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Filtering Glamour Content on Mobile Devices for Under 18 year olds

A report for the BBFC from Ipsos MORI

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Warning: This report contains images that may be considered pornographic or offensive. Reader discretion is advised.

Contents

Acknowledgements	5
1 Summary	6
1.1 Background and approach	6
1.2 Specific issues relating to glamour images suitable for under 18 year olds	6
1.3 Underlying concerns about glamour in society	7
2 Introduction	9
2.1 Background and objectives	9
2.2 Our approach.....	9
2.2.1 Online survey.....	9
2.2.2 Single gender mini-groups.....	9
3 Wider concerns about a sexualised society.....	12
3.1 Sexualisation, society and parenting.....	12
3.1.1 Normalisation and protecting childhood	12
3.1.2 Reinforcing a negative body image	13
3.1.3 Managing mature and difficult questions.....	14
3.1.4 Celebration of sexual openness.....	14
3.2 The uniqueness of viewing content on mobile devices	14
4 Public reaction to glamour images.....	17
4.1 Most glamour content shown was considered unacceptable	17
4.2 Important elements for judging glamour content.....	21
4.2.1 Primary sexual elements	21
4.2.2 Layering, the sexual invitation, and male fantasy	23
4.3 Key themes depicted in glamour images	24
4.3.1 Nudity.....	24
4.3.2 Poses.....	26
4.3.3 Gazes and expressions	27
4.3.4 Context, adult activities and mise-en-scène.....	28
4.3.5 Art versus pornography	31
4.4 Viewing video versus static images	33
4.5 Gender perspectives.....	34
4.6 Applying an age filter	37
5 Considerations for guidelines.....	39
5.1 Core considerations.....	39
5.2 Additional considerations.....	40
6 Appendices	42

6.1	Quantitative methodology.....	42
6.2	Qualitative methodology.....	43
6.3	Quantitative and qualitative images shown to participants.....	45

List of tables

Table 1 Glamour images deemed acceptable by the majority of participants.....	18
Table 2 Glamour images which were accepted by just under half of participants.....	18
Table 3 Glamour images considered acceptable by less than 40% of participants.....	19
Table 4 Mini-groups overview	44

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1 Summary

1.1 Background and approach

The British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) has responsibility for providing guidelines to mobile network operators (MNOs) on the filtering of certain content. This research informs the BBFC's work in creating guidelines for accessibility to glamour content by under 18 year olds, on mobile networks in the United Kingdom.

This report provides the findings of a study which composed of a two stage methodology. The first stage was a nationally representative online quantitative survey where participants were shown a series of 30 images and four short video clips. After viewing each image or video clip participants were asked whether it should be placed behind an age filter so that only those aged 18+ years old could access it, or whether it is suitable for mobile device users of all ages to see. The second stage was an exploratory qualitative stage comprising single gender mini-groups held in four locations across Great Britain. This report provides insight into not just what people deemed acceptable or not, but more importantly, the rationales given in reaching their decisions.

Much of the quantitative and qualitative findings are in alignment; however, we prioritise the qualitative insights throughout. Where the quantitative survey captured participants' initial reactions, the qualitative discussions were a more considered and in-depth engagement with glamour content.

The focus of this research project was deliberately narrow. It relates to glamour images and videos accessed on mobile devices. This material offers little or no context to the images. The research findings cannot therefore be extrapolated to the classification of sex, sex references and nudity in other contexts (for example, narrative or documentary film) which may feature richly contextualised material.

The findings fall broadly into two key themes: insight into the rationales regarding acceptability or unacceptability of specific glamour images for under 18 year olds; and overarching societal concerns about sex and glamour imagery as they relate to under 18 year olds.

1.2 Specific issues relating to glamour images suitable for under 18 year olds

The quantitative survey indicated that people **are relatively 'conservative'** in their judgement about what they consider to be acceptable for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices.

- Only six of the 34 images shown were deemed acceptable for under 18 year olds by more than half of participants. This indicates **most people are conservative in their opinion of what they consider to be acceptable for under 18 year olds to access on their mobile devices.**

- Very broad patterns about the kinds of images that were thought unacceptable were discernable from the survey results. An overwhelming majority of participants indicated that images containing **full frontal nudity**, **sex acts**, or **explicit sexual poses** were unacceptable. Conversely, images deemed acceptable by the majority of participants tended to depict models who were wearing more clothes, or which contained a sense of 'fun and flirtiness', or did not contain explicit sexual poses.
- Survey analysis indicates that older men (aged 45+ years) and non-parents were the most relaxed about the glamour images they deemed acceptable for under 18 year olds to view.

