

INTRODUCTION	
BACKGROUND	2
METHOD AND SAMPLE	3
KEY FINDINGS	4
STAGE ONE	
DISCUSSION FORMAT	7
NUDITY IN CONTEXT	7
Spontaneous comments	7
Reactions to the General reel of advertisements	11
Subsequent discussion of nudity	16
FACTORS AFFECTING RESPONSE TO ADVERTISING	18
Personality factors	18
Environmental factors	20
Advertising factors	23
The ' <i>Footprint</i> ' hypothesis	33
REACTIONS TO SPECIFIC ADVERTISEMENTS	33
Acceptable at any time	35
Acceptable after nine o'clock watershed	40
Acceptable after late(r) watershed	44
Unacceptable	48
FURTHER RESEARCH	53
STAGE TWO	
INTERVIEW FORMAT	55
FACTORS AFFECTING RESPONSE TO ADVERTISING	56
Personality factors	56
Environmental factors	57
Advertising factors	57
REACTIONS TO SPECIFIC ADVERTISEMENTS	59
CONCLUSIONS	69
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX ONE – STAGE ONE	
Fieldwork details	73
General reel advertisements	74
Nudity reel advertisements	75
APPENDIX TWO – STAGE TWO	
Fieldwork details	79
Tactix advertisement reels	79

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Early in 1994, an advertisement for Neutralia shower gel became the first on UK television to feature a woman's nipple. The campaign was accepted by the television companies for transmission after the 9pm watershed partly to assess whether existing conventions relating to nudity were still valid.

The advertisement generated the second highest number of complaints (199) to the Independent Television Commission across the year. In response, the ITC concluded that the material was not inherently unsuitable for transmission after 9pm, but decided that research was needed into the issue of nudity in advertising to provide clarification for similar advertisements that might be submitted in the future.

To provide an input to project planning, the ITC commissioned some attitudinal questions on an omnibus survey. The findings from these made clear what was already suspected: that the potentially sensitive and intricate nature of the issues to be considered necessitated a qualitative research approach. The research objective for the qualitative study was as follows:

“To investigate public perceptions regarding the acceptance of the use of nudity in television advertising... (exploring) a variety of factors including degrees of nudity, length of time on screen, gender, relevance, product type etc.”

The Qualitative Consultancy (TQC) was commissioned to conduct this project on behalf of the ITC. TQC research executives were mainly responsible for writing the body of this report, which deals with the research findings. The policy implications of the research are not dealt with in this document.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

The research was carried out in two stages. The initial stage was exploratory in nature. Nudity was investigated in the context of other advertising issues before focusing on it specifically by showing advertisements featuring different degrees of nudity. The hypotheses formed in the first stage were then tested amongst a larger number of people in Stage II.

The first stage comprised 12 group discussions, 12 one-to-one in-depth interviews, and 12 in-depth interviews with couples. Respondents were recruited a few days in advance of the research sessions, which lasted between one-and-a-half and two-and-a-half hours. Each group consisted of six respondents, and (as for the one-to-one in-depth interviews) was conducted by a moderator of the same sex. The research was carried out between 30 November 1994 and 30 January 1995.

Both men and women were represented in the sample, as was a wide range of life-stage (16-year-olds through to pensioners), location (North, Midlands, South and urban, suburban, rural) and social class. Recruitment was also based on the responses to five attitudinal statements about advertising, which had previously elicited a wide range of reactions in a quantitative survey. Recruiters (who were not aware of the precise topic of the research) were encouraged to ensure that a similar spread of answers was obtained amongst respondents for the qualitative research.

The second stage consisted of TQC's 'TACTIX' interviews – qualitative, one-to-one interviews which lasted about 30 minutes. Respondents were recruited off-the-street and brought in directly to be interviewed. In all, 120 of these interviews were completed.

The sample composition for Stage II was very similar to that for Stage I. Interviewing took place over six days between 24 February and 11 March 1995.

For further details, see Appendices.

KEY FINDINGS

- Although the issue of nudity is not uppermost in viewers' minds when discussing advertising, strong views are held on the subject. However, opinions in the abstract can be misleading, because personality seems to be only one of three key factors determining a viewer's response. The others identified by this research relate to the viewing situation, and the material viewed.

Viewer personality

- The research identifies five personality types in relation to nudity in television advertising. The disapproving groups are the Puritans (who are embarrassed about nudity) and Moralists (who feel it should not be allowed). The Liberals form the largest group, and they feel that too much fuss is made about the issue. Actively in favour of nudity are the Crusaders (who believe it will encourage people to be less prudish) and the Libertines (the smallest group, who want to see as much nudity as possible).
- Overall, the research suggests that slightly more than half the viewing public takes a fairly open-minded view of nudity in television advertising. However, a sizeable minority has a much lower threshold of acceptability.

Environmental factors

- The circumstances in which the advertisement is viewed affect its acceptability. This relates partly to its place in the schedule, including its timing in relation to the watershed. Viewers also take into consideration the type of programme the advertisement appears in (nudity being more acceptable if embedded in more 'adult' material), and which channel it is screened on (such advertising being more tolerable on cable and satellite channels, and to some extent on Channel 4).
- Advertisements featuring nudity are less acceptable when viewed in company – particularly if the fellow viewers include people from an older or younger generation, or those of the opposite sex.

Advertising factors

- There are several interrelated features within each advertisement which are used to evaluate it. Nudity becomes more acceptable when it is relevant to the product (ie if the user would normally be unclothed to use it, as with bath preparations) and when it fits in naturally with the plot of the advertisement.
- An advertisement which has sexual content as well as nudity is more problematic, as many respondents consider this to be a dangerous combination.
- There are strong feelings about which parts of the body can be exposed in advertisements. The female breasts are contentious (side views less so than full frontals), and the rear view of a male can also cause concern. Genitals are generally considered unacceptable for either sex. For some Moralists and Crusaders, having male and female nudity in the same advertisement is less exploitative and therefore more acceptable. A still image is usually less controversial than a moving nude.
- The duration of the nudity, and how much of the advertisement it occupies, also come into the equation. Unnecessary lingering on the nudity is criticised. However, nudity is judged more sympathetically if the production values are high, with low quality production often causing the advertisements to be described as 'sleazy'. Humour, too, can reduce the potential for offence.
- Another consideration is the contact the nude person has with other people in the advertisement. This can be through touch or eye contact, or just being in the same camera shot. Contact with the viewer is also important, with some advertisements making the viewer feel like a voyeur or an unwilling participant, although others can elicit empathy.
- Because of this relationship with the viewer, the perceived target audience is important. This can determine whether the nudity is seen as exploitative or aspirational.

STAGE ONE

DISCUSSION FORMAT

Over the few days after recruitment and prior to the group, respondents were asked to make a note of any advertisements on TV which struck them in a particularly positive or negative way. They were given no intimation that the research would focus on nudity in advertising, as one of the aims was to put it in the context of other issues surrounding television advertising.

The groups started with a general warm-up discussion about attitudes to TV advertising, with reference to the pre-tasks self-completion questionnaires.

Respondents were then shown a General reel of ads. This was compiled to represent a number of potentially controversial advertising issues (eg advertising to children, sanitary protection) and included an example of male nudity (Cellnet) and one of female nudity (Cussons Pearl or Evian, depending on the reel shown). Details can be found in Appendix 1, pages 74-75.

Respondents recorded their spontaneous reactions to the advertisements and these were subsequently explored. If not already raised, the issues of advertising to children, sanitary protection, sexual innuendo and nudity were then prompted and examined.

Only after this initial generalised stage did discussion focus on nudity.

A 'Nudity' reel of advertisements was shown and initial reactions to the advertisements were recorded by respondents and their acceptability subsequently explored. (See Appendix 1, pages 75-77 for details of the reel.) Exacerbating elements and mitigating factors were elicited and the reasoning criteria used by respondents were determined.

The Nudity reels were compiled according to various factors, such as degree, type and length of exposure of nudity; gender of participants; type of product; and sexual content of the advertisements. Two reels were used, balanced as far as possible in terms of the characteristics of the advertisements, and each presented in two random sequences to counteract order effects.

Discussion then focused on what rules there should be and the groups concluded with a review and summary of the discussion.

Depth interviews followed the same framework as the group discussions.

The illustrative quotes used in the following text have been identified by the group (G) or depth interview (D) that the respondent attended. For demographic details, see Appendix 1.

NUDITY IN CONTEXT

SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS

As already described, the initial research discussion was very generalised, so that nudity could be put into the context of other television and advertising issues which were of

concern to viewers. To stimulate this, respondents were asked to note down two advertisements that they liked, and two that they disliked, from the current television output, and bring this information to the research session to stimulate dialogue.

The opening discussion made it apparent that, for many respondents, the content of TV programmes was more contentious than the advertising. Many were concerned with the seemingly increasing frequency of bad language and also graphic violence and explicit sex scenes. (These are consistently the three main areas of offence mentioned in the ITC's annual survey, Television: The Public's View).

These were not, for most respondents, contentious issues in TV advertising. There was general awareness that bad language was not allowed and neither was violence (though a few were concerned with the Tango advertising). Sexual innuendo was recognised as present in current advertising, but there was nothing as explicit as one might find in a TV programme after the watershed.

"You do get violence, not so much in adverts, but certainly on programmes on television, if you ever watch things like Neighbours and Home & Away and EastEnders and Coronation Street. I think you very rarely hear the characters talking very nicely to one another, there always seems to be a sort of aggravation and aggression in the way they speak to one another and I think people pick up on that, I think that's perhaps possibly more harmful than any of the sexual undertones that are presented."
(D15)

"I think much worse than nudity on TV is some of the terrible violent scenes that come up. I think I would prefer to watch the nudity because to me some of the violence that comes up is really objectionable."
(D18)

"I tell you what offends me and that's bad language on TV, purely for my children. For me it's the biggest thing for my children... but to be fair we are talking about advertising and it's very rare if ever you get bad language in adverts."
(G3)

"Like Basic Instinct. I found that very offensive. The language was awful. I'd have been embarrassed had my son been there."
(D13)

"Some of the films, I mean they had one last night, it was a 15 and there were some nude scenes in that, in fact sex scenes in it... and even the papers now the top shelf is stacked up whereas it never used to be."
(G12)

There was widespread acceptance that the rules for TV advertising should be stricter than those for TV programmes. Many respondents felt that, whereas programmes with content likely to offend were often identified as such in TV guides or had an announcement to that effect before the programme started, advertisements arrived uninvited, without warning. Viewers would not be able to exercise a choice not to watch it. The brevity of the advertisement timescale compounded this, by not allowing a viewer sufficient time to switch off the advertisement. It was also felt to preclude the degree of build-up or scene-setting that a film allowed. In effect, advertisements could be seen as more intrusive than programmes.

"Some people don't like that sort of thing put into their homes because it comes on in a way that you can't censor it, you never know when it's going to come on do you? If there is, or is going to be, a sexually explicit play or film on they normally warn you or it's in the paper. You've got the choice, it's always the off button to hit if you don't want it on... but with an advert you don't have that choice."
(D15)

"If it was part of a story it would be acceptable... like in a film. There was a programme on last night where the guy came home from the US and found his sister in bed with a guy, that's acceptable as part of a story, part of a film, but not in an advert."
(G5)

"In a play it's actually in the story. If it's in part of the storyline then fine, but if you're advertising a car and showing somebody on the beach or something in full (frontal) there's no need for it."
(D11)

"With films you can read up on them in the paper...But with ads they're on and that's it. It's over before you've time to turn over...If it was offensive, you'd not have time to turn it off."
(D13)

There was also some agreement that the rules for TV advertising should probably be stricter than for print medium, in that there was an element of choice associated with reading a newspaper or magazine. Print also avoided the 'movement' issue that TV advertising raised (see page 28). However, posters again required stricter control due to the same unavoidable 'in your face' impact of TV advertising.

"FOR TV ADVERTS IS IT MORE OFFENSIVE THAN FOR NEWSPAPERS? IS IT WORSE?"
"Yes because it's in people's homes. If you find a newspaper offensive you don't read it. Because you've got the television on, it's there before you know it's coming."
(D19)

"I think it's more personal as well, reading a magazine. I mean, [with TV] you've got to sit there with your dad and grandad and you feel uncomfortable."
"WHAT ABOUT WOMEN'S MAGAZINES WHERE THEY ADVERTISE TAMPAX, IS THAT BETTER?"
"Yes, because you are not forced to watch it. Women buy women's magazines so it's better – men don't buy them."
(D3)

The issue of nudity was very rarely mentioned in either the pre-tasking exercise or in the initial warm-up discussion of general attitudes to advertising. Respondents were principally concerned with entertainment-related issues – whether they liked or disliked the music, presenters, humour and repetition.

"Washing powder adverts. They're just annoying generally, they don't make you want to buy the product at all. Everyone is too cheerful in them, plus the fact that when they bring out a new product they talk down the old product, which is what they were trying to promote before, it doesn't make sense at all."
(D7)

"Carling Black Label... it appeared to come to the end and then there was another advert and then... it came again, and the advert hadn't finished and gone to another one, another new advert, it was that one carrying on, and I thought that's different, that's new... to me that was a good advert."
(D9)

"One of my major dislikes was Sega Software. I think it's visually painful and very offensive... the price of these Nintendos and the amount of time people are spending puts a blot on life, children are turning into zombies and it's all because of the television advertising."
(G5)

In contrast, the issue of sanpro advertising was more contentious – mainly mentioned by older men and younger women. There was frequently some debate about whether or not it should be shown, and what degree of detail could or should be included.

"It's personal to a woman isn't it. I might be prim but I don't think you need to advertise things like that on television."
(D23)

"They're going into great detail into something very intimate. They're going a little over the top. Makes me feel a bit uncomfortable even when I'm sitting on my own."
(D2)

*"I think it's irritating to females, because it's not the thing you choose to crop up in conversation because it's a touchy subject... from somebody that doesn't enjoy their periods from month to month, you can't say that you enjoy the advert."
"My dad always complains that they come on when he's eating his dinner."*
(G2)

"The one that makes me so angry is the Tampax one. That awful woman puts the Tampax in that bottle of blue water to show how it works, my partner hates all of those adverts, it's so tasteless. We don't need that sort of stuff, everybody knows what it's all about, they wouldn't show somebody wiping their bottom to advertise loo roll, you don't want body functions at tea-time, it isn't necessary."
(G12)

Sexual innuendo was also raised a few times, with some references to the Peugeot advertisement, and one respondent found the Sapphic overtone of the Anaäs Anaäs advertisement offensive.

"I hate smutty ones. They should be on about nine/ten o'clock at night because I believe kids learn enough without having it pushed at them."
(D20)

*"One I don't like at all is the Anaäs Anaäs one. I think it comes over as sexually, lesbian...It's got these two women groping all over each other. It's like just their faces at first entwining with each other, like touching each other and everything, but I think the way it's coming across it's a bit sort of – and they're not showing it later on or anything."
(D11)*

Several, especially parents, were concerned at the level of advertising aimed at children, particularly during the run-up to Christmas.

"It's like Frosties sponsoring Gladiators. Every time we go to the supermarket we have to buy some Frosties, if we don't it's a scream and sit in the aisle because it's got the Gladiators on it. So that's another way of advertising."
(G3)

*"The toy ones at Christmas. They're always the most expensive toys."
"Yeah, they're never anything under £20."*
(G8)

"You get sick of how they advertise kids' presents for Christmas. It creates problems because when they see it they want it. I went through that with my son."
(D13)

*"I don't mind, but I don't think they should do them so often as they do, especially like the fortnight before Christmas, they're putting them on every advert aren't they, every interval between every film, they really are, and toys, I think oh God."
(D21)*

REACTIONS TO THE GENERAL REEL OF ADVERTISEMENTS

The General reel of advertising highlighted the concerns felt around the issues mentioned above. The reel had been compiled deliberately to put the issue of nudity in the context of other advertising issues that were known to be sensitive (such as sanitary protection), or that represented other potential areas for discussion (eg advertising to children). The advertisements featured were all fairly current ones from British television. Two versions of this reel were compiled, to allow two commercials featuring female nudity (Cussons Pearl and Evian) to be explored. Each respondent saw only one reel. To counteract the order effect, the advertisements were shown in a different, randomised order in the two reels, as follows:

Reel 1A	Reel 1B
Pearl	Aladdin
Tampax	Peugeot
Aladdin	Banana Bubbles
Cellnet	Evian
Peugeot	Tampax
Banana Bubbles	Cellnet

There follows a summary of the reactions to each of these advertisements.

Tampax (tampons)

Brief shot of woman in underwear. Explanation of product benefits. Demonstration of product absorbency using blue dye.

Reactions to the **Tampax** advertisement confirmed that sanpro advertising was the most controversial issue. Clearly many respondents felt uncomfortable with sanpro advertising and yet others defended it, feeling that it was a product like any other and could even have an 'educational' value.

*"I don't like this advert full stop. Anyone who knows what a tampon is, is going to use it. That would embarrass women."
(D20)*

"I don't think they should advertise that before ten o'clock really and that's all you see in the mornings. Every advert break they stick that bloody Tampax advert in it... But it's nothing offensive, it's not being rude, they're not showing any intimate details of where it goes... Someone could look at it, it saves them an awkward situation trying to explain it. If a girl goes up to her mother and says what's a Tampax, what does it do, they might get a bit embarrassed but, if it's on the telly, it shows you, you don't have to ask."
(G7)

"The only time I get worried about them is at my mother-in-law's, I'm not being funny even at my mum's it's a bit embarrassing."

"Funnily enough when I knew I was coming to this I was having a discussion with a workmate and without any prompting he said any adverts like that Tampax or Always advert should not be on the TV... he's nearly in his sixties."
(G3)

"It's on the supermarket shelf like everything else... It's something that's there, it's accepted, everyone knows what they're used for, why not."
(D11)

"Young girls should know about Tampax and a lot of parents are too old fashioned to tell them, they learn it at school now I think... but they don't put them on to be informative, they put them on to compete with all the others, like Wings. The point is, I have no objection to it going on but let's not think it's for higher purposes, it's all about selling."

