

TELEVISION SEX

An analysis of the portrayal of 'sexual acts and images' on the three New Zealand broadcast television channels during the week of 11th - 17th February 1991.

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Research Project for
the Broadcasting Standards Authority
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1. INTRODUCTION

BROADCASTING STANDARDS' AUTHORITY PROJECT

This project was funded by New Zealand's Broadcasting Standards' Authority to obtain details of the amount of sexual material broadcast on New Zealand television throughout one complete week. The Authority also required that an analysis be conducted as to the nature of the 'sexual imagery' recorded and that an attempt be made to attribute relative importance to such acts according to a judgemental scale.

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2. ABSTRACT

This is a report prepared by researchers attached to Massey University's Education Research and Development Centre for the Broadcasting Standards' Authority. It comprises an analysis of all material broadcast on all three public channels throughout the week of 11 - 17th February 1991.

All sexual acts and images broadcast during the sample week have been recorded and analysed by the researchers and their assistants according to criteria drawn up by the research director. The research assistants' own subjective assessment of the level of likely public concern that might be aroused by each example has also been noted and related to the details of the recorded events and images.

In addition to the global analysis of the week's sexual material, undertaken by the researchers, a detailed analysis of the recorded material has been undertaken in terms of the programme genres in which they occurred.

3. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

An analysis of the portrayal of "violent acts" on the three New Zealand broadcast television channels was undertaken by a research team from Massey University during the week of 11-17 February 1991. The research contract was between the Broadcasting Standards Authority, which funded the project, and the Educational Research and Development Centre, Massey University. The researchers were Mr. Chris Watson (Project Director), Dr. Graeme Bassett, Mr. Robert Lambourne, and Dr. Roy Shuker.

At the time that the coders were watching all programmes for the week they were asked to 'flag' any that contained "any action or image of a sexual nature including activity; nudity or sexual language".

The coders noted that eighty-six programmes would deserve further study when sexual content was to be investigated.

In 1992 Mr Chris Watson and Mr Robert Lambourne undertook the further analysis of the database which had been created in February 1991. Of the eighty-six programmes flagged then, thirteen were found not to fit the definition of sexual activity and image as provided on the coding form. Thus seventy-three programmes eventually provided data for this analysis.

Watson and Lambourne discovered that whilst there had been just over three thousand examples of violence on television during the week of February 11th - 17th 1991 there were only 287 sexual images, events and sequences i.e. sexual imagery was approximately 10% that of violent imagery.

By channel the proportion of "sexual acts, images and language" televised was as follows:

TV1: 23% (in 104 hours of programmes)
TV2: 27% (123 hours)
TV3: 50% (109 hours)

Averaged out this means that TV1 and TV2 would have one sexual image, event or sequence every hour and a half. TV3 would have twice as many, with one every forty-five minutes.

In the case of the violence analysis the twenty-four research assistants had been asked to code the violence on a five-point scale according to how they themselves perceived it. It would have been meaningless to ask the two coders working on this project to undertake a similar exercise

on how they, personally, felt about the various portrayals of sex. Thus, they were asked to judge each image, sequence and event by the chance that it would cause public offence. This they were to assess by reference to past objections filed with the Broadcasting Standards Authority. Primarily they were to decide the likelihood that objection would be raised; not whether it would be sustained.

On this basis they found very little that would have been likely to have caused offence and none at all that would have been certain to have raised objections. With '1' as 'sure not to cause complaint' and '5' meaning 'certain to' only fifteen items were rated at the '3' and '4' level. At this level TV1 had four examples; TV2 had five and TV3 six (including three of the four at the highest level recorded i.e. '4').

The timing of the sexual material was checked against the recommended age brackets for the various slots in which they were broadcast.

All three channels broadcast three-quarters of their sexual material in the time periods designated as 'AO' (Adults Only). The other quarter fell within the 'G' or 'PGR' times.

It should be noted that sexual images (often promotional photo stills) were not generally screened outside 'AO' times. There was only one such example, on TV3 during a music video broadcast in *Shakedown* at 5.02 p.m. Neither were the events and sequences broadcast during the 'G' and 'PGR' times judged as likely to cause offence. All rated only one or two on the five point 'severity' rating scale.

This 'low level' sexual material was placed within programmes rated by the assessors as 'G' or 'PGR' material. No 'AO' programmes were broadcast in the wrong time category. Thus no television broadcaster broke the regulations controlling when the various classifications should be transmitted.

In generic terms most of the sexual material was found in the films, which are largely broadcast in the afternoon 'AO' period, or in the late evening or night slots. In the week of our watching there were twenty-four films programmed. Seven, or nearly a quarter, were shown on Saturday - the traditional day for film watching in the Western World! Thirteen of these films scored ninety of the 287 examples of sexual imagery logged for the week. They also picked up three out of the four events that rated four on the subjective rating scale that judged the likelihood of offence being caused. These three were all in the one film, *Double Exposure*, which was screened as the 'Late Movie' across midnight on the Thursday night by TV3.

Drama and Mini-Series, which could be seen as 'films for television', are often the cause of concern for sexual content because such material is usually in the 'realistic' mode when part of these genres. The Mini-series *Secret of the Black Dragon* raised problems with an attempted rape sequence. Most of the programmes listed as 'drama' were in fact crime programmes. Of the eight programmes all but two (*GP* and *Chelworth*) fell into this category. Also, of the eight all but two (*Ruth Rendall Mysteries* and *Chelworth*) were American in origin.

It was American programmes that generally had the higher scores on the 'likelihood to cause concern' scale and in which love-making was more likely to be coercive, angry, frustrated or violent. The American programme entitled *Top Cops* had the one rape that was completed during the week.

Most of the sexual activity seen during the week was not of a violent nature. 56% of the examples were undertaken 'lovingly' and 35% 'casually'. Only nine per cent could be described as the sort of negative experience described in the paragraph above.

Neither was the activity particularly carnal. The most common example was 'kissing', which comprised 84% of the recorded items and 'petting' (hugging, cuddling, stroking etc.) which added up to 9%. The other possibilities, including the negative ones, resulted in only isolated examples.

There wasn't a great deal of nudity either - or at least not of the erogenous zones. Most nudity was carefully staged to avoid giving offence especially if the programme was made for television, and especially if that programme was American. It is in films, made for the controlled admission venue of the cinema audience where full nudity is more common. When such films reach television these scenes, along with explicit sexual language, are usually censored out. The only full frontal images to include pubic hair were within *Body Double* and screened after midnight. On more than half of the occasions the viewer was treated to just the top back of either sex, and lovemaking was often shown in close-up so that it was not entirely clear which part of the body was actually on view. There was only a single case for each sex where the camera panned down to include a bottom. However, women's breasts were shown on eleven occasions constituting nearly 40% of the examples of female nudity during the week. Since male primary sexual zones are avoided this bears out the contention of those who assert that the camera presents an essentially male view of the body.

Generally the material in films and drama was seen as 'realistic' and usually consisted of sexual activity. Sexual language, as opposed to such action, was common in comedies and situation comedies where there is a lot of talk about sex, often at the level of euphemism or innuendo.

British comedies such as *'Allo 'Allo* and *Man About the House* specialize in this approach but some American programmes such as *Married with Children* and *Working Girl* also use a raunchy version of the double entendre. The programmes with sexual content that were broadcast in the 'G' and 'PGR' periods were often of this type where sex was talked about. Presumably this is judged as acceptable because children are not expected to understand the subtle nuances of coded sex-talk.

Young people make up the main audience for music videos, which constitute a very specialized and almost uniquely televisual genre. Some of these contain surprisingly 'erotic' images which may find their way into 'G' and 'PGR' time schedules. One, programmed as *Pepsi RTR Video Hits*, by TV2, was used as a fill-in between cartoons in the afternoon. The erotically sexual nature of the video *Can't Stop* by the group 'After Seven' was rated 'three' on the 'severity scale' by the coders and was screened at 3.56 p.m. Three black singers sang and danced between intercuts to images of a couple gradually undressing and eventually making love. There were backlit kisses and blue-lit bedroom scenes. The song itself included the presumably pro-condom words:

"You got me thinking/I need protection/' cos your love is so strong/I don't want to do wrong."

There were six programmes classified within the music genre during the week of the survey. Most were compilations of videos of songs and music. Every one of them had at least one episode categorized as sexual.

Another place where children might come across sexual activity and images in inappropriate time slots was amongst advertisements and previews.

Previews were broadcast a total of thirty-two times during the 86 programmes watched for their sexual content. As with advertisements these same previews may have been broadcast during other programmes which were not watched for the purpose of this particular report.

Ten previews contained sexual elements. On all but five of the thirty occasions that our coders saw them they were broadcast along with programmes in 'AO' time. Those that were broadcast during 'G' times were for *Apartment Zero* (once); *Haggard* (twice) and *French Fields* (once). The problem, in each case, was with the indirect language of innuendo, not image, and it is doubtful that children would have understood.

When it was not a case of language the sexual event in question was usually a kiss.

The kisses were generally loving and between couples and were quite innocuous. None of the preview images, sequences or events scored highly on the 'likely to cause offence' scale.

Similarly, although sex was used in advertisements both directly, which was recorded by the coders and indirectly, which was not, it was never at a level likely to cause difficulties.

Only eight used sex in a way that could be classified on the coding form i.e. in only eight advertisements did an image, event or sequence have obvious sexual imagery or language. It might be that there are subtle ways of using sex to sell products that the form could not capture. Basically, it needed nudity, sexual language or a sexual narrative in order for it to be recorded.

Each of the eight advertisements was broadcast many times but it needs to be noted that only broadcasts during otherwise 'sexy' programmes were analysed during this project. In the course of such programmes the eight advertisements were screened twenty times. In terms of the chance that they might cause offence six of the eight rated only a '1' on the five-point 'severity' scale. The other two rated '2' which suggests that none were likely to worry the majority of viewers.

The two that were slightly more risqué were for *Weight-Watchers* and *The Listener*. The former featured a super-slim woman in a red swimming costume. At the end of the advertisement, a man's head came in from the right and kissed the woman on the fore-head. The lying-down position added to the sexual nature of the moment. *The Listener* was advertising a programme and article about 'Teen-Sex'. Just briefly an image was seen of teenagers in an embrace. The coders rated it '2' because they were obviously juveniles and the heading, printed above them in large red letters referred to 'sex', which was taken to mean more than a kiss. However, neither of these and none of the other examples were judged as likely to have resulted in complaint.

The major conclusions reached were as follows:

1. The amount and portrayal of sexual activity shown on television during the week of the survey was not of a quantity or type that would cause concern.
2. The placement of programmes containing sexual material was generally within the guidelines provided by the Broadcasting Standards Authority and the requirements of television's censorship time periods but...
 - 2.1. The placement of erotic music videos in 'PGR' (or 'G') time slots should be avoided.

- 2.2. The placement of advertisements and previews containing sexual imagery should be confined to 'AO' time periods.
3. Warnings should be given before programmes that contain nudity or sexual activity. Such warnings could usefully be different to and in addition to any given for violence.
4. The 'pleasure factor' of audience enjoyment of television should not be discounted nor the apparent level of increasing tolerance for sexual material as opposed to that which is violent.
5. While content-analysis studies of this type are valuable, there is a need for them to be complemented by qualitative studies, especially of the viewers themselves and their active engagement with the medium.

Caveat:

It should be noted that the total number of images, sequences and events (287) could be markedly increased by just one programme of a strongly sexual nature, either drama or documentary, broadcast during any chosen week. Therefore, to get a statistically reliable measure of the amount of sex on television a longitudinal study over a greater period would be ideal.

4. THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Three aspects of television particularly disturb the public. Violence has been the issue that has generated the greatest concern and has received the most attention by researchers. The second area that worries many is the portrayal of sex and sexuality. On occasions swearing, especially when it has used words with an otherwise sexual connotation, has also been the subject of opprobrium. However, there is a growing tendency to group this aspect of behaviour within the broad area referred to as 'Taste and Decency'. This, the third area of concern, deals also with such controversial areas as the representation of minorities, of race and of the disabled. In addition the broad heading covers the treatment of subjects linked to religious belief, especially those surrounding death and mourning.

The Broadcasting Standards Council of the United Kingdom has recognized this threefold division and uses each as a heading within its published 'Code of Practice' (1989:12). The U.K. Council set itself the task of reporting on the issue of Violence on Television in 1990; matters of Taste and Decency in 1991 and on Television and Sex and Sexuality in 1992 (Hargrave, 1991:1).

In New Zealand the Broadcasting Standards Authority has followed a parallel path. The report on 'Television Violence' prepared by Massey University's Educational Research and Development Centre was presented to a conference on television violence organized by the Broadcasting Standards Authority in July 1991 (Watson, Bassett, Lambourne, and Shuker, 1991); this report is scheduled for release in August 1992 (Watson and Lambourne, 1992). The Broadcasting Standards Authority is presently considering the ways in which it might commission research into Taste and Decency during 1993.

The order of treatment reflects the ranking of concern given by the general public. The portrayal of violence is of greatest concern, followed by sex, followed by 'taste and decency'. Individuals may differ in the order in which they place them and in the degree of concern with which they address them but this appears to reflect the general consensus.

The Broadcasting Standards Council of Great Britain introduces the section of its Code on Sex and Sexuality with the comment that:

"The treatment of sex in documentaries or discussion programmes and its portrayal in fictional programmes have been the subject of public debates since broadcasting began almost seventy years ago" (B.S.C., 35).

However, the discourse is usually based around particular programme incidents that have caused concern amongst some members of the public sufficient to lead to some form of protest. There have not been the same attempts at quantitative analysis of the amount sex in programmes over a period of time as there have been of violence. Neither has there been an on-going attempt to formulate a satisfactory definition of what exactly constitutes 'sex' on television in the way that there has been to define violence (Gerbner, 1972; Gunter, 1985; Cumberbatch, 1988; Watson *et al.*, 1991).

On the other hand much has been written about the portrayal (Patton, 1984) and effect (Cole, 1989) of sex on the video cassette format. Particular note has been taken of the involvement of children and such videos, especially those combining horror and violence with sex. Such has been the interest in this medium that it has spawned the term 'Video Nasty' and a 'moral panic' has developed around the fears that they might be extensively viewed by children. (Barker, 1984; Petley, 1984).

However, the studies of sex on video cannot readily be transferred to a consideration of sex on television for the subject matter and level of explicit sexual representation permitted on video is far beyond that tolerated for broadcast television.

Furthermore it is more difficult to research the effects of sexual material on young people (and adults) than it is to research the effects of violence. One may question children about their exposure to violence; one may even set up laboratory experiments that provoke a violent reaction, but the ethics of asking questions about sex let alone setting up laboratory experiments that elicit sexual behaviour in the subjects of study would be far more problematic. Thus there is no record of research into connections between sex on television and behaviour that would parallel the sort of research that has gone on for years into connections between violence and television.

Much of what has been written on the topic has been in response to various causes célèbres, to particular programmes that have been seen by some as 'disgusting'. Such writing is essentially critical of particular texts and commonly appears in magazines and the press. It is not often a matter for the academic journals. The Australian programme 'Sex' is currently giving rise to this kind of discourse as has the recently found predilection for items of sexual news by TV3's *Nightline*. This kind of criticism is essentially generic i.e. it concentrates on the kind of programmes which contain sexual material. Music Videos (Goodwin, 1987; Sherman and Domininck, 1986), Soaps (Modleski, 1982) and 'Mini Series' have aroused interest.

Another field of enquiry has concentrated on sexual stereotyping by television (Durkin, 1985; Gunter, 1986; Morgan, 1980). These, and other, researchers have studied the way that the sexes are represented and the way in which portrayals of masculinity and femininity are constructed. This is seen as being of particular interest for the way in which such programmes may help children formulate a system of values related to expectations of 'appropriate' behaviour for each sex. Since much of the imagery and narrative responsible for developing these ideas is not overtly sexual it could not be coded by the research assistants using the instrument devised for this study.

Although there is no quantitative research into the amount of sex on television and little laboratory or empirical research into the effects of sex on television there is some anecdotal concern about the portrayal of sex in specific programmes and events. Those worried by sexual material might find reference to recent developments in qualitative research to be of interest.

Working within the broader ethnographic tradition and heavily influenced by the Birmingham-based Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, observations of audiences watching television have demonstrated that programmes are subject to a variety of interpretations by their viewers, interpretations that are often at variance with the dominant or 'preferred' meanings of the text. Studies of the family dynamics of viewing (Morley, 1986), and the soap operas 'Crossroads' (Hobson, 1982) and 'Eastenders' (Buckingham, 1987) have made it clear that television is a social practice dependent on the location of viewers in terms of their class, ethnicity, educational background and family dynamics amongst other variables.

Studies such as these have demonstrated the value of watching particular programmes with viewers, and talking at length with them about the nature of their television consumption. A project to watch viewers watching a programme like 'Sex' followed by a discussion as to what they made of it, how appropriate they felt it to be and what pleasure there was to be gained through attention to it would be a very valuable exercise and probably more beneficial than asking discrete groups to view a composite tape of the sexual episodes broadcast during the week of February 1991.

5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EVALUATION FORM (THE 'INSTRUMENT')

The instrument was designed to be used whenever the 'flag' on the 'endpiece', completed after each programme had been viewed by the coders responsible for recording the 1991 Violence Survey, had been marked to indicate:

"Any action or image of a sexual nature including activity; nudity or sexual language."

5.1. Genesis

The research team working on the Television Violence survey of 1990/91 discovered that a form designed as a matrix where all items were on one sheet and where the items progressed in a 'natural' order down the page and across the rows, was easier to complete than several sheets of paper with the details presented in the standard way of most questionnaires.

The 'sex form' was designed in a similar way.

5.2. Development

Down the left hand side were placed the key categories to be coded. They were designed around the popular, but scatological limerick: "who did what, with what, and to whom?" In addition were added the categories 'where?' and 'how?'. Re-phrased in more formal language this meant that the order was: "Initiator: Event; Recipient; Location & Time; Tone."

One of the problems encountered in the violence survey of 1991 was that posed by 'violent images' that were not of themselves events and therefore unlikely to be coded under previous definitions of television violence. It was realized that the same problem could occur with sexual content where a sexual image might be included that was not immediately part of the narrative, did not have a perpetrator or partner, and didn't actually do anything. Yet such images could be sexual in many ways and capable of causing offence. Therefore this form included the image/event dichotomy that had been incorporated into the earlier form.

Another very useful 'extra' that came out of the violence survey was based on the subjective evaluation of the incidents by the coders. A similar opportunity was desired for the coders of

the sex survey but as there were only two of them there was even less likelihood that their judgements would approximate that of a wider public than there had been for the violence survey where there had been twenty coders.

