksueel contact zoal meemaken en waarom zij dat doen. Op basis van de resultaten van dit onderzoek zal er een online Toolkit voor jongeren, ouders, docenten, en schoolmanagement ontwikkeld worden waar zij terecht kunnen met vragen en voor informatie over online seksuele risico's.

De focus groep discussies (in groepjes van 4 tot 5 leerlingen) en interviews (individueel) zullen door mevrouw Sips worden gefaciliteerd en met audio-recorder worden opgenomen. Enkele quotes van leerlingen zullen in het onderzoeksrapport worden benoemd en ten alle tijden anoniem worden gemaakt. Voor deelname aan de focus groep en/of individuele interview met uw kind, vragen wij vooraf toestemming aan ouders en t.z.t. ook mondeling aan de betreffende leerlingen.

Heeft u nog vragen dan kunt u contact opnemen met de leerkracht of met mevr. Sips.

Met vriendelijke groet,

(*Naam leerkracht en school*)

.....

Ouder/verzorger van: _____ Klas: _____

☐ Verleent toestemming voor deelname aan focus groep discussie/ interview van de leerling.

Handtekening: _____

Appendix 7: interview guide individual interview 'students' (in Dutch)

Voorstellen

Ik ben Coco Sips en ik doe onderzoek naar hoe en waarvoor jongeren internet en telefoon gebruiken, bijvoorbeeld voor vriendschappen en relaties.

Wij willen een les maken over het gebruik van internet, en bijvoorbeeld telefoon, voor op praktijkscholen. De reden dat ik graag jongeren betrek bij dit onderzoek is omdat ik jullie zie als de experts; jij weet meer over dit onderwerp dan ik.

- *Naam:*
- *Man/vrouw:*
- *Leeftijd:*
- *Culturele achtergrond:*
- *Klas:*
- *Niveau:*

Het is vooral de bedoeling dat het een gezellig gesprek wordt! Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden, het gaat om jouw mening en ervaring. Alles wat we hier bespreken blijft tussen ons. Het gesprek zal met mijn telefoon opgenomen worden. In dit onderzoek wordt alles wat je zegt anoniem gemaakt, dus niet jouw eigen naam. Is het allemaal duidelijk, zijn er nog vragen?

Vragen

Wat doen jongeren online en waarom?

1. *Wat doe je allemaal met je telefoon?* (Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram, WhatsApp, spelletjes, YouTube)

- *Met wie doe je dat dan?*
- *Stuur je weleens foto's of filmpjes/ krijg je die weleens/ wat zijn dat dan voor filmpjes?*
- *Heb je ook weleens de camera aanstaan met Skype of met Face-Time?*

2. *Waarvoor gebruik je internet, je telefoon het meest?*

- *Praten met vrienden/klasgenoten? (in groepen/klas?)*
- *Nieuwe mensen leren kennen (Hoe vind je ze? /Hoe benader je ze?)*
- *Informatie zoeken (Wat voor info? /Waar zoek je?)*

2.a. *Wordt er weleens geflirt via het internet, de telefoon?* (Hoe en door wie?)

- *Wat is hier leuk aan? Wat is minder leuk? (Waarom?)*
- *Worden er wel eens rare dingen gezegd? (Wat dan? Door wie?)*

2.b. *Is praten of flirten gemakkelijker via je telefoon of in het echt?* (Waarom?)

2.c. *Heb je weleens afgesproken met iemand in 't echt die je hebt ontmoet via internet? (Vond je dat leuk, spannend, eng)/ of de webcam gebruikt tijdens chatten?*

- *Had je dat zelf voorgesteld of werd je gevraagd?*

Risico perceptie/Sociale perceptie/Gender

3. *Wordt jij weleens gevraagd of je een foto of filmpje van jezelf wilt sturen of zelf aan iemand gevraagd? Of ken je iemand....*

- *(Door wie wordt zoiets gevraagd?)*
- *Hoe wordt dat gevraagd?*
- *Wat vind je daarvan? (spannend, leuk, vervelend, eng)*

- Waarom zou je wel of niet een foto/filmpje sturen/vragen?
- Vertel je het aan anderen (b.v. vrienden, ouders) wanneer je zoiets hebt verstuurd of werd gevraagd te sturen?

3.a. Hoe reageerde je op die vraag?

- 'Nee': *Is het lastig om 'nee' te zeggen? Wat is daar lastig aan?*
- 'Ja': *Wat heb je toen gedaan precies? Waarom?*

4. Heb je weleens iets vervelends meegemaakt via internet chatten, (telefoon)? Of ken je iemand die....

- *Wat heb je toen gedaan/ Wat zou je kunnen doen?*
- *Zou je met iemand erover praten? Wie?*
- *Als andere in een vervelende situatie terecht zouden komen, wat zou je dan tegen ze willen zeggen?*

5. Wat is je leukste ervaring met Internet chatten, (telefoon)?

6. Is er nog iets wat je kwijt wilt, waar ik aan moet denken?

Extra vraag (wanneer nog niet aanbod gekomen in voorgaande vragen)

Stel dat een meisje een naakte foto van zichzelf doorstuurt naar een jongen (haar vriend). Stel dat het andersom was, jongen stuurt naakt foto naar een meisje (zijn vriendin) en zei stuurt de foto door naar haar vriendinnen.