"A lot of people were shocked, older people never spoke of that, let alone saw it on TV."
(G5)

"I mean you would be embarrassed probably the first time if you were sitting around loads of women or something, at least you get used to the idea of it coming onto the telly, so you just get used to it."
(D7)

"That to me was trying to get over that it was a good product to use. It's a long standing reliable name. The girls doing the ads are nice, good figures. That goes a lot to the teenagers. Young girls would use that... It's good because it also lets lads know as well."
(D13)

"You feel it could be good for lads... to understand more what goes on in women's lives... In this day and age you accept a lot more. You move with the times."
(D13)

"You can imagine the 12-year-old boy hassling the 14-year-old girl to know what it was. They do ask a lot of awkward questions. Keep their innocence."
(G10)

Peugeot (car)

Man picks up woman in car park, drives to seaside, clearly implied sex. Man drives to wife and kids. Twist is wife and woman are one and the same.

The Peugeot advertisement, which had already been identified by a few respondents as offensive, was felt by some to have a sleazy, immoral feel, especially by those who had not understood the 'twist' in the plot and did not recognise the wife as being the same woman. However, it should be noted that others felt it was an acceptable and clever advertisement, and raised no objection to it.

"It's like watching an X film really the way their eyes meet each other and then she pulls her zip down and next minute the hands sliding down, it's more sex than car isn't it."
(D23)

"The woman was all sensual and sexy and supposedly seducing the man, putting women in a bad light and then he had his little fling with her and then goes home to the family."
(D10)

"It's really confusing that advert, I don't understand who that woman is supposed to be. I don't know if it's supposed to be his wife or his bit on the side... it's like the married family side and the promiscuous side."
(G1)

"Oh it's very suggestive isn't it I mean you have the waves on the beach and her hand going down it's obvious what they're up to isn't it, that's what it's aimed at."
(G3)

"I don't think that ought to come into family homes... it's too offensive and suggestive."
"There was nothing subtle about it, it was blatant sex and it was unnecessary."
"A bit raunchy... I find it offensive."
(G12)

"It's a bit naughty but it doesn't offend at all."

"Yes, it's like this is what the car will do for you. It's image, not factual."

"I thought it was his imagination."

"I can understand why some people might get worried. Probably five or ten years ago you wouldn't have had it at all."

"I think that's pretty harmless."
(D6)

"I think he's let his imagination run away with him a little, but it wouldn't offend me... It's just like he's in love with his wife and his car, both like."
(D21)

"For a lot of men their car is their woman. My husband would love to have something sporty."
(G8)

"A lot of people think, Keith (son) does, a car pulls the birds, he says..."

"WHAT WAS GOOD ABOUT IT?"

"The music."

"Nice car, nice people, sexy ad."

"I like that, it turns out to be his wife."
(G11)

Aladdin (Disney merchandise)

Children playing with Aladdin, Genie and Princess Jasmine dolls.

Banana Bubbles (cereal)

Fast paced advertisement set at funfair with 'hyperactive' TV presenter.

The **Aladdin** and **Banana Bubbles** advertisements evoked significant negative feeling towards the issue of advertising to children. However, this was frequently tinged with some feeling of fatalism. Parents were resigned to its presence, with some respondents perceiving that, on this issue, the battle had already been lost, and this took the sting out of the controversy.

*"The children see the advert on the telly and they say they want that... A single parent couldn't possibly afford something like that. Maybe the cereals, yes, but the Aladdin, no way, it's expensive stuff isn't it."
(D7)*

*"It gets on your nerves over Christmas time but I'm afraid it's our world now isn't it, television is the kids' world and our world. Kids will watch television and they will see things on telly that they will want. They can't obviously have everything, it depends on your budget, and it's up to you to sort of say to them – I do think we had a couple of bad times with Mark who wanted everything he saw."
(D22)*

*"(Banana Bubbles) When that first came out the kids drove me mad they just kept on, can we have some, can we have.... These adverts are a ploy with the children to make them go to parents and say buy this please... Yes, and you buy them something to shut them up."
(G3)*

*"They are great because the children like them. They don't just want the doll though they want all of it! They are good though. They are colourful, lively. Things like that they would make me buy the product. Children like it. It gives you an idea of what you can buy for your children. They can compare the different things available in the range. It can be a good thing and a bad thing."
(D12)*

The **Evian**, **Pearl**, and **Cellnet** advertisements were included on the General reels as examples of the degree of nudity that is currently allowed on UKTV. For some more sensitive respondents, it did raise the issue, but many failed to register the nudity or to find it worthy of comment without prompting.

Evian (mineral water)

Pan across snowy mountain range morphs into side view of naked woman (breast concealed).

*"THE EVIAN ONE HAD A NAKED WOMAN IN IT..."
"Where?"
(G7)*

*"I put 'boring', all we saw was a mountain and a girl..."
"Oh, I don't agree... I thought it was soothing peaceful and quiet, tranquillity..."
"Offensive? How could anyone find that offensive, you didn't see anything, it was done rather well."
(G5)*

Pearl (soap)

Brief pan up nude carved figurehead, including bare breasts. Shots of naked woman showering using product.

*"On this Pearl one, if children see it they wouldn't take any notice. She was just floating around quite innocently. I didn't think they'd take a bit of notice of that."
(D14)*

*"In any case, everyone was clothed, bar the one for Pearl, and even that was discreet. I don't think that'd offend anybody."
(D19)*

*"Not offensive because it was in the water. She was swimming. It looked like a doll. At first it was a doll so it eases you into it."
(D20)*

Cellnet (mobile phone)

Nude man standing on globe throws net over UK. Frontal from a distance (crotch detail airbrushed out).

*"Yes there is [nudity] but it doesn't register, it has only registered with me now, after you saying it."
(G3)*

*"They are all much the same these mobile phone ads, there's so many of them now..."
"IT DID HAVE A NAKED MAN IN THAT ONE."
"Did it!"
(D24)*

*"You don't want to see a bloke with his tackle swinging all over the place."
(G12)*

*"I like that. You don't get to see anything. As long as it's subtly done I don't mind."
"I didn't even realise that he had nothing on."
"It's very tasteful."
"He looks like a statue in an art gallery."
(D6)*

*"It's a bit boring. It's not actually promoting anything – it doesn't show you the phone. It's not clear what they are trying to sell. It might have been on and I've not remembered it!.. Although the man was naked he didn't really show anything – only his chest and that's not offensive."
(D12)*

*"Did he have nothing on? I missed that."
(G8)*

*"I didn't see that (nudity), with the visual effects your eyes are on the net most of the time."
"Well, it's dull, ain't it?"
"Where they've used the net, that bit's alright."
"Nothing catchy, is there?"
(D19)*

SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION OF NUDITY

The discussion of the general advertisements was followed by exploration at a more conceptual level of the importance of nudity in relation to the other issues. Respondents began to take up positions at this stage on the subject, some claiming that nudity in advertising *per se* is wrong, others that it is acceptable perhaps with certain constraints or caveats.

"It's okay for me to watch these and say I'm not offended by it but you don't need to throw it down their throat at every advert that comes on the telly – you don't need to see nudity."
(D22)

"I resent having this stuff pushed down my neck, you're with mixed company and this is forced on you."
(G12)

"As long as it's not their private parts there's no problem with it."
(G7)

"I've nothing against nudity in ads as long as it's not full frontal."
(D6)

However, from the ensuing debate in the groups it became evident that the views expressed appeared to be dependent on individual visualisations of the concept of nudity – the term nudity meant different things to different people. On the one hand, there were those who seemed initially to believe that any nudity is wrong but then demonstrated that there were varying levels, some of which were acceptable. On the other hand, there were those who claimed that nudity was not a problem but their later reactions to specific advertisements belied this – there was often a line beyond which they were not prepared to condone. In other words the conceptual positions that respondents adopted were not necessarily indicative of their reactions to specific advertisements. For example, some young people (male and female) expressed liberal views initially but later had strong objections to individual advertisements. Conversely, some older respondents were initially quite puritanical in outlook but then were relatively accepting of individual advertisements.

"All that's trying to do is draw attention to the fact that there's a naked woman, and that to me is offensive. That's my personal opinion, I mean I'm not a prude or anything, like anybody else I'll watch mucky movies or whatever, but to me that on an advert is offensive."
(D9)

"There is good and bad nudity, if it's done well it's not offensive... nudes in the art gallery are not offensive at all, there's nothing wrong with the human body, it's the reason why they use nudity that matters. Is it to titillate or to excite?"
(G5)

"Well, I don't like nakedness, that's all. Don't mind the top part."
(D19)

There was, however, some degree of unanimity that the trend had been towards liberalisation over the years and most thought this likely to continue.

"Like most of these things you see it first of all and because there's that impact, you might take notice of it but after that it's just another advert isn't it."
(D13)

"I think maybe they are getting onto a future generation of adverts. In the next few years we will start to see nudity in adverts, it will become accepted, an everyday thing."
(G12)

Many respondents were aware, to a greater or lesser extent, of the furore surrounding the Neutrialia advertising.

"(Neutrialia) I was shocked about how they could get away with it, from a personal point of view it doesn't bother me but I was very surprised that it was on British TV. I thought if they get away with that they will go on one further and then one further still and where does it end."
"She rubbed herself."
(G3)

"There was one I remember, I think it was L'Oreal, they showed it once and it was like full frontal then it wasn't shown after that because there were so many complaints."
(G1)

"(Neutrialia) It's the sheer fact of the nudity, mostly in Britain you see the arm or the back but this one just crossed the line, you don't need to show that."
(G7)

"There was a topless one... they banned that one, it's only on after nine o'clock but there were still complaints, they had to take it off."
"There was a big problem with one about six months ago where they did show a woman's breast and they took it off because there were an uproar about it."
(G12)

Where respondents were told of the volume of complaints received, most expressed surprise that this figure was, in their view, so low. The majority felt that such a small minority's wishes did not need to be taken into consideration. Some did, however, recognise that there may be many more who might be offended but would not write in. This led some respondents to query how many people's views would constitute a veto on the broadcasting of such a level of nudity.

"But there's millions of people who watch it..."
"... THEY HAD SOMETHING LIKE A HUNDRED AND EIGHTY COMPLAINTS"
"Is that a lot... what about the other fifty-six million?"
(G3)

"You can't please all the people all the time... They've got to look at it and say to themselves if there is any chance you know, even if they showed it to ten people and one person said that's offensive... that's ten per cent so on that basis it's not acceptable."
"Personally I didn't find it offensive but I could understand some people would."
"I don't think the majority of people would be against nudity in adverts."
(D24)

FACTORS AFFECTING RESPONSE TO ADVERTISING

At this stage of the research, having discussed television advertising in general with the help of some examples of commercials, and then having focussed in discussion on nudity in particular, respondents were shown a selection of advertisements featuring nudity. The reason for this was to reach beneath the superficial *conceptual* level of response to a deeper understanding of the reaction to individual advertisements and the factors underlying the formation of a response.

Two reels were compiled, each consisting of ten advertisements featuring different degrees of nudity. The order of the advertisements on the reels was randomised, and two versions of each produced to counter the order effect. Some of the advertisements were in the English language, and some foreign, and a range of products and services was covered. The uncut version of the Neutralia advertisement appeared on both reels. Although the other advertisements were different from reel to reel, they were matched as far as possible for major variables, such as type and degree of nudity and product relevance. (see Appendix 1, pages 75 to 77 for details).

An individual's response to an advertisement was identified as dependent on three overall factors: the personality of the viewer, the environment in which the advertisement is being viewed and the specific nature of the prompt material (ie the details of the advertisement). These three overall factors interact, as do the various elements within them. For instance, the relative importance of different aspects of the advertisement will depend upon the viewer's personality type and/or the environment in which it is viewed.

PERSONALITY FACTORS

The research provides evidence to support a five-way segmentation of the types of mind-set/attitudinal stance that viewers bring to the issue of nudity in advertising. The diagram below shows these five personality archetypes. This constitutes the start-point from which they assess specific advertisements.

Basically - ve	Puritans	'I feel embarrassed when I see nudity in advertising'
	Moralists	'They shouldn't allow nudity in TV advertising'
Basically +ve	Liberals	'I don't see why people make such a fuss about nudity in TV advertising'
	Crusaders	'More nudity in TV advertising would stop people being so prudish'
	Libertines	'The more nudity in TV advertising the better'.

The first two categories of respondent were essentially negative in their initial outlook towards nudity.

Puritans

were those whose negativity was on an emotive level. They tended to exhibit, or even admit to, feelings of embarrassment when confronted with nudity. This may have reflected unresolved hang-ups concerning their own or others' bodies and/or may have religious

undertones. Some projected their feelings of embarrassment onto children, saying that children would get embarrassed rather than admitting that the problem was their own.

"You can focus on a bloke's chest for a longer time but a woman, it would be too much, it would be embarrassing."
(G1)

Moralists

tended to adopt a more considered, rational stance. Their negativity towards nudity was often based on the perceived likelihood that its acceptance would lead to blatant selling through sex and therefore an increase in the exploitation of women (and men also for some men). This politically correct attitude may also in some cases have concealed deeper emotions.

"I don't see why they should need to have naked people to promote an advert, I don't think it's necessary. I'm sure they could find other ways of doing it."
(G7)

"(Neutralia) But why just to sell the product why do they need to show it, what's wrong with showing her back or arm as they have done for years."
(G3)

The other three personality types identified were generally tolerant or positive to the use of nudity in advertising.

Liberals

generally took a more pragmatic attitude, with a tolerance of nudity that, for some, bordered on passivity. An increased tolerance of nudity was seen as the way things are heading and, as such, was all part of life today.

"There's nothing particularly wrong with nudity really, we're all made the same."
(D15)

"It doesn't bother me at all really. I've come out of my shell over the years and seen things alter and change and I think I've gone with it a little bit."
(D16)

Crusaders

took a more proactive stance. They were firmly against the perceived hang-ups resulting from the Victorian suppression of inhibitions and praised the continental countries' more enlightened attitude. They felt that an increased level of nudity in the public arena would help to overcome British narrow-mindedness.

"I've spent so many years on the continent and I probably have a broader outlook, let's put it that way, I don't find it offensive in any way."
(D17)

"I welcome all this because I have a far easier relationship with my kids than I did with my parents, it's a more open, honest society."
(G5)

Libertines

were not encountered directly among the respondents (though one or two came close!) but the evidence suggests that there is such a type and its existence has been assumed. These people would find gratification from an increase in the level of nudity shown and would therefore welcome a progression to full-frontal nudity (and perhaps even further, to the very borders of pornography and perversion).

"All this sort of thing, it's available under the counter for anyone who wants it, banning it on TV won't help because people get it anyway. If people see it for its true value and not under the counter, it can only be better."
(G5)

The underlying reasons for these hypothesised mind-sets can only be speculated on from this research. They are likely to stem from diverse influences such as upbringing, early life experiences, emotional development and political awareness.

The personality typologies did not, overall, appear to be strongly dependent on demographic factors, although there were some possible links between some sample sectors and the attitudinal segments.

Younger people *seemed* to be more negative (puritan/moralist). There were some indications, both verbal and non-verbal, that the discomfort felt may reflect the uncertainties of the, as yet unformed, emotional and self-image aspects of oncoming adulthood, and may therefore be a temporary phase.

Older family people *seemed* to be more liberal/crusading in their outlook than those with younger families. This may perhaps relate to having gone through the stage where their children may ask embarrassing questions.

Old men *seemed* to be much different to the old women. The former tended to seem much more liberal, some enjoying watching the Nudity reel advertisements, while the latter were much more negative (puritanical) towards nudity.

These hypothesised personality typologies and their relationship with the demographic factors, however, needed to be reviewed in the light of the Stage II interviews (see page 56).

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

The circumstances under which a viewer watches an advertisement are a major influence on the perceived acceptability of the advertisement. The same advertisement could therefore generate a quite different response depending on the environmental factors present.

Time of day

There was well-nigh universal awareness of the nine o'clock watershed for programme content and many respondents identified a role for a watershed for TV advertising. Many respondents felt that advertisements with 'adult' themes could not be shown during the daytime, peak children's programming being widely cited in particular. Early evening family viewing was also often not considered appropriate. Many felt that the more extreme advertising, if it could be shown at all, would be best suited to a late evening slot – after 11 o'clock for several respondents.

*"I wouldn't say late at night but after about nine o'clock when the kids are supposed to be in bed... yes the watershed."
"They say the watershed is nine o'clock but kids aren't always in bed at that time, it should be more like ten o'clock or later."
(G1)*

Programme

Also a factor was what one respondent described as the 'Basic Instinct syndrome'. Some respondents perceived that if a programme was clearly identified as containing adult themes (in TV guides and verbally before broadcast) and the viewer was therefore able to

exercise a choice not to watch if likely to be offended, this gave licence to advertising in the breaks to match (though not exceed) the content of the programme.

*"I think you'd expect to see something like that (nudity) between Basic Instinct because you're into that all the time. You're watching Basic Instinct and it's just sex all the way through, so it wouldn't shock you."
"If you were watching the news you'd be more shocked, you'd think twice, you're more likely to think twice about something like that."
(G2)*

*"The question will be asked ultimately, if it's allowed in the context of a programme, why can't we use it in advertising, it's the same people with the same time that's watching it."
(D10)*

*"The sort of people who might sit up and watch Basic Instinct are probably not going to be offended by that, they probably couldn't care less."
(D15)*

*"With something like The Word a lot of people that come on that programme are only half dressed anyway."
(G3)*

Channel

Many respondents felt that, to some extent, Channel 4 could carry more extreme advertising than ITV. ITV was broadly felt to be a more generalist, family-oriented channel. Channel 4 was perceived to have less mainstream programming with specific (targeted) minority appeal, such as young adults who were anticipated as being the most tolerant and therefore least likely to be offended.

*"ITV is going to be the popular one and Channel 4 isn't, so there's probably some difference (between advertisements)."
(G7)*

Some respondents, therefore, suggested that certain of the Nudity reel advertisements would be most appropriately shown on Channel 4 and others went further to suggest that the less acceptable advertisements should be limited to satellite/cable channels only. This was again related to the perceived nature of the surrounding TV environment.

*"My nan would never watch The Word but the people who would watch The Word wouldn't be shocked. You don't get seven year-olds watching The Word do you?"
(D3)*

*"Satellite you can control by subscribing. That's where freedom of choice comes in but advertising I don't feel you can control, because you're sat there watching a programme and it comes on and it may be offensive."
(G3)*

*"One thing we have to be careful of, because we've got Sky TV and there's quite a lot of sport on the German channels, and we tend to find the adverts that are on that are a hell of a lot more risqué than those on the UK."
(G3)*

*"What I don't like, I don't mind if I have a choice like if you go hire a video to watch or if you subscribe to one of these channels to watch because you're in control of that, you have the say on that, but you don't have a say when it just comes up on your screen and it's there. That's what I disagree with, that you don't have a say in it."
(G3)*

Presence of others

It was frequently expressed by respondents that watching a certain advertisement on one's own would not offend, but might become a highly embarrassing situation if children, parents, spouse or peers were also present.