The judgement as to whether the events were realistic, humorous, erotic or fantasy was not likely to be a problem. Neither was the assessment as to whether the incident had been justified or gratuitous. The training exercises had worked effectively on these points. However, asking the coders to judge their personal response to the event on a five-point scale equivalent to the 'not violent' to 'very violent' judgement that they had been asked to make last year could not be expected to mean much if it was changed into 'not sexy' to 'very sexy'. So, instead a five-point range was provided that went from 'mild' to 'serious' and they were asked to complete this on the basis of the likelihood that what they had seen would give rise to protest. If it was so problematic that it would certainly result in a complaint to the Broadcasting Standards Authority they were to score a five. If it was very likely that a complaint would result they were to score a four; if it was possible a 'three'; unlikely a 'two' and 'highly unlikely' a one.

There is no denying that the result was still subjective. However, previous rulings made by the Broadcasting Standards Authority were analysed and used as the mark against which to estimate the degree of concern likely to be aroused by any particular example. Inasmuch as the coders did not rate any scene higher than 'four' and that there were, in fact, no complaints about any of the programmes screened during the week the accuracy of their estimates for the top end of the scale was proven.

5.3. The Trial

The form that was actually used was the twelfth tried out during the preparatory phase. Early adjustments moved items within each category into a rough rank order so that the more serious elements in items like 'nudity' or the 'degree of coercion' were placed towards the end of each list. These refinements made it easier to fill the forms quickly. However, there was one big difference when comparing the completion of these forms to those designed for the violence study. Whereas the coders were trained to complete the violence forms in 'real time' i.e. directly from the programme, as it happened, the sex coders had the advantage that they were working from videotapes so that they could stop and replay any items about which they were confused. They worked next to each other using two video tape suites but would switch their joint attention to the coding exercise whenever anything came up. Thus they were able to cross check each other's work and ask for help if there was any problem with the coding.

This kind of checking was obtained last year but at a separate station, after the main exercise. We believe that for this survey the form completion was more accurate because of the reflection made possible by the use of time-coded video tape rather than real-time broadcast.

One item that was modified several times during the trials undertaken by the principal researchers was the one referring to the 'style' of the activity. The literature often refers to the tone of a sexual event. If sexual activity takes place in a caring context it is often seen to be beneficial even if explicit but if it is done under the duress of threats or in an angry or violent way it is likely to be injurious. New adjectives that were needed to give the range of options required were added after several of the trials.

The coding boxes were designed to be easily completed by the coders themselves and to allow the principal researchers access, without difficulty, to any particular forms relating to any particular event which they wished to look at in more detail.

5.4. The Final Form (The Instrument)

The form that was eventually used to record the portrayal of sex during the week on television had six main categories of information with one hundred and twenty possible responses to be completed. In addition to those prepared by the researchers there were five opportunities to 'write in' specific details of language used or places where the events occurred. Only one item had to be added to the form during the week in which it was used and that was to add 'alien' to the list of initiators and partners as a result of a programme called *Alien Nation*.

5.5. Other 'forms'

The basic 'event form' was not, in itself enough. Advertisements and previews were also watched and coded. All were noted down and those that contained an element of sex were 'flagged' and then the standard event form was filled in. In addition there were 'frontispiece' and 'endpiece' forms that were completed at the beginning and end of each programme. The former asked for such details as the genre to which the programme belonged and the country from which it came. The latter asked for a check total of the number of forms completed. Together they enabled a check on the time slot into which the programme had been placed.

Note:

To examine the instrument used refer to Appendices I-III.

6. THE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

Once the contract was finalised, the facilities for the research were organized, and the coders chosen and trained.

Coders

Ms Rachel Davies had worked on the Violence Survey in 1991. She is a B.Ed graduate working as a tutor, marker and researcher for the Education Department in 1992. Ms Lucy Watson is a Media Studies and Psychology major also taking papers in Statistics. As there was no subjective assessment required in this project that was not tied to strict guidelines it was not felt necessary to analyse the educational or class backgrounds of the two coders in the way that was attempted for Violence research last year. (Watson *et al.*, 1991:17).

The coders were paid at the standard university rate for such work.

Training

One day was given to training the coders. While this might seem a short time span compared with work overseas and the time taken to train the Violence coders last year it was satisfactory for this exercise. The form was easily comprehensible. One coder had worked for more than a week on last year's project and the form had been made available for private practice sessions during its development.

The time devoted to training was used to work through the 'Notes to Coders' (Appendix IV) with reference to the B.S.A. documents and television extracts.

Coding

The two coders worked for a total of 104 hours (fifty-two each) over one week and four subsequent Tuesdays. Because the material was all on logged video-tapes it was possible to keep coding hours within the normal working day and it was not necessary to work into the evening and night as it had been with the violence project.

The coders were able to refer problems to the principal researcher as they arose. However, they found little difficulty with the whole exercise and few matters needed moderating.

7. THE RESEARCH ENVIRONMENT

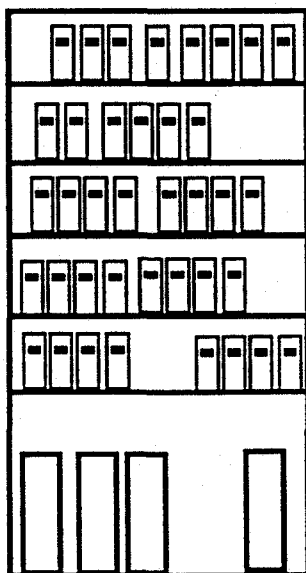
A video editing room belonging to the Education Department at Massey University was used for checking the coded tapes.

The edit suite had two units with the tape controlled by 'jog' dials and time counters. These units were side by side. One coder worked on one with the other beside her. They were able to line up two tapes at a time and consult each other when a sexual image or event occurred.

A cabinet in the room held all the tapes and documents from the 1991 TV Violence Survey. The technician was available next door when they required help.

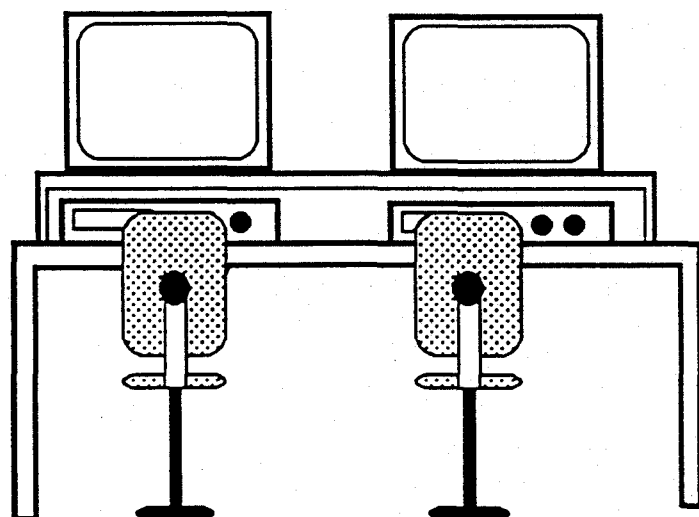
Diagrammatic Representation of the Coding Environment.

VIDEO TAPE STORAGE



VIDEO UNIT #1

VIDEO UNIT #2



CODER #1

CODER #2

8. THE WEEK OF THE SURVEY

The entire week of television was recorded from the 11th - 17th February 1991. Initially this was done to permit an analysis of the violence broadcast during the week. At the time that it was coded for this purpose programmes which contained 'sex' were flagged and numbered eighty-six in total. It is these eighty-six programmes that are the subject of this research. As far as the general characteristics of the week's programming was concerned the Violence Report noted that:

"The viewing week saw some 366 hours of television screened on New Zealand's three national channels. (Sky Television, still a regional service and pay-to-view, was excluded from the survey). This figure was boosted by the additional coverage provided because of the Gulf War, which accounted for an extra 40 hours of on-air time." (Watson *et al.*, 1991:23)

Items of a sexual nature may occur within the News so it was expected that with the extension of the bulletins the frequency of sex items would be increased. As it happened the bulletins were so preoccupied with war news that this did not happen (see Section 10.2.10).

The Violence Report went on to add that:

"It was also an atypical week with the continued onset of the Summer season of new programmes, with nine starting that week, and the coverage given to the two one-day cricket matches between New Zealand and England. (TV 1 covered these in their entirety). On the other hand, it might be argued that no week of television is strictly "typical", with seasonal programme fluctuations evident throughout the year." (1991:23)

Television scheduling is vital to a channel's success. The norm is a set of fixed, virtually immutable points, which provide a framework with which the viewer becomes familiar, and returns to on a regular basis. Good scheduling involves "the matching of the available audience at different times of the day to programme provision - constructing the audience, or responding to its needs, depending on your point of view. (Patterson, 1990:31). This process involves considerations such as the 'Inheritance factor'; the probability that if a programme gets a large audience the following programme can expect to inherit a proportion of that audience.

Such considerations are evident in the programme scheduling on New Zealand's three channels. The fact that TV1 and TV2 are "public" channels, results in an attempt to complement each other to some extent - e.g. with the News on TV1 and the Cartoons on TV2. However, both deliberately compete with TV3 (ultimately for advertisers) in the prime early to mid evening time slots. There are attempts to "line up" a series of related programmes with similar viewer appeal to screen one after another (e.g. *Married With Children* and *The Simpsons* on TV 2 on Friday evening). Most importantly, all three channels follow a family viewing policy, with "soaps" on at lunchtime (for women at home), children/young person's programmes in the mid to late afternoon, news, sitcoms and game shows (family viewing) in the early evening, and dramas, late news and "stronger" material after the watershed time of 8.30 p.m. (It is a moot point whether this notion of the typical family and its viewing habits remains valid in a time of videos and timeshifting possibilities.)

The programmes for all three channels are included in the *Listener*, and in many newspapers; such publicity acting as an important complement to on-air trailers promoting programmes.

9. THE COMPUTERISATION OF THE DATA

Programmes

The logical structure of the main data collected, i.e. that for programmes, is that of a two-level hierarchy. At one level, there is information about a programme showing: the title of the programme, its genre, when the showing commenced and finished, etc. At a second level, there is information about an individual sexual act or image: who did what with or to whom, in what context, etc.

There is potentially a third level in this data, arising from the fact that certain programme titles occur more than once during the week. This happens in two different ways. Firstly, material may be shown more than once during a week. Secondly, a single title may refer to a programme which appears episodically through the week: examples are news programmes and series. However, we ignored this level, as not relevant to the statistics of interest.

The physical entry of the data reflected, but did not exactly match, this logical structure. Three types of form were used by the raters:

- a frontispiece form containing per-showing data; just one of these was completed for each showing;
- an event (sexual act or image) form, containing mainly per-event data, although some per-showing data was repeated here; there were zero or more event forms for each showing, one per recorded event;
- an endpiece form, containing per-showing data, some of it repeated from the frontispiece; this form included the number of event forms completed, as entered by the raters; just one of these was completed for each showing (refer Appendices I-III).

SPSSx was used for data analysis. The first stage was to sort, collate and check the data records, as entered by the data entry operator. Event forms relating to advertisements and previews were set aside at this stage, for possible future analysis.

The second stage was to form two SPSSx system files. The first system file has one record per showing. For each showing, the record contains the information off the frontispiece and the endpiece, together with aggregated data from the events forms, e.g. number of sexual events in the showing.

The second system file has one record per event. It contains the information on the events forms, together with per-showing information copied from the frontispiece and endpiece forms, e.g. start time of the showing; genre of the programme.

The third stage, i.e. carrying out relevant analyses, was then straightforward. Frequency distributions were calculated for all variables across all the data, and also separately for various programme genres. Cross-tabulations were also calculated to check out particular hypotheses, e.g. looking for a relationship between the location of a sexual event and the rater's subjective rating of the event that occurred, from mild to serious. These are described in detail in the following sections.

All analysis carried out was descriptive. No attempt was made to calculate statistical significance for any findings. If that seems surprising, the reader should note that the data does not refer to a sample, but rather to a complete coverage of the television shown during the week. The week itself could of course be regarded as a sample from a population of weeks, but as such is a sample of size one, so no statistical significance can be calculated.

TELEVISION SEX: THE BROAD FINDINGS**10. THE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA**

The computerised data was analysed to obtain general findings, across all the material (reported as 10.1. 'The Broad Findings') and subsequently in relation to programmes of a similar type (reported under the various genres 10.2.1. to 10.2.14). Finally advertisements and previews are treated separately under section 10.3.

10.1 THE BROAD FINDINGS**10.1.1. THE NUMBER OF SEXUAL IMAGES AND ACTS**

During the calendar week from Monday the 11th to Sunday the 17th of February 1991 there were 287 acts or images classified by the research team as 'sexual' and screened on New Zealand's broadcast television channels (Table 1).

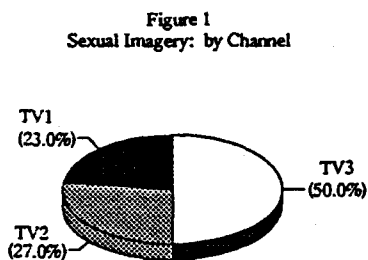
The definition of 'sexual act or image' used for the classification was:

"any action or image of a sexual nature including activity; nudity or sexual language" (refer to Sections 4 and 5 for details as to how the definition evolved).

The inclusion of 'sexual image' as a separate category stemmed from experiences during the 'Violence Research Project' of 1991. During this work it was noted that violent acts could be shown without the image being joined to any cause or result, for example a dead body might be shown at the beginning of a drama without any reference to its relevance to the story, at that stage. Similarly nudity or a couple kissing might not be preceded or succeeded by sufficient detail to complete the coding forms in the way that was possible when the image could be seen as event, or part of a sequence within a narrative. The researchers were instructed to use the

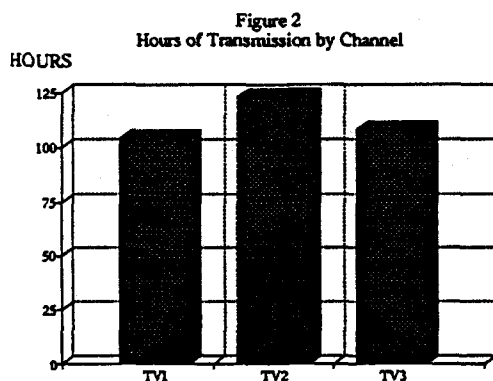
'Image' category to: "cover bodies in a sexual pose which were shown without connection to a specific sexual act or sequence" (refer to Section 6 and to Appendix IV for details of the instructions given to coders).

Thus of the 287 items recorded only eighteen (6%) were of such images rather than acts. Half of them were in films - a quarter in the movie *Love Story*. Another three images occurred in the 'Arts' programme entitled *Entertainment Tonight*. A typical 'image' was that used to indicate that the advertisements were about to come up during the film *Love Story*. A frozen image of Ali McGraw and Ryan O'Neil, in bed, after making love is used before each break.



Of the combined sexual images, and sequences; 23% were screened by TV1; 27% by TV2 and 50% by TV3.

However, when the 'very sexy' acts, coded as '3' and '4' on a five-point scale, and totalling only fifteen all told, were considered TV1 had four of them; TV2 had five and TV3 six. It should also be noted that TV3 had three of the four classified at the highest end of the scale (4) (Table 2). They were all in one programme, a film, *Double Exposure*.



The total hours of transmission for each channel were as follows:

TV1: 104hr23mins; TV2: 123hr13mins; TV3: 108hr38mins; Total 336hr14mins.

When considering the amount of violence on television it has been common practice to divide the number of violent acts into the transmission hours to obtain a 'violent acts per hour' figure. Although the researchers doubt the value of this statistic when it is presented without qualification the figures do give a crude indication of any variation from channel to channel. The 1991 figures for *violent acts and images per hour* totalled 5.83 for TV1; 10.14 per hour for TV2 and 10.32 per hour for TV3. If the same exercise is applied for sexual acts and images the figure

is very much lower. In fact it has to be scored on the basis of how long one would have to wait for such an event or image to come up. On TV1 there was one classified image or act every 1hr 36 mins and one every 1hr 34 mins on TV2. However, for TV3 one would only have to wait forty-six minutes. Thus sexual imagery was more than twice as frequent on TV3 than it was on the other two channels (Table 3).

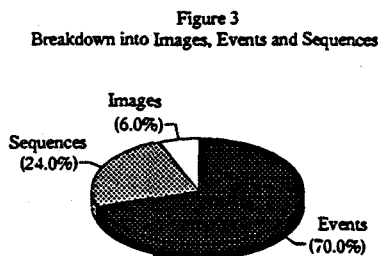
The above analysis suggests that sexual imagery occurs every hour or so but this is a statistical over-simplification if it is taken to mean that there are occasional events evenly spaced. In fact they occur in clumps within particular programmes. A slightly more meaningful figure would be the pacing of the events within the eighty-six programmes that were flagged as having any sex in them. The duration of these eighty-six totalled 80 hours, 25 minutes with 20 hours on TV1; 20 hours, 45 minutes on TV2 and 39 hours, 40 minutes on TV3. If the number of events is divided into these times it indicates that the average number sexual images and events in 'sexy' programmes works out at 1 every 18 mins, for TV1; 1 every 16 mins, for TV2 and one every 17 mins, for TV3 (Table 4).

A problem that arose last year when recording the details of protracted scenes of *violence* stemmed from the question:- 'should every dead Indian be counted as a separate act of violence or should the whole battle be recorded as just one'? In the case of the Massey project in 1991 the coders were asked to note whether the violent image or act was a single event or part of a sequence. They responded by indicating that approximately two-thirds were 'single events' and one third part of a 'sequence'. The same problem was found to arise in the recording of *sexual activity*. Should every kiss and every caress be recorded as a separate act when they are all part of one love-making sequence or should the sequence be treated as one for purposes of scoring the results. It becomes particularly difficult to decide what to do with rapid motion scenes such as the notorious '69 positions in 60 seconds' broadcast by TV3 on the evening of 2 August 1991.

The definition used to discriminate between the two classifications for the violence research (1991) was modified, to serve much the same purpose, as follows:

"A sequence may be composed of several sexual acts scored as one where the series of acts (1) stem from the same initiation and (2) are joined together as one event and (3) happen in the same location (4) to and by the same participants".

In effect each time the initiator and partner changed a new event form was to be completed but where the initiator and partner were the same and did not change places a series of sexual acts was scored on one form as one event. (see Sections 5.2 & Appendix IV for a detailed discussion on this topic).