7. Gebeurt dat ook, of is zoiets weleens gebeurd? Wat vind je daarvan? Waarom?

Appendix 8: interview guide ‘teachers’ (in Dutch)

Voorstellen

Ik ben Coco Sips en ik doe onderzoek naar het gebruik van Social Media onder jongeren. Vooral het gebruik hiervan voor vriendschappen, relaties en seks. Social Media daar bedoel ik mee online tools waarop je informatie over jezelf kan delen en praten met anderen, zoals Facebook en YouTube maar ook bijvoorbeeld via je mobiel: WhatsApp, Instagram.

Op basis van wat o.a. jongeren en docenten mij vertellen gaan we een Toolkit - voorlichting over internet risico's - ontwikkelen waar jongeren, maar ook jullie als docenten en bijvoorbeeld ouders, terecht kunnen voor informatie en vragen over internet risico's. De reden dat ik graag jongeren en jullie als docenten betrek bij dit onderzoek is omdat ik jullie zie als de experts; jullie weten meer over dit onderwerp dan ik.

- *Naam:*
- *Man/vrouw:*
- *Leeftijd:*
- *Culturele achtergrond:*
- *Docent in de vakken:*
- *Niveau:*

Het is vooral de bedoeling dat het een gezellig en interessant gesprek wordt! Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden, het gaat om uw mening en ervaring. In dit onderzoek wordt alles wat u zegt anoniem gemaakt. Het gesprek zal audio worden opgenomen als u daar geen probleem mee heeft. Is het allemaal duidelijk, zijn er nog vragen?

Vragen

1. Welke Social Media zijn volgens u het meest populair onder jongeren?

1.a. Waar en wanneer ziet u de leerlingen zoal gebruik maken van Social Media?

1.b. Waarvoor wordt Social Media volgens u het meest gebruikt?

1.c. Spelen relaties en seks een grote rol op Social Media onder deze doelgroep/leerlingen?

- *Waar blijkt dat uit?*
- *Merkt u verschillen tussen jongens en meiden in gebruik van Social Media? Toelichting vragen*

2. Wat zijn volgens u de positieve en negatieve kanten van Social Media?

- *Voorbeelden/ervaringen hiermee?*

2.a. Wat denkt u dat jongeren leuk vinden aan online flirten of daten?

Het gebeurt weleens dat foto's van anderen doorgestuurd worden via mobiele telefoon. Stel dat een meisje een naakte foto van zichzelf doorstuurt naar een jongen (haar vriend).

3. Sturen jongeren wel eens dit soort berichtjes/foto's op deze manier naar elkaar? Wat vind u daarvan?

Stel dat die jongen de foto doorstuurt naar zijn vrienden.

3.a. Is dit een realistisch voorbeeld? Toelichting vragen

- *Ervaringen/voorbeelden?*

4. Stel dat zoiets bij u in de klas zou gebeuren, hoe zou de situatie er dan uitzien?

4.a. Hoe zouden leerlingen hiermee omgaan? (slachtoffer, uitdager, deler(s), omstanders)

- Ouders/anderen?

4.b. Hoe zou u hier als docent op inspelen?

- *Wat vind u lastig?*
- *Wat merkt u dat aanslaat/werkt bij de leerlingen?*

5. Wat zijn volgens u de belangrijkste gevaren/risico's van online relaties/daten?

5.a. Hoe ziet u uw rol als docent om die risico's zo klein mogelijk te houden?

5.b. Welke andere mensen acht u belangrijk voor jongeren die in een vervelende situatie terecht zijn gekomen?

Toelichting vragen

6. Wat vind u belangrijk om aan jongeren mee te geven? Gevaren/risico's waar ze op zouden kunnen letten?

7. Wat vind u dat er op school management niveau zou moeten gebeuren om internet risico's zo klein mogelijk te maken?

8. Zijn er specifieke elementen/thema's die u zeker wilt terugzien in een dergelijke Toolkit over voorlichting over internet risico's?

Appendix 9: code scheme ‘focus groups discussions & individual interviews’

Code Scheme			
Group	Theme	Sub-Theme	Sub-Theme
<i>Top-down</i>			<i>Bottom-up</i>
Focus Groups (students)	Behaviour of adolescents	Sexting Webcam (ab)use Grooming	Flirting Pornography
Individual interviews students	Personal determinants of adolescents	Demographics (partly in overview characteristics interviewees) Knowledge Attitude Social perception Risk perception Self-efficacy	Personal disorders
Individual interviews teachers			
	Environmental factors (that influence and are influenced by behaviour of adolescents)	Country and cultural context Social environment Legal and political environment Relationship styles	
	Impact of adolescents' behaviour	Positive impact Negative impact	
	Impact on quality of life of adolescents	Positive impact on quality of life Negative impact on quality of life	
Individual interviews teachers	Role teachers in signalling risky behaviour of adolescents	Difficulties Enhancing strategies	
	Implementation toolkit internet risks	School management level Specific elements/themes	