Several of the images were very finely balanced between acceptability and unacceptability for those under 18. In these cases, qualitative discussions provided greater understanding to the rationale behind the suitability of images. Three main aspects were identified as being important to the decision making process:

- The presence of full frontal nudity; explicit sexual poses (for example legs spread open); or sexual proclivities (such as masturbation or unambiguous sexual fetish), were universally considered to be inappropriate for under 18 year olds to view. We have termed these aspects **primary sexual elements**.
- Beyond the presence of primary sexual elements, decisions about acceptability or unacceptability were made based on the perceived severity of **a combination of elements** such as the pose of the model, the type of gaze, mixing sex with adult activities such as gambling and drinking alcohol, and levels of nudity. Combined, these elements provided a degree of sexual **invitation** to the viewer, and it was the strength and type of sexual invitation that was influential in the decision making.
- The nature of viewing glamour content on **mobile** devices was also recognised. Participants noted that mobile devices have the potential to decontextualise images thereby making them less appropriate for viewing glamour images; are used in private, away from parental oversight; and finally, were perceived to promote the sharing of, and obsession over, glamour content and even outright pornography.

Throughout all the discussions, participants recognised there was a **difference between art and pornography**, which may impact on some of the rules of acceptability. Participants felt that elements they perceived to be artistic (such as the use of light and shadow) allayed some of the sexual impact of images. Participants felt they could identify an artistic image, but struggled to articulate what made it artistic. Nevertheless, an artistic image may be one that contains a higher purpose than merely sexually arousing a viewer, or by being judged as primarily beautiful or visually appealing based on norms of aesthetics as opposed to being primarily sexual in nature.

1.3 Underlying concerns about glamour in society

Beyond the content of the images, levels of acceptability and decision making were influenced by a number of underlying concerns about the level of glamour currently in society. Participants in the mini-groups revealed a palpable concern that **wider society**

is now too sexualised. However, a few conceded that society being more sexually open than in the past has enabled more mature parent-child or teacher-student conversations about sex and sexuality.

- Both genders revealed a **concern to protect young people** from certain forms of glamour content because they thought that children should be protected from highly sexualised content involving adults until they are more mature; however, there were important differences between genders. **Women** were more articulate and in-depth in their responses expressing concerns regarding the impact of glamour images on young people as they grow up. For example, many were concerned that images contribute to a desensitisation and the distortion of reality. **Men**, on the other hand, had a much more straightforward engagement with glamour content. They judged images not overtly on the effect, but rather, on the degree to which an image was considered sexually explicit. In other words, the degree of sexual invitation was often the most important aspect for men's judgements.
- Many participants were concerned about the potential for glamour imagery to **normalise** problematic attitudes and behaviours such as distorted body images or the idea that females exist for the pleasure of men.
- The **sexualisation** of young boys and girls through exposure at an inappropriately young age to sexual material featuring adults was raised as an issue; as was the potential for glamour images to stimulate **difficult parent-child conversations** before the child is mature enough to converse about such matters.

As a result of these concerns, most participants welcomed the idea of a filter linked to glamour content for under 18 year olds on the basis that it was a timely and necessary parental aid. Participants were mainly **concerned with protecting children** aged nine to 13 years old because they were thought to be most impressionable, as well as not being ready for mediated sexual experiences. Participants felt that younger than nine years old was too young to fully grasp the sexual suggestions in glamour images.

2 Introduction

2.1 Background and objectives

Among other responsibilities, the British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) has recently been given the remit to consider age restrictions for content delivered via mobile networks. This report provides the findings from research undertaken to explore public attitudes to help inform the BBFC's guidelines for accessing glamour content on mobile devices via those networks. This project has evaluated glamour content featuring females.

Sex works, restricted to adults, are defined by the BBFC as works where the 'primary purpose is sexual arousal or stimulation'. However, glamour works may fall short of this 'arousal and stimulation' threshold, and are more likely to be defined as **works that cannot easily be classified as pornographic, but are clearly sexually suggestive in nature.**¹

The key research objectives were to:

1. gauge public opinion on the suitability or unsuitability of the provided glamour content for under 18 year olds to access on their mobile devices; and
2. explore public reasoning in relation to the suitability or unsuitability of the glamour content for under 18 year olds to access glamour content on their mobile devices.