On examination it was found that the coders had decided that 'single events' made up 70% of the records; 'sequences' 24% and 'images' 6%.

10.1.2. THE TYPES OF SEXUAL ACTS

'Kissing' comprised by far the greatest majority of the recorded sexual acts (84%) followed by 'Petting' at 9%. There were only isolated examples of the other options offered to the coders. There were five examples of 'sexual harassment'; only four of 'sexual intercourse'; two 'indecent assaults' and two examples of 'rape' (one 'attempted' and one 'completed'). These latter examples are too few to be subjected to further statistical analysis but they have been reported in an anecdotal form in section 10.1.5 (Table 5).

10.1.3. SEXUAL ACTS AND THE 'GENRE' OF PROGRAMMES

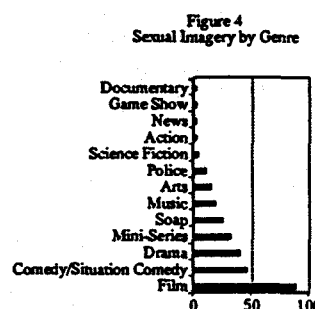
The programme genres which carried large total numbers of such sexual occurrences were:

Firstly, Films, with eighty-eight examples; Comedy and Situation-Comedy combined, with forty-six examples; Drama with forty Mini Series (largely one programme *Voices of the Heart*) with thirty-one and 'Soap' with twenty-five.

Those genres which had very few violent images or acts included:- Action, Documentaries, Game Shows and, perhaps surprisingly, for the week in questions, News. Each of these had only two examples (Table 6).

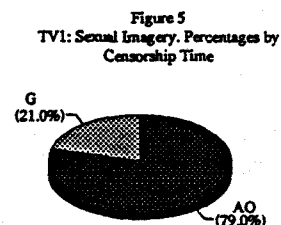
It should be noted that the number of events logged will, in part, reflect the number of programmes belonging to any particular genre screened during the week. There were twenty-four films programmed during the week. Half of them had been 'flagged' as containing sex.

On the other hand there were more cartoons broadcast than any other type of programme. When they were checked for *violence* they were found to have a lot albeit at a 'low level' and as a result the genre percentage for violence ranked high because the total number of examples was high. However, as might be expected, cartoons did not rank at all for sexual events. None were recorded for that genre despite the many hours devoted to their screening.



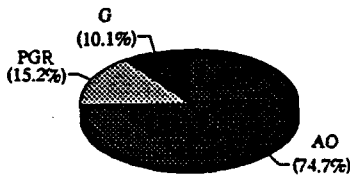
10.1.4. THE TIMING OF THE SCREENING OF SEXUAL IMAGES AND ACTS

The time at which the sexual events occurred did not completely reflect the expectations of the various recommended 'watershed' breaks. This was similar to the findings for violence in the 1991 report where many examples fell within the 'G' (for General) and PGR (for 'Parental Guidance Recommended') time slots. Refer to Appendix V for details of TVNZ's rating scales in relation to broadcast times.



On TV1 there were no sexual images during the time designated as 'G' time slots but there were fourteen (21%) of the sexual events or sequences. The other 79% of these fell within the 'AO' (Adults Only) schedule (Table 7). However, none of those events or sequences shown in the PGR and G schedules rated higher than two on the subjective scale used by the recorders to note the likely nature of societal concern (see Section 10.1.5. for the instructions

Figure 6
TV2: Sexual Imagery Percentages
by Censorship Time



this scale). Typical of those events recorded were a kiss

Moore Show which screened in 'G' time and several *ceans 11* during the 'PGR' schedule.

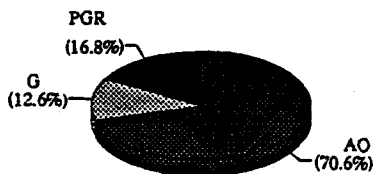
TV2 also had no sexual images either in either G or PGR times but there were 25% of the sexual events and sequences during those time slots (Table 7). Again only four rated three on the subjective scale the rest were scored only one or two in terms of the five point scale that indicated the likelihood that the events would cause

consternation. Three quarters of the sexual events and sequences were broadcast during the 'AO' times.

TV3, with by far the largest number of sexual sequences and events, performed similarly when it came to scheduling. 71% of the examples fell within 'AO' time and 29% within G and PGR times (13% in 'G'; 16% in

'PGR') (Table 7). They had the 'sexual images' that were broadcast in 'G' time. One was the 'I Wanna Make You Sweat' still of a woman in a low-cut dress in the Music Video broadcast in *Shakedown* at 5.02 p.m., the other was a quick glimpse of a bare, male chest in *Man About the House*.

Figure 7
Sexual Imagery; Percentages: Censorship by Time



Because TV3 screened 143 of the week's examples of sexual activity analysed by censorship time the actual number of sexual events and sequences broadcast during the children's time was greater, at forty-two, than TV1

with fourteen or TV2 with twenty but, once again, the level of concern could be mitigated by the low level recorded on the subjective rating. Most were rated only '1' with a few at '2'. None went any higher.

A check against the rating for programmes themselves against the time slots in which they were broadcast showed that New Zealand's television channels correctly placed all the material. There were no breaches of the protocols. This means that the channels screened the programmes in the

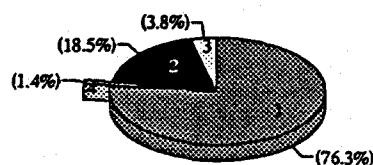
time slots required by the classification given by the programme assessors. If there was some form of sexual activity in G or PGR programmes they had been so classified by the censors despite such imagery.

10.1.5. THE SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION OF SEXUAL IMAGES AND ACTS

Whereas the researchers in the 'Violence Survey' (1991) had been invited to classify the particular violent images and acts which they had logged according to their own perception of how 'serious' it was, it was felt that this would be inappropriate for the sex survey because whereas there had been eighteen coders at work on the violence survey, which gave a measure of variety to their responses that might approximate those of society in general, there were only two coders for the sex project. Thus they were asked to grade the sexual images, events and sequences on a five-point scale "according to the amount of concern that they thought that the example was likely to arouse in society." They had been asked to base this understanding on a study of examples of complaints previously made to the Broadcasting Standards Authority. (See section on 'Training'; 6). This they did using a five-point scale from '1 - not at all likely to cause concern' to '5 - certain to cause considerable public concern'.

Most of the images and acts were not seen by the group categorising them as very serious at all. More than three quarters (76%) of the observations were classified as '1' and another 18.5% as '2'. Thus almost 95% of the sexual images, events and sequences were regarded as not very serious in terms of the concerns that they might give rise to. Only eleven events were scored at the mid-point (three) and four were rated 'four' (none at all were rated 'five' at the extreme end of the scale). Those scoring 'four' could have been expected to disturb large numbers of the public so they are worth describing in some detail (Table 2).

Figure 8
Sexual Imagery by "Severity"



Three of them were in a film entitled *Double Exposure* which was screened by TV3 from 11.10 p.m. on Thursday night and billed as a 'Late Movie'. This American film was a rather poor quality psychodrama where a woman killer was on the loose. He could have been one of several suspects.

The first to score 'four' was a sequence of a couple having intercourse in a caravan. They were naked and a full-frontal image of the female included her body from the head to knees. Pubic hair was visible for a second or two. The love-making was intercut to flash-backs of a clothed couple kissing in a park and later to the image of a woman being stabbed. Although the bodies on the bed moved through several sexual positions mostly the sequence concentrated on the upper body area and stressed kissing. This actual sequence was screened just before midnight.

A little later there is an image of a murdered woman lying in sand-dunes. She is naked, although a sheet (?) covers her lower body but her breasts are exposed. Her neck is marked by strangulation or a knife.

Then, towards the end of the film, there is a four to five second close-up of a photograph that shows a naked woman whose head is not visible although the rest of her body including the pudenda is clearly displayed. There is a knife wound running from the right shoulder to the waist.

The fourth highly scored sexual sequence was noted in *Top Cops* which was broadcast from 9.32 p.m., on Friday on TV2. This American programme is a 'docudrama' of a sub-genre that stresses realism. The audience is supposed to be seeing a real event although in this case the police officer was relating the story of something that happened in the past. All the protagonists are black and the action is within the ghetto. A woman is raped by a stranger on a back lot in a derelict part of town. Her friend seeks aid and she and the policeman come upon the rape in progress. Both the victim and attacker are dressed. The woman is not clearly seen. The man stands, his dress only slightly disordered, and presents a fire-arm at the policeman. This is an unwise move. He is shot.

There is no nudity in this scene; there are no close-ups; sexual movements are minimal - the shot is only held momentarily. However, there is much menace and the sound of the woman's friend crying in the police car lifts

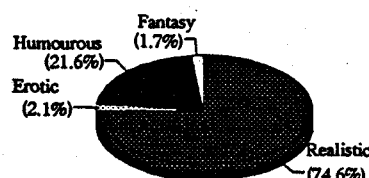
the tension. As a violent scene this was scored 'five' but the coders rated it at 'four' on the basis of the likelihood of its causing public consternation. The treatment was strongly on the side of the law. The didactic element that showed a woman dealing resourcefully with a problem was possibly useful. As a result a complaint would have been unlikely to have succeeded.

An interesting result was obtained when the subjective degree of sexual rating was related to whether the portrayal was 'realistic', 'fantasy', 'humorous' or 'erotic'.

If the event was shown in a 'fantasy' or 'humorous' context it was much more likely to be regarded as not very serious i.e. in the 1 - 2 rating band than if the portrayal was 'realistic' in which case there was a good chance that it would be read as 'sexual' or 'very sexual' (i.e. 3-4). Of the fifteen images and events recorded as '3' or '4' in terms of 'likely to cause concern' 73% were classified as occurring in programmes which were 'realistic'. Four (or 27%) were classified as 'erotic' and none at all, of the more serious examples, were to be found in 'fantasy' or 'humorous' programmes (Table 8).

The erotic images themselves were mostly rated as three of four on the 'likely to cause concern' scale. Two thirds (four out of the six) were in the one programme, 'Pepsi RTR' which was categorized as a music programme. They rated 'three' and were screened in 'PGR' time at 3.56 p.m., and between two children's cartoons. The programme in question was actually a short music video. A group called 'After Seven' were singing their song entitled 'Can't Stop'. Three black singers sang and danced between inter-cuts to images of a couple gradually undressing and eventually making love. There were back-lit kisses and blue-lit bedroom scenes. There was an episode where spilling water sparkled. The inter-textual reference seemed to be to the style of the dance movie *Flashdance* (1983) and the erotic thriller *Nine and a Half Weeks* (1986). The song itself includes the words:

Figure 9
Imagery by Style of the Programme



"You got me thinking/I need protection/'cos your love is so strong/I don't want to do wrong."

In view of the fact that this could be read as a reference to birth control (probably condoms are supposed to be thought of as 'protection') this seems to have been mis-located in a time slot between afternoon cartoons. Although that said the song was treated light-heartedly and looked beautiful (i.e. 'erotic' which the coders were told meant 'arousing').

By checking for the mean (average) level of sexuality of events in particular genres it becomes possible to rank them. When this is done 'Police' (the French call this genre 'Policier') with a mean rating of 1.73 on the five point scale constitutes the genre where the sexual portrayal is seen as most significant. 'Documentaries' follows in second place with a mean of '1.5'. On the other hand sexuality in 'News', 'Science Fiction' and 'Game Shows' rates an average score of only '1.00' with only a couple of examples and no sex was recorded in cartoons or in children's programmes so they don't rate at all.

The mean score on the subjective rating which judged the likelihood of the imagery causing public concern was only 1.3 which, on a five-point scale, is very low indeed. Even 1.73 as the average for the programme genre with the most sexual imagery is a 'low' score in terms of the range available (Table 9).

This averaging of the subjective evaluation of the significance of identifiable sexual images and acts offers a valuable potential for exploration with other groups in society. It would be interesting (although problematic in ethical terms) to see how children responded to a compilation made from the material collected on the tapes and then to check the coding responses of groups of adults deliberately selected by socio-economic, age, or racial criteria. Groups imposing censorship and control are usually from the cultural and economic elite who may not even be consumers of the media

they seek to control. This kind of research would offer an opportunity of extension to find out just what the 'pleasure' factor in viewing such material actually was - for those who enjoyed it.

10.1.6. THE SEX, RACE AND AGE OF INITIATORS AND PARTNERS

The first category sought to discover the details as to who initiated the sexual activity; the second the activity that they initiated and the third to whom they directed this activity. The framework was simplified for the coders as 'Who'; did 'What' to 'Whom'.

There would be considerable opposition to the televising of group sex or sexual activity perpetrated by several persons against one other. However, during the week surveyed 99% of the initiators were single persons and 95% of the activity was directed towards one person [Tables 10(a) and 10(b)]. Of the few cases where there were multiple initiators (4 cases) or recipients three out of four were in comedies such as *Man About the House*. The most disturbing was in the mini series *Secret of the Black Dragon* where a young village woman was attacked by three Tartars intent on rape. She was rescued by the hero who in turn was saved by the freed girl who resourcefully stabbed his attacker.

The initiators were not always male. In fact the split was 60% male; 40% female. The recipients almost marked this division in reverse with 50% female and 42% male (the other 8% were 'both' i.e. multiple recipients - male and female - not transvestites!) [Table 12 (a)].

The initiators were also mostly white (92%) versus (7%) non-white. (On three occasions (1%) the initiator was an 'alien' of indeterminate colour!) [Table 11(b)]. The recipients were 90% white and 5% non-white [Table 12(b)]. In this case there was also a provision for 'both' scoring 5% for occasions amongst those where there were multiple partners.

Figure 10
Initiator(s): Gender

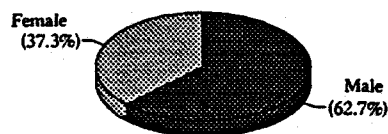
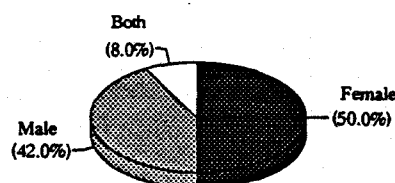


Figure 11
Partners: Gender



They were also most likely to be adult (91% of the time) or adolescent (8.5%) [Table 13(a)]. Only once did a child make the first move. Paedophilia is particularly taboo so it is worth noting that on this occasion the child concerned was actually an alien (in *Alien Nation*). Aged about ten (its hard to tell with aliens) she asked her family what a 'prostitute' was. The event therefore was the use of sexual language. The query was a reasonable one in context. One alien elder observed that a "woman is sacred."

There was also an innocent explanation for the couple of times where an animal was listed. Both cases were within the documentary *Our World: Australia*. The first event involved copulating platypuses splashing about in water. The second example was rather more 'explicit' in that the erect penis of a kangaroo was on view. Whilst he was engaged in intercourse another kangaroo attempted to intervene and a fight ensued. This material was screened at 7.46 p.m., in PGR time, but along with killing for food, sexual activity is conventionally part of wildlife documentaries.

The recipient of sexual favours was never a child and the two animals that were listed were those in the *Our World* documentary. Once again the vast majority of partners (89%) were adult and adolescent (10%) [Table 13(b)].

As well as there being no case involving children there was no example of masturbation either.

The role of the initiator was more often than not outside the categories supplied to the coders. On 54% of occasions they checked 'neutral'. The hero and heroine did start things off in 30% of the cases however, and 'police' and 'authority figures' combined, did so twenty-one times i.e. on 7% of the occasions. The villain was the one who commenced the action 8% of the times and was most likely to do so in a relatively strong way. Of the fifteen examples of the more serious events (rated '3' and '4') seven were initiated by a villain [Table 14(a)].

As far as the role of the partner was concerned 55% were again unclassifiable and the hero and heroine did again receive attention on 32% of the times. The villains, at 3.6% and the police/authority figures, at 4%, were less often the subject of affections than they were the initiators. Few people wanted to proposition a policeman or a crook [Table 14(b)].

The relationship of the initiator to the initiated was interesting. Seventy per cent of the time the link was 'casual'. Only on 25% of occasions were the initiators 'married' to, or in a 'committed relationship' with, the object of their affection. However, overtly 'adulterous' unions only comprised 4% of the examples (Table 15).

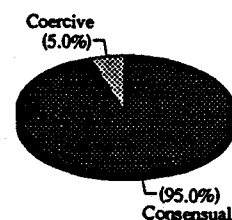
As to what happened if the options: 'kissing', 'petting', 'intercourse' were grouped as 'consensual' and 'sexual harassment', 'indecent assault', 'attempted rape' and 'rape' were joined together as 'coercive' ninety-five per cent of the events were 'consensual' and only 'five per cent' involved coercion (Table 16).

Of the separate categories by far the most popular form of sexual activity was 'kissing' (84%) and petting, which the coders had been told consisted of cuddling and stroking ranging from affectionate displays to sexual foreplay, amounted to 9% (Table 16).

There were only eight examples of sexual intercourse two of which were the animals in *Our World*. The other six included a couple in the adolescent film *The Sure Thing* as well as two love making episodes in the film *Love Story* and two 'stronger' examples in the late film *Double Exposure*.

The five per cent of coercive sexual acts included five examples of sexual harassment, two indecent assaults, one attempted rape and one completed rape. These acts also appeared as examples of violence in last year's analysis of violent acts (Watson *et al.*, 1991). The latter two were recorded as 'fives' on the subjective rating scale. This year the coders gave them 'four'. The difference can be accounted for by the fact that last year the researchers were expressing their own subjective reaction whereas this

Figure 12
Nature of the Event



year they were told to score a 'five' when they felt certain that the event would result in substantial public disquiet. As it happens the attempted rape and achieved rape were not quite in that category. The attempted rape was in the Mini Series *Secret of the Black Dragon* whereas the achieved one was in the police drama *Top Cops*.

There were ninety-five cases of sexual language recorded as part of the 'did what' (or event). About half of the examples (48%) were in a sexual context and accompanied some other form of sexual activity. In 52% of the reported events it was the sexual language that itself constituted the form of sexual activity. In these cases the language was used in a 'non-sexual context'. The division between a choice of 'explicit' and 'euphemistic' language also approximated an equal division (in fact it was 48% 'explicit; 52% 'euphemistic'). When asked to record the actual language used it was of note that 'fuck' and its derivatives and 'cunt' were never used. These are the two words that BBC commissioned research found to be almost universally regarded as the most offensive (Millwood Hargrave, 1991:9). The former has occurred within certain documentaries and films on television in New Zealand, but rarely, and its use within the film *Jagged Edge* in 1990 was challenged and apologized for. Generally television tries to use 'soft' versions of such films where the expletives have been pre-edited out or changed. Most words were used only once or twice although the word 'sex', used on thirteen occasions constituted 10% of the occurrences. 'Do it' was the most common euphemism (12 times) followed by 'make love' (ten uses). 'Prostitution', 'lover', and 'whore' were each used three times. All the rest, of the total of 130 examples were used only once or twice.