"It makes you uncomfortable, I'm not uncomfortable in front of my wife but if my daughter is there or my son, eeeee dear me and if my Gran was there it would be worse still."
(D23)

"(With parents in the room) ... you start checking your nails and watching the ceiling."
(G1)

"Nudity I would say when they get to seven, eight, nine years that's when it gets a bit more embarrassing."
(G3)

"I think you've got to draw a line when you start being embarrassed yourself when your children are in the room with you, when you sort of think, you know, I hope they don't ask me anything here. So I think when it gets to that point that's when you start."
(D11)

This reaction seemed to be even more evident if the advertisement contained sexual content. Parents especially were concerned that a 'What's that, Daddy?' scenario might ensue. Conversely, some parents suggested a 7 pm watershed – so that they would be there to answer their child's questions.

Presence of satellite/cable

Those respondents who had not had experience of satellite/cable TV generally expected that standards of advertising would be lower. Many non-owners had had experience of satellite/cable, however, some having been owners in the past, others watching occasionally at friends', at work or in pubs.

Owners and those who did regularly watch non-terrestrial TV distinguished between the UK originated and the foreign channels. The UK channels were believed to have the same rules as UK terrestrial channels in terms of content. The foreign channels, however, were seen as operating within far more 'liberal' constraints re nudity and sexual innuendo.

There was clear evidence that those who had access to satellite/cable considered themselves more broadminded and some of these, Crusaders in particular, applauded the openness of the continental style.

"If they wanted to do more daring adverts there's certain television stations and programmes now they could put them on. You've got the adult channel and things like that. If you want to switch over to that, fine."
(D14)

"European adverts are a lot more sexual than the English ones... there's loads of them that are filthy. If people think these are bad then they would have a heart-attack if they saw those ones."
(G7)

"If you go to France it's how they sell their products. In France, the washing up liquid is a nude woman, washing up in nothing but a pinny."
(G3)

All these environmental factors take into account the perceived intrusiveness of TV advertising and the need for choice to be exercisable by the viewer. As advertising comes without warning and there is no time to take avoiding action, there is a clear need for decisions about potentially unacceptable advertising to take account of these environmental circumstances.

"Because it's an advert and you don't know when it's coming on, the person that it can offend will not have the opportunity to say no to it."
(D15)

ADVERTISING FACTORS

When establishing the criteria by which the advertisements on the reels were assessed, it became clear that the prompt material (ie each specific advertisement) comprised several distinct though interrelated factors which were included in the evaluation. Some of these factors can be observed or measured objectively but most involve at least some subjective judgement on the part of the viewer.

In this respect, each factor's relative importance and the likelihood of it being perceived to be present in the advertisement are therefore liable to influence by the viewer's personality type, as well as by the environment in which it is viewed.

Exposure

The acceptability of an advertisement was greatly determined by which parts of the body were exposed. There was a clear distinction made by many respondents between the sexes. Male and female each had rules determining the areas of the body that were acceptable and those which were 'danger' or 'no go' areas. Figures 1 and 2 (pages 25 and 26) show a composite delineation of these areas.

Unshaded areas represent parts of the body which most respondents found perfectly acceptable. Male nipples were not a problem, indeed a topless man was not considered to be naked at all. The **Evian** and **Cellnet** advertisements demonstrated that the majority of the body can be visible and the model can be obviously in a state of complete nudity without causing offence to any but a small minority.

"In summer you would see a bloke walking down the street with just shorts on. With a lady it's different. With a bloke it's not really being naked it's just being topless."
(D3)

"That Evian advert, that's not offensive because you had her arm in a certain place and she had her knees up. You can't call that offensive... it's not offensive unless they actually show more than they should."
(G7)

"(Vittel) Yes, because it's not nude... that just showed someone's back."
(G7)

"WHY WERE THE EVIAN LADY AND THE CELLNET MAN ACCEPTABLE?"
"You didn't see any crucial bits."
(D6)

The exposure of a breast appeared determinant on the visibility of the nipple/aureole (shaded pale purple) ie the side view of a breast, as in Cleopatra, was more acceptable than a frontal view. This, in turn, was more acceptable than the exposure of both breasts (shaded mid-purple).

"When she lifts her arm you don't see everything. There's enough shown for you to know what's going on – you knew she was naked – you didn't need to see any more. That could be shown at any time."
(D3)

More caution must also be used in the region of male bottoms. For some older men this exposure was very offensive but for most respondents male bottoms were not at all problematic (as with female bottoms) as long as the legs were together. There was some concern expressed as to the possibility of male genitals being visible from behind if the legs were parted.

"(Davidoff Cool Water) There was nothing in there that was offensive, it was just that he was far too good looking!"
(G12)

Areas shaded dark purple are those which the British viewer was commonly thought not to be ready to see. This was the genital/pubic area.

"I think you draw the line at full frontal nudity. That's got to be out."
(G3)

"Even when you go abroad you see topless all the time but you never see completely nude."
"I think a lot of people don't like to see full frontal nudity in any form."
(G12)

"I wouldn't like to see a full frontal advertising Kellogg's Cornflakes and I wouldn't like to see a full frontal of a man, that would be very offensive to a lot of people."
(G5)

It must, however, be borne in mind that these illustrations are indicative only of the hierarchy generally employed by respondents in determining the degree of exposure and does not represent 'average' acceptability. For a few extreme Puritans, any exposure of areas not usually exposed was equally immoral. Conversely, some Crusaders believed that full-frontals would help demystify and normalise perceptions of the human body.

Gender

For some Moralists and Crusaders, 'equality' between the genders was also relevant. Female and male nudity together was sometimes seen as less unacceptable (less exploitative) than single-sex nudity. Some respondents also felt that the use of a topless man to some extent legitimised the use of a topless woman.

"It's all the top half but the woman's got it in both regions hasn't she, and it's not really fair, like a big controversy over what women should show but they hardly ever look at men, you know, I just don't think it's right."
"It's women that are shown, they won't show a man, it's very sexist."
"It could get offensive to some feminists really, why should women be exposed all the time."
(G6)

"I think it's good to put a naked body for 'natural' but I think they should have put a bloke on there as well – I don't see why they should just put a woman on. If women are watching they are not going to take a second glance but blokes watching would say 'cor look at her!'."
(D3)

"I mean I don't mind if it was fair, if there was men and women, but it's basically women most of the time."
(D7)

"(Tahiti 3) they showed you both the woman and the man, without a shirt or blouse... it wasn't as if they were, you know, using her with no clothes and the men with clothes on."
(D10)

A few (older) men expressed very negative homophobic reactions to the advertisements displaying male (rear view) nudity. This contrasted strongly with their comparative tolerance of female nudity.

Duration

The duration of the nudity was also very important. The length of exposure was often perceptual rather than 'real'. This subjective duration was not only dependent on actual length of exposure but also in proportion to the length of the advertisement as a whole, ie was the whole advertisement featuring nudity throughout or was the nudity a brief glimpse in passing.

"(Fa) It goes on a bit. She only needed to spray herself once instead of flaunting herself and running round. I suppose it's to get people to look."
(D3)

"That is quite a leap isn't it, the shower one was just a quick flash but (Chilly) was a complete minute or so of complete nudity."
(D24)

Focus

Related to exposure and duration was the issue of focus. In **Cleopatra**, for example, the breast was not dwelt on by the camera. There was use of a long-shot rather than close-ups and the breast was generally felt to be a natural part of the action rather than gratuitous. Indeed, some found this more 'natural' than the current 'nude' advertisements where artificial lengths are taken to avoid any glimpse. A clear contrast was **Bio**, where many perceived that the camera lingered on the girl's breasts in close-up.

"Most of them on the telly they're just skimmed, you know a body part with a breast or something like that."
(D23)

"(Bio) Even if they showed her from a distance they would get away with it but it's not right to show her so close up, all they're showing is her breasts, from a distance they could almost get away with it."
(D23)

"It was aimed at nudity... and you look at her and they don't quickly go past it, they keep it there for two seconds to give you a good look... It's too much nudity."
(G7)

Activity

Most respondents found the nude statue in **Pearl** acceptable. Some identified that a still image, such as painting or sculpture, was more acceptable than a moving nude, especially when it was the 'danger areas' which were in motion, such as the 'joggling' breasts featured in **Chilly**. The most prominent example of this was **Neutralia**, where many respondents criticised the girl's pleased manipulation of her breasts. The nature of this activity was reported by several to be erotic/masturbatory rather than simple washing.

"It's crossing the line between being – a lot of people wouldn't like to see a woman in the shower rubbing Neutralia or whatever it is into her breasts. Even though they're showing the breast, they could rub it on a different part of the body..."

"(Old Nick) Because she's running around in the nude and you can see all her boobs wobbling. I mean you could have her in a bikini."
(D7)

"I don't mind if they were still, if they were standing... But I would not like to see a man in the nude doing a lot of movement."
(D18)

"(Chilly) No, too much of the breast bouncing around. That would be offensive to a lot of people."
(G5)

Purpose and relevance

An advertisement was widely held to be less unacceptable if the nudity had relevance to the product. This was most apparent when the relevance was *functional*, eg shower gels, where the product is to be used on bare skin and so the skin must be bare in order to show it.

"I think they can get away with it if it's dealing more with the product."
(D23)

"Depends on what they're trying to sell. I don't see the point in having a naked man selling a telephone. For a shower gel you have to have somebody naked."
(G4)

"I don't see why swimming around naked has anything to do with drinks. There's no link."
(D3)

"If you've got a pain, you know, you don't rub the cream onto your T-shirt do you."
(D7)

"The Neutralia one shows the woman's nipple but I saw nothing wrong with it as she was just washing herself."
(D6)

"It's like if the product they're advertising needs it, then use it, but if it doesn't then steer away."
(D11)

"A naked body is fine for shower gel but not for yoghurt."
(G8)

Many respondents also recognised that relevance could be symbolic – the use of nudity to convey a fresh or natural feel to the product. This was, for most respondents, the case with

Evian, where nudity was perceived as illustrating the natural purity of the product or **Davidoff Cool Water** where the feeling of water on skin paralleled the freshening qualities of the product.

"They are trying to put over that it's a natural product, showing how natural it is."
(G6)

"(Evian) I don't think the girl was naked because 'Look at this, fellas, there's a naked girl', I think it was the idea of the water coming from the natural spring, the girl sitting there with no clothes on, it's natural, like the Adam and Eve type thing."
(D15)

"(Vittel) The only things they've got in common is to say they're both natural, I think that's the only thing they can be saying. Natural way of life, natural water. I don't see what else it could be saying."
(G7)

This was, to a much lesser degree, also true for **Bio** when the voice-over (about inner/outer health) was translated. Without the voice-over, no symbolic relevance was acknowledged and the advertisement was deemed highly unacceptable. For some, the voice-over's content, when translated, did slightly ameliorate the advertisement.

"The yoghurt one was a bit pointless, it was a yoghurt, there's no reason why you should be eating it without any clothes on."
(G1)

"Bio is a natural thing so they're trying to show you a natural body."
(D22)

Lack of relevance was almost without exception a major criticism of **Old Nick**. There was no mitigating connection, functional or symbolic, identified between an alcoholic drink and nudity and led most respondents to judge the advertisement as blatantly exploitative (confirming Moralists' fears about nudity in advertising) and very unacceptable. A few, indeed, did determine a link (licentiousness) between alcohol and the naked girl which only made the advertisement *more* unacceptable!

"It's got bugger all to do with the product."
(D8)

"Old Nick was provocative, it was completely different, it's her that they were advertising really... Using the body to advertise soaps, to me that's acceptable, because kids know that they wash but that, that's not acceptable."
(G12)

Target audience

The perceived target audience also had implications for the advertisement's overall acceptability. For example, where **XS** was (wrongly) understood to be an aftershave, the female nudity was seen by some to be a device to attract men, which led to charges of exploitation. For those respondents who correctly identified the product as perfume, the female nude was felt to be inviting empathy/aspiration. This was widely felt to be a much more acceptable use of nudity, free from charges of exploitation.

"It's okay because the Pearl one is aimed at women... they're trying to make it into a high luxurious experience, to treat yourself."
(G2)

*"(XS) It's a blatant use of a woman's body just to sell a fragrance, it was nothing to do with the fragrance at all... Paco Rabane is a man's aftershave but it was a woman in it."
(G7)*

Relationship with viewer

Somewhat related to target audience was the perceived relationship between viewer and advertisement (both active and passive) that respondents felt the advertisement established: whether the viewer felt empathy or aspiration towards the nude protagonist (**Cleopatra** or **Davidoff Cool Water**) or a voyeur watching a blue movie (**Davidoff Relax**) or even as an unwilling participant, such as the coquettish come-ons from the girl in **Old Nick**.

*"(Davidoff Cool Water) It's aspirational, I'd like that, I'd like to live like that. It's not as blatant as the others."
(D8)*

*"(Fa) Dance of the seven veils, Salome. It was a performance and it was also perhaps a deliberate slow performance towards the front."
(D16)*

Sexual content

For some respondents, sex was strongly implicit in nudity. Others, such as the Crusaders, were more keen to make a distinction between the two. There were strong indications that for many this inferred sexual content was the greater cause for concern than nudity itself. Thus **MR Coffee** (sexual activity) and **Perrier Zest** (heavy sexual innuendo), though very low on exposure, could be rated as less acceptable than some of the advertisements in which there was some nudity but little perceived sexual content. Where nudity and sex were combined, therefore, this was widely felt an explosive cocktail.

*"Sometimes if you read the ads in a paper you will see SEX in big letters and then underneath it will say 'now that I've got your attention'... well, that's the same thing. If I was to look at it I would just look at the body and forget the drink."
(D3)*

*"What's shagging got to do with coffee? It's not right for TV here."
(D8)*

"It makes it uncomfortable I think to sit and watch when you have the younger generation with you, you know. It's not, I wouldn't say embarrassing, it's an uncomfortable feeling to sit there at the same time, if there are explicit, you know, scenes of sexual context..."

"DOES THE SAME THING APPLY TO NUDITY..."

*"No, I mean I would say nudity is okay, it's accepted today, it's pictured on every newspaper whether it's page 3, page 2, and children are picking it up so I don't see any difference there, showing it on TV, I would not object to it."
(D17)*

*"Perhaps in some instances the nudity is more acceptable than the connotations they put on things, for instance, the girl eating the Flake, I mean that is, one of them was very erotic to watch you know, and yet there was no nudity in it but what you saw and the way it was put over, there were no two ways to an adult what the idea of it was."
(D15)*

*"It doesn't matter how much clothing, they can still be intimate with clothing on and make it a bit too provocative really."
(D22)*

*"WHAT MADE (DAVIDOFF RELAX) TOO MUCH?"
"The way they were reacting round each other."
(G6)*

Tone/Execution

The advertisement's 'tone of voice' and the quality of its execution had an important influence on its acceptability. Humour (as in **Danepak** or **Braathens**) could defuse any offensiveness, and where respondents recognised high production values or a creative, artistic style in an advertisement, this was commonly felt to add a veneer of respectability and thus acceptability to the advertisement.

*"Both the Pearl one and Cellnet one had naked people in them."
"But not offensively, it wasn't focused during the advert. Both of them were tastefully done."
(G12)*

*"BRAATHENS?"
"Comedy."
"It blanks out the nudity on it."
(G6)*

*"There is a fine line between being artistically put across and being rude."
(D7)*

*"(Braathens) That was funny... if they use it with humour then it's more acceptable, there's more of a point to it... and because he isn't that attractive you can laugh at him."
(G1)*

*"(Danepak) That's a good one that's been on TV... it's brilliant because everything moved into place just at the right time, you don't see anything in it and it was funny."
(G3)*

Conversely, where the execution was perceived to be cheap or tatty (as with **Chilly**), this was felt to convey a 'sleazy' exploitationist feel to the advertisement which exacerbated its propensity to offend.

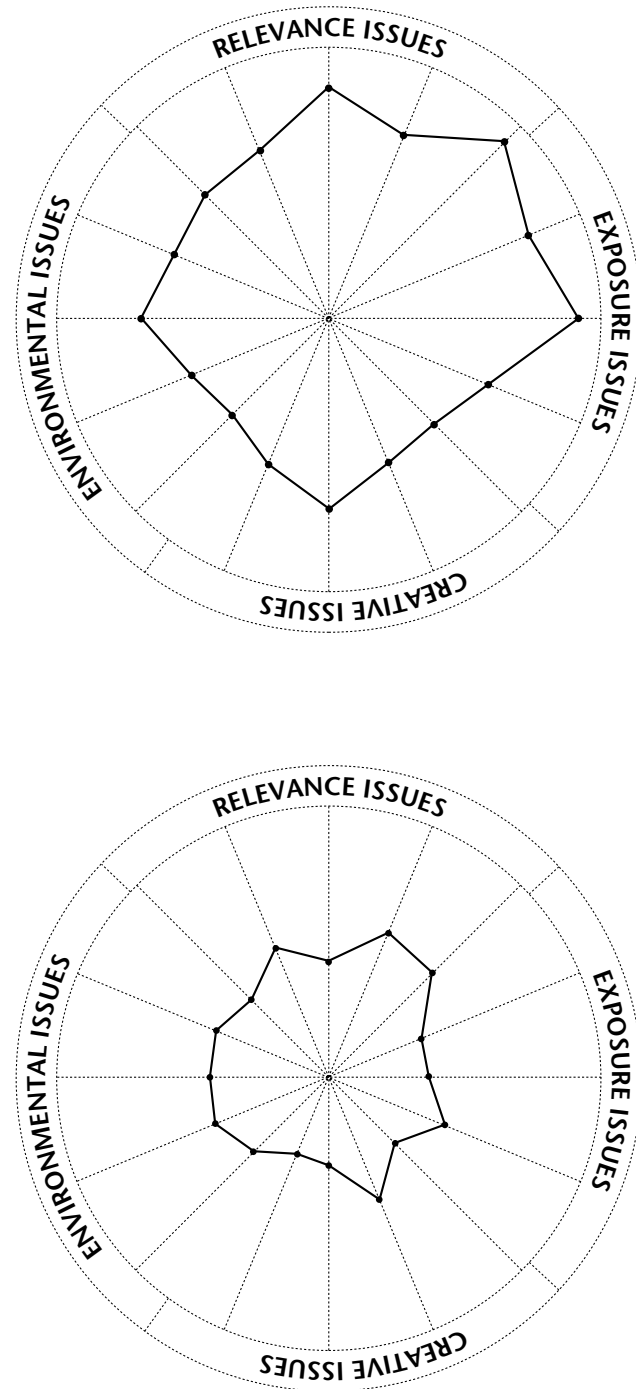
*"From... just purely quality point of view I think that advert is very bad and I wouldn't have it on television."
(D10)*

*"(Fa) It's a poorly made advert, poor quality I thought... it didn't gel together, it's not a complete advert. It was like someone had sat down and said let's show some tits and make an advert out of it, rather than say how can we produce something of quality to enhance the product."
(G12)*

'Story' elements

Many respondents found nudity to be more objectionable if it was not perceived to fit naturally and coherently with the plot or theme of the advertisement ie if it seemed that the nudity was used just for shock value or as a device to grab attention. Conversely, if the nudity was part of the storyline it was more acceptable.