2.2 Our approach

2.2.1 Online survey

A nationally representative online quantitative survey was conducted between 28th July and 8th August 2014; 1000 people in Great Britain were shown 30 images and four short video clips. Survey participants were told about the BBFC and their remit, as well as the full purpose of the research. Participants were warned about the sexualised content. They were also told at several points prior to the survey beginning that they were under no obligation to take part and that they should not continue if they were likely to get offended by the content. They were also directly asked if they would like to proceed with the survey. After viewing each image or clip participants were asked whether it should be placed behind an age filter so that only those aged 18+ years old could access it, or whether it was suitable for mobile device users of all ages to see. Full details of the methodology can be found in the appendix.

2.2.2 Single gender mini-groups

¹ The BBFC, <http://www.bbfc.co.uk/what-classification/mobile-content/qa#glamour>, accessed 17 October 2014.

Using the survey findings as a basis for discussion, we conducted a follow up qualitative stage between 11th September and 23rd September 2014 to understand why people may have made the choices they did, to help provide more in-depth guidance to the BBFC.

Deciding on glamour content to show participants

Analysis of the survey results classified content into three groups:

- content that was rejected for under 18 year olds to view on their mobiles by an overwhelming majority and could reasonably be classified as pornographic, for example, fully nude and explicit content;
- content we initially thought may be judged acceptable, and yet were unambiguously rejected by the public as acceptable; and
- content where people were fairly evenly divided between those who thought a given image acceptable for under 18 year olds and those who deemed it unacceptable.

Working alongside the BBFC, we took the latter two groups of images, and shortlisted a selection of content, 12 images and two videos, to share and discuss during the qualitative stage. We took care to select images that ranged from borderline based on the quantitative survey, to content that received mostly negative reactions to ensure we could explore reasoning across different types of content.

Single gender mini-groups

With a maximum of six participants, mini-groups created a more intimate atmosphere than standard focus groups. Given the potentially sensitive nature of the topic, we felt it was important to conduct single gender groups including matching the gender of the moderator. This encouraged quicker bonding and greater comfort among participants, increasing the ability for a more natural, frank, and free-flowing discussion. We also considered that men and women were likely to have different attitudes towards what would be considered acceptable glamour content for under 18 year olds, and did not want this to be an issue during discussions. We conducted eight mini-groups, four for each gender, across Great Britain: London; Leeds; Portsmouth and Edinburgh. More detail on the methodology can be found in the appendix. A full list of all the images shown to participants in this study is also available in the appendix, along with the results from the quantitative survey, and a summary of the qualitative insight where appropriate.

Note on the differences between the quantitative and qualitative findings

Based on a nationally representative sample, the survey findings provided us with a useful guideline for what the public considered unacceptable for under 18 year olds to view on mobile devices. However, it is worth remembering that survey participants were responding in isolation, and were solely asked whether the image should be filtered or not. They then moved onto the next image. During the qualitative stage, it became

evident that participants were developing their opinions during the discussion, and wanted to go back to earlier images, in light of images later viewed. Opinions frequently changed as the discussion continued, whereas the quantitative participants were reliant upon their first instinct. We therefore consider the qualitative insights the result of a more reflective and in-depth engagement with glamour content than the survey.

3 Wider concerns about a sexualised society

Before reviewing the specific responses to each image, and the key themes which emerged from discussions about content that was considered acceptable for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices, this section provides a broader context upon which decisions are influenced. This includes an awareness of a wider sexualisation of society, and the potential this has to normalise attitudes and behaviours. Moreover, there was recognition of the unique nature of viewing content on mobile devices which can easily be done in private and decontextualise contexts. These wider issues underpin many judgements about glamour content.

3.1 Sexualisation, society and parenting

Consistent and recurring discussions were raised spontaneously about a hyper sexualised society becoming normalised for young people as a result of sustained exposure to sexualised content through advertising, Page 3, and music videos. While many welcomed the contemporary sexual openness and did not wish to avoid sex and sexuality altogether, there was concern that certain constructions and portrayals of sex may negatively influence young people.