Nudity often arouses public interest and condemnation when it occurs on television. There is also an obvious convention that treats male and female bodies differently. Thus the coding form listed male nudity from 'chest' as the least likely to cause offense through 'back-top', 'bottom', 'back all', 'genitalia' to 'front all'. The coding values went from 1 through 6. For women the convention starts with the 'back-top' through 'bottom' to 'back-all', 'breast', 'genitalia' to 'front-all'. During this week the score for men averaged 1.7 and for women 2.4 on the 1-6 scale of affrontery [Tables 18(a) and 18(b)].

On more than half of the occasions (male 59% and female 55%) one was most likely to see just the top back of either sex. There was only a single case for each sex where the camera moved down to expose a 'bottom'. There were no 'front-all' (commonly referred to in the trade as 'full frontal') shots of males at all although there were two of a woman [Tables 18(a) and 18(b)]. Both occurred in the film *Body Double*, the first time as an event when a woman disrobed to make love and the second where a photograph of a dead woman was shown as a static image. In both cases pubic hair was visible. 'Full-frontal' shots have been used on television but very rarely. No one can recollect any close-ups of genitalia, usually the body is shown in long shot. Censors in the book and video media are condemnatory of any concentration on body parts to the exclusion of the whole. Male genitalia are very rarely shown. Bruno Lawrence's nude scene was cut from the television screening of *Smash Palace* in 1988.

Interestingly, female breasts were shown on eleven occasions and constituted 38% of the examples of female nudity during the week. Scored at 4 on the six point coding scale this largely accounts for the female average of 2.4. versus that of 1.7 for males. Since most camera persons, directors and other technical crew are male the contention by critics such as Kaplan (1983) and Mulvey (1974) that much media viewing is voyeuristic and that from a male viewpoint is born out by this week's figures.

10.1.9 THE CONTEXT IN WHICH THE SEXUAL ACTIVITY OCCURRED

Eighty-one per cent of the sexual activity was indoors [Table 19(a)] usually in the bedroom (21% of the locations specified). Other common locations include the living room (16%). In a 'hospital' (ten examples) also stood out although this had a lot to do with the screening of the film *Carry on Matron* [Table 19(b)].

There are very many possible places for sexual activity. Sixty-six different ones were specified.

Figure 13
Day/Night

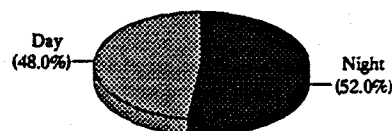
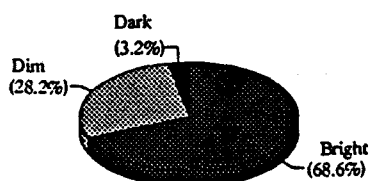
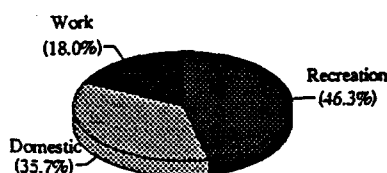
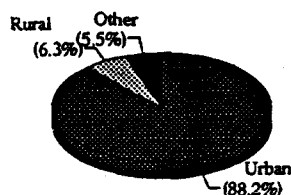


Figure 14
Light Level

It is slightly (52% v 48%) more likely to take place during the day and on two-thirds of the occasions in bright light. Sex was scarcely ever a matter for the dark (3% of examples). This latter figure reflects the need for light so that the cameras and audience can see what is going on rather than any lack of inhibition on the part of the television sex partners [Tables 20(a) and 20(b)].

Figure 15
Location

The favourite context for sexual activity was in a recreational setting (46%). Only thirty-six per cent of the cases were within a 'domestic' context. This was also the place where three of the five cases of sexual harassment occurred. Eighteen per cent of the examples of sexual activity took place at work [Table 21(a)].

Figure 16
Location

Most of the settings, even those labelled 'recreational' were within the city boundaries. Eighty-eight per cent were categorized as happening in an urban environment. Only six per cent were in rural or 'other' settings. Like the need for light this probably also reflects the exigencies of television production where rural locations require an expedition from the city studio [Table 21(b)].

10.1.10. THE 'STYLE' OF THE SEX

Most of the sex was undertaken 'lovingly' (56%) although quite a lot (35%) was treated 'casually'. Only nine per cent could be described as being a negative experience with small numbers recorded for the style of the act as being undertaken 'angrily' (eight cases); 'threateningly' (5 cases); 'frustratedly' (4 cases); and 'violently' (3 cases). These latter were the attempted rape in *Secret of the Black Dragon*, the rape in *Top Cops* and the molestation of the hitchhiker in *The Sure Thing* (Table 22).

the Black Dragon, the rape in *Top Cops* and the molestation of the hitchhiker in *The Sure Thing* (Table 22).

The coders were acquainted with the work of Laura Mulvey and Ann Kaplan (1974 and 1988) in terms of the 'male gaze' and were asked to judge who was looking at whom. They could categorize the scene as voyeuristic from the point of view of the television watcher. Such scenes might also be described as 'gratuitous' in that they were not integral to the drama. Alternatively the 'gaze' might be classified as voyeuristic in terms of the dramatis personae. In these cases the characters in the action were looking at each other and such looking was part of the narrative requirement. Finally, it was possible to classify the scene as aimed at both those within the drama and those at home. In this case there would be an element of display for the sake of the audience as well as for the story. Such cases usually contained more explicit detail than was needed to advance the narrative. The result of these rather subjective assessments was that 9.5% of the scenes were primarily directed at the television watcher; 70% were integral to the plot and the characters within it and a further 21% served both (Table 23).

Examples of scenes which the coders had designated as essentially designed to pleasure the audience included seven instances in the film *Double Exposure* mostly comprising female nudity and sexual intercourse. Whilst the 'gaze' is generally taken to be 'male' there are times when it is constructed for female watchers. Kaplan contends that such imagery is invariably mediated by males and thus seen by females through male eyes. Recently some feminist writers (e.g. Gamman, 1988:8ff) have conceded that there may indeed be a female way of looking at sexual images. The coders were not asked to consider the sex of the voyeurs so this subtlety was not explored.

Most of the examples (75%) were seen as essentially 'realistic' in portrayal although 22% were 'humorous'. The fantasy and erotic categories made up only 3% of the total with half a dozen examples of each. However, 'erotic' is exclusive to sexual imagery and generally thought to be the preserve of video tape rather than broadcast television (Patton, 1989:102ff) so that an examination of the six cases might seem warranted. They included the four cases within the one music video in the *RTR Pepsi* slot which as noted above consisted of a couple disrobing and making love in

a series of intercuts from three men singing the song 'Can't Stop'. The other two were to be found in the film 'The Sure Thing' where in a dream-like sequence the young hero has a flash-forward vision of the girl he hopes to meet, clad in a swim-suit, lying on a rug and saying 'You want it; I want it; you know I want it'. There was also the photographic image in *Double Exposure* of the dead woman's body.

Mostly the use of sexual imagery was considered justified (94%) but there were sixteen cases classified as 'gratuitous' [Table 25(a)]. These scenes averaged 2.5. on the subjective 'concern' scale which is higher than the average over all of only 1.3 [Table 25(b)]. Suggesting that some of the gratuitous images could be the ones that would cause problems for the public. It could well be that it is the very gratuity of the image that was responsible for this problem.

Nearly half of the examples quoted (7 out of 16) occurred within the film 'Double Exposure' where frequent nudity was a feature. Even so such nudity was generally in terms of sex scenes which were an integral part of the film but the coders felt that the camera's male eye dwelt longer on the images than was necessary to advance the story. This film was programmed for very late at night.

In 'G' time there was a suggestive little cartoon introduction to *Blind Date* screened at 6.30 p.m. on TV2 which the coders judged as gratuitous. Various couples appeared on a pack of cards in the place of the King, Queen and Jack and the last two come together and kissed. This was regarded as very unlikely to cause offence and only scored '1' on the scale devoted to that aspect.

It also happened that six of the 'gratuitous' images and events were also classified as 'erotic' with the 'audience' noted as 'voyeurs'.

10.1.13. SEXUAL TELEVISION AND THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF THE PROGRAMMES CONCERNED.

Provision was made to record the country of origin of each programme. By far the greatest supplier of material was the USA with 46% of the programmes transmitted during the week. NZ was second followed by the U.K. and Australia (Table 26).

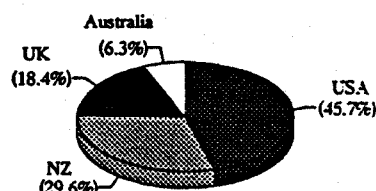
The source of the sexual imagery, in terms of quantity, was related to the number of programmes from each country although in percentage terms there was more in American television than expected: The U.S.A. supplied 72.5%; the U.K. 19.5%; N.Z. 4% and Australia 4% (Table 27). Strangely there was no male nudity from Australia, the single male bottom was American. Female breasts did figure once in Australian programmes, not at all in those from New Zealand, four times from Britain and seven in material from America.

Both examples of violent sex were from the U.S., and they had a preponderance of acts that were done 'frustratedly' and 'angrily' (Table 28). They were also responsible for all but one of the examples that the coders felt might cause concern at the '3' and '4' level of the five point rating scale.

Since the above figures will have been distorted by the volume of the material coming from each country it would be more interesting to calculate just how sexy the material is, on average, from each country. This figure can be obtained by dividing the number of sexual events into the number of programmes from each to produce a crude indication of which country produces the greater proportion of sex on television. The result is as follows:

New Zealand has one example of sexual imagery for every eleven programmes; Australia one for every two and a half; the U.K. one for every one and a half and America one per programme (Table 29). The United

Figure 17
(All) Programmes: Country of Origin



States also supplies the largest number of programmes (204), the highest percentage of which include sexual imagery (23%). New Zealand with the second largest number of programmes (132) has the smallest percentage with sexual material (3%) [Table 30]. Thus, programmes which originate from the U.S. have more sexual imagery than those from other sources and, as has been demonstrated, these programmes have the sexual material that is most likely to cause offence. However, both the quantity of sex and its severity could well be connected to the genre of these programmes. This aspect will be addressed in the next section (10.2).

10.2. TELEVISION GENRES

The concept of 'genre' originally carried the pejorative connotation associated with formula movies and mass-produced products devoid of personality. However, Steven Neale (1983, 1990) seriously explored the concept and demonstrated that it had a particular applicability to television. Television watchers, even more than film-goers, need to know what to expect when faced with a choice of channels. The function of genre in television is to create an expectation that will be fulfilled. Hence the television viewer gains pleasure from knowing what is likely to be the result of tuning to a particular programme. There are further pleasures to be gained from the subtle differences that are to be found within generic appreciation. Thus the reader of Romance Literature does not find the books to constitute some monolithic whole and the stamp collector can find pleasure in the tiny differences between a page of seemingly identical 'Penny Blacks'.

Morley (1981) has suggested that the intimate knowledge of television genres adds up to a 'cultural competency' for the audience which allows them to 'read' examples of generic form without difficulty. He added that the competencies could vary according to the preferred genre so that a more complex model of genre than that previously used for film could be devised to cover the consumption of different modes or genres from the likes of *Mobil Masterpiece Theatre* to soap opera.

The use of a generic formula for programming, services not only the audience but also, in countries where advertising is permitted, the business wishing to direct its products to a specific target. Brian Rose, writing with the American environment in mind said that:

"Television genres, like radio genres, movie genres, or the genres of popular literature are essentially commodities manufactured for, and utterly dependent on, public consumption and support...the formulas which have endured are those which manage to yield a regular profit for their producers."

Much more attention has been paid to the issues surrounding the portrayal of violence on television that has been devoted to those connected with sex on television. Gunter (1985) when discussing violence noted that it was violence in a 'realistic' mode that caused most concern. Thus the news, documentaries, and drama in the documentary style were the most problematic. Obvious fictions and fantasies did not raise the same degree of concern. Fiske (1989) also noted that it was the working class that liked the action dramas which used violence extensively and suggested that opposition to such material could be class based.

As will be noted in the following sections devoted to the representation of sex in the various genres popular on television there are differences in the degree of realism adopted by the producers of work in each genre. In particular comedy, the news and talk shows used language more than image when dealing with sex. For comedy this language was often in the form of euphemism and innuendo whereas for news and talk shows it was factual. However, when the likelihood that the treatment might cause offence was considered it was the portrayal of sex in realistic film and drama productions that was seen as most likely to generate opposition.

Just as the use of violence has a long pedigree in entertainment so has the use of sex. The history of sexual humour includes the likes of Rabelais and Chaucer and for the working classes the long tradition of musical hall and burlesque. Just as simulated violence offers sensation by raising the levels of adrenaline in the body so sexual treatment may pleasure the viewer in that it raises the libido. Neither sensation is allowed free licence. Society attempts to control both. An understanding of the relative power of various manifestations to raise the levels of excitement is therefore of much interest. The following sections will examine in detail the way that sexual material is used in a variety of television genres.

10.2.1. FILMS AS GENRE

Films are very popular on television both with viewers and programmers. For the former they promise free entry to what they would otherwise pay for and for the latter a cheap, long duration, piece of programming throughout which a viewer is likely to stay with the channel and its advertisers. During the week of 11-17th February 1991 films occupied nearly fifty hours of programming time or 15% of the week's total. (See Appendix VI for a list of the films screened during the week of 11 -17 February 1991). Of these films 87% were regarded as 'realistic'; 10% as humorous and only five, or one per cent as 'fantasy'.

Several factors make the viewing of films on television a different experience from viewing the same material in the cinema. The most striking is that the television screen is so small and the room in which it is watched is lit. In the home, viewing is interrupted; in the cinema attention is programmed to be without pause, save for a single refreshment break.

Broadcast television, in New Zealand, is subject to many advertising breaks which are orchestrated during films to be fewer at the beginning and more as the film goes on as the patrons become hopefully hooked and unwilling to turn off or change channels. In any case many home viewers make their own breaks for refreshments, toilet visits etc. These do not always coincide with the advertising brackets. They also talk to their family and even to the screen in a way that

custom discourages in the cinema. Thus the viewing of films on television is a much less concentrated experience than it is in the cinema. Hence the intensity of the reaction to violence and horror is diminished by the television environment (McLuhan,1968).

One could use this lessening of the impact as a case for a lesser censorship of television vis a vis the cinema but for the fact that the viewer must make a conscious decision to visit the cinema whereas many viewers leave the television programmer to choose their fare making little effort to select beyond choosing favourite programmes and flicking the remote control at intervals. Thus there is a good chance that the home viewers might come, inadvertently, across something that they would rather not see. Furthermore, all members of the family are able to watch television. Whereas younger members will be stopped at the door of the cinema if they are too young for the film in terms of the censors' ruling. In the home it will be up to the parent to control the viewing habits of their young. This is not easy when there is one television set and all the family is present. It is made nearly impossible in these days of multiple sets where many children have their own in their own room.

As a result films on television are censored more rigorously than they are in the cinema. However, cinema films nowadays are very frank about sexuality and, since the advent of technical developments in special effects, very explicit in terms of violence. Many films have multiple scenes of either or both. Should such material be purely gratuitous and incidental to the development of the story there will be no problem for television's censors (actually like many censors they don't like the word and prefer to be called 'assessors') in cutting it out but very often to do so will destroy the coherence of the story-line and as a result some potentially offensive material may be left in

Programmers attempt to minimise the controversy that this will cause by slotting problematic films into times which are designated as PGR (Parental Guidance Recommended) or AO (Adults Only - refer to appendix V for details of the times allocated to these categories).

Ironically many viewers are irked by the advertising breaks and strict censorship of films on television. They have alternatives, however. They can subscribe to Sky Television where the management claims that films are screened in the way that the film censor released them for the cinema. Alternatively they may rent the same films in their uncut state from the Video Rental Parlours.

This alternative availability of film that can be received or played on television together with the aversion of much of the public towards censorship of their personal viewing creates an increasing tension for the television censors who are conscious of the competition for their

audience. As a result films on television are being treated more liberally. *Jagged Edge*, in 1990, had expletives left in that are normally cut and *Room With a View*, in 1992, included full-frontal images of male nudity.

The British Broadcasting Standards Council in their *A Code of Practice*, (London, 1989) noted that:

“Nudity, provided that it in no way exploits the nude person by presenting him or her simply as a spectacle, can be a legitimate element in the material being transmitted. However, it should be recognised that nudity as the prelude to or aftermath of sexual intercourse, like the simulation of the act itself, has provoked protests from those who feel such things have no place in public display.” (pp 39-40)

Even more significant than nudity in the minds of the general public is a concern with sex that is coupled to violence. However, despite the public perception that there is a lot of sexual violence in our media all New Zealand's censors of film, video, book and television, are very strict on this particular coupling of taboos and commonly ban or cut it. Difficulties arise when such sexual violence is the core of a story that appears to have some merit or, on rare occasions, where a misjudgement is made or an anecdotal cause célèbre arises.

Examples of the former i.e. 'misjudgements' includes the problem outlined in the protracted correspondence between TVNZ., a Ms Coffey, and subsequently, the Broadcast Standards Authority with regard to 'A Big Doll's House' (an 'ultra-tacky made-in-the-Philippines sexplotation film') which screened on the 27 November 1989.

Whilst explicit sexual imagery, which is not attached to violence, has been permitted, since May 1986, in videos that are labelled R18, the same licence has not been applied to broadcast television and the 'assessors' tend to cut much that is permitted in the cinema when it comes to be re-broadcast on television.

Certain genres of films are more prone to being problematic than others. In particular Romance and Crime movies as well as some domestic dramas and the more Rabelaisian of Youth Movies are likely to have sexual scenes that could cause controversy. Even Westerns, Science Fiction and Historical dramas, where the intensity of the sexuality is distanced by time, may have incidents that require close attention. The makers of these films made them for the cinema. If they had been making them for television they would have taken the increased sensibility of the situation into account. Programmes that are made for television are inclined to be conservative

from the outset, although there are clear differences in the way that nudity is handled by American and European television directors. It is the Americans who are most cautious (Shiffman, 1985:59). Most so called 'television movies' produced in America, rarely present problems - they can usually be recognised as unnaturally bland!