FIGURE 3 EXAMPLE FOOTPRINTS



"(Brylcreem) People do strip to be painted. I'm not saying it's OK but people do strip. But you didn't really see anything there did you. There was a point to the reason why he stripped. There was a story to that one."
(D5)

"A lady running on the beach naked is up to her but when a naked woman is running along the beach in a advert, you want to know what she is running on the beach for."
(G7)

"(Cleopatra) Cleopatra did bathe in the nude in asses' milk, the soap is called Cleopatra, you've got all the pomp and circumstance."
(D9)

Some respondents, especially the more puritanical, felt that the moral context of the advertisement was also of import. Whereas the tone of some advertisements was more innocent (the couple in **Vittel** being commonly seen as deeply committed and loving), some were felt likely to inveigle the viewer to take corruption and immorality as acceptable behaviour (**Old Nick**).

"No the product had nothing to do with that woman running round naked, other than that if you get a tart sloshed you can have your evil way with her. So to me, no, there's just no need for it."
(D9)

THE 'FOOTPRINT' HYPOTHESIS

When viewing a specific advertisement, an individual will instantly assess the prompt factors most pertinent to them. A combination of these will help determine their response to the advertising.

Each advertisement might therefore be described as creating its own 'footprint' in terms of its level of acceptability over the various prompt factor dimensions. The size and shape of this footprint could thus be used to predict the overall acceptability of an advertisement (Figure 3 opposite).

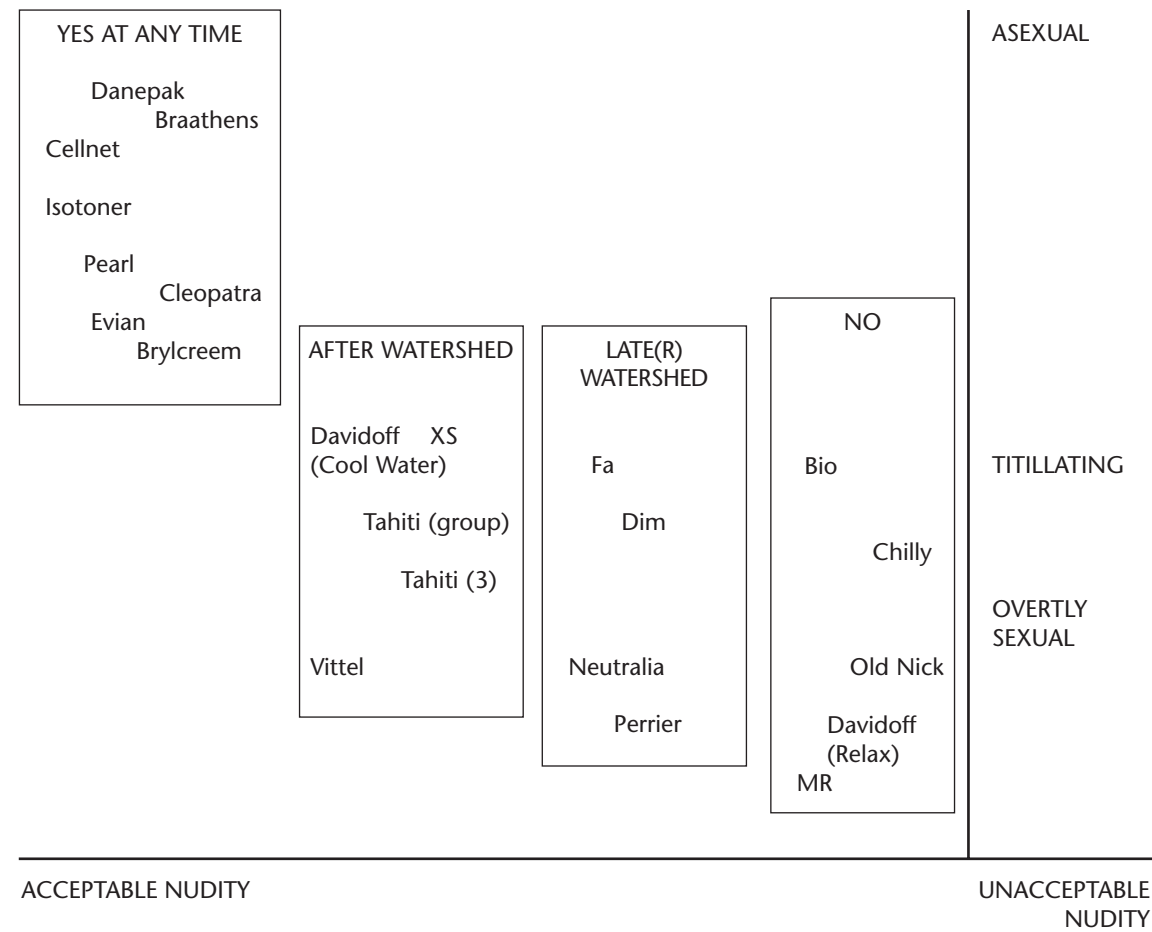
The footprint of an advertisement would not only be determined over the prompt dimensions, but would also be affected by the mind-set/personality and priorities of the particular viewer *and* the nature of the environment in which it is being shown. These personality and environmental factors would decide the 'weighting' given to the various prompt dimensions.

REACTIONS TO SPECIFIC ADVERTISEMENTS

The personality, environmental and prompt factors described in the previous section generated a range of responses to each of the advertisements shown in the research. In discussion, the acceptability of each was considered and four categories of advertisement emerged:

- (i) acceptable at any time,
- (ii) acceptable after a nine o'clock watershed,
- (iii) acceptable after a late(r) watershed, and
- (iv) not acceptable.

FIGURE 4 ACCEPTABILITY OF ADVERTISEMENTS



Although all the various factors were influential to a greater or lesser extent in respondents' evaluation, two key dimensions emerged. These were the nature of the nudity itself and the degree of sexual content in the advertisement. Figure 4 (opposite) represents the aggregate view, indicating the level of sexual content and the extent of the nudity in each advertisement and thus its categorisation in terms of acceptability.

As this chart represents reactions overall, the views of some minorities are not represented. In the sample, there were examples of 'super-puritans' who would have taken a more restrictive view and those who would be described as 'super-liberals/libertines', who had a far more permissive outlook.

The following section summarises reactions to each of the advertisements from the nudity reels, and also those in the initial general reel that involved nudity (ie Cellnet, Pearl and Evian). It explains why the respondents reacted in the way they did, and the criteria behind the decision to place the advertisements in particular acceptability bands.

ACCEPTABLE AT ANY TIME

Cellnet (mobile phone)

Nude man standing on globe throws net over UK. Frontal from a distance (crotch detail airbrushed out).

The Cellnet advertisement was considered to be acceptable at any time to the vast majority. The male nude was rarely mentioned spontaneously and, on prompting, was not perceived to be nude as no genitalia were on display. Additionally, the artistic element in the classical allusion to Atlas provided a credible storyline to justify the implied nudity.

"It's like you see some adverts and you say eeee fancy that but that's like a body man like a body builder he's not showing nothing and the way he's doing it 'n all it's like they do when they're starting some of the films. You know with the man with the gong. I mean it's just that type of thing."
(D23)

"The background was darker so it was like a shadow or a statue. I wouldn't take offence to it at all."
(D13)

Isotoner (women's underwear, USA)

Woman clad in underwear moves in balletic/athletic manner. Product's supporting benefits explained.

Isotoner was felt to be acceptable because all potentially 'dangerous' areas were covered. Some questioned the more risky camera angles, on the crotch for example, however the need to demonstrate the product was felt to provide ample justification. Although the woman dances energetically, her movement is controlled and artistic thus negating any possible innuendo.

"It weren't showing anything and I thought that was good because it shows this held you in, it were a good fit."
"It's not very offensive, you don't see much of anything, she's covered up and it's like art really isn't it, dancing."
(G6)

"She wasn't doing anything erotic. She was just moving about showing you how easy it was to move in it."
(D2)

*"I took it as being the way she was moving around and everything that it was a good fit."
(G2)*

*"I thought that was more an advert in tune with what women want rather than what men want... so that was fine, I didn't find it exploitative."
(D10)*

*"It sells the product. Bras and panties. It's no good having a woman..."
"...in an overcoat!"
"But she was well covered."
(D19)*

Danepak (bacon, UK)

Family of naturists (young and old, bodies not perfect) having barbecue, who are clearly naked but all 'danger areas' cleverly hidden by props.

This advertisement was familiar to many respondents and consequently the potential to shock or surprise was limited. Many praised the creative idea and, ultimately, the humour was felt to be able to defuse any likelihood of causing offence. Although much play was made on the concealing of 'private parts', the fact that nothing was revealed also contributed to this advertisement's acceptability.

*"There was one ad of a family at a nudist camp."
"It was sausages."
"The chair was blocking the private parts. It was funny."
(D6)*

*"They showed you nothing, there was nothing offensive I think it was like funny."
(D23)*

*"It gets boring after a while to always have young people on. It's a good idea. They are not glamorising nakedness here – the way they cover it up with a flask etc – they are not flaunting it."
(D3)*

*"I would imagine that some would complain about it but I wouldn't, I find it quite funny really. It was very cleverly done if you think about it really, pretty good timing there, I mean how many takes did they have on that one."
(D16)*

*"That's alright, that's humorous... and we don't see the nudity there's nothing sexual in it... a little bit of humour and you can get away with a lot more."
(G12)*

Pearl (soap)

Brief pan up nude carved figurehead, including bare breasts. Shots of naked woman showering using product.

Response was fairly low key to this advertisement and nudity was rarely mentioned spontaneously. For most respondents, the intention to demonstrate a shower product provided sufficient justification for the nudity shown. Additionally, the majority felt the nudity was not being flaunted. The most revealing view was considered to be portrayed almost deceptively, where the female nude was realised to be a statue. However, the use of a statue prevented offence to all but a very few as this was then seen to be 'art' and not 'real'. Where there was 'real' nudity, this was considered to be discreetly and tastefully executed.

*"I've a feeling that when she was in the water there was a naked flash. It was very quick."
(G4)*

*"There was a relevance to her being naked."
(G8)*

*"I don't like it, to be honest with you. I don't see the point why they've got the bit at the front where she's laid down, showing her bust."
"I think that's just to catch your eye to start off with, to be honest with you."
(D21)*

Evian (mineral water)

Pan across snowy mountain range morphs into side view of naked woman (breast concealed).

Reactions to the Evian advertisement were influenced by respondents' perceptions of the overall intention of the advertisement. Some interpreted the female nude as a symbol of purity, representing water as a natural product and in this way communicating the product benefits.

*"(Evian) I think the nude woman with the mountains in the background, the emphasis is on the natural."
(G3)*

*"It was fresh and clean."
"Pure."
"All natural."
"Refreshing."
(D6)*

*"It's all nature and natural."
(G8)*

On the other hand, those who did not see this link tended to be confused and this led them to be more critical. Some focused on what they felt was the exploitation of the woman's body, claiming that it was unnecessary and was used degradingly to attract the viewer's attention. However, their criticism was tempered by the tasteful tone of the advertisement and the way in which the woman's body was not the exclusive focus.

*"Why show a lady like that just to advertise water. It could be offensive towards women. It's gone too far just to advertise water. There is no need for that. Where's the connection between water and a naked lady – there's snow in the background, it's not even a hot day! I think it's offensive. Boring as well."
(D12)*

*"Maybe to draw you to look at her because she had no clothes on."
(D13)*

*"Why does she have to be naked sitting out in the snow?"
"She could be there but dressed. No one with any sense would sit out in the snow like that."
"For kids in the school holidays. I wouldn't like them to see that woman naked."
(G10)*

Brylcreem (men's toiletries, UK)

Man showering (waist up), shaving (using product range). Puts on raincoat and goes out. Women gather, man arrives and drops raincoat (camera pans very quickly down front). Female heavy breathing starts on soundtrack. Becomes apparent that he is model for women's art class.

Nudity *per se* was not felt to be an issue in this advertisement. Although the swift camera movement down the man's body drew attention to what might have been visible, there was in fact very little actually to be seen, and the 'life class' setting added an acceptable context.

"That was more of a suggestion of nudity, there wasn't any blatant nudity there, it was done with a bit of craft, quite cleverly... but... there was nobody being used offensively, was there?"
(D10)

"There's nothing particularly rude about it... it wouldn't shock you, blokes walk down the street without tops on anyway, it's not rude."
(G1)

"Too quick!"
"There was a storyline."
(G8)

"The Brylcreem one's quite good really, because a lot of that would have been a woman in a coat and then dropping it in front of a class, so it's changing it around a bit, so it's a bit more funny."
(G2)

However, there was evidence of some discomfort amongst the men in the sample. Some men felt uncomfortable and slightly intimidated by the sexual role reversal in the scenario, where a young male strips for a group of females. Others were concerned about sexual innuendo, in that the heavy breathing on the soundtrack was felt to draw attention to the underlying sexual tension in an ostensibly acceptable setting.

"(The nudity) wasn't offensive in any way, I wouldn't find it so, the suggestive sounds I think are more offensive."
(D17)

"It's not showing anything, it's portrayed in art-form so that makes it acceptable. The only thing that does make it sexual is the music, the breathing bit at the end."
(G7)

Braathens (airline, English-language)

Large bearded man returns home from work, spies spouse in room beyond. Strips (full rear view) and enters room with rose in teeth. Wife is with her parents, who look disgusted. Full frontal obscured by strategically placed cup.

The familiarity of this advertisement amongst a considerable proportion of the sample was a significant factor in their evaluation of it. They had previously seen it within the context of television programmes presented by Chris Tarrant and Jasper Carrott. Both of these programmes feature advertisements as a source of humour. Consequently, the comic element of this advertisement was top of mind.

"That should be allowed. It's just a comedy ad. It's a laugh. I've seen it on a telly programme because he shows ads from abroad."
(D1)

Even making allowances for this familiarity, the humour of the advertisement was widely felt to defuse the potential offensiveness of the nudity. The storyline was enjoyed and respondents would have been sorry to have foregone the advertisement because of the offence it may have caused a minority.

"It's using humour instead of sex... The first one (XS) was erotic but this one's comedy, it's funny."
(G7)

"Yep, that's fine the teacup's there, you can't see anything and it was done amusingly... It's tongue in cheek, very amusing but not offensive."
(G5)

Some concern was voiced by mothers who expected that the advertisement would provoke 'silly' reactions from young children. However, their anxiety was mitigated by the perception that the product, airline tickets, was targeted at the adult market and thus the advertisement was unlikely to be shown when young children were viewing.

"I would be embarrassed if the kids (grandchildren) were there."
(D19)

The overall 'cosy' feel of this advertisement also mitigated any offence. The fact that the nude man was not some perfect Adonis avoided any potential intimidation or sexual overtones (although his figure was possibly a little too near to the truth for the comfort of some of the older women).

"It's just touching on risky really, the fact he comes in, strips off and you see his bum, it's not nice."
(G2)

"The first one (XS) you see a woman's chest, the second one (Vittel) I think they're implying they're having sex and this one's just directly aimed at the humour. Alright, you see a bloke's bum but he's not an attractive person so it doesn't give you the sexual implication, it's definitely humour."
(G7)

"And he wasn't a slim man."
(G8)

"Should show a better body than that."
(D20)

Cleopatra (soap, French)

Epic production in which Cleopatra prepares to bathe, leading to a brief glimpse of topless Cleopatra bathing in asses' milk (from the side, using product on arm).

Initial comments often focused on the epic scale of the advertisement. It was of relatively long duration, involving a considerable build-up to the bathing scene itself. Within this, the nudity formed a very small element and the quick flash of a nipple was often overlooked on first viewing.

"It was a well thought up ad but a bit over the top. You didn't see that much and it was a bit of a flash."
(D13)

"DID YOU SEE HER NIPPLE?"
"Only side on. It was the least offensive."
(G4)

The fact that only one nipple was displayed and that this was viewed from the side served to reduce the prominence of the nudity. The majority felt that the extent of this exposure was perfectly justified in the context of the product field, soap. Indeed, some claimed that it would have been overly prudish to have attempted to conceal it.

"It's just natural, you're just washing yourself, each individual does it."
(D11)

"She's using the product. That's quite nice. They only showed you her back. That's nice."
(G10)

"No problem with that one, none at all... it wasn't suggestive, she wasn't making suggestive movements with the soap and it's only a fleeting glimpse of a nipple."
(G12)

"You were building up to her getting undressed and getting into the bath but it wasn't shocking at all."
(D6)

There was also some evidence that the historical setting of the advertisement and the use of Cleopatra's legendary bath in asses' milk as a storyline had the effect of distancing the viewer from the nudity involved.

"Cleopatra, I mean that's purely natural, I mean, she did do that didn't she."
(D23)

"No problems with that one, put it on at any time... I mean it's perfectly natural to have a bath in the nude isn't it, that's what you do... and she is supposed to have bathed in asses' milk."
(G3)

ACCEPTABLE AFTER NINE O'CLOCK WATERSHED

Davidoff Cool Water (aftershave, English-language)
Shots of man clothed, then diving naked into sea. Close shots of swimming, not full frontal. Shots of man, now fully dressed, walking.