3.1.1 Normalisation and protecting childhood

Although this study focused specifically on glamour content on mobile devices, it exists within a wider media landscape that is perceived to be increasingly sexualised. A consensus among participants was that sexualisation is most acute in music videos, television advertisements, and some billboards: media that young people freely access and consume. In general, participants worried that young children are now exposed to too much sexual content, often beyond parental control, which then normalises attitudes and behaviours such as:

- the perception of what is considered sexually attractive and;
- behaviours and attitudes connected to sex and relationships; and
- ideas about acceptable/unacceptable body types.

'In some of the music videos it's not just what you are seeing, it's the sexual movements; sexualisation has gone the full distance now.'

Male, Parent, Edinburgh

'They have MTV and music videos, they look up to Beyoncé and people like that.'

Male, Parent, Portsmouth

'If you go down the High St, you see Ann Summers [windows], the catalogues, the mannequins ... so it's quite 'normal''

Female, Parent London

'They can see worse in The Sun'

Female, Parent, London

In today's society, parents felt children do not have enough time to experience a full childhood because media content with adult themes of sex and sexuality encroach on this, and they felt a pressure to protect their children. According to most participants, a more sexually liberal society with increased media saturation has resulted in many parents feeling like they are the last bulwark protecting their children from the barrage of sexualised imagery and societal behaviours around them. Participants were therefore keen to protect the innocence of youth, ensuring young people were exposed to sexual and glamour content only once they were mature enough to explore the subject, understand its subtleties, and make their own informed judgements.

'You want to keep them kids as long as you can but you have to be realistic, and there are many ways they can find it.'

Female, Empty Nester, Leeds

'I wish they'd stay children a bit longer.'

Female, Parent, London

3.1.2 Reinforcing a negative body image

The overriding concern, most strongly articulated by women, was that media highlighted accounts of sexuality and the female body that were not considered realistic. This is done by ignoring a fuller account of 'real' relationships based on equality, romance and acceptance, in favour of a highly stylised portrayal of women and sex which often fits stereotypes of male fantasy: sexual posing, nudity, and sexual gazes that objectify women. Participants shared a concern over the potential that media imagery could constitute a reality for younger viewers, negatively affecting their sexual behaviour and relationships.

'It is all setting women up for low self-esteem; for young girls to see this and they think this is how I should be. And boys see these images and think this is what girls should look like. And when the girl doesn't look like that, the guys don't understand ... it causes upset and confusion on both sides.'

Female, Pre-Family, Leeds

'I think we should be saying in society we have sex with a person, not with parts of a person. We should be saying to our children sex is a relationship thing and not a body part thing.'

Female, Pre-Family, Leeds

See section 4.5 for a more detailed discussion of this.

3.1.3 Managing mature and difficult questions

Parents often commented that one of the markers of concerning glamour content was the potential for it to prompt questions from children which they would be unable to answer at a level appropriate to the child's maturity. For some, this concern was a shorthand way to help participants determine their views on whether content was deemed to be acceptable. Thus, if such parents or other adults felt an image or video would prompt questions from children which they would struggle to deal with, they were more inclined to feel a filter should be applied to it. Content that may potentially prompt difficult questions included full nudity, or explicit sexual poses as seen in image 25 (20% acceptance) for example, as well as glamour content portrayed in a crude or crass manner, such as image 24 (26% acceptance).

'I would try to explain to a child that respectable women don't do this.'
Female, Pre Family, Leeds



Image 24

3.1.4 Celebration of sexual openness

Although there was concern and resignation overall about the sexualisation of society, some participants noted there were also positive outcomes. They thought that a more sexually open and free society would be one where sex was not ignored; sex education is now considered to be better-rounded and fully explored than in the past. As a result of this, some argued that there is greater potential for more honest and mature parent-child discussions of sex and sexuality, and that a more positive engagement with sex and sexuality is more likely to inculcate a healthy respect for the opposite sex and a mature approach to sex overall.

It was not, therefore, merely sex and sexuality that participants were concerned about but certain constructions and portrayals of sex and sexuality in a glamour context, because these were judged to have the potential to negatively affect young people and to undermine positive and healthy attitudes to sexuality and the opposite sex, which participants sought to instil in the younger generation.

'...two generations ago they didn't talk about sex ... and I think openness is a good thing, but there is a limit. You don't want to see legs akimbo!'
Female, Parent, London

*'My kids are quite used to discussing things with me ...
I've never been excluded from what they get up to.'*
Female, Parent, London



Image 25

3.2 The uniqueness of viewing content on mobile devices

Participants highlighted the specific private nature of viewing glamour content on a mobile device which places it apart from other media devices and is therefore perceived to require a more severe level of monitoring. Mobile devices raise two distinct issues:

- the private nature of mobile devices compared to other media devices; and

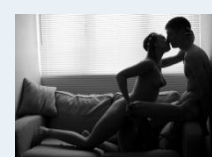


Image 7

- the lack of control parents feel they have over their child's mobile browsing habits.