In the week of our watching there were twenty-four films programmed. Seven, or nearly a quarter, were shown on Saturday - the traditional day for film watching in the Western World! Thirteen of these films scored ninety of the 287 examples of sexual imagery logged for the week. They also picked up three out of the four events that rated four on the subjective rating scale that judged the likelihood of offence being caused (Table 31).

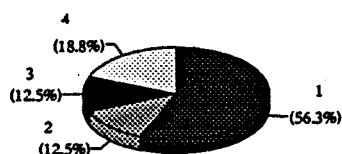
For the purpose of the survey coders were instructed to mark the genre of all movies shown during the week as 'film' but this is not a fair description of the content. Films have their own genres. As it happens these genres are actually more fluid and more subject to hybridization than television genres (Neale, 1990) but they nonetheless serve to tell the potential viewer what to expect and in all of the reviews in the Listener the films were allocated to a genre, if only by the passing use of the appropriate adjective (refer to Appendix VI).

A quarter of the sexual incidents logged in films occurred within The Romance Film *Love Story* which was screened by TV1 on the Thursday afternoon, in 'AO' time (even though the assessors actually rated it 'PGR'). It is a sad story about a young couple who meet and fall in love at a New England college. Tragedy, in the form of mortal illness, strikes just as they are about to put years of student hardship behind them. But first, they make lyrical love on several occasions two of which are shown in some detail. The weather is cold. It is snowing. After playing in the snow (such 'fooling around' often precedes adolescent sexual activity) they make love in a dormitory room. The camera swirls about (as is customary in such scenes) and concentrates largely on the upper body. The level of nudity avoids the exposure of any erogenous zones. The coders did not think that any of these scenes would be likely to cause public concern beyond the level '2' on their five point scale.

Another romantic, adolescent, film was *The Sure Thing* which was transmitted on Wednesday by TV2 beginning at 8.30 p.m., again in 'AO' time. The love-making scenes in this film were rather more explicit, in the amount of flesh shown, than those in *Love Story* but this could be explained by changing mores over time as *The Sure Thing* was made in 1985 whereas *Love Story* came from 1970. The language, too, in the more recent film, was sexually explicit with comments like "ten inches of man meat" and "you want it, I want it, you get it" as part of the college macho dialogue. The film also included four scenes featuring some level of nudity including a male bottom. This latter aspect of nudity is a favourite of adolescent films. It

constitutes one of the breaches of 'maternal taboos' that young men delight in. They appear to be reacting to childhood injunctions requiring modesty. Other scenes often show gross eating habits, untidy rooms and flatulence - all behaviours likely to shock parents. It should be noted, however, that the intercourse scene was presented in fantasy mode as a dream sequence and was gentle in style.

Figure 18
Severity Rate of Sequences/Events and
Images in "Double Exposure"



As has been noted several times in section 10.1 the film that most concerned the coders was the psychodrama *Double Exposure*. Made for the cinema it was a low-budget thriller which the Listener critics listed as 'done with a little more panache than some of this sub-genre'. Nonetheless it was often exploitative in style. Nearly half of the sex labelled as gratuitous by the coders (seven of sixteen examples) was within this film where frequent nudity was a feature. Even so such nudity was generally in terms of sex scenes which were an integral part of the films. The coders, however, felt that the camera's 'male eye' dwelt longer and more prominently on such images than was strictly necessary to advance the story. It should be noted that this film was broadcast very late and that the sequences which were scored at '3' and '4' on the five point rating scale all came after midnight.

Double Exposure TV3 23.10 to 1.33



The Professionals was a Western set in Mexico. It was a violent film but excesses set in the past seem more tolerable than those set in the present. There was no sexual violence in the movie but there was a voyeuristic sequence where Lee Marvin and Burt Lancaster watched a female soldier washing herself. They used binoculars to see more closely and the audience was privy to the same view. There was also an explosive sex sequence when the commander of the garrison was preparing to make love at the moment that the arsenal was hit.

A British film that scored a large number of sexual events (12) was *Carry On Matron* (1973). This film was programmed as part of the 'Carry On' series, late at night on the final Sunday of the coded week. Like most British comedies the sexual content was largely a matter of verbal innuendo with the odd example of a leering camera lens dwelling on semi-exposed female breasts. An example of both at once was the visit of a voluptuous patient to the doctor. She wore a low-cut dress, and an uplift bra; the camera angle was high. She said:- "I visited you several months ago worried about my husband being unable to have a baby. He is eighty-eight. You suggested that I take in a lodger a little nearer my age. Well, I did and I'm pregnant." The doctor asks how her husband feels about this and she replies:- "he's tickled pink." Then to a similar question about the lodger she adds:- "Oh, she's pregnant too!"

There are many similar examples of sexual language rather than imagery although there is one sequence where a chase runs through a bathroom where a nurse is having a bath. However, the bubbles preserve modesty and nudity is limited to a back view.

Most of the harassment and much of the sexual language revolves around the fact that one of the nurses is a man in drag. Such cross-dressing is another historic feature of British humour. The use of innuendo dates back to the days of the music hall where euphemism helped avoid the strictures of censorship. In a way such double entendres perform the same function in avoiding television censorship today.

It would be unfair to take the statistics for 'films' as though this rather limited sample was some monolithic whole. These will have to be taken as a small sample of a much wider programming pattern for the year. A special study of films throughout a longer period, even one whole year, would be needed to validate any generalizations that might be made.

10.2.2. COMEDY AND SITUATION COMEDIES - AS GENRE

Euphemism and double entendre is also a standard device used in comedy. Both in those from England and from America.

"*Allo Allo*" broadcast at 7.30 on TV1 has the method down to a fine art. The episode that was transmitted on Monday was a carry-over from the week before and opened with René cross-dressed in a red corset with his hands bound above his head in a dungeon. The males in this programme have a variety of inadequacies. It is the females who command. Herr Flick begs a kiss from Helga who accepts it chastely. Flick then observes:- "you're reaching the ecstasy point very quickly these days." The laughter of the audience is often used to underline the innuendo, in case the audience might miss it. In this case there is laughter (inserted?) after the follow up line "it comes with practice".

Towards the end of this instalment Colonel von Stroem is in bed with the maid Yvette, who is dressed in standard fantasy maid attire. He is attempting to take some sexy photographs. The voyeuristic play with the concept of camera and audience both looking at the action is directly along the lines suggested by Mulvey (1974) and Kaplan (1983). The coders rated the sexual imagery as mostly '2' (it is diffused by the comedy environment) and the language as '1' (in terms of the likelihood that it would cause offence). Whilst some parents might object to children watching this programme (it was broadcast in 'PGR' time) much of the humour is itself childish and the allusions would require prior knowledge in order that they be decoded.

Haggard, immediately follows *Allo Allo*, presumably in the expectation that an audience which enjoyed the first will stay with the channel if more of the same is on offer (see Section 10.2 on Television Genre). This version of a Restoration Comedy opens with a master and servant talking about a 'lusty wench' and her 'magnificent globes'. The master tries out an aphrodisiac on the male servant. It works and he makes advances on the master - another version of the British predilection for covert homosexual role-play in comedy. However, when it is tried on Betty, the maidservant it is ineffectual and she, in command, bops her master on the head.

Fawlty Towers, in an episode that is a comedy of sexual manners satirising bourgeois double standards, has Basil propositioned by a Frenchwoman imaginatively named Mrs Peignoir (i.e. 'nightgown') at the same time as he struggles to keep amorous guests in their own rooms. Once again most of the sexual material is confined to language although his assistant, Polly, wears a close-fitting 'T' shirt when she comes on duty to which Basil observes "we have abandoned the idea of topless afternoon teas".

Married with Children is an American situation comedy that largely eschews sexual images but uses language in a more raunchy way than the English. Again double entendres and suggestive language are the norm.

In the episode broadcast at 8.30 p.m. ('AO' time) on TV2 Marcie, the next door neighbour leans against the kitchen table and recounts to Peggy her memories of Elvis Presley. She does this in a rising crescendo of excitement that is obviously sexual and includes phrases such as "...his buns, alive with magic; his hips undulating, swirling, driving his essence into my very soul etc." Finally Marcie collapses over the table in a parody of orgasm. The roar from the audience indicates that they saw it this way (perhaps there is an inter-textual reference to a similar scene in the film *When Harry Met Sally* (1989) which was released just before this episode was made).

Doogie Howser MD on TV2 at 7.40 p.m. has a youthful appeal based on the fact that the young doctor is himself a child genius aged sixteen or seventeen. The programme is based on the success of a sub-genre in the cinema where children and adults swap bodies. Much of the humour comes from seeing a child in a sexual situation thinking and talking like an adult but looking child-like. In this episode a pretty older woman 'comes on' to Doogie Howser, kisses and propositions him. That there is something vaguely disturbing about this is intensified if the paradigmatic situation is imagined where instead of being a male Doogie Howser was a young female being propositioned by an older male. Such a scenario would not be tolerated. Doogie Howser does not have a laugh track which probably accounts for the coders' choosing to rate it as 'realistic'.

Much of the humour in many comedy programmes, where the male is harassed by a female, would not be allowed if the roles were reversed.

The Wednesday episode of the American situation-comedy *Working Girl* had a female character dismissing a male waiter with the comment "Just because you know how to fill a pair of jeans don't think that gives you any right to talk to me." She later bales him up in a room to which he has retired to mop wine from his trousers and kisses him aggressively. This time there is a laugh track to lessen the impact and the sequence was scored at only '1' on the 'severity rating' scale but if the sex-roles had been reversed I venture to suggest it would have been much higher.

10.2.3. DRAMA - AS GENRE

Whereas the examples of sex in comedy consisted largely of innuendo, gender bending, and slapstick humour, those found in 'drama' are generally regarded as 'realistic' and the language is more likely to be explicit. Although if it is too forthright (see 10.2.1.) is likely to be bleeped or edited out.

The British Broadcasting Standards Council has noted that this is the genre that has brought them most complaints. In their *Code of Practice*, (London, 1989) they observed that:- "It is from the over-representation of sexual activity in televised or filmed drama that the most enduring controversies have arisen in recent years." (p 38).

Most of the programmes listed as 'drama' were in fact crime programmes. Of the eight programmes all but two (*GP* and *Chelworth*) fell into this category. Also, of the eight all but two (*Ruth Rendall Mysteries* and *Chelworth*) were American in origin.

Trial by Jury which was 'stripped' (broadcast each day at the same time - like a soap opera) contained the largest number of examples of sexual material with fourteen out of the forty scored in this genre. As most of the drama is set in the courtroom the sexual episodes are seen in flashback to the situation that brought about the trial. On Monday the story concerned a politician who was suspected of having murdered his mistress. Entitled *The Case of an Indiscretion* there was both detailed talk of a sexual nature and a sequence where the defendant made love to his mistress. This was shot from behind the woman, who was wearing a night dress, towards the man who was bare-chested. They were in bed and it was, of narrative necessity, an adulterous relationship. However, it was done in 'the best of all possible taste' because it was designed for American television and they have strict rules about what is permissible. The American critic, Shiffman, in an article entitled *No nudes - good nudes*, published in *TV World*, in September 1985 asserted that "US (broadcast) television can be characterised as America's 'bastion of conservatism'" and goes on to add that "a real and valid concern is the use of nudity by the Europeans. It is no secret that European television will air programming scenes that will not be approved by American programmers..." (p 59).

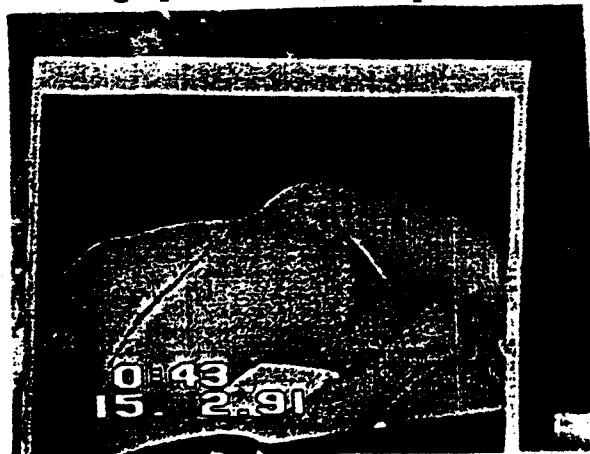
These strictures stem, not from a sense of morality, but from a desire not to annoy the advertisers who will place their advertisements within breaks in the programme. Shiffman adds:- "If we aired nudity our viewers would desert us and our advertisers would boycott us" (p 59). This constraint does not apply to British directors producing material for BBC 1 or Channel 4, which do not run advertisements, hence the inclusion of nudity that would not be acceptable to American television producers.

Even so some critics see the restrictions imposed by the need to observe the restrictions of the British Broadcasting Standards Council as leading to a formulaic approach to the depiction of sex on television even in British programmes. In other words the rules make for sex to appear bland and unrealistic just as it is being attacked for being gratuitous. Andrew Clifford in the Review/Screen section of *The Guardian* (7.11.91) in an article entitled "*Lots of Lust but Little Love*" castigated *The Men's Room* (screened in New Zealand in June 1992) for sex that was "conventionally filmic" but "so discreetly 'explicit'." He referred to the "hands digging into the mattress" and the "oh-ing noises". He said that it was not that television didn't do enough "to ensure that viewers perceive sex as part of a loving relationship (in fact television is tends to be sentimentally puritanical in precisely this respect)" but rather that it did not risk showing "the reverse traffic: the role sex has in changing love and sex's ability to signify what kind of love is being created." He was looking for sex to be used in the problematic areas, presumably excluded by the rules and concludes, "TV sex isn't anything because it's not truly difficult and distinctive." And that "Sex is sex and love is love and their constant clashes and divergences is where the television camera should be found." (p 30).

The love making in the American drama *Midnight Caller* at 9.30 p.m. on TV3 is in the acceptable vein. It cuts from the radio talk-back host to two naked backs in bed with the man on the phone to the radio station. The next shot is of the woman at the door and the man in bed with a cigarette. The cigarette is a 'code' for sex having taken place that occurred in two other dramas during the week.

There are often sexual images in crime dramas. Invariably of dead naked female bodies. At the time it is not obvious who the perpetrator is or what happened. However, the coding practice that allowed images to be picked up and recorded noted several in *Double Exposure*. There was also one at the beginning of *The Ruth Rendall Mystery*.

'Image': A Photograph from *Double Exposure* TV3: 0.43



10.2.4. MINI-SERIES - AS GENRE

Mini series comprise a special television genre. They are prolonged dramas that look like films but that have the advantage of the extended viewing time that is possible on television if the film is stripped across several days. During the week in question there was only one example; *Voices of the Heart* although *The Secret of the Black Dragon* which began on the last day of the survey was actually programmed to be continued on the following Monday. The coders decided to treat the one episode that they saw as a 'film'.

Voices of the Heart was an extended romantic drama with many of the attributes of a soap opera. However, it had more sexual imagery than the official soaps available during the week in question. There were twenty-nine examples during two days (four hours) of the programme's duration. However, this was a programme made for television and it met the proprieties required of the medium in America. The love-making images included a night-dress for the woman with most of the close-ups concentrating on head and shoulders with the passion depicted through lots of deep mouth kissing with no extension to other parts of the body. Accordingly eighteen examples rated '1' and eleven '2'. None were seen as any more likely to cause concern.

It should be noted that the advertising for these American mini-series is invariably titillating and that the previews for this programme were noted as containing sex (see Section 10.3.2.).

10.2.5. SOAPS - AS GENRE

'Soaps' (literally: 'Soap Operas') comprise a very popular form of television programming. For many they are the archetypal television genre but they really had their genesis on radio where, in the 1930s long-running serials with domestic settings became common. Some of the most popular were sponsored by soap companies in recognition that the listeners were likely to be the women who were their advertising target. 'Melodrama' originally meant 'drama with music'. Although the characters do not sing their parts in the soap operas lush orchestral music does play heavily in the background of many.

Of the seven soap operas one was British, one Australian and the rest came from America.

There are clear differences in style. *Coronation Street* tends to be far more gritty in its working class ethos than the American even though the 'day-time' soaps such as *Days of our Lives* and *The Young and the Restless* purport to deal with ordinary people (as opposed to the gliteratti of the evening shows such as *Dynasty* and *Dallas*). *Coronation Street* also incorporates the British

tradition of the Music Hall with the same use of double entendres and euphemism noted in their comedies. Wednesday's episode of 'The Street' saw a salesman trying to persuade Alec Gilroy to promote a brand of fake champagne with "rump on the hoof - pompom delight girls" and a guest of Derek and Mavis' observed that he and his new wife "did it three times in one day". He meant that they got married three times in one day but that was not the way that Mavis (or the audience?) understood the remark.

All the examples of sexual imagery in the American soaps referred to kissing. These were invariably shown in close-up and in only one case during the week involved disrobing (which was of the discreet American TV style). In fact some of the kisses probably should not have been coded as sexual at all for in at least three cases they were of the 'greeting' kind that Europeans favour. The sexual intent did not seem strong. However, 'kissing' had been provided on the coding forms and the relationships of those kissing did have an element of sexual intensity later in the programme. In *Days of Our Lives* one woman, after receiving the 'greeting kiss', demands another "nice *big* kiss" - and gets it. It is interesting to recall that the first filmed osculatory close-up entitled *Kiss* caused a scandal in 1896 when it was included in an Edison loop.

All the American programmes were broadcast in the daytime 'AO' time slots, around lunch time.

The Australian *Home and Away* is designed to appeal to young people and that was screened at 5.30 p.m. The one sexual event coded referred to language and specifically covered the suggestion that a teenage boy might have been having an affair with an older woman. Bobby says "You've had it off with Mrs Bellingham". It is the words 'have it off' that are coded as sexual language (euphemistic). This programme, like the American ones, contains a lot more talk than action.

10.2.6. MUSIC VIDEOS - AS GENRE

Music on television has a sizeable audience, particularly among younger viewers (Shuker, 1989). They were generally screened at times accessible to their predominately youthful audience, with the exception of *Radio With Pictures*, which is a more serious pop/rock music programme, aimed at older viewers and which screens across the midnight hour on Fridays.

There were six programmes classified within the music genre during the week of the survey. Every one of them had at least one episode categorised as sexual. One, programmed as *Pepsi RTR Video Hits* by TV2 was used as a fill-in between cartoons in the afternoon. The erotically sexual nature of the video *Can't Stop* by the group 'After Seven' which was scheduled during PGR time has already been noted (see 10.1.5.).