The clear symbolic link between the activity in the advertisement and the name of the product was considered to justify the nudity featured in this advertisement. Interestingly, respondents seemed more able to perceive and find credible a symbolic interpretation in this product field (in contrast with Evian, page 37).

"I suppose it's about being more natural - cool and in a natural habitat."
(D3)

*"Then again you don't see anything explicit. It goes in keeping with the advert."
"It's water as well."
"He's flaunting his body a bit but it advertises the product."*
(D6)

"They always have the water with the aftershave. It was aftershave wasn't it?.. It's refreshing, showing you how it's refreshing."
(D11)

*"DID THE FACT THAT HE HAD NOTHING ON GO WITH THE PRODUCT?"
"Yes, the spray of water. It was well thought up... He was sweating and he was refreshing himself."
(D13)*

Additionally, the nudity was felt to be discreetly done overall, but there was some discomfort, with reactions seeming to be slightly more sensitive because respondents were unused to the idea of any below-the-belt male nudity. Although very little of the crotch area was visible, it was what one could *almost* see which caused concern. Consequently, they recommended withholding the broadcast of this advertisement until after the watershed in order to be 'on the safe side'.

"(Davidoff Cool Water) We can see his backside but what the hell."
(G3)

"Everybody's got a bum, some more than others, but..."
(D11)

"It's come and gone in a second."
(G10)

"That wasn't offensive because you couldn't see anything."
(D13)

XS (perfume, UK)

Dark imagery. Including pan up body of shadowed nude perspiring woman, in which light falls on her breast as the camera passes. No voice-over, strapline at end is 'XS pour Elle'.

Some respondents were familiar with the cut version of this advertisement, where the woman's nipple is omitted, and this influenced their responses to this advertisement. It had the effect of respondents either overlooking the nipple, as they expected the advertisement to be the same, or giving it unnatural prominence. Another important factor was confusion amongst respondents regarding the nature of the product. Some women assumed it was an aftershave (instead of a perfume) and thus a product for male users. They then objected to the use of female nudity because they perceived that the naked woman was being used as 'bait'.

"I don't mind the nudity bit but the close up of the nipple, I mean it might send some pervert into ecstasy."
(D22)

Younger women claimed that the woman's nipple was used as a means of identifying her sex, especially as the camera seemed to linger on it. Some men agreed with this interpretation and felt that it was degrading.

*"I think they were trying to confuse you whether it was a man or a woman, and by showing a nipple, 'Oh, it's a woman, so it must be a woman's perfume."
"I didn't find it offensive that they were showing a naked woman, what I found offensive is this is a woman, look she's got a nipple so it must be a woman."
"We're showing you a nipple to show you it's a woman. I think that was degrading."*
(G2)

The sweatiness of the woman was seen to introduce a sexual element and was a further argument for restricting the time of broadcast. The evident artistry and creative values were a redeeming feature and thus respondents agreed that it would be acceptable after the nine o'clock watershed.

"Because it's in black and white they can get away with it, it doesn't matter, it's arty."
(G2)

"(XS) It is original, I think it could sell the perfume and I don't think it's selling nudity, I think it's more of an art."
(G7)

Vittel (mineral water, UK)

Nude couple entwined under stream of water. No full frontals.

This advertisement was often described as 'raunchy'. The atmosphere was highly sexually charged and the physical contact extremely suggestive, if not explicit. Interestingly, there was a subtle distinction between the interpretation made by men and women. Whilst men felt the atmosphere between the two was indicative of a raw desire for sex, women perceived their embrace to be within the context of a loving relationship. However, in terms of the nudity content, neither group felt the advertisement was objectionable as no areas of 'risk' were seen.

"I mean to me that just looked like a loving couple."
(G2)

"Even though it's not got nudity it's quite a raunchy advert."
(D7)

"They're selling the drink by using sex and that's all they're doing. It's decent because really it doesn't show you anything, all you see is the back."
(G7)

"That's not such a nice one, it showed them together, there's no need for that..."
"NOW THERE'S LESS NUDITY IN THAT THAN THERE WAS IN THE FIRST ONE?"
"Yes, but it was the actions in that one that made me say no, it gave the impression of intercourse on TV. Had it been advertising condoms okay but having a drink had nothing to do with having sex."
(G5)

"It's more suggestive, it's more explicit, it's more sensual."
(D17)

While some respondents saw a link between the couple's nudity and the product's naturalness, product relevance was questioned by others and there was some suggestion that the couple were being exploited. However, concern was limited as one gender was not being exploited by another. The use of a naked couple gave some semblance of equality.

"They are more natural, just kissing and cuddling with no clothes on."
(G6)

"The first time you saw it you'd be wondering what the hell was coming next."
"Wouldn't have thought it was for a drink."
(G8)

"It's got nowt to do with water really has it."
"They are natural it's something everybody does and I suppose the fact that there's both a man and a woman in the same advert so close helps."
(G6)

"By having a man and woman it's easier to take it in somehow."
(G2)

This advertisement was also seen to be of a high artistic quality and overall it was felt to be acceptable after the nine o'clock watershed, due to its sexual context.

Tahiti (group) (shower gel, French)

(Young) men, women and children in tropical jungle village, waiting for rain. Starts to rain and many strip topless and use product.

The number of shots of bare breasts in this advertisement was a clear indication that an 'after watershed' status was required.

"The woman is supposed to look more sexy, that's why they show the boobs."
(D7)

"The size of her chest as well, it was big, massive."
(G7)

However, the majority did not find the level of nudity offensive as there were several mitigating factors. The nudity was directly linked to the product and the way it is used. Additionally, the opening sequence created an empathy between the viewer and the characters in the advertisement. The viewer can almost feel the humidity and thus can empathise with the sense of relief once the shower begins. Within this context, the exposure of the women's breasts was more credible and sexual overtones were diminished.

"It has got something to do with the product there hasn't it."
(D7)

"Because it's raining heavily they've took the opportunity to have a shower in the rain. If you were in a rain forest it would be quite nice to have a shower in the rain."
(D7)

The natural setting contributed to the advertisement's acceptability. Although admittedly glamorised, the untamed remote environment supported the notion of natural, unself-conscious washing. Overall, the tone was described as 'innocent' and the presence of a man holding a child created an almost family atmosphere.

"The Tahiti takes you to Tahiti and you see all the natural life... It reminds you of films and it's nice and refreshing."
(D23)

"They have a little one too. Makes it more family."
(G4)

"It was nice where the chap was turning around and the kid was laughing."
(D13)

Although this advertisement was acceptable for these reasons, the level of body exposure was not felt to be common currency on UK television advertising. Thus, advertising featuring nudity to this degree was not expected to be ruled out altogether but it was important that the time of viewing was handled with care.

Tahiti (threesome) (shower gel, French)

Woman and two men are trekking through tropical jungle. It rains and all use product on (bared) chests. Fully dressed again, they all frolic in a waterfall.

This advertisement had many similarities with **Tahiti (group)**, however there were a couple of significant differences. The situation was considered rather more intimate. A smaller number of characters was involved, featuring one woman and two men. In the washing sequence some perceived that the camera focused upon the woman's body more than the men's. But, overall, this advertisement was only slightly less acceptable than **Tahiti (group)**. Again, there were no sleazy implications – all three characters are fully clothed at the end! – and the setting provided a credible, natural backdrop.

"Only the French would get undressed and then go and put their clothes on before getting in the water!... it's a good one though, there's nothing wrong there."
(G5)

"It would have been OK without the full frontal at the beginning."
(D6)

ACCEPTABLE AFTER LATE(R) WATERSHED

Neutralia (shower gel, UK)

Product's benefits described on voice-over followed by shots of topless girl pleurably washing breasts. Girl, now clothed, caresses chest.

As noted earlier, there was widespread awareness of the controversy surrounding this advertisement and many had read press coverage and comment, which obviously affected respondents' views.

*"Let's face it, for that product you've got to show someone in a shower."
"Yeah, because you can't take a shower with your clothes on, can you?"
"They have to convey the freshness of it, which the advert does."
(D19)*

*"That lady with the shower with the Neutralia, there were loads of complaints about that and that was just like nipple."
(G6)*

*"I remember people discussing it in the pub."
(G2)*

*"There's an advert like that out now isn't there... which has been edited... Okay they're still showing the product, but you can show the product around other parts of the body without emphasising the fact that you're flicking her nipple, I think that should be cut out, and rightly so with a British advert."
(D9)*

*"I must admit when that one for the shower gel came on I seriously thought I was seeing things, I turned round to the wife and said did I actually see that, she said oh yes. But I think if you get away with that, when is it going to stop."
(G3)*

The issue appeared to be less about the exposure of the nipple *per se* and more concerned with the woman's manipulation of her nipple. She was perceived to be experiencing a masturbatory pleasure and the viewer was implicated in this as a voyeur (a role with which the majority felt uncomfortable). This impression was reiterated when her actions were repeated when clothed.

*"It's not so much the chest, when you get in the shower you don't get off on it, she is. She's having a right old time of herself with the foam."
(G7)*

*"She's handling herself. It doesn't bother me but for the younger ones, some of them are adventurous and think it's suggestive."
(D20)*

*"I don't want to see a woman rubbing her breasts."
(G4)*

*"Don't like seeing a woman so absorbed."
(G4)*

*"I think it makes it worse the way she's washing herself, you don't do it do you, you don't go up and down your arms like that, you don't enjoy it."
(G2)*

*"It's a bit provocative. She's enjoying herself too much."
(D1)*

*"There was no need for them to show that, I didn't find it offensive but there was no need for them to show that for the product."
(D10)*

*"That's the one they took off... it was almost going to be OK with me until she started fumbling around with the threatening bits, that was over the top. They were off to a great start then she started rubbing herself, that would go down like a lead balloon in my house, my wife would throw a brick through the TV."
(G12)*

*"Rubbing her breast, that's what I thought. It's a bit suggestive."
(G10)*

*"That was sex not nudity, the Cleopatra one was nudity but that was sex."
(G12)*

*"Shower gel. That's what you do in the shower."
(D6)*

There is a possibility that, for some, this element provides a convenient justification for the general criticism this advertisement has raised. On the other hand, the significance of the sexual content has emerged overall as a key factor in determining an advertisement's acceptability and is not an exception on this occasion.

*"The nudity of it again doesn't bother me, but the way she caresses herself, I think it's a bit suggestive, don't you think so."
(D11)*

*"It was okay until she starts to rub herself... Well that's right, she's rubbing her breasts... it's the pleasure... it's the sexual connotations not the fact that she has to wash, everybody has to wash, she seems to be taking pleasure."
(G12)*

For some, the tone of this advertisement combined with the level of nudity made it almost unacceptable. However, for the majority, it was considered permissible after a later watershed, since the use of nudity was justified by the nature of the product field.

Fa (body spray, French)

Nude female on a beach applies product, runs along shore waving diaphanous veil. Involves repeated close-ups topless. Black-and-white.

This advertisement generated mixed views. The nature of the nudity was offensive for some in several areas. There was a significant number of shots of the woman's breasts from different angles, her breasts were on screen for a considerable length of time, they were moving which increased titillation and both breasts were shown. The sum of these several criticisms created an unacceptable whole for some.

"It did show a little bit too much. It seemed to dwell on her breasts a lot."
(D23)

*"That's not acceptable. That was too obvious. Subtlety is the key word. I didn't see the point."
"There was a full frontal shot of her."*
(D6)

"No need to show three, four and five times a full front shot of her upper half. To keep going back too much. They showed her more than they showed the deodorant. No need for it all."
(D12)

"Everything's got to be in the nude. It leaves nothing to the imagination."
(G10)

Others, however, felt the nudity was redeemed by the relevance of the product. They claimed that most people would use body spray in the nude and therefore clothing would seem artificial and prudish. Additionally, some felt the artistic values of the execution contributed to the advertisement's acceptability, after a later watershed.

*"That reminds me of Sure, that Sure advert."
"It's the Cool Water ad for women isn't it."
"Yeah, even though she's sort of doing all this, she's got deodorant on so... to show that she's not perspiring all over the place."*
(D11)

Perrier Zest (lemon drink, French)

Girl in bikini by pool side pours drink over T-shirt, puts on T-shirt and takes bikini top off. Walks over to seated man and holds bottle to his lips.

The main issue in the Perrier advertisement was sexual innuendo, not nudity. By dressing in a 'wet T-shirt' which clings to her nipples, the woman avoids direct nudity but the sexual 'come-on' of this act is considered in some respects even more explicit.

"Bit of a sexy tone there wasn't there. He was supposed to be licking his lips because he was a bit thirsty but I mean, she'd got her wet T-shirt on, it was obviously..."
(D14)

*"It was OK up to that point. The wet T-shirt."
"He's not lusting after the bottle but the woman. So they're selling sex."
"It was suggestive with the wet T-shirt. They were selling her."*
(G4)

"I don't see why they had to wet the T-shirt. I suppose it's to shock."
(D3)

"They emphasise where her nipples were showing through and he was a bit suggestive... And he was eyeing her."
(D13)

The depiction of a woman taking the initiative in this situation and the impression that she is giving a highly charged 'performance' led to the assessment that this was an 'adult' advertisement only suitable for late night viewing, and a minority considered it totally unacceptable.

"If she had wet that T-shirt and put it on to keep cool then fine, she took the bra off underneath and threw it away, fine, but then walking over with her nipples protruding through a wet T-shirt just pushed it that little bit too far."
(D9)

*"It didn't relate to the product. It's far too suggestive."
"Something like that more than the soap would create a storm even after nine o'clock at night."*
(D6)

"It's the way that she gives him the bottle, it's suggestive."
(D11)

*"Very suggestive."
"After midnight."*
(G10)

"(Perrier) I've got 'no' on that one, it's as though she's going to give him a blow job or something, you would think they're advertising blue movies... That's right, she was leading him on."
(G12)

Dim (men's underwear, French)

Nude man frolics and swims in sea, including almost full frontal. Close-up view of bottom whilst towelling back. Puts on underwear and runs along shore (close-up of crotch).

This was felt to be a potentially controversial advertisement as it featured a nude man which was considered to be a far more rare sight in advertising than a nude woman. Additionally, the man almost revealed everything and the advertisement involved a close-up of his moving crotch, albeit covered by the product, a pair of underpants.

"The close up of him. Leaves nothing to the imagination."
(G4)

"That's very close to being full frontal, though again you couldn't tell if you actually did see anything... my missus will be freeze framing that!"
(G3)

"I think the close up of the guy on the beach was a bit offensive. If you're showing from the point of view of freedom you can be as far away as you like, you don't have to be three feet away."
(G12)

*"Far too suggestive."
"It's shocking when you see a fella like that. I don't think it's harmless. When he was running in his shorts."
"You could see all the bulky bits."*
(D6)

"A bit Linford Christie. You see a frontal view of him coming out of the water..."
"WHAT ABOUT THE SCENE FROM THE BACK?"
"Didn't like that. That was over the line."
(D13)

"They say, if you've got it flaunt it, but not everyone wants it."
(G10)

Much debate ensued after viewing. Some were concerned that the man's body was exploited. This feeling was exacerbated by the perceived imbalance between the lengthy swimming sequence, where the product played no part, and the shorter product-in-use sequence. (In addition, the scenario of putting on a pair of underpants which had been left on a sandy beach was not only considered incredible but also undesirable!)

"I didn't like it, it showed you everything at the beginning, it didn't need to show you."
(D23)

"Maybe there is no need to show him in the water – they are advertising pants, not swimwear – so there is no need for that first half of the ad."
(D12)

"To advertise underpants, why did they have him going in the water? I didn't see the point. Thought it was a bit daft... Maybe it's to attract your attention to see what they're selling."
(D13)

However, overall, most felt that their criticisms did not justify a complete ban as, ultimately, no genitalia were on display and therefore the advertisement would be acceptable in the late evening.

"He's advertising the garment and it wasn't offensive, he never showed nothing really and it was just showing you that there is plenty of room to move around in them."
(D23)

"There's nothing wrong with that, no."
"If you look in a catalogue you can see shots like that."
"Like I said before, everybody's got a bottom."
(D11)

UNACCEPTABLE

Bio (yoghurt, Spanish)
Camera pans slowly in close-up from nude girl's face (eating yoghurt) to chest and round to bottom.

In the early stages of the research, this advertisement generated very negative reactions as it was perceived to feature a naked woman's body for no apparent reason. Respondents found it difficult to make any connection with a yoghurt product and a camera panning slowly down a woman's body. The male voice-over gave the impression of voyeurism and the woman seemed to be exploited with no product justification. Respondents therefore complained that the advertisers appeared to be using nudity for its own sake.

"I can't see what Bio yoghurt had to do with stripping off."
(D20)

"That (voice-over) was just like a dirty old man in the background."
"It isn't really much to do with yoghurt, is it?"
(G6)

"With the shower and the bath and things like that you've basically got to get undressed to have a bath or a shower but when it's yoghurt it just seems to be a bit over the top because it's not necessary."
(G1)

"Why do they need a nude body and why isn't it a man? Why is it a slim woman?"

"It doesn't relate to the product."
"It irritates you when it's always women."
"Your partner's always goggling at the telly."
"It was ridiculous."
(G8)

"Why should you be naked to eat a yoghurt?"
(D19)

However, when in the later stages of fieldwork the soundtrack was translated for respondents, some were able to appreciate the rationale for the nudity. It did have some relevance for the product claim that the yoghurt looked after the inside as well as the outside, but the feeling remained, predominantly amongst the women but also for some men, that the advertisement did not require nudity to make this point. Overall, the advertisement was still deemed unacceptable and unsuitable to be broadcast to a UK audience.

MR (coffee, English-language)

Man returns home, embraces woman, leading to love-making. Sex scenes intercut with shots of coffee percolating. Couple have post-coital cup of coffee. No full nudity. Strapline is "real pleasure can't come in an 'instant'".

Criticism of this advertisement was focused on the explicitly sexual tone. Nudity was not an issue as very little was shown but the advertisement was felt to be unacceptable because of its strong sexual content. Respondents claimed this was an example of a sequence which would be widely acceptable in the context of a film but was inappropriate for advertising, especially as no direct link with the product was made.