Combined, these factors mean consumption of content on mobile devices is unique. Whereas computers and television are often found in communal areas in the house (aside from laptops and tablets), mobile devices were considered personal and private in the sense of always being on a person, being a discreet size, and being literally mobile where glamour content can be accessed over 3G or 4G. Unlike other devices, there is also an unwritten agreement that you do not use someone else's mobile device without their permission. Participants felt that this therefore enabled young people to evade parental control by going out of the home or by viewing content alone in their bedrooms.

'The mobile is personal'
Male, Parent, Edinburgh

'They have phones from a young age; when he went to [secondary] school he had a contract phone. They are savvy, you don't know what they are up to.'
Female, Empty Nester, Leeds

Some participants were aware that glamour and pornographic content is already freely shared on mobiles. Young boys were pinpointed as having the tendency to shock girls with graphic content, or engage in sharing of images or videos with other young boys to gain kudos, or to humiliate and intimidate their peer group of girls.

'It's easy to share. You get a picture, your mates tries to better it ... who can get the dirtiest picture without being caught! When we were at school it was who's got the best marbles, the biggest football ... so I can imagine in the playground it will be the best, the most pictures.'
Male, Parent, Leeds

'I would be asking... why and where are you looking, have you been on other sites, [because] the problem is hyperlink after hyperlink to something quite different.'
Male, Parent, Leeds

Finally, many made a distinction between a sexual, but artistic image viewed on a mobile device compared to the same image appearing in a public museum. Participants thought that viewing art-like glamour images in a public museum was of less concern because there are more people around which lowers the chances of sexual obsession; furthermore, participants said that a parent or guardian can accompany an under 18 year old, which would frame the experience as more educational and less sexual, and help to guide them in their interpretation of the meaning of a given image.

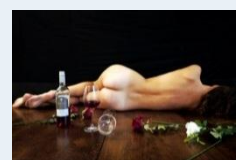


Image 5

'If you've Googled it maybe it's not okay, but in a gallery it's controlled'
Male, Pre Family, Portsmouth

However, viewing the same images on a mobile device was argued to be more problematic because of their private nature and that young people could dwell or obsess over a decontextualised image or video, which makes an image or video that might be innocuous in a movie (which may be fleeting, or in the background and set within a plot) potentially worrying on a mobile device. A few participants also mentioned the zoomable nature of mobile devices like smartphones as being a concern because it promotes dwelling on an image.

*'It's different on TV, the kiss lasts a couple of seconds.
Here [on mobile] it's fixed'*
Male, Parent, Edinburgh

These underlying concerns of a more sexualised society and fears that these may influence children's attitudes and behaviours, are underlying issues which participants had in their mind when deciding the suitability of glamour content for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices.

4 Public reaction to glamour images

The survey findings indicated that the majority of people thought **most of the glamour content we showed them was unacceptable** for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices. This section reviews the survey findings, alongside insights from our qualitative exploration, identifying key themes and issues for consideration when developing guidelines for content that is suitable for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices.

4.1 Most glamour content shown was considered unacceptable

The survey showed that most participants were conservative in their opinion of what glamour content is suitable for under 18 year olds: only six out of 34 images were considered to be acceptable by more than half of participants, while a further three images received a split response. Put another way, 25 out of 34 images were thought to be clearly inappropriate for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices.

Across all images, men were more likely than women to deem an image or video clip acceptable for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices. Two further groups stood out as generally more likely to deem glamour images as acceptable: men aged 45 years and above compared to other male age groups (18-35, 18-44 years); and non-parents compared to parents with children under the age of 18 years old.²







The six images that were deemed acceptable by more than half of participants are shown in Table 1. Although all the images shown to participants were deemed to be risqué, the images that were more acceptable to people seemed to be those which contained less nudity or those that did not contain more overtly sexual poses.

Table 2 contains those images which were indicated as acceptable by just less than half of participants, and which we therefore felt required further exploration and, alongside others, were used in the qualitative stage. These images contain slightly more sexualised elements than those in Table 1, for example, low level nudity (bottom showing), more sexualised poses, and a heightened sexual invitation to the viewer.