'After Seven' 15.56 TV2



The usual technique for including pictures of a sexual nature is to inter-cut flash-back images of past memories with pictures of the band and singer. *Can't Stop* used that approach as did the group 'Living Colour' in the video of their song *Love Rears its Ugly Head*. The clip opens with an overhead shot, in black and white, of a black couple in bed. The image changes to colour as the video cuts to shots of the band and then regularly cuts back to create a narrative of a couples life. We see them in a domestic environment; driving a car; arguing. The woman is always active, at one stage she is dressed in a check suit, but the man is indolent. The sexual shots of kissing and hugging feature close-ups of the woman in a black bra. Like the *Can't Stop* clip this one was also programmed between children's cartoons in the afternoon by TV2.

At 5.00 p.m. on Saturday TV3 included a song by the 'Music Factory' with the title *I Wanna Make you Sweat*. This rap music video was heavily into style, with several close-ups of a woman wearing a low-cut dress. She and a bare-chested man dance erotically.

Immediately following *I Wanna Make you Sweat* was a song introduced as 'New'. Entitled *Miles Away* it was by a group called Winger and like *Love Rears Its Ugly Head* it was in black and white with pictures of the band intercut to a developing narrative that told the story of an affair that had gone wrong. A woman caressed a man and herself in a car in a way which hinted at masturbation (although it was not classified as such) and a later insert showed a man and woman in bed, with the woman on top. She was wearing a nightgown which held the 'severity rate' to a '2'. These images were represented as the reminiscence of a lonely man hugging a pillow. The girl, whose nightdress turned out to be a white 'teddy', is said to have been part of "the dream that we had".

Mario McKee in *Show me Heaven* scheduled at 3.55 p.m., after a cartoon, was yet another example of this rather clichéd approach. She, looking sultry, with flowing hair sang in a dance studio (where there was a convenient settee bed) and remembered past encounters there. There was at least one passionate shot taken from above. Once more the remembered narrative suggested conflict.

If one wished to define a genre for erotic music videos it seems that cut away shots from the band and vocalist to previous events which include lovers tiffs, preferably shot in black and white, would constitute the key to inclusion.

10.2.7. THE ARTS - AS GENRE

There were five programmes classified as belonging to this genre but as it happened just one had all fifteen sexual events recorded. The programme in question was *Entertainment Tonight* broadcast by TV2 at 10.30 p.m. on Sunday night. The programme was about a range of couples who worked together on movies e.g. Bruce Willis and Demi Moore in *Mortal Thoughts*. They were all partners in real life. The sexual imagery usually consisted of clips from their films two-thirds of which were of the pair kissing. The rest included examples of sexual language when they described their relationship. Most interactions were classed as 'lovingly' although a few dramatic extracts indicated anger or frustration. However, on the whole the programme was light-hearted and all but one of the extracts were scored as '1' on the 'severity rating' scale.

The number of items from this one programme that concentrated on an examination of love relationships shows how easily the total for the week could be distorted by one or two programmes that were actually about sexuality. Such a programme would be likely to have a considerable number of images, sequences and events which when calculated against a typical total in the low hundreds could substantially alter the results for the week in which it was shown. The Australian programme *Sex* which began screening in August 1992 would have such an effect as would the rapid-montage clip of *69 Sexual Positions* broadcast by TV3 earlier in August 1991. Actually, when the latter was checked since the protagonists remained the same and the location did not change it was scored as a single sequence! However, when the broadcast of *Sex*, transmitted on Tuesday 15 September 1992, at 9.30 p.m., on TV2, was checked, there were seventy-three images, sequences and events recorded in the single programme. There were fifty-eight examples of sexual language most of which were explicit and there were twenty-two examples of nudity including two male bottoms and ten sequences with many female breasts. The advent of more programmes like this could considerably increase the amount of sexual imagery on television.

10.2.8. POLICE DRAMA - AS GENRE

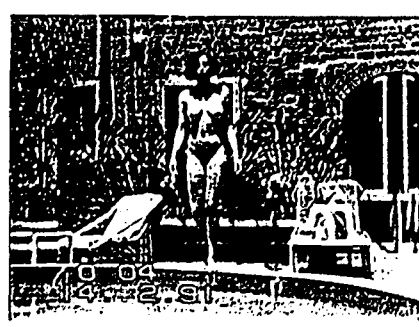
This particular genre is often called "Policier" in recognition of the great interest that the French have shown in defining this group of films and television programmes. They are specialists in the gritty, urban cop versus criminal narratives.

The violence in 'police dramas' is often very significant largely because the narrative requires it and because all such programmes strive for realism. For the same reasons any sexual scenes may well be graphic and often sordid.

Five of the police programmes contained sexual material and in one case *Top Cops* there was one of the two rapes recorded during the week. Presented as a docudrama this scored four on the 'severity rating' scale and was saved from a 'five' which would have indicated a near certainty of a complaint to the B.S.A., by the honesty of its intent, the fact that there were no close-ups and the didactic nature of the presentation which attempted to show what should be done in such circumstances.

Miami Vice actually had a much more disturbing rape scene but it did not get 'scored' on the grounds that the entire action was 'off-stage'. A woman, desperate for drugs, trades her daughter's virginity to the dealer in exchange for a fix. We see the man enter the room and the girl, aged about fourteen, cower in her bed. Then, there are protestations and screams from the room. The programme containing this disturbing, but technically acceptable sequence, was screened after 10.30 p.m. on TV2. The coders attached a note to the records which said "this was a really yucky programme; the drug dealer was a real scum-bag but we couldn't score it high because we didn't see anything." This comment serves to indicate how easy it would be for any producer wishing to circumvent any restrictions that might be imposed to do so. It is also a reminder that the suggestion can sometimes be worse than a pseudo-reality.

'Special Squad' .04 TV1



Special Squad which, during this week, was the only British police drama, has a scene where police search a room and move outside to a pool area. There a woman removes her bikini top and dives into the pool whilst the police look on. The director uses a long shot and she dives quickly into the water. The coders noted it as 'gratuitous' and 'voyeuristic' in terms of the drama because it was the police who could see most clearly but there is no doubt that the shot was intended to titillate the television viewer too.

10.2.9. SCIENCE FICTION - AS GENRE

There were only two programmes coded as 'Science Fiction' viz: *Star Trek* and *Red Dwarf*.

In the first, broadcast by TV2 at 5.30 p.m., on Friday the crew of the Starship Enterprise take time out from some R & R (Rest and Recreation) on an obscure planet that they happen to be passing. The place appears to be a sexual Eden. In other words it looks like a 1930s health camp with blond haired boys and girls jogging everywhere dressed in scanty satin breech cloths. The opening scene, after the credits, is of a young couple kneeling and kissing in a mis-en-scene borrowed from the 60's sex classic *I am Curious Yellow* (1968). Basically the ethos is represented as 'healthy sexuality' although there is a puritan twist to the narrative that indicates that there could be a price to pay for hedonism.

The coders recorded these scenes as 'realistic' on the grounds that they were so in terms of the story i.e. the protagonists were not dreaming even if the screenwriter was.

Apart from the initial kiss the second item noted referred to a frank conversation about "plain old-fashioned sex"

Both episodes were coded at '1' on the 'severity scale' on the grounds that they were pretty innocuous and that Science Fiction is, by its nature, removed from a position of intense realism.

The second programme, *Red Dwarf*, was British made and essentially satirical. It was also broadcast by TV2 on Friday but at 11.00 p.m. The crew of this space ship were adolescents reminiscent of the Young Ones and the programme had a laugh track to emphasise the comedy intention.

The style was that of British situation comedies with most humour depending on an irreverent dialogue. Typical of the sexual conversation was the following:

"We made love six times. You were there too and she made love six times with you twelve times a night! It's a good job you were there - I'd have been dead." - laughter.

Actually, there was no orgy, the first youth had given the second his 'memories' - for a period of eight months.

10.2.10. THE NEWS - AS GENRE

During the week of the survey the News was preoccupied with the Gulf War. Nevertheless, the producers attempted to cover other aspects of the day in the way that is now traditional for newscasters i.e. they mixed up-beat stories with down-beat segments in an effort not to depress the viewers to the extent that they turned off or switched to another channel (Shook, 1992:220). It is also clear, in hindsight, that the war news itself was sanitised as much as possible (Bassett, 1991).

However, only one segment attempted to do this with a story related to sex and that was on *NBC News* broadcast by TV3 at mid-day on Thursday. The main clip related to an old-people's home where aerobics classes had been introduced. One old man working out with weights observed: "I do everything - everything" (he then laughed suggestively). The coders scored this innuendo as a '1'.

Later in the same bulletin a clip from Kevin Costner's successful film *Dances with Wolves* was shown where he kissed the white squaw. It too was a very mild shot.

Since February 1991 there has been a discernible increase in the number of sexual stories broadcast in the news. In November of that year 32 bulletins included some sexual matter and TV3, in particular, has used several salacious clips on its *Nightline* News programme broadcast late in the evening. In fact TV3 had 'sexual material' in 83% of its bulletins by November 1992. A separate evaluation of this tendency is in preparation (Watson, October ?, 1992).

10.2.11. DOCUMENTARY (NATURE) - AS GENRE

The *Our World: Australia* documentary broadcast at 7.30 p.m., on Sunday, included two sequences of copulating animals. The first consisted of playful platypuses; the second of kangaroos. The latter was more explicit with the kangaroo's erection being visible and the mating shown at length. Raybon Kan, the satirical commentator for the Dominion, has observed that "The modern nature doco... in the name of nature, is a mix of snuff movie and hard-core

porn" (1.9.92:22). However, society seems willing to tolerate explicit sex for animals in much the same way as it used to tolerate nudity in the National Geographic. Our coders scored the first episode at '1'; the second at '2'.

10.2.12. ACTION - AS GENRE

Although there were twelve programmes classified as 'Action' during the week and although these programmes included lots of violent episodes (Watson, *et al.*, 1991:59) there were only two sexual events. The first consisted of sexual language "Actually I'm a sex slave" and the second a kiss by the hero of the 'anti-heroine'. Neither was regarded as significant.

10.2.13. GAME SHOW - AS GENRE

Blind Date is a show that sometimes contains sexual innuendo but it is usually at a very mild level especially in comparison with *Studs* and especially *Late Night Studs* which began to be broadcast later in the year.

There were in fact no examples of sexual language in either of the two broadcasts of *Blind Date* in the week in question but there was one image of a couple kissing in the cartoon graphics which opened the show. It was romantic rather than offensive.

10.2.14. OTHERS

Some genres had no sex in them at all. It was most notably absent in 'cartoons' which had high counts of violence but none at all for sex. These are aimed at children, most come from America, and whilst, in American society, there is no taboo against play violence for children there is a very strong taboo against anything to do with sex.

Children's programmes, of which there were fourteen during the week, had no sexual imagery either nor did 'Sport'; 'Current Affairs' or 'Documentaries (other than those designated as 'Nature)'.

There were no religious or Maori programmes during this particular week and none that could be labelled 'Educational', in the overseas sense of the term, as programmes directed at an audience for the prime purpose of teaching in a didactic sense.

10.3. ADVERTISEMENTS AND PREVIEWS

Cynical viewers have observed that programmes serve only to fill the time between advertisements. Theorists have asserted that this is true. That the programmes serve solely 'to deliver an audience to advertisers' and that that audience is often structured by the genres designed for various target groups so that it can be offered in the most marketable fashion to the purveyors of specific products (Ang, 1991:ix-x).

Last year the coders were surprised at the sheer volume of previews and advertisements. Not that advertisements were often violent in any way but the coders certainly completed a vast number of forms to record that 429 advertisements and 129 previews were broadcast a total of 7346 times during the week (1991:87).

10.3.1. ADVERTISEMENTS

This year the coders did not look at all the advertisements for the week but only for those broadcast during the eighty-six programmes that had been flagged as containing 'sex'. Thus, it is not possible to tell whether advertisers use sex more than violence in order to sell products because the actual figures refer only to those advertisements broadcast during the eighty hours of television that the coders watched for sexual material.

The use of sex in advertising is an interesting topic. A research project designed exclusively to test the hypotheses surrounding the association of sex and marketing would be worthwhile but would involve looking at all the advertisements for the week, which in turn would mean examining all 336 hours of television. The budget for this project did not permit covering the full time span.

However, just looking at the advertisements broadcast in the sex-flagged programmes was interesting. Only eight used sex in a way that could be classified on the coding form i.e. in only eight advertisements did an image, event or sequence have obvious sexual imagery or language. It might be that there are subtle ways of using sex to sell products that the form could not capture. Basically, it needed nudity, sexual language or a sexual narrative in order for it to be recorded.

Each of the eight advertisements was broadcast many times but as has been noted only broadcasts during otherwise 'sexy' programmes were analysed during this project. In the course of such programmes the eight advertisements were screened twenty times. In terms of the chance that they might cause offence six of the eight rated only a '1' on the five-point 'severity' scale. The other two rated '2' which suggests that none were likely to worry the majority of viewers.

The two that were slightly more risqué were for *Weight-Watchers* and *The Listener*. The former featured a super-slim woman in a red swimming costume inter-cut with a family eating breakfast. The woman was recumbent and, at the end of the advertisement, a man's head came in from the right and kissed the woman on the fore-head. The lying-down position added to the sexual nature of the moment. It was not clear whether the man was the partner at breakfast but an insinuation could be taken from the women's comment that she was 'now my own person' that possibly the kisser was a lover.

Weightwatchers TV2



The *Listener* had the editor enter the newsroom to wave the week's new issue. He complimented the photographer on the cover which showed teenagers in an embrace. The story headline was 'Teen-Sex' and the voice-over said "what are the kids up to and what can their parents do?". The adolescents were standing and clothed. The coders rated it '2' because they were obviously juveniles and the heading printed above them in large red letters referred to 'sex', which was taken to mean more than a kiss.

Of the rest, two had 'greeting kisses'. *Electricorp's* was in a café. The audience watched through the window as the couple greeted each other. The kiss was on the cheeks; the link was supposed to be with European ways. *Continental Chocolates* also stressed continental romanticism. A young man arrives with chocolates. Gets out of his sports car; rings the palatial doorbell and greets the woman with a kiss on each cheek. It could be argued that there is nothing sexual about these kisses intended as greeting. They are part of a European custom and mean no more than a hongi or a handshake. However, the overall ambience of both advertisements promises a level of intimacy beyond that in the narrative that the audience actually sees.

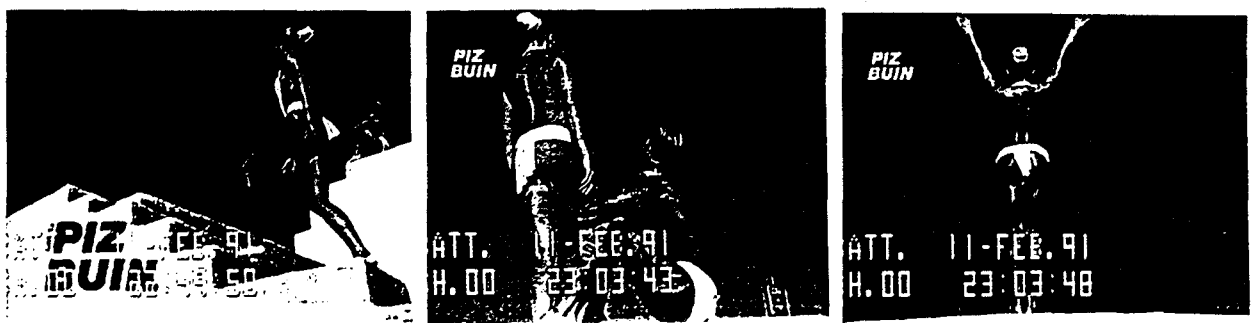
Impulse and *Piz Buin* both use nudity to catch attention. For *Impulse* it is a romantically backlit image of a woman, dressed in silk knickers and apparently with no bra, spraying herself from toe to top with spray perfume. The scene lasts barely a second but as advertisements are frequently repeated such short sequences invite the audience to look more closely next time. Advertisers prize such attention to their promotions above all else.

Impulse TV2



Piz Buin uses surrealist imagery. A semi-nude couple are placed on white steps against an azure sky. There is a sense of the Greek islands about the setting even though we see no more than the steps, wall and water beneath. The woman is dressed in a filmy, flowing white costume with a loose flap of cloth above a G-string (the dress is reminiscent of the fantasy clothes described in the sequence from *Star-Trek!*). From behind, it looks as though she is topless. When the sun oil is knocked into the water she dives for it and the camera notes her bottom as she penetrates the water. The coders scored it as semi-nudity but rated it as unlikely to cause problems because of the fantasy style and because the clothes actually covered more than their lightness suggested.

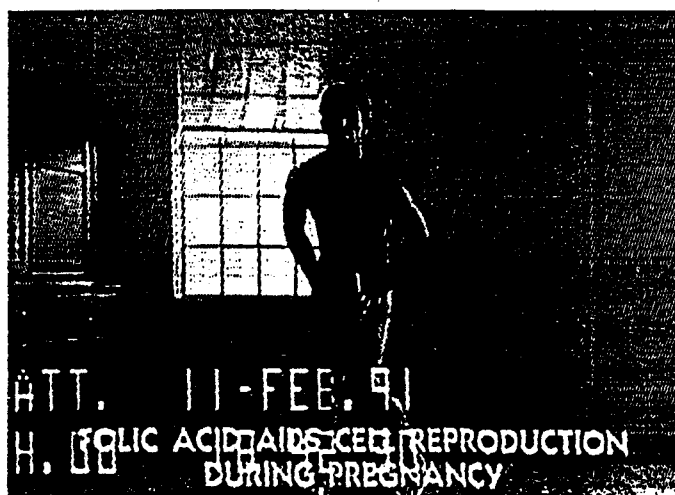
Piz Buin TV2



L&P also used a hint of nudity to entice. In this case a young woman lay, without a bikini top, on a beach, watched by several young men. The whole set of images swirled round to the lyric '*Roll Over Beethoven*'. The viewer anticipates the woman rolling over, but when she does so it is away from the camera. Again the level of nudity is more in the imagination than in actuality. It is also bi-sexual. The men are chosen for their looks as well and the camera treats them as voyeuristically as the woman. The advertiser's intention will be to appeal to the females in the audience as much as to the men.

Complan, screened during *Blind Date*, is the cheekiest. Here a male rap singer extols the virtues of the various vitamins and food additives in the product. As he lists each one the appropriate part of his anatomy is portrayed as transparent. The missing part of the image fills in as he moves on to the next item. Eventually he gets to 'folic acid - for reproduction'. His genital area is transparent but as the flesh returns he clamps the packet in front of him and crosses his legs in embarrassment.

Complan TV2 [Interestingly 'Folic Acid' benefits women!]