"I think that ad put more into passion, I mean it pushed the coffee out of the way didn't it, altogether really. People were waiting for them to get on with it, people forgot all about the coffee."
(D14)

"I must say it doesn't offend me personally but I imagine it would offend a lot of people..."
(G3)

"They're not advertising coffee. It wasn't subtle the way he drags this woman down from putting a picture up and next thing they're on the floor having a cup of coffee."
(D6)

"If it was for Durex or Mates or something then fine, but not for coffee."
(D11)

"Showing what they were showing just doesn't fit in with what they are promoting. I know it's MR and Master and they are trying to show that, but that was a bit too much..."

"WAS IT THE FACT THAT THEY ENDED UP WITH NOTHING ON?.."

*"No, it's the actions they were going through. Quite explicit. It reveals too much."
(D12)*

*"Don't you think it's obvious they were making love? My boys would know that... I'm not keen on my boys seeing ads that are sex-oriented."
(G11)*

The end-line, which did attempt to make some connection between love- and coffee-making, was often felt to add to the offensiveness because it was considered to be a trite and tasteless comparison to make.

*"That's a sad advert, to advertise coffee that way is sad... it's like saying you can get the same pleasure from coffee as you can from having sex."
(D11)*

*"That's associating pleasure with sex and pleasure in a nice cup of coffee. I don't see where the two go together."
(D13)*

Those familiar with cable/satellite television claimed that this was the type and standard of advertising they would expect to view on those channels, but it was normally not considered suitable for a 'mainstream' terrestrial audience.

Chilly (feminine douche, Italian)

Nude woman paddles and jumps up and down on sea-shore. Full-frontal nudity throughout. Low production values, music. Product category unclear without translation.

The full frontal (female) nudity which was featured in this advertisement was seen as gratuitous and exploitative. The woman's body was criticised for being on display throughout the advertisement and continually moving in front of the camera. The overall sleazy feel was contributed to by the poor production values.

*"That Chilly one was so indiscreet, with her running up and down and getting all excited."
(G2)*

*"I'd run out of the room if this came on!!"
"You wouldn't go stark naked on a beach like that."
"It's always a woman."
"And she's skinny."
"Her boobs flopping around."
(G8)*

*"Trying to be provocative."
(G8)*

There appeared to be no link with the product. Due to the foreign voice-over, respondents were unclear as to the nature of the product, but whatever it was respondents remained convinced that the advertisement was inappropriate in its overt use of nudity.

*"Whatever the product was, she was just going for a splash in the sea."
(D20)*

*"Totally unacceptable... it's just full nakedness, it's frolicking around... chest bouncing up in the air... she's making a spectacle of herself. OK product-wise you don't know what it's selling but, I see it as blatantly rude... yes, it's degrading."
(G7)*

Davidoff Relax (aftershave, English-language)

Full rear and side topless views of man and woman both individually and embracing, caressing in and out of water. Black-and-white.

The nudity in this advertisement was felt to be overwhelmingly prominent. It featured near full frontal male and female nudity throughout the advertisement, with strong sexual implications. Although the conventions in this product field were said to allow for some licence and were permitted to exploit the sexual connotations of fragrance, this advertisement went too far.

*"The other ones for aftershave or shower gel, just personal, you expect people to be naked really, like aftershaves and perfume is meant to attract the opposite sex in some respect so you'd expect it for them..."
(G6)*

*"They're nude together... I think there's an awful lot even on programmes giving kids sexual thoughts without the adverts doing it as well."
(D22)*

*"It was just them without clothes and that was it, there was no point to the advert. It doesn't say anything about the aftershave, it's just them without any clothes."
(G1)*

*"Why does he have to be naked? It seems the only way to get things across."
"Have to use sex."
"So where does it stop."
"That was going too far."
"Just a sex scene, really."
(G8)*

Respondents felt the advertisement was edging towards exploitation although this was mitigated by the parallel use of a woman and a man.

*"What bothers me is that they're just using a man and a woman... They're exploiting the man and woman for a pointless aftershave. Fair enough if the bloke is going to have his boxer shorts on and the woman comes in her bra and knickers and she goes up to him and she's smelling it... Do you know what I mean, why do they have to go through all that, the kissing and cuddling, just both naked, just for an aftershave. It's pointless."
(D21)*

Overall, this advertisement was unacceptable on the grounds of the degree of nudity and sexual content involved.

Old Nick (rum, French)

Nude girl giggling suggestively on beach, fondling rum bottle. She goes for a swim then returns to lie beside the rum bottle, involving close-up topless and full frontal nudity from a distance.

This advertisement was considered to be exceptionally exploitative. Respondents felt that the woman's body was clearly being used to attract the male viewer's attention and interest. They objected to the full frontal nudity and the woman's titillating movements.

"The one before was actually advertising something, Tahiti is a shower gel sort of thing, that's fair enough you can associate it with shower gel but, you don't associate a naked woman laying on a beach with whatever sort of drink that was."

(G3)

"They'd have trouble with that one... It's got to go... It's the phallic symbolism suggestively rubbing her hand up and down the bottle and too much front."

"It's rude, it's a bit sexy and it's exploitation and all for a bottle of rum."

(G12)

"She was jiggling and jogging around with no clothes on."

(D6)

"There is no need for that whatsoever. They are trying to promote a naked lady to get you to try to buy a drink. It's like sexual discrimination – you see the lady before you see the product. She's just there as a come on."

(D12)

"Not just the nakedness but the running and her bust going up and down. It's not a pretty sight... She was running and you could see her bottom part when she rolls over in the water. I wouldn't like that on TV."

(D13)

The overall atmosphere created was described as sleazy. The woman was perceived as a slut or prostitute who was enticing the viewer in. The alcoholic nature of the product only served to confirm this impression and increase the negative response.

"Like a badly made film."

(G4)

"Seedy. Girly come on."

"Flirtatious."

(D6)

"She's a tart."

"It goes too far. I'm old-fashioned."

(G10)

"That's not acceptable. They're not even advertising something that calls for it."

(D6)

"I think it's sort of sexually appealing, you might get like the raincoat brigade out like."

"The other bit that comes across is they shouldn't be showing her swimming while she's drinking alcohol."

(D11)

"I think that's disgusting to advertise a bottle of booze. Sex and booze and it's wrong."

(G11)

"That full front is very offensive. I don't even see any point in that. You could imagine a few lads in a room... She's like a prostitute. She's got that look."

(D13)

FURTHER RESEARCH

By providing insights into the complicated relationship between viewer and advertisement, this stage of research generated a number of hypotheses about the processes which determine how an individual will react to nudity in advertising. It was clear that such a complex issue would not lend itself easily to quantification, because responses would need to be explored in more depth than is usually possible in large scale surveys. However, by narrowing the focus of the research and changing the method of recruitment, it was possible to test the hypotheses amongst a larger sample of viewers in Stage II.

STAGE TWO

INTERVIEW FORMAT

The second stage of the research was carried out using one-to-one qualitative interviews, TQC's 'TACTIX' technique. The interviews lasted for 30 minutes and were conducted in a central location, respondents being recruited off the street for immediate interview. A major advantage of this technique in this context was that respondents could be shown the adverts without any warning or build-up. In this respect the research was closer to the in-home viewing situation.

The purpose of Stage II was to test out the hypotheses about the factors influencing response to nudity in advertising using a range of 'marker' advertisements selected following Stage I. Two reels of four advertisements were used, again produced in two rotations to counteract the order effect. Each respondent was shown just one of the reels, which contained the following advertisements:

Reel 1	Reel 2
Cleopatra	Brylcreem
Dim	Fa
Old Nick	Tahiti (group)
Tahiti (threesome)	Davidoff Relax

(See Appendix 2 page 79 for further details of the stimulus material). The interview started with a brief warm-up, when respondents were asked to recall any memorable TV adverts. The respondent was then shown the first ad on the reel and asked to make spontaneous comments (non verbal reactions were also noted).

Likes and dislikes were probed fully and respondents were invited to comment on the acceptability for a UK audience (if nudity was not mentioned it was prompted at this stage).

The process was then repeated for the remaining three advertisements on the reel. After viewing all the test advertisements the respondent's opinion was elicited on what rules should apply regarding adverts featuring nudity on television in the UK.

The interview closed with both the respondent and interviewer assessing the respondent's attitude to nudity so that they could be placed in one of the hypothesised personality types. The following self-completion scale was used:

I feel embarrassed when I see nudity in TV advertising (Puritan)

They shouldn't allow nudity in TV advertising (Moralist)

I don't see why people make such a fuss about nudity in TV advertising (Liberal)

More nudity in TV advertising would stop people being so prudish (Crusader)

The more nudity in TV advertising the better (Libertine)

FACTORS AFFECTING RESPONSE TO ADVERTISING

It was hypothesised in the first stage that there were three main elements that determine response to advertising:

- 1) The personality of the viewer
- 2) The environment in which they are watching
- 3) The individual elements or prompt factors in the advertisements themselves.

This second stage confirmed the importance of all the elements whilst refining some of the detail.

PERSONALITY FACTORS

This stage of research confirmed the existence of all five main personality types identified earlier, and it was possible to classify participants in the second stage using these dimensions. This was achieved by a combination of self-assessment – asking respondents at the close of the interview to select, from a pre-coded list, the statement that they most closely identified with (see page 55) – and assessment by the interviewer.

It was encouraging to note that there was a reasonable degree of consonance between the two assessments, and where there was a disagreement then the researchers' judgement of the respondent type took precedence. Observation of their body language was also important in determining their typology.

The sample contained representatives of all the five personality types (including Libertines). A breakdown of the proportions follow, but it is important to note that the figures quoted are only a guide, given the relatively small sample size by quantitative standards.

The sample (all figures rounded to the nearest 5%) comprised:

25%	Puritans
20%	Moralist
40%	Liberals
10%	Crusaders
<5%	Libertines

Respondents, then, can be divided into two main groups, the more negatively disposed Puritans and Moralists and the more positively disposed Liberals, Crusaders and Libertines.

The findings suggested that the Midlands was more negative than either of the other two regions represented and that the females that were spoken to were more negative in their attitudes than the males. There was also a slight indication that the respondents in the BC1 socio-economic groupings were slightly more negative than the more downmarket C2D classes.

Finally, indications are that the two age groups which are most negative are youth and old age pensioners, while pre-family and empty nesters appear to be the most positive in their attitudes. These indicators show very clearly that there are widely differing mind-sets in the initial attitudes towards nudity in advertising.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Another influential factor on reactions to nudity in advertising is that of environment and certain key factors were confirmed from Stage I.

The first of these is when the advertisement is shown and what this implies about those likely to be watching. In the earlier stage of this work respondents were very aware of the concept of watersheds and this is also true for Stage II. Most respondents were comfortable with a floating watershed depending on the exact nature of the material shown, for example distinguishing between children's viewing time (5 to 7pm), family viewing time (7 to 9pm), the conventional watershed (9pm) and a late watershed (11pm).

Timing is related to the type of programme in which the advertisement appears. For example, respondents were more prepared to accept adult advertising in what they believed to be adult programming and, conversely, advertising featured during programmes with child or even family targeting was felt to need stricter controls.

Another environmental factor that was confirmed in this second stage was the channel. There was some feeling that Channel 4 can allow more 'risky' advertising than the other terrestrial channels because of its minority targeting. Frequently, some of the test advertisements were "banished" to satellite or cable channels where there is considered to be an element of choice. Subscribers of these channels are perceived to be more liberal, although the small sample did not reveal any strong trend in this direction.

The final important environmental factor is the embarrassment factor, ie viewing with younger or older persons, or those of the opposite gender. This, of course, links up with the timing and programme issues discussed earlier.

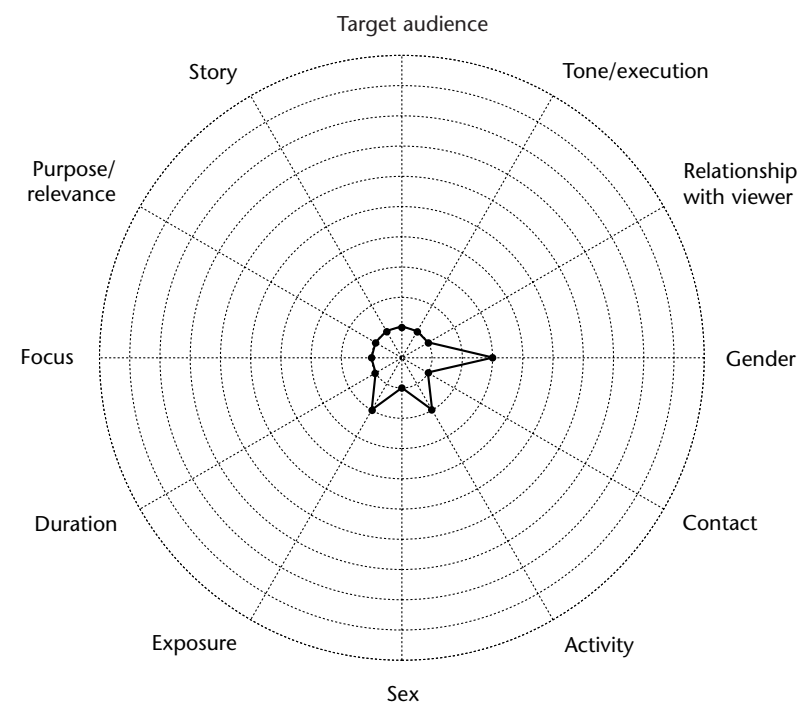
ADVERTISING FACTORS

Overall, these factors were the same as those identified in Stage I (for more detail see pages 23-33), except for the emergence of a new category – 'contact'. This included physical contact between participants on the screen, or visual contact, eg leering, and also proximity (particularly whether or not the participants were in the same shot). Another aspect was that of implied contact with the viewer which overlaps with relationship with the viewer (in the role of voyeur or reluctant participant, as discussed on page 30).

It was possible from this stage of the research to suggest a rank order of importance of the different prompt factors occurring in the advertisements. In ascending order of importance, this seemed to be as follows:

IMPORTANT	Target audience Tone/execution Relationship with viewer
VERY IMPORTANT	Contact Activity Gender Exposure Duration Focus
CRUCIAL/EXTREMELY IMPORTANT	Sexual content Story Purpose/relevance

FIGURE 5 CLEOPATRA



REACTIONS TO SPECIFIC ADVERTISEMENTS

Each respondent was shown one reel containing four advertisements, selected to illustrate different aspects of nudity and rotated to minimise order effect.

Broadly, Stage II confirmed the overall ranking of acceptability from Stage I, but there were one or two slight modifications. There was little difference in the acceptability of the two Tahiti advertisements, whereas in Stage I the group had been seen as slightly less controversial than the threesome advertisement. Dim was thought to be slightly more acceptable than Fa, reversing the ranking from Stage 1.

It was also found that the acceptability dimension was condensed, with fewer assessing Cleopatra and/or Brylcreem as acceptable at any time than was indicated in Stage I and, at the other end of the scale, fewer people ruling out Old Nick and Davidoff Relax completely. This may have been due to the lack of any preparatory discussion of nudity present in Stage II, and/or to an unintended order effect. When Davidoff Relax appeared first on the reel, there was more reluctance to rule it out entirely than when it appeared later in the sequence of advertisements. In addition, detailed probing showed that in some instances 'acceptable with restrictions' meant that it could only be shown on satellite channels, effectively banning it from the mainstream repertoire.

The prompt factors that were identified earlier have been used to develop an individual 'footprint' for each of the test advertisements. This was done after the fieldwork was completed by examining the responses to the different dimensions and using these to judge the level of acceptability. The middle of the wheel is zero, and the circumference is ten, so the larger the footprint, the less acceptable is the advertisement. This section deals with each of the test advertisements and shows the footprint for each.

Cleopatra (Figure 5)

This advertisement had a good overall acceptability rating with many respondents finding it acceptable at any time, but a significant proportion recommending some restrictions such as not early evening or only after nine o'clock. Only a very small minority found this advertisement unacceptable.

The factors that made the level of nudity in this advertisement relatively acceptable were that the exposure was brief compared with the length and splendour of the piece, in fact it was sometimes not even noticed or at least not mentioned spontaneously.

The nudity was relevant to the product and its use, and appeared naturally in the context of the advertisement. In fact, for some, it was felt to be more natural than advertisements which make strenuous attempts to avoid showing breast or nipple.

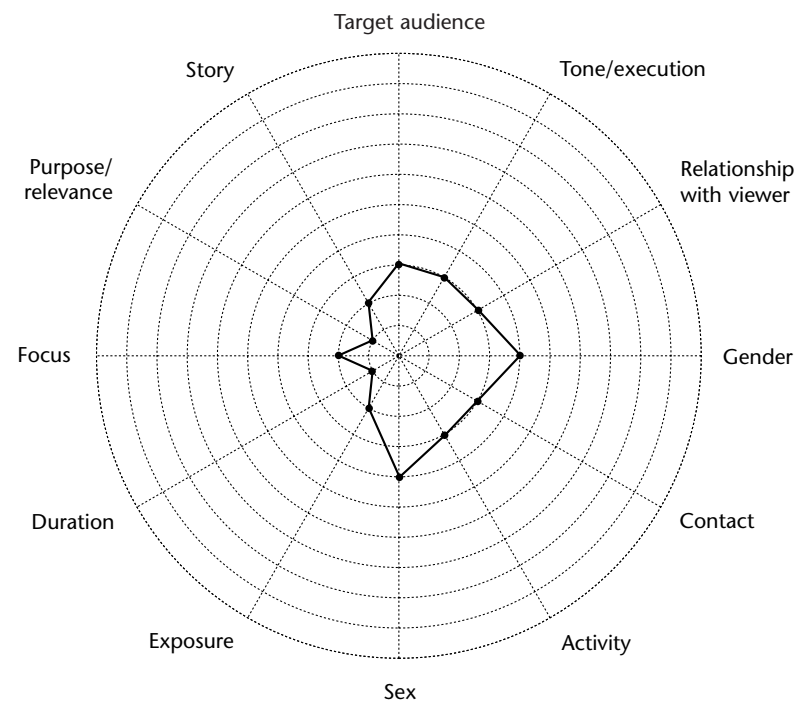
The historical context of the advertisement was also an important factor. It related a famous story involving bathing and the storyline built up to the nudity in a coherent way. Acceptability was also helped by the high production values involved.

The advertisement was seen as asexual by most and was praised for gender equality, ie both sexes were involved (albeit in a 'master and servant' relationship).

The product was aimed at and advertised by women, encouraging an empathetic relationship with the viewer, which further contributed to the overall acceptability.