² All image responses were tested for statistical significance; if statistical significance is found, it means that a difference between two sets of numbers is real (and not attributable to chance or a coincidence). Although men were more likely than women to think that an image was acceptable, this does not mean that men thought *all* images were acceptable; rather, it means that compared to women, men were more likely to accept an image and that this difference was related to gender. Where both men and women rejected an image, men were less rejecting of the image than women were. While men were always statistically more likely than women to accept an image, for the two other groups (45+ year old males and non-parents), differences applied to *some* images and not others.

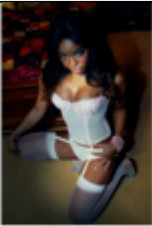



Images that were deemed overwhelmingly unacceptable are presented in Table 3. Many of these images contain either frontal nudity (full frontal, genital or breast exposure); explicit sexual poses; or adult sexual proclivities.

Table 1 Glamour images deemed acceptable by the majority of participants

 <p>Image 4</p>	68% acceptance	 <p>Image 1</p>	63% acceptance
 <p>Image 11</p>	62% acceptance	 <p>Image 29</p>	60% acceptance
 <p>Image 8</p>	53% acceptance	 <p>Image 16</p>	53% acceptance

Survey conducted online among a nationally representative sample of 1,000 adults between 28th July – 8th August 2014.













Table 2 Glamour images which were accepted by just under half of participants













 <p>Image 10</p>	49% acceptance*	 <p>Image 12</p>	49% acceptance*
 <p>Image 3</p>	48% acceptance*	 <p>Image 5</p>	44% acceptance*

* Images shown to participants in the qualitative stage

Survey conducted online among a nationally representative sample of 1,000 adults between 28th July – 8th August 2014.

Table 3 Glamour images considered acceptable by less than 40% of participants

 <p>Image 2</p> <p>37% acceptance</p>	 <p>Image 14</p> <p>35% acceptance*</p>
 <p>Image 6 (Video 1)</p> <p>35% acceptance*</p>	 <p>Image 20</p> <p>34% acceptance</p>
 <p>Image 13</p> <p>31% acceptance</p>	 <p>Image 21</p> <p>30% acceptance*</p>
 <p>Image 30</p> <p>27% acceptance</p>	 <p>Image 24</p> <p>26% acceptance*</p>
 <p>Image 7</p> <p>22% acceptance*</p>	 <p>Image 27</p> <p>22% acceptance</p>
 <p>Image 9</p> <p>20% acceptance</p>	 <p>Image 25</p> <p>20% acceptance*</p>

 <p>Image 23</p>	<p>18% acceptance*</p>	 <p>Image 18</p>	<p>16% acceptance</p>
 <p>Image 17: (Video 2)</p>	<p>14% acceptance*</p>	 <p>Image 19</p>	<p>14% acceptance*</p>
 <p>Image 26 (Video 3)</p>	<p>10% acceptance</p>	 <p>Image 15</p>	<p>8% acceptance</p>
 <p>Image 22</p>	<p>7% acceptance*</p>	 <p>Image 33</p>	<p>7% acceptance</p>
 <p>Image 28</p>	<p>6% acceptance</p>	 <p>Image 31</p>	<p>4% acceptance</p>
 <p>Image 32</p>	<p>3% acceptance</p>	 <p>Image 34 (Video 4)</p>	<p>3% acceptance</p>

* Images shown to participants in the qualitative stage

Survey conducted online among a nationally representative sample of 1,000 adults between 28th July – 8th August 2014.

Throughout this section we refer to the images by number. A full breakdown of the survey results can be found in the appendix, along with insights from the qualitative discussions where appropriate.

4.2 Important elements for judging glamour content

The three key elements for judging the acceptability of glamour content for under 18 year olds, were the presence of **full frontal nudity**, **explicit sexual poses**, and **adult sexual proclivities**. We have deemed these to be primary sexual elements, as they are the most important aspects identified by participants. Beyond this, participants most commonly evaluated images based on the **combination of different sexual elements** within an image or video such as the pose of the model; the expression of the model; the mixture of sex with adult activities such as gambling or alcohol; or the degree to which the image is designed to physically stimulate.

4.2.1 Primary sexual elements

Not all elements of glamour content carry the same weight for people when they reason about the acceptability of content for under 18 year olds to view. Three elements were identified by most participants as those