Most of these advertisements were broadcast during 'AO' time but that is because we were analysing programmes with sex in them and they were mostly broadcast during 'AO' times. Our survey this time does not allow us to say whether these particular advertisements were broadcast with other programmes at other times as well as when we noted them. However, we did note that there was not a single one that was likely to cause concern.

If the twenty sexual events and images in advertisements were added to those broadcast in programmes the total would be raised by 7% for the week producing a gross figure of sexual acts and images of 307. As such a 'count' would be higher than that required by the brief to analyse sexual portrayals 'in programmes' it was omitted from the totals listed in section 10.2.

10.3.2. PREVIEWS

Previews were broadcast a total of thirty-two times during the eighty-six programmes watched for their sexual content. As with advertisements these same previews may have been broadcast during other programmes which were not watched for the purpose of this report.

Ten previews contained sexual elements. On all but five of the thirty occasions that our coders saw them they were broadcast along with programmes in 'AO' time. Those that were broadcast during 'G' times were for *Apartment Zero* (once); *Haggard* (twice) and *French Fields* (once). The problem, in each case, was with the indirect language of innuendo, not image, and it is doubtful that children would have understood.

In the case of *Apartment Zero*, two men in the street are speaking. One says to the other "Let's pick up some chicks" to which the reply is "You're talking about casual copulation." Actually, *Apartment Zero*, although it looks like a preview is really an advertisement for a film at the *Bridgeway Cinema*.

In the *French Fields* preview the language is more gently suggestive with the husband asking the wife, on the first night of their new life in France, and in silk pyjamas, "do you fancy a second honeymoon?" To which the reply is "Can you remember what you did on the first?"

Haggard uses the grossest of language and in a leering way that suggests an element of harassment. It is a situation comedy in the style of a Restoration comedy and opens with a man 'swayed by wanton lust' who says that he has seen a 'lusty wench in the kitchen; the one with the magnificent globes' and here he mimes holding breasts from below as though they were his own. The preview then includes the scene with the aphrodisiac administered to a servant girl that is described in section 10.2.2. This preview is broadcast during "Allo Allo" in PGR'time. Since it is of the same ilk one could suppose that a parent whose guidance had permitted a child to view the one would not be disturbed by having the same child see this preview.

The preview of *Voice from the Heart* which was heavily promoted and seen thirteen times during the sex-flagged programmes included angry sexual language when a woman shouted "what lucky little actress is screwing her way into the lead?" Apart from the language in the four previews so far listed all but one of the other examples consisted of a kiss.

The one that was different was in the preview of *The Sure Thing* where the adolescent heroine 'flashed' her naked body from a car at a passing utility with a couple of young men in it. The television viewer only saw the man's rear as far as the lower back. It was a dangerous thing to do but not particularly arousing to the audience.

Preview: *The Sure Thing* TV2



The kisses were generally loving and between couples. Marge and Homer kiss at the front door in the Simpsons preview; the hero and heroine kiss in *Man From Snowy River II*; a young blond puts her arms round an old roué in *Perfect Scoundrels* (the camera cuts away before their lips meet so it was just recorded as a 'cuddle'); a historical couple kiss in a shadowy place in *Secret of the Black Dragon* - possibly it was on a four-poster bed. It is equally difficult to make out where the 'future king' is kissing Beryl Markham in *Shadow of the Sun* but it is as innocuous as the rest of the activity in the previews.

11. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS**11.1. CONCLUSIONS**

- 11.1.1. There was not much sexual material on television in the week of the project. A 'score' of 387 items indicates that there is very much less sex than there is violence for which 3012 examples were scored over the same period.
- 11.1.2. However, one or two programmes dealing explicitly with sex could dramatically skew such findings. In view of the low score in this week it would be necessary to check several weeks' programming in order to be able to declare the total to be a representative average for a week in a normal year.
- 11.1.2. Generally visual sexual imagery was placed in 'AO' time settings. Sexual material in 'PGR' times slots was usually verbal and often euphemistic which required a level of adult understanding to permit decoding.

11.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

- 11.2.1. Sex on television must be broadly defined and not restricted to sexual activity alone. Language both direct, and indirect; images separated from action; nudity and dreamlike fantasy all constitute different examples of essentially sexual material.
- 11.2.2. The 'watershed' guidelines are as significant for the placement of programmes containing sexual items as they are for the placement of those containing violence.
- 11.2.3. Although music videos generally employ fantasy care should be taken to see that those selected for 'G' and 'PGR' time slots are not erotic.
- 11.2.4. Promotional trailers incorporating sexual imagery, especially for films and realistic drama productions, should only be screened in the appropriate time slots.
- 11.2.5. The basis used by the researchers for deciding whether or not items including sexual material would be likely to cause offence was a consideration of the complaints to the Broadcasting Standards Authority and the Authority's ruling on them. Since the Authority must make its own assessment of the public's acceptance of sexual material it would be wise to instigate a research project that attempted to find out how different

groups of viewers regarded material of the type that this project recorded and even their response to items that were removed before broadcast by the assessors in case the public is more tolerant than the Authority believes.

- 11.2.6. The pleasure factor must be allowed for. Sex is inherently attractive to viewers both for prurient and libido raising reasons. Television, like cinema, is essentially voyeuristic so that a key element of enjoyment for the audience is the ability to watch the behaviour of others. It is also dreamlike so that pleasure comes from the triggering of fantasies. In all these aspects of looking, the sexual component is a very powerful one. All media recognize this appeal and frequently use sexual events within a wide range of narratives.
- 11.2.7. The power of this imagery has led to the portrayal of sexual behaviour being subject to a wide range of taboos. Television must continue to be mindful of the debate arising from this tension and should continue to pay due attention to the rulings of the Broadcasting Standards Authority.
- 11.2.8. Broadcasters should continue the practice of warning viewers of material that might be likely to cause offence. Such warnings should be as specific about the nature of the material as possible. Briefings in coded language may not be understood.

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13. TABLES

TABLE 1

Sexual images, events and sequences screened on N.Z. television during the week 11-17th February 1991.

	CHANNEL				
	1	2	3		
Sexual Image	6	3	9	18	6.3%
Single Event	44	59	96	199	69.3%
Sequence	15	17	38	70	24.4%
	65 22.6%	79 27.5%	143 49.9%	287	

TABLE 2

Sexual images, events and sequences by severity and channel
(1 = not likely to cause offence
5 = certain to cause offence)

	1	2	3	4	5		
TV1	44	17	4			65	22.6%
TV2	60	14	4	1		79	27.5%
TV3	115	22	3	3		143	49.8%
n =	219 76.3%	53 18.5%	11 3.8%	4 1.4%		287	

TABLE 3

Average time between sexual images/events/sequence by channel

	Images, Events & Sequences	Transmission Time		Average Time Between Image/ Event/Sequence	
		hr	mins	hr	mins
TV1	65	104	23	1	36
TV2	79	123	13	1	34
TV3	143	108	38		46
n =	287	336	14		

TABLE 4

Average time between sexual images/events/sequences in programmes containing sexual imagery by channel.

	Images, Events & Sequences	Total Length of Programmes with Sexual Imagery		Average Time Between Image/ Event/Sequence
		hrs	mins	minutes
TV1	65	20	-	18.46
TV2	79	20	45	15.76
TV3	143	39	40	16.64
n =	287	80	25	

TABLE 5

Type of sexual act.

	n =	%
Kissing	152	84
Petting	16	8.8
Intercourse	4	2.2
Sexual Harassment	5	2.8
Indecent Assault	2	1.1
Attempted Rape	1	.6
Achieved Rape	1	.6
Not Classified*	106	
	287	100%

TABLE 6

Sexual imagery by genre.

		n =	%
Film		88	30.7
Comedy	25		
Situation Comedy	21	46	16.0
Drama		40	13.9
Mini-Series		31	10.8
'Soap'		25	8.7
Music		19	6.6
Arts		15	5.2
Police		11	3.9
Science Fiction		4	1.4
Action		2	.7
News		2	.7
Game Show		2	.7
Documentary		2	.7
		287	100

TABLE 7

Sexual imagery by recommended classification for programmes.
(see Appendix V for detailed timings)

(a) TV1

	G	AO	n =	%
Sexual Image		6	6	9.2
Single Event	7	37	44	67.7
Sequence	7	8	15	23.1
n =	14 21.5%	51 78.5%	65	

(b) TV2

	G	PGR	AO	n =	%
Sexual Image			3	3	3.8
Single Event	6	7	46	59	74.7
Sequence	2	5	10	17	21.5
n =	8 10.1%	12 15.2%	59 74.7%	79	

(c) TV3

	G	PGR	AO	n =	%
Sexual Image	2	1	6	9	6.3
Single Event	10	17	69	96	67.1
Sequence	6	6	26	38	26.6
n =	18 12.6%	24 16.8%	101 70.6%	143	

Total = 287

TABLE 8

'Severity rate' of sexual images, events and sequences by the style of programme.

		Realistic	Fantasy	Humorous	Erotic	n =	%
Mild	1	166	5	48		219	76.3
	2	37		14	2	53	18.5
	3	8			3	11	3.8
	4	3			1	4	1.4
Severe	5						
	n =	214	5	62	6	287	
	% =	74.6	1.7	21.6	2.1		

* 'Severity rating' = assessment of the likelihood of causing complaint (on a 1-5 scale with 5 = 'certain to')

TABLE 9

The average 'severity rating'* of sexual images, events and sequences by genre.

Genre	Ranking	Average Rating	n =
Police	1st	1.7273	11
Documentary	2nd	1.5000	2
Comedy	3rd	1.4800	25
Music	4th	1.4211	19
Film	5th	1.3556	90
Mini Series	6th	1.3448	29
mean		1.031	
Drama	7th	1.2250	50
'Soap'	8th	1.2000	25
'Sit-Coms'	9th	1.1429	21
Arts	10th	1.0667	15
Sci-Fi	11th	1.000	4
News			2
Game Shows			2
Action			2
n =			287

* 'Severity rating' = assessment of the likelihood of causing complaint (on a 1-5 scale with 5 = 'certain to')

TABLE 10(a)

Initiator(s): Number of persons.

	n =	valid %
One Person	280	98.6
More than One	4	1.4
	n = 284	100.0
Not Applicable	3	
Total	287	

TABLE 10(b)

Partner(s): Number of persons.

	n =	valid %
Nobody	6	2.4
One Person	224	87.8
Two-Eight	14	5.5
More than Eight	11	4.3
	n = 255	100.0
Not Applicable	32	
Total	287	

TABLE 11(a)

Initiator(s): Gender.

	n =	valid %
Male	169	59.6
Female	113	39.6
Both	2	0.7
	n = 284	100.0
Not Applicable	3	
Total	287	

TABLE 11(b)

Initiator(s): Race

	n =	valid %
White	261	91.9
Non-White	20	7.0
Both	3	1.1
	n = 284	100.0
Not Applicable	3	
Total	287	

TABLE 12(a)

Partners: Gender

	n =	valid %
Male	105	42.3
Female	124	50.0
Both	19	7.7
	n = 248	100.0
Not Applicable	39	
Total	287	

TABLE 12(b)

Partners: Race.

	n =	valid %
White	222	89.9
Non-White	13	5.3
Both	12	4.9
	n = 247	100.0
Not Applicable	40	
Total	287	

TABLE 13(a)

Initiator: Age.

	n =	valid %
Adult	259	90.6
Adolescent	24	8.4
Child	1	0.3
Animal	2	0.7
n =	286	100.0
Not Applicable	1	
TOTAL	287	

TABLE 13(b)

Partner: Age.

	n =	valid %
Adult	221	77.0
Adolescent	24	8.4
Animal	2	0.7
n =	247	100.0
Not Applicable	40	
TOTAL	287	

TABLE 14(a)

Role of initiator.

	n =	valid %
Villain	24	8.4
Hero/ine	76	26.7
Anti Hero(ine)	8	2.8
Police	7	2.5
Authority Figure	14	4.9
Subordinate	7	2.5
Neutral	149	52.3
n =	285	100.0
Not Applicable	2	
TOTAL	287	

TABLE 14(b)
Role of partner(s).

	n =	valid %
Villain	9	3.6
Hero/ine	79	32.0
Anti Hero(ine)	4	1.6
Police	4	1.6
Authority Figure	6	2.4
Subordinate	6	2.4
Neutral	137	55.5
Unclassified	2	.8
	n = 247	100.0
Not Applicable	40	
TOTAL	287	

TABLE 15

Relationship of initiator to partner.

	n =	valid %
Casual	144	70.6
Married	12	5.9
Committed	39	19.1
Adulterous	9	4.4
n =	204	100.0
Not Applicable	43	
Total	287	

TABLE 16

Nature of the event/sequence.

	n =	valid %	
Kissing	152	82.1	Consensual (95%)
Petting	16	8.6	
Intercourse	8	4.3	
Harassment	5	2.7	Coercive (5%)
Indecent Assault	2	1.3	
Attempted Rape	1	0.5	
Rape	1	0.5	
n =	185		
Not Applicable	102		
Total	287		

TABLE 17(a)

Sexual language and context.

	n =	%
In Sexual Context	46	48.4
In Non-Sexual Context	49	51.6
n =	95	100.0

TABLE 17(b)

Type of sexual language.

	n =	%
Explicit	46	48.4
Euphemistic	49	51.6
n =	95	100.0

TABLE 18(a)

Male nudity.

	n =	%	Value
Chest	11	37.9	1
Back - Top	17	58.6	2
Bottom	1	3.4	3
Back - All	0		4
Genitalia	0		5
Front - All	0		6
	n = 29		Mean = 1.7

TABLE 18(b)

Female nudity.

	n =	%	Value
Back - Top	16	55.2	1
Bottom	0		2
Back - All	1	3.4	3
Breast(s)	11	37.9	4
Genitalia	0		5
Front - All	1	3.4	6
	n = 29		Mean = 2.4

TABLE 19(a)

Location of sexual activity.

	n =	valid %
Indoors	224	80.9
Outdoors	53	19.1
N =	277	100.0
Not Applicable	10	
Total	287	

TABLE 19(b)

Location of sexual activity.

	n =	valid %	
Bed/Bedroom	61	21.4	
Living Room	46	16.1	
Unseen	17	6.0	
Hospital	10	3.5	
Other	151	53.0	62 more places specified
n =	285	100.0	
Not Applicable	2		
Total	287		

TABLE 20(a)

Day/Night.

	n =	valid %
Day	141	51.6
Night	130	47.6
Not Clear	2	.7
	n = 273	100.0
Not Applicable	14	
Total	287	

TABLE 20(b)

Light level.

	n =	valid %
Bright	190	68.6
Dim	78	28.2
Dark	9	3.2
	n = 277	100.0
Not Applicable	10	
Total	287	

TABLE 21(a)

Location (c)

	n =	valid %
Domestic	97	35.7
Work	49	18.0
Recreation	126	46.3
	n = 272	100.0
Not Applicable	15	
Total	287	

TABLE 21(b)

Location (b)

	n =	valid %
Urban	239	88.2
Rural	17	6.3
Other	15	5.5
	n = 271	100.0
Not Applicable	16	
Total	287	

TABLE 22

Mood of the sexual event/sequence.

	n =	valid %	
Lovingly	125	55.8	(91%)
Casually	79	35.2	
Frustratedly	4	1.8	(9%)
Threateningly	5	2.2	
Angrily	8	3.7	
Violently	3	1.3	
	n = 224	100.0	
Not Applicable	63		
Total	287		

TABLE 23

The "look" of the camera.

	n =	valid %
Voyeur - Audience	27	9.5
Voyeur - Dramatis Personae	200	69.8
Voyeur - Both	59	20.7
	n = 286	100.0
Not Applicable	1	
Total	287	

TABLE 24

The "style" of the presentation.

	n =	%
Realistic	214	9.5
Fantasy	5	69.8
Humourous	62	20.7
Erotic	6	
Total	287	100.0

TABLE 25(a)

The level of justification* of the use of sexual imagery.

	n =	%
Justified	271	94.4
Gratuitous	16	5.6
Total	287	100.0
* Within the context		

TABLE 25(b)

	n =	%	"Sevrate" x n
"Severity" Rate 1*	3	18.75	3
"Severity" Rate 2	2	12.5	4
"Severity" Rate 3	11	68.75	33
Total	16	100.0	40
= average "sevrate" = 2.5			

* 'sevrate' = 5 point scale with events 'not likely to cause offence' = 1 to those 'certain to cause offence' = 5

TABLE 26

(All) Programmes: country of origin.

Country	Frequency	Valid Percent
Australia	28	6.3
New Zealand	132	29.6
United Kingdom	82	18.4
United States of America	204	45.7
Not Classified	37	
Total	483	100.0

TABLE 27

Sexual imagery by country of origin and the judgement of likelihood to cause offence ('sevrte').

Country	"Sevrte"*					n =	valid %
	1	2	3	4	5		
Australia	9	2				11	3.9
New Zealand	11	1				12	4.2
United Kingdom	44	10	1			55	19.4
United States of America	153	40	9	4		206	72.5
n =	217	53	10	4		284	100.0
valid %	76.4	18.7	3.5	1.4			100.0
Not classified = 3							

* 'sevrte' = 5 point scale with events 'not likely to cause offence' = 1 to those 'certain to cause offence' = 5

TABLE 28

Mood of the sexual event/sequence by country.

	Lovingly		Casually		Frustratedly		Angrily		Violently		Total Loving/ Casual		Total Frustratedly/ Angrily/ Violently		n =
	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	n =	%	
Australia	3	60	2	40							5	2.5			5
New Zealand	4	100									4	1.9			4
U.K.	14	32.6	26	60.5	1	2.3	2	4.6			40	19.8	3	21.4	43
U.S.A.	102	62.2	51	31.1	3	1.9	6	3.6	2	1.2	153	75.8	11	78.6	164
Total	123	43.3	79	27.8	4	1.4	8	2.8	2	.7	202	93.5	14	6.5	216
Not classified = 3															

TABLE 29

Number of programmes per sexual image/event or sequence by country of origin.

	Number of Programmes	Number of Sexual Images, events and sequences	One Sexual Image for every x number of programmes
Australia	28	11	2.5
New Zealand	132	12	11.0
United Kingdom	82	55	1.5
U.S.A.	204	206	1.0
n =	446	284	
Not Classified	37	3	
Total	483	287	

TABLE 30

Percentage of programmes containing sexual imagery by country of origin.