For some, however, there were concerns. A minority (women more than men) consistently maintained that there should be some restriction on any type of nudity. This was

FIGURE 6 BRYLCREEM



sometimes related to concern about the exposure of children to nudity. In addition, some of the men in the sample believed there were sexual undertones associated with suggestive or erotic washing movements. A minority of men also mentioned they felt racist and sexist undertones were in evidence.

Brylcreem (Figure 6)

This was felt to be acceptable at any time by the majority of the sample and, of the remainder, most were happy for it to be screened during times ranging from post-8 pm up to post-10 pm. A tiny minority found the advertisement unacceptable at any time. The negative responses were principally from the men who were uncomfortable with male nudity.

There were many factors which contributed to the relative acceptability of this advertisement. As with Cleopatra, there was a coherent storyline which built up to the nudity and put it in context. The story itself was well executed and had a clever twist at the end. The nudity was implied rather than shown and there was a clever use of the statue in the art class which covered the risk area in long-shot.

There was some relevance between nudity and the product in use. It was felt appropriate to feature a man who would be the user and, as the product is also bought by women for men, it was also appropriate to feature an appealing or aspirational element for them.

There were however, some areas for concern. There was some discomfort, especially among men, that a man was stripping for a female audience, which communicated female voyeurism. The atmosphere of the advertisement was felt by some to be titillating and risqué, exacerbated by the heavy breathing featured at the end of the advertisement which was timed to coincide with the nudity. This detracted from the subtlety and made the piece more blatantly sexual.

A minority objected to the use of a man as a sex object and saw the problem as sexual innuendo rather than nudity *per se*, and one or two thought that more was revealed than actually was.

As suggested earlier, some of the older men in the sample were uncomfortable with the concept of male nudity because they felt it had homoerotic associations.

Tahiti threesome (Figure 7)

Only a minority of the sample found this acceptable at any time. The majority opted for acceptable with restrictions, mainly after the 9 pm watershed. A slightly higher proportion found this more unacceptable than the previous two advertisements discussed, due to various areas of concern.

First, there was a general feeling that there was a need to draw the line somewhere, and that children particularly should be protected from exposure to this type of advertising.

The camera was felt to focus and linger on the breast area and although both men and women featured in the advertisement, it seemed to show 'more breast than chest'.

The advertisement was found to have sexual and masturbatory connotations for a minority (more men than women) largely because of the soaping and rubbing activities which took place. For some the scenario suggested a *ménage à trois*, but this was more true for females than males.

Another element that contributed to the restrictions was the implication of voyeurism: the men watching the woman wash.

FIGURE 7 TAHITI THREESOME

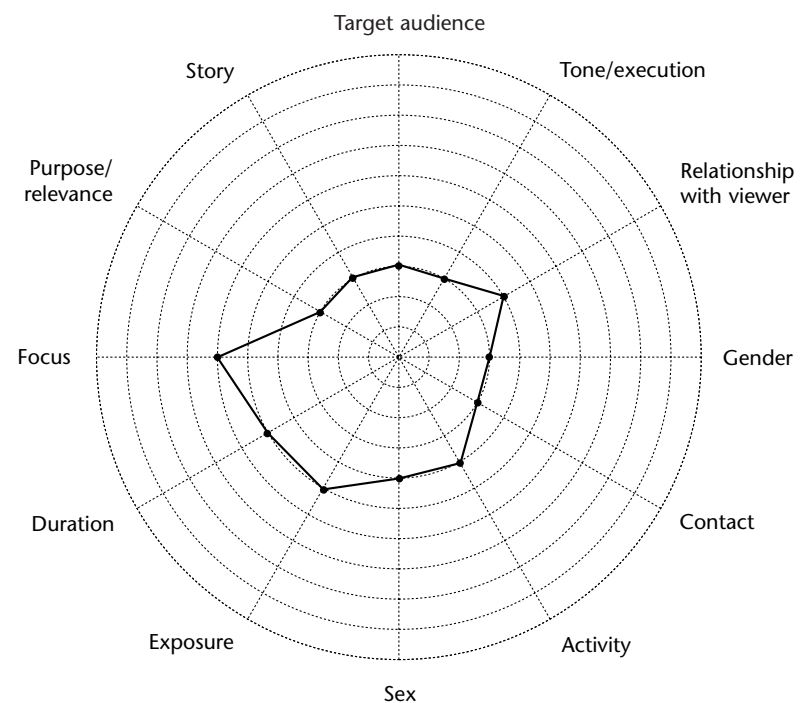


FIGURE 8 TAHITI GROUP

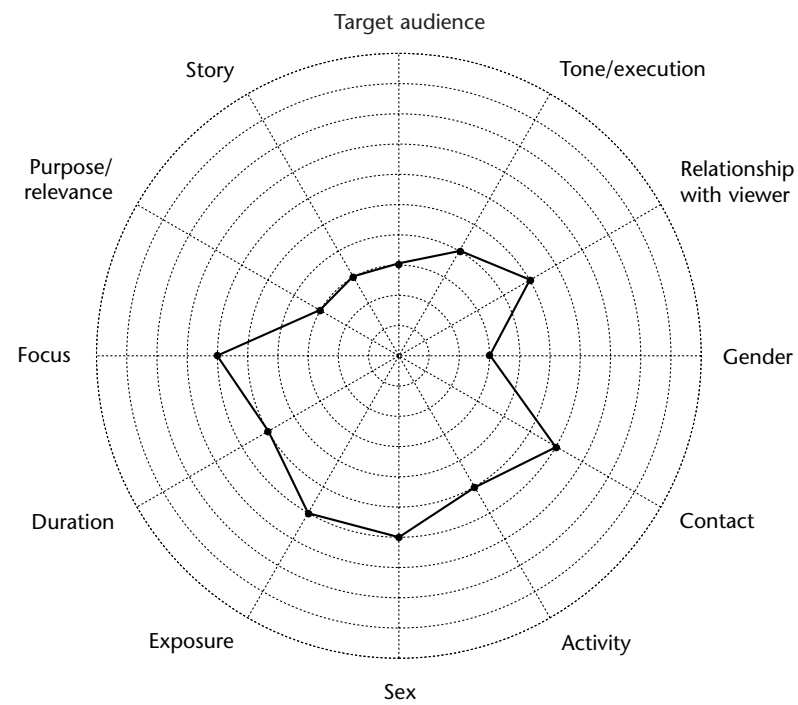
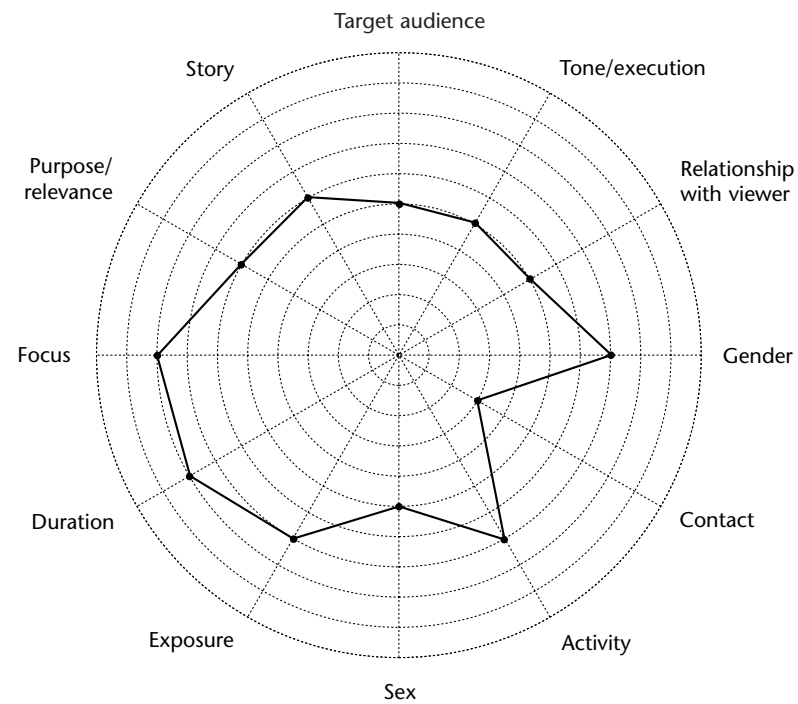


FIGURE 9 FA



For an unimaginative minority the advertisement was further hampered by the fact that the product was not put into its natural setting. The advertiser was seen to be exploiting nudity in order to create a point of difference from other 'jungle ads' currently being screened.

A small minority were also concerned by the music which they felt had sexual associations.

There were some mitigating factors, in that the nudity was related to the product and its use and had both functional and symbolic relevance.

The advertisement was praised for equality of nudity between men and women and for the lack of physical contact between the sexes. Some felt there was an acceptable degree of focus and lingering, indeed, 'no worse than you see on the beach'

Most agreed that it had a pleasant attractive setting and there was some storyline element which added to its acceptability.

Tahiti group (Figure 8)

This was judged very similar to the previous Tahiti advertisement in terms of its acceptability rating, with around the same number finding it acceptable at any time. Slightly less found it acceptable with restrictions and slightly more found it completely unacceptable. The restrictions imposed were mainly around the 9 pm watershed, although there were variations around this.

This advertisement provoked negativity around the exploitative role of nudity, as with the previous advertisement.

There were particular concerns with the number and focus of breast shots and the masturbatory associations with washing and rubbing. For many there was general embarrassment and discomfort centred around the concept of communal washing, leading some to think about group sex. There may also have been a guilt reaction because the viewer was made to feel a voyeur.

The presence of the child polarised views: some felt that this was inappropriate, while others felt that this added an air of innocence to the proceedings.

As with the other Tahiti advertisement there were mitigating factors. Most did not find the advertisement at all titillating and the nudity was felt to be relevant both to the storyline and to the product and its use.

Both genders were represented so the advertisement was found to be less exploitative or voyeuristic than with a single-sex approach. The nudity was not felt to be blatant or gratuitous, and for some the group approach made it less overtly sexual.

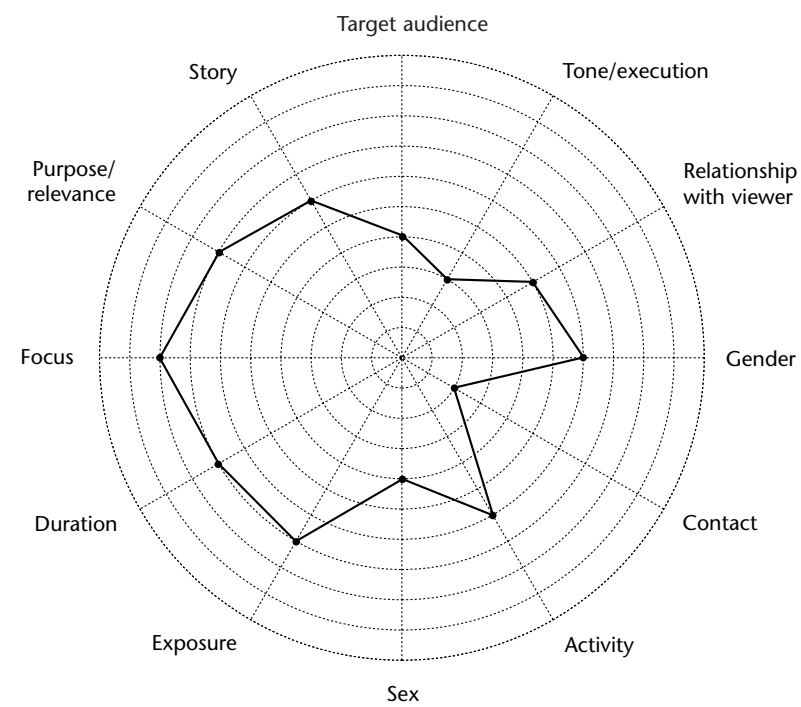
Most appreciated the general tone and execution of the advertisement and praised the attractive setting and fun atmosphere.

Fa (Figure 9)

The majority found this to be acceptable only with restrictions, which were generally after the 9pm watershed. The remainder were divided equally between acceptable at any time and completely unacceptable.

Restrictions were necessary for most because of exposure and focus issues, for example multiple exposures of breasts and the degree of lingering.

FIGURE 10 DIM



It was felt that the woman was the focus rather than the product and within this her breasts were a particular feature. The whole focus of the advertisement was felt to be exploitative towards women, from the camera angles to using a woman's body to sell. The product was aimed at women but the advertisement was felt more likely to appeal to men (although some men felt that the target audience was women).

There were also issues around the activity on screen, her breasts were moving and her nipples were erect causing for a few erotic or even pornographic associations.

On the positive side, the general tone and execution was good, it was stylish and carefree, refreshing, artistic and dreamy, and for some of the sample was quite aspirational.

There was limited direct sexual content. However, there was an element of voyeurism for some.

Dim (Figure 10)

The majority found this advertisement acceptable with restrictions, mainly after the 9pm watershed, although some placed it later. A significant minority felt it was acceptable at any time and a minority found it unacceptable at any time.

This advertisement provoked a greater negative response from the men than the women. The factors which caused concern were general discomfort with male nudity: this was often an instinctive reaction provoking embarrassment in women and feelings of homophobia in older men.

One or two respondents were aware of some sexual connotations with the spade (shown briefly, in the sand) which was seen as a phallic symbol.

The major negative was the degree of exposure, it was virtually full frontal, plus some worrying close-ups of the backside which were very provocative and *'in your face.'*

Some females experienced discomfort: *'he was walking towards me in my own home.'*

There was also some criticism of the lingering close-up shots of the crotch area and, within this, the running action which accentuated the focus.

It was felt by some to be exploitative, using a man to attract a female purchaser audience and/or using a man to attract a male audience.

Finally, there was no strong link between the product and the use of nudity in this context.

The factors which made it acceptable for a large minority and acceptable with restrictions for the majority were the high production values. It was generally felt to be artistic, natural and tasteful. There was no exposure of the real danger areas, and indeed there was some aesthetic appreciation among women!

Apart from the homoeroticism seen by some men, there was no overt sexual content and there was some functional relevance as the advertisement featured the areas of the body covered by the underpants. There was also some symbolic relevance in the link between the natural setting and the natural feel of the product.

FIGURE 11 DAVIDOFF RELAX

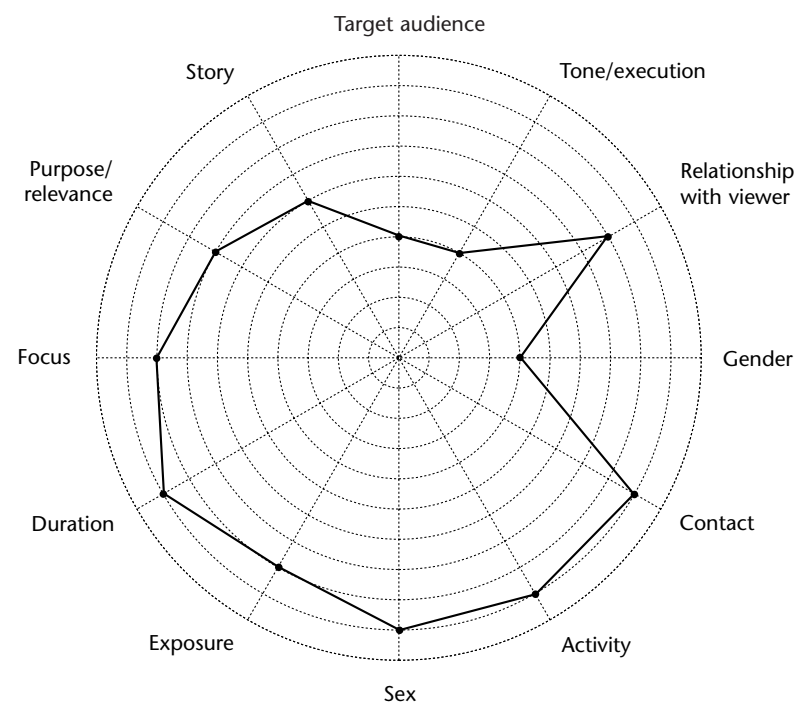
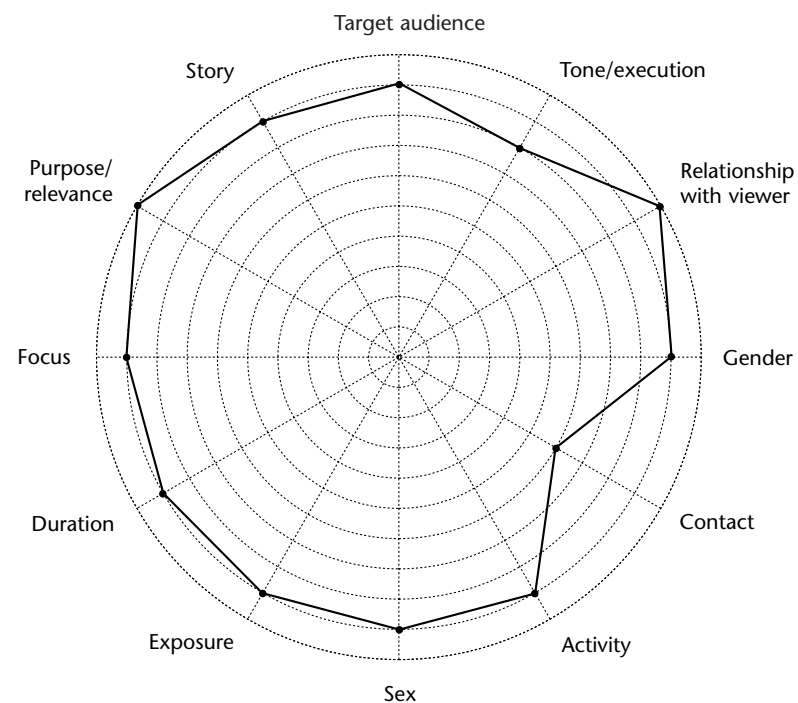


FIGURE 12 OLD NICK



Davidoff Relax (Figure 11)

Only a tiny proportion of the sample found this advertisement acceptable at any time; of the remainder, a slight majority thought that it could be shown but with a 10pm watershed restriction. It was completely unacceptable for a large minority of people. There were many factors which caused concern for the viewers, first, the blatant sexual content which appeared on screen without any prior warning.

There was also concern about the movement and activity of the participants, including touching, which made it explicit and uncomfortable to watch, and placed the viewer in the position of voyeur.

There was, for most, little or no product relevance at least on a functional level, especially as the identity of the product only became clear in the closing seconds of the advertisement.