Country of Origin	Number of Programmes Broadcast	Number of Programmes with Sexual Imagery	Percentage of Programmes with Sexual Imagery
Australia	28	4	14%
New Zealand	132	4	3%
United Kingdom	82	17	21%
U.S.A.	204	47	23%
n =	446	72	
Not Classified	37	2	
Total	483	74	15%

TABLE 31

Sexual imagery: By genre and by 'severity rating'.*

	Films	Comedy/ Sit-Com	Drama	Mini Series	Soap	Music	Arts	Police	Sci-Fi	News	Doco	Action	Game Show	Total
	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %	n = %
1	70 71.8	31 67.4	33 82.5	19 65.5	22 88.0	14 73.7	14 93.3	5 45.5	4 100.0	2 100.0	1 50.0	2 100.0	2 100.0	219 76.3
2	11 12.2	15 32.6	5 12.5	10 3.5	3 12.5	2 10.5	1 6.7	5 45.5			1 50.0			53 18.5
3	6 6.7		2 5.0			3 15.8								11 3.8
4	3 3.3							1 9.0						4 1.4
5														
	90 31.4	46 16.1	40 13.9	29 10.1	25 8.7	19 6.6	15 5.2	11 3.8	4 1.4	2 0.7	2 0.7	2 0.7	2 0.7	287 100.0

* 'Severity rating' 1 = not likely to cause offence.
5 = certain to cause offence.

14. APPENDICES

- I. The 'form'
- II. The 'frontispiece'
- III. The 'endpiece'
- IV. 'Notes to Coders'
- V. Rating Scales and Time
- VI. List of Films broadcast during the week.

TELEVISION SEX: APPENDIX I - THE FORM

FORM [][][]	[][] HOURS [][] MINUTES TIME	PROGRAMME - [] OPENING SEQUENCE - [] END SEQUENCE - [] ADVERTISEMENT - []	TITLE: _____	FINAL #12 6/92	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; font-size: small;"> 1992 INDEX HOUSE PROFILES PATRICKSON ARCHIVE NEW ZEALAND </div>			
WHO (INITIATOR)	ONE PERSON [1] MORE (2-8) [2] MANY (9+) [3]	MALE [1] FEMALE [2] BOTH [3]	ADULT [1] ADOLESCENT [2] CHILD [3] ANIMAL [4]	ROLE:- POLICE [4] VILLAIN [1] HERO/INE [2] ANTI HERO/INE [3]	AUTH FIGURE [5] SUBORDINATE [6] NEUTRAL [7]	RELATIONSHIP TO PARTNER:- CASUAL [1] COMMITTED (ENGAGED/DE FACTO) [2] MARRIED [3] ADULTEROUS [4] UNKNOWN [5]		
		WHITE [1] NON-WHITE [2] BOTH [3] ALIEN [4]						
DID WHAT? (EVENT)	SEXUAL IMAGE [1] SINGLE EVENT [2] SEQUENCE [3]	CONSENSUAL/ COERCIVE:- KISSING [1] PETTING [2] INTERCOURSE [3]	SEXUAL HARASSMENT [4] INDECENT ASSAULT [5] ATTEMPTED RAPE [6] ACHIEVED RAPE [7] FLASHING [8]	SEXUAL LANGUAGE:- IN SEXUAL CONTEXT [1] NON-SEXUAL CONTEXT [2]	STATE WORDS: _____	EXPLICIT [1] EUPHEMISTIC [2]	NUDITY - MALE CHEST [1] BACK - TOP [2] BOTTOM [3] BACK - ALL [4] GENITALIA [5] FRONT - ALL [6]	FEMALE BACK - TOP [1] BOTTOM [2] BACK - ALL [3] BREAST(S) [4] GENITALIA [5] FRONT - ALL [6]
TO/WITH WHOM?	HOBODY [1] ONE PERSON [2] MORE (2-8) [3] MANY (9+) [4]	MALE [1] FEMALE [2] BOTH [3]	WHITE [1] NON-WHITE [2] BOTH [3]	ADULT [1] ADOLESCENT [2] CHILD [3] ANIMAL [4]	OBJECT [5] SELF [6] AUDIENCE [7]	ROLE - POLICE [4] VILLAIN [1] HERO/INE [2] ANTI HERO/INE [3]	AUTHORITY FIGURE [5] SUBORDINATE [6] NEUTRAL [7]	
WHERE/ WHEN?.	INDOORS? [1] OUTDOORS? [2] LOCATION? - ROOM/PLACE _____	DAY [1] NIGHT [2]	BRIGHT [1] DIM [2] DARK [3]	DOMESTIC [1] WORK [2] RECREATION [3]	URBAN [1] RURAL [2] OTHER [3] _____			
HOW? (TONE)	STYLE:- CASUALLY [1] LOVINGLY [2] FRUSTRATEDLY [3] ANGRILY [4] VIOLENTLY [5]	THREATENINGLY [7] NOT APPLICABLE [6]	PORTRAYAL:- VOYEURISTICALLY [1] - THE VIEWER [1] BOTH [3]	- DRAMATIS PERSONAE [2]				
SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION	REALISTIC [1] HUMOROUS [3] FANTASY [2] LETHAL [4]	DRAMATICALLY:- JUSTIFIED [1] UNJUSTIFIED [2]	RATING:- MILD _____ SERIOUS [1] [2] [3] [4] [5]	O.K. [] CHECK []	NOTES:- _____			

PROGRAMME FRONTISPIECE

CODING TEAM	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHANNEL	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	
TAPE NUMBER	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAY	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	
TIME	PROGRAMME BEGINS	HOURS	MINS
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
TITLE	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GENRE	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLASSIFICATION G = 1; PGR = 2 AO = 3	ENTER #	<input type="checkbox"/>	

O.K.

CHECK

PROGRAMME ENDPICE

CODING TEAM	ENTER #	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
CHANNEL	ENTER #		<input type="text"/>
DAY	ENTER #		<input type="text"/>
TIME	PROGRAMME ENDS	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
		HOURS	MINS
TITLE	ENTER #	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
NUMBER OF SEX INCIDENT FORMS COMPLETED		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

O.K.

CHECK

MEMO TO:- Coders - for the BSA 'Sex Research Project'
FROM:- Chris Watson, Project Manager
DATED:- 25 May, 1992
RE:- GENERAL BACKGROUND

You are working for:- Massey University's Department of Education's 'Education Research and Development Centre (ERDC)... The Director of which is Dr Richard Harker.

ERDC has a contract with the Broadcasting Standards' Authority to provide:-

"An analysis of the sexual content broadcast by the three New Zealand television channels during the second week of February 1991"

The researchers for this project are:-

Mr Chris Watson Work 35-69099 Ext 8568 Home 35-76198
Mr Bob Lambourne Work 35-69099 Ext 8563 Home

The technician is:-

Mr Nick Broomfield Work 35-69099 Ext 7429 Home 35-54803

Mr Chris Watson is the overall Project/Contract Manager responsible to Ms Gail Powell, Executive Officer of the Broadcasting Standards' Authority.

Mr Bob Lambourne is responsible for the links with the Computer Centre and the data analysis.

Any problems with the recording of data should be addressed to Mr Watson

Any problems with the coding of data should be addressed to Mr Lambourne

Any problems with video equipment or any borrowing requirements should be addressed to Mr Broomfield.

BACKGROUND TO THE BROADCASTING STANDARDS' AUTHORITY SEX RESEARCH

The B.S.A. is a 'quango' - explain.

Charged to uphold 'standards' e.g. 'Frontline' (mid 1990); '69 Sex Positions (1991); Liquor Advertising (1992).

Commissioned a research project by the ERDC in 1990 to examine all television for one week in February 1991 with a view to reporting on the level of violence found in programmes and advertising. The report was completed and presented in July 1991. (WATSON C., BASSETT, G., LAMBOURNE, R., and SHUKER R., Television Violence: an Analysis of the Portrayal of Violent Acts on the Three New Zealand Broadcast Channels /during the /Week of 11th - 17th February 1991 ERDC, Massey University.

At the same time as the coders watched the programmes for violent content they were instructed to 'flag' any programmes with a sexual content for later analysis. The following was the instruction issued to the coders:-

"SEX" - it is not part of this (Feb 1991) project to record details of sexual content but it could be the subject of a future study. It would save time for future workers if you alerted them as to which programmes contained elements of sexual material. Tick the 'SEX' box if there is:-
"SEXUAL ACTIVITY; NUDITY; SEXUAL LANGUAGE"

Eighty-four programmes with a combined broadcast time of sixty hours were marked as being worth inspection¹. A form has now been developed especially to analyse the types of sexual content in terms of type and context by channel and by time. A report will be prepared in order to discuss the portrayal of sex on television similar to that presented on violence.

This interest in 'sex' and 'decency' (a word usually used to signify bad language and irreverence towards the beliefs of others) is not confined to New Zealand. During 1992 the British are applying a similar scrutiny to their television programming. We may be able to determine if the situation here is the same or unique in some special way. Hence you must take the job very seriously. You will be paid - give value for money!

Your task is to look at the eighty-four programmes and to code the sexual content according to the following guidelines. (You should refer to the form whilst we go through these together and then to these notes if you have problems - if you still are unsure what to do mark the form with a sticker on which the problem should be clearly stated. Then, contact Chris Watson) :-

1. FRONTISPIECE:- I have already completed these for all the programmes that you are expected to watch. *EXCEPT THAT* - you are to put your coding number in the second box down. This form is green. For advertisements there is a yellow frontispiece. Complete one for each bracket of adverts during your programme.
2. THE 'FORM'
 - 2.1. FORM #. Leave this blank - we will fill it in when all forms have been checked and filed.
 - 2.2. TIME. Enter the time that your sexual image, event (or sequence) begins - work from the time code on the tape - get it as accurate as possible so that we can find the piece referred to for checking.
 - 2.3. PROGRAMME etc.,
Put the number that coincides with the type of 'programme' that it is into the little box provided.

¹ A smaller survey was done on the violence on news programmes only during the month of November. These broadcasts may also be analysed for sexual content to see if there was a change in the amount broadcast in News bulletins between February and November. It is hypothesized that TV3 began to use sex to attract ratings to its 'Newsline' programme during the year.

'ADVERTISEMENT' needs comment:-

Our original coders did not note 'sex' in adverts - they only flagged 'sex in programmes'. However, we don't want to throw away the chance to comment on sex in advertisements so watch them and prepare a form if you see any examples. There are special YELLOW forms for advertisements to record the beginning and end of each sequence and whether any are sexy. If any are then you should fill in the rest of *this* form. (Eventually we may look up all the advertisements that occurred in other programmes)

- 2.4. TITLE. Enter here - Match the title on the FRONTISPIECE - you can also transfer the the code number from the front to the set of boxes.

2.5. WHO?

This refers to the person who starts off the encounter/event or sequence. Tick appropriate boxes for 'gender'; 'colour'; 'age'; 'ROLE' - an 'anti-hero' is someone like Bart Simpson or Blackadder (i.e. a counter authority central character - they are fairly rare - ask if in doubt); RELATIONSHIP - there may be no partner in which case tick 'not applicable'.

2.6. DID WHAT?

- 2.6.1. The first box is the trickiest. If you just see a sexual image e.g. a naked body it will usually be by itself - often still. Then tick this box.

If it is a single sexual event e.g. a sexual (i.e. not greeting) kiss then tick 'event'

If there are several sexual acts they will be scored as a 'sequence' where the series of acts:-

- (1) stem from the same initiator
- (2) are joined together as one event and
- (3) happen in the same location
- (4) to and by the same participants.

2.6.2. CONSENSUAL/COERCIVE:-

This box analyses the nature of the act or sequence (in the latter case score the highest number that takes place - there is a ladder of significance!). If it is just talk none of these may be ticked and you will go on to the next box.

2.6.3. SEXUAL LANGUAGE

Sex words may be used for swearing in a non-sexual context.

2.6.4. EXPLICIT/EUPHEMISTIC

Since you are going to print the words used it will be possible to check your allocation to one of these boxes. Basically, if the word is non specific e.g. 'sleep with; make love' are (generally) euphemistic - 'intercourse; fuck' are explicit.

- 2.6.5. NUDITY These words are in a hierarchy of significance (that is slightly different for each sex) tick the highest number achieved.

2.7. TO/WITH WHOM?

2.7.1. Basically this is the 'object' of the event whereas the initiator (Who) is the 'subject'. All are similar to 2.5. (see above).

2.8. WHERE/WHEN?

2.8.1. It will take place either outdoors or indoors - so this box offers a choice. If it starts indoors and moves outdoors then it cannot be a 'sequence' but must be several events and more forms will need to be filled in.

2.8.2. The rest are straightforward.

2.9. HOW? (TONE)

2.9.1. STYLE - we hope that we have got enough here if you can't fit it into any of these leave blank and we will code it as '5' = 'couldn't tell'. You could write in your choice of adjective and/or consult Chris Watson.

2.9.2. VOYEURISTICALLY. This one is important. Are you seeing what is going on from the point of view of a character in the drama (dramatis personae) or is it being shown simply to you, the television viewer (the viewer)? Read the Kaplan and Mulvey articles (we will discuss with video examples)

2.10. SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION:-

2.10.1. 'REALISTIC' etc., there should be no problem here although 'fantasy' might be 'erotic' (although eroticism is usually in the eye of the beholder you should think whether that is the prime intention of the piece).

2.10.2. DRAMATICALLY JUSTIFIED? This is where you decide whether the story needs whatever you have seen in order to make sense - if it does not then the sex may be in there just to titillate (i.e. it is gratuitous).

2.10.3. RATING. This is important. If there was a large number of coders then you could each be left to your own choice with this question and the result should average out. However, there will not be many working on this task so take careful note of the following subjective rating guidelines viz:-

- '1' Highly unlikely to be the cause of complaint
- '2' Unlikely to be the cause of complaint
- '3' Possibly a cause of complaint
- '4' Likely to cause a complaint
- '5' Highly likely to cause a complaint

You will be asked to make this judgement on the basis of complaints to the Broadcasting Standards Authority and their findings regarding them. We will look at examples together.

2.10.4. O.K. Fill this in with your initials after having looked through the whole form and being certain that nothing is missing.

2.10.5. CHECK. Pass it to another coder to also look through for omissions - she should then sign this box with her initials.

2.10.6. NOTES:- you can make notes as to any problem in this box but flag the form with a sticky label as well - and write the notes on the label if you need more room.

3. THE ENDPiece

3.1. Completion is straightforward but note carefully, the total number of 'forms' filled in for sex images, events and sequences.

The Official Censorship Classification Times

TELEVISION CENSORSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS

General

Programmes which exclude material to be unsuitable for children under 14 years although they may not necessarily be designed for child viewers.

"G" programmes may be screened at any time.

Parental Guidance Recommended

Programmes containing material more suited to adult audiences but not necessarily unsuitable for child viewers when subject to the guidance of a parent or adult.

"PGR" programmes are recommended for screening between 9am and 4pm on weekdays and after 7pm until 6am.

Adults Only

Programmes containing adult themes or those which, because of the way the material is handled, would be unsuitable for persons under 18 years.

"AO" programmes are recommended for screening between midday and 3pm on weekdays (except during school and public holidays) and after 8.30pm until 5am.

Summary of TV Censorship Classification

'G' times have been worked out 'by default' as the memo 'TV PROG 5' only specifies hours for PGR and AO classifications.

	Time	Classification
WEEKDAYS	5.00a.m - 9.00a.m	G
	9.00a.m - 12.00noon	PGR
	12 noon - 3.00p.m	AO
	3.00p.m - 4.00p.m	PGR
	4.00p.m - 7.00p.m.	G
	7.00p.m - 8.30p.m	PGR
	8.30p.m - closedown	AO
WEEKENDS (and School Holidays)	5.00a.m - 9.00a.m	G
	9.00a.m - 4.00p.m	PGR
	4.00p.m - 7.00p.m	G
	7.00p.m - 8.30p.m	PGR
	8.30p.m - closedown	AO

FILMS ON TELEVISION DURING THE WEEK 11 - 17 FEBRUARY 1991

Date	Ch	Time	Title	Year	Genre	SEXUAL RATING # images
Monday	TV1	1.45 p.m.	The Young Philadelphians	1959	Drama- <u>Political</u>	
Feb11	TV3	11.00 p.m.	Last of the Gt Survivors	1984	<u>Comedy-Drama</u>	
Tuesday	TV1	12.30 p.m.	Beware my Lovely	1952	<u>Crime-Drama</u>	1
12 Feb	TV1	2.00 p.m.	Ocean's Eleven	1960	<u>Historical-Comedy</u>	5
	TV3	11.00 p.m.	Mania -	1972	but actually 1986 <u>Horror</u>	
Weds	TV2	8.30 p.m.	The Sure Thing	1985	<u>Romance-Comedy</u>	15
13 Feb	TV3	11.00 p.m.	Whitewater Rebels	1982	<u>Action-Adventure</u>	1
Thurs	TV1	12.30 p.m.	Love Story	1970	<u>Romance-Drama</u>	14
14 Feb	TV1	2.40 p.m.	Haunted Honeymoon	1986	<u>Comedy-Horror</u>	5
	TV3	11.00 p.m.	Double Exposure	1982	Drama - <u>Thriller</u>	16
Friday	TV1	12.30 p.m.	Friendly Fire (scheduled as Auntie Mame)			
15 Feb	TV3	8.30 p.m.	The Park is Mine	1985	<u>Action-Drama</u>	1
	TV3	11.00 p.m.	Norwood	1969	<u>Musical-Drama</u>	4
Sat	TV2	1.50 p.m.	The Joker is Wild	1957	<u>Musical-Drama</u>	
16 Feb	TV3	2.00 p.m.	The Belstone Fox	1973	<u>Animal-Drama</u>	
	TV3	3.30 p.m.	Bachelor Mother	1939	<u>Comedy</u>	
	TV1	8.30 p.m.	The Professionals	1966	<u>Western</u>	6
	TV3	8.30 p.m.	Mackenna's Gold	1969	<u>Western</u>	
	TV1	11.55 p.m.	How I Won the War	1967	<u>Satirical-Comedy</u>	
	TV3	11.15 p.m.	Run Chrissie Run	1983	<u>Crime-Drama</u>	
Sunday	TV2	12.55 p.m.	A Star is Born	1954	<u>Musical-Drama</u>	
17 Feb	TV3	3.00 p.m.	Warm Hearts, Cold Feet	1987	<u>Comedy-Drama</u>	8
	TV2	8.20 p.m.	The Man Frm S River II	1988	<u>Historical-Epic</u>	
	TV3	11.30 p.m.	Carry on Matron	1973	<u>Medico-Comedy</u>	12

TOTALS Political = 1; Comedy = 5; Crime = 2; Historical = 2; Horror = 2;
Romance = 2; Action = 2; Thriller = 1; Musical = 3; Animal = 1;
Western = 2.