It was felt to be provocative and designed to shock the viewer and there was some comment that advertisements of this type could induce strong audience reactions – even an increased propensity towards rape.

There was some dislike also because it was felt to be exploitative, using the nudity purely to sell the product. The nudity was for many the focus of the piece and scored highly on exposure and duration.

A minority went as far as to describe it as sleazy or like a porno movie with added special effects to distort the risky areas.

However, there were some mitigating factors. The tone and execution was felt to be tasteful and artistic, largely due to the use of good black-and-white photography which created a romantic feel and an air of controlled eroticism.

It was praised both for gender equality and for the fact that it really only showed the top halves of the two principals. Some recognised a symbolic product relevance because the purpose of the product is to attract women.

Old Nick (Figure 12)

This was unacceptable for the majority of the sample. Of the remainder, the vast majority imposed a late watershed, in effect banishing it from the screens at a time when the majority are watching.

This advertisement caused considerable concern, in that it featured full frontal-nudity throughout. The girl was the main focus (rather than the product) and within this, the focus was on her nudity.

There were blatant sexual associations: she was giving the viewer a ‘come on’ by making explicit sexual movements, for example stroking the bottle, and was perceived by most to be a tart.

Another major cause for concern was the activity element, the advertisement featured a great deal of movement, which included shots of running causing her breasts to ‘joggle’ around.

There was no justifiable link between the nudity and the product, and from the moralist viewpoint using nudity to sell alcohol was considered a ‘double whammy’.

The advertisement was seen as both offensive and exploitative, using a woman to attract men and preying on men's sexual desires. The viewer was made to feel a voyeur in relation to the screen.

The advertisement was further criticised for its low production values and lack of creativity or storyline.

Response was, however, positive in some instances to the attractive scenery, pleasant atmosphere and music.

The woman was undoubtedly attractive to some men and was aspirational for one or two of the women.

A minority commented that it was no worse than could be seen on the beaches or on the TV in programmes but, for most, this advertisement pushed the boundaries out to an unacceptable extent.

CONCLUSIONS

Nudity was rarely mentioned in initial, spontaneous discussions about advertising, probably reflecting its comparative rarity in current television advertisements. When the topic was raised, it became clear that people do hold quite strong views on nudity, and that the level of complaints about the Neutrialia advertisement reflects a significant degree of concern.

The research progressed from discussing nudity in advertising in the abstract, to showing specific examples. The views expressed when talking hypothetically were not always accurate predictors of people's responses to actual advertisements. Some took the view that nudity was wrong, but changed their minds when shown examples because they did not count what they saw as real nudity. Others had the opposite reaction, being quite relaxed about nudity until faced with the actuality.

Therefore, their personalities were just one of the factors in deciding how they responded; the situation in which they saw it and the advertising context were also crucial.

Personality factors

The research hypothesised five attitudinal mind-sets regarding nudity. On the disapproving side there were the Puritans, who were embarrassed by nude bodies, and the Moralists, who felt it should not be allowed. The Liberals (the largest single group identified by the research) were much more blasé about it, and felt too much fuss was made about nudity on television. Crusaders were actively in favour of it as a means of encouraging people to be less prudish, and the Libertines (who were present only in small numbers) wanted to see as much nudity as possible. The research implies that a significant sector of the viewing public, and maybe even a majority, takes a fairly open minded view of nudity in television advertising. However, there is also a substantial group whose threshold of acceptability is much lower.

Environmental factors

The environmental factors that influenced people's reactions related to whereabouts in the schedule the advertising was shown, and who else was viewing in the same room.

There was almost complete awareness of the 9pm watershed, and many felt that this was the place for advertising with more 'adult' themes. Some of the more extreme examples, if they were to be shown at all, would be banished to an even later slot. The programming around the advertisement was also important: the more adult the programme content, the more explicit the advertisement could be.

The channel broadcasting the advertisement was also part of the equation, with many respondents saying that Channel 4 had less mainstream programming and may appeal to viewers who were less likely to be offended. This was even truer for satellite and cable output, particularly the foreign channels, which were perceived (or known) to be more risqué.

Often respondents felt that watching a particular advertisement on their own would not cause offence, but watching it in company would be more problematic. Usually this meant people of another generation (older or younger), or of the opposite sex. Some parents were concerned that children may ask embarrassing questions, although others wanted to be around at such times to answer queries which might arise.

Advertising factors

Each advertisement contained several distinct but interrelated factors which were used to evaluate it.

One of the key considerations is whether the product justifies the use of nudity. If the nudity has relevance to the product, either through its function or more symbolically (to convey natural or refreshing qualities, for instance), the nudity becomes much less unacceptable. This was particularly true of products, such as soap or shower gel, where the user is often at least partially unclothed to use them.

If the nudity did not seem to fit in naturally with the plot of the advertisement, and came across simply as a device to shock or attract attention, it became more objectionable. Some respondents, especially the more puritanical ones, were also concerned about the moral context – whether the advertisement came across as innocent or more ‘knowing’ in tone.

Many respondents considered sex was strongly implicit in nudity, although others (such as Crusaders) were more likely to separate the two. Those advertisements with sexual content seemed to cause greater concern about the nudity, as it was considered to be a dangerous combination.

Many respondents held very clear views about which parts of the body could be exposed, and which could not. This varied depending on the gender of the bodies shown. Male nipples were not contentious, but the exposure of a female breast was much more problematic. The most acceptable view was from the side, and the least acceptable was a frontal view of both breasts.

Male bottoms were also objectionable for some viewers, particularly older men, but most people were only concerned at the possibility that the genitals might be exposed if the man had his legs apart. The rear view of the female was acceptable to the vast majority.

For some amongst the Moralists and Crusaders, showing male and female nudity in the same advertisement was less exploitative than single-sex nudity, and therefore less unacceptable.

The duration of the nudity, both in absolute terms and in proportion to the advertisement as a whole, was important. Related to this was the issue of focus – whether the camera was felt to be lingering on the nudity for an unnecessarily long time.

Another aspect taken into account was movement. A still image was generally felt to be more acceptable than a moving nude, such as a running female, where some of the more controversial areas of the body may be moving or being manipulated. Also important was whether the nude participant had any contact with another person, either through touch or visually (eg leering). Simple proximity – appearing in the same camera shot – was included as well. Sometimes the contact involved the viewer, being drawn into the advertisement as a reluctant participant. In other cases, the viewer could feel empathy with the person portrayed, or an aspiration to be like them, although in other examples the relationship descended uncomfortably into voyeurism.

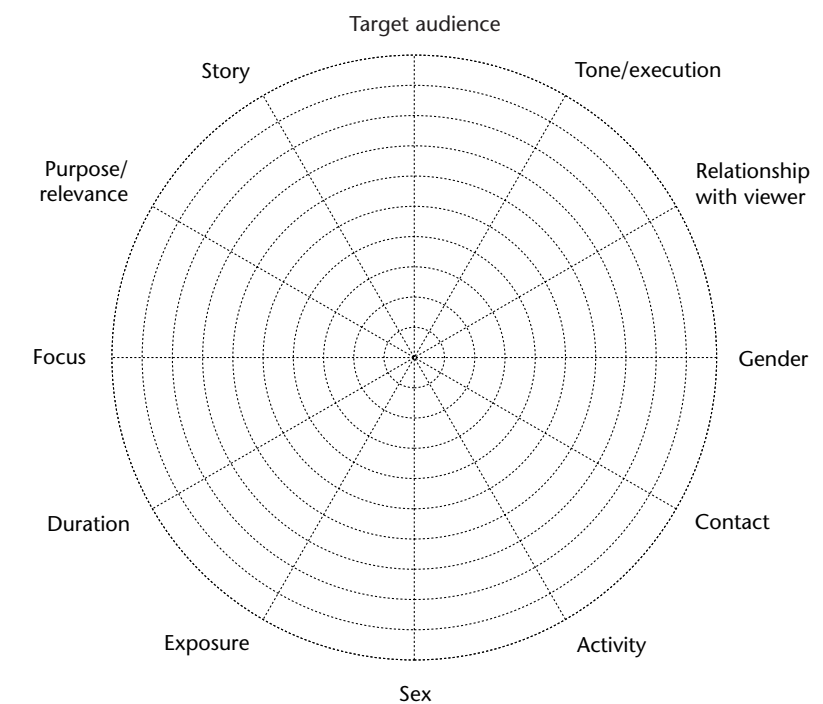
The tone of the advertisement also affected how it was judged. Humour could make things less offensive, as could high production values or a creative, artistic style. In contrast, when the advertisement was considered to be cheaply made and of low quality, it conveyed a ‘sleazy’ feel and was more likely to offend.

The perceived target audience was part of the appraisal process as well. The use of female nudity was often regarded as empathetic or even aspirational in relation to a product used by females, but if the product was thought to be male-orientated, many considered the use of a naked female to be exploitative.

Each of these factors can be assessed and then combined to form a map or ‘footprint’ for each advertisement. The detailed individual response will differ depending on the viewer’s personality and the environment in which the advertisement is viewed. However, using the breadth of responses found within this research, it has been possible to compile footprints for some of the examples shown to respondents. Figure 13 shows an example of the template.

This project confirmed the complexity of the issues around nudity and the necessity of looking at these from a number of different angles in order to understand them fully. Viewers’ reactions to television advertisements featuring nudity are multifaceted and generated from a variety of initiating factors. Predicting how individual viewers will react to a particular advertisement, and establishing guidelines which have broad acceptability, is therefore a complex task.

FIGURE 13 THE FOOTPRINT APPROACH



APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE – STAGE ONE

FIELDWORK DETAILS

Twelve extended group discussions (2¹/₂ hours) and 24 extended depth interviews (1¹/₂ hours) were conducted, structured as follows (groups are numbered from G1 to G12; depths from D1 to D24):

GROUPS

	Youth	Pre Family	Young Family	Older Family	Empty Nester	OAP
Male	G1	G7	G3	G12	G9	G5
	(A)BC1 South	C2D(E) South	(A)BC1 North	C2D(E) North	C2D(E) Mids	(A)BC1 Mids
Female	G6	G2	G8	G11	G4	G10
	C2D(E) North	(A)BC1 Mids	C2D(E) Mids	(A)BC1 South	(A)BC1 North	C2D(E) South

DEPTHS

	Youth	Pre Family	Young Family	Older Family	Empty Nester	OAP
Male	D1	D8	D9	D24	D16	D17
	D(E) North	C1 North	C2 Mids	(A)B South	(A)B Mids	C2 South
Couples	D2	D6	D10	D22	D14	D18
	C1 South	(A)B North	(A)B South	C1 Mids	C1 Mids	(A)B North
	D3	D7	D11	D23	D15	D19
	C2 Mids	D(E) Mids	D(E) North	C2 North	C2 South	D(E) Mids
Female	D4	D5	D12	D21	D13	D20
	(A)B Mids	C2 South	C1 South	D(E) Mids	D(E) North	C1 North

Life-stage definitions

Youth	16 to 18 years; mix of students, working and seeking work
Pre Family	18 to 24 years; single/cohab/married, no children, working or seeking work
Young Family	With children aged only under 10 years, mix of working status
Older Family	Those with children aged 10 to 16 years, mix of working status
Empty Nester	40 to 60 years; any marital status, mix of no children and children 18+, mix of working status
OAP	Retired; any marital status, some with grandchildren. Social class derived from HOH occupation before retirement

All respondents owned a television. A maximum of two respondents per group had satellite/cable TV (as did a similar proportion of the depths).

Stage I fieldwork was carried out by Wendy Hayward, John Rose, Catherine Gammon and Stephen Candlish of The Qualitative Consultancy between 30 November 1994 and 30 January 1995.

The locations were:

South:	Woking Staines London N14 Bristol Reading
Midlands:	Birmingham Nottingham Stafford Stoke Northampton
North:	Edinburgh Manchester Huddersfield Newcastle Stockport

GENERAL REEL ADVERTISEMENTS

Respondents were shown one of the two reels listed below as part of the initial warm-up discussion about television advertising issues in general.

1A	1B
Pearl	Aladdin
Tampax	Peugeot
Aladdin	Banana Bubbles
Cellnet	Evian
Peugeot	Tampax
Banana Bubbles	Cellnet

Précis of advertisements:

Pearl (soap) - Reel 1A only

Brief pan up nude carved figurehead, including bare breasts. Shots of naked woman showering using product.

Tampax (tampons)

Brief shot of woman in underwear. Explanation of product benefits. Demonstration of product absorbency using blue dye.

Aladdin (Disney merchandise)

Children playing with Aladdin, Genie and Princess Jasmine dolls.

Cellnet (mobile phone)

Nude man standing on globe throws net over UK. Frontal from a distance (crotch detail airbrushed out).

Peugeot (car)

Man picks up woman in car park, drives to seaside, clearly implied sex. Man drives to wife and kids. Twist is wife and woman are one and the same.

Banana Bubbles (cereal)

Fast paced advertisement set at funfair with 'hyperactive' TV presenter.

Evian (mineral water) - Reel 1B only

Pan across snowy mountain range morphs into side view of naked woman (breast concealed).

NUDITY REEL ADVERTISEMENTS

A Nudity reel was shown to respondents after discussion of the General reel. Two reels were compiled in two random rotations, each respondent being shown just one reel:

2A	2B	3A	3B
Cleopatra	MR	Isotoner	XS
Old Nick	Perrier Zest	Chilly	Vittel
Davidoff Cool Water	Fa	Vittel	Braathens
Danepak	Old Nick	Bio	Bio
Neutralia	Cleopatra	Brylcreem	Neutralia
Fa	Dim	Tahiti (threesome)	Brylcreem
Perrier Zest	Neutralia	Neutralia	Chilly
Tahiti (group)	Davidoff Cool Water	Braathens	Tahiti (threesome)
Dim	Danepak	Davidoff Relax	Davidoff Relax
MR	Tahiti (group)	XS	Isotoner

Précis of advertisements:

Cleopatra (soap, French)

Epic production in which Cleopatra prepares to bathe, leading to a brief glimpse of topless Cleopatra bathing in asses' milk (from the side, using product on arm).

Old Nick (rum, French)

Nude girl giggling suggestively on beach, fondling rum bottle. She goes for a swim then returns to lie beside the rum bottle, involving close-up topless and full frontal nudity from a distance.

Davidoff Cool Water (aftershave, English-language)

Shots of man clothed, then diving naked into sea. Close shots of swimming, not full-frontal. Shots of man, now fully dressed, walking.

Danepak (bacon, UK)

Family of naturists (young and old, bodies not perfect) having barbecue, who are clearly naked but all 'danger areas' cleverly hidden by props.

Neutralia (shower gel, UK)

Product's benefits described on voice-over followed by shots of topless girl pleurably washing breasts. Girl, now clothed, caresses chest.

Fa (body spray, French)

Nude female on a beach applies product, runs along shore waving diaphanous veil. Involves repeated close-ups topless. Black-and-white.

Perrier Zest (lemon drink, French)

Girl in bikini by pool side pours drink over T-shirt, puts on T-shirt and takes bikini top off. Walks over to seated man and holds bottle to his lips.

Tahiti (group) (shower gel, French)

(Young) men, women and children in tropical jungle village, waiting for rain. Starts to rain and many strip topless and use product.

Dim (men's underwear, French)

Nude man frolics and swims in sea, including almost full frontal. Close-up view of bottom whilst towelling back. Puts on underwear and runs along shore (close-up of crotch).

MR (coffee, English-language)

Man returns home, embraces woman, leading to love-making. Sex scenes intercut with shots of coffee percolating. Couple have post-coital cup of coffee. No full nudity. Strapline is "real pleasure can't come in an 'instant'".

Isotoner (women's underwear, USA)

Woman clad in underwear moves in balletic/athletic manner. Product's supporting benefits explained.

Chilly (feminine douche, Italian)

Nude woman paddles and jumps up and down on sea-shore. Full-frontal nudity throughout. Low production values, music. Product category unclear without translation.

Vittel (mineral water, UK)

Nude couple entwined under stream of water. No full frontals.

Bio (yoghurt, Spanish)

Camera pans slowly in close-up from nude girl's face (eating yoghurt) to chest and round to bottom.

Brylcreem (men's toiletries, UK)

Man showering (waist up), shaving (using product range). Puts on raincoat and goes out. Women gather, man arrives and drops raincoat (camera pans very quickly down front). Female heavy breathing starts on soundtrack. Becomes apparent that he is model for women's art class.

Tahiti (threesome) (shower gel, French)

Woman and two men are trekking through tropical jungle. It rains and all use product on (bared) chests. Fully dressed again, they all frolic in a waterfall.

Braathens (airline, English-language)

Large bearded man returns home from work, spies spouse in room beyond. Strips (full rear view) and enters room with rose in teeth. Wife is with her parents, who look disgusted. Full frontal obscured by strategically placed cup.

Davidoff Relax (aftershave, English-language)

Full rear and side topless views of man and woman both individually and embracing, caressing in and out of water. Black-and-white.

XS (perfume, UK)

Dark imagery. Including pan up body of shadowed nude perspiring woman, in which light falls on her breast as the camera passes. No voice-over, strapline at end is 'XS pour Elle'.

APPENDIX TWO – STAGE TWO

Stage II comprised 120 TACTIX interviews (one-to-one qualitative interviews) lasting about 30 minutes. The sample was structured as follows:

40 South
40 Midlands
40 North

60 Male/60 Female

65 ABC1/55 C2DE

19 Youth
25 Pre-family
20 Young Family
18 Older Family
18 Empty Nester
20 OAP

24 Satellite/Cable regular viewers

FIELDWORK DATES AND LOCATIONS

24 and 25 February	Reading
3 and 4 March	Birmingham
10 and 11 March	Manchester

Interviews carried out by Wendy Hayward, John Rose, Peta Sampson, Catherine Gammon and Stephen Candlish (all of The Qualitative Consultancy) and by interviewers from TQC's TACTIX panel.

TACTIX ADVERTISEMENT REELS

Two reels of four adverts were prepared, each in two rotations to counteract the order effect. Each respondent was shown one reel:

1A	2A
Cleopatra	Brylcreem
Dim	Fa
Old Nick	Tahiti (group)
Tahiti (threesome)	Davidoff Relax
1B	2B
Tahiti (threesome)	Davidoff Relax
Old Nick	Tahiti (group)
Dim	Brylcreem
Cleopatra	Fa

Précis of advertisements - as for Nudity reel (see pages 76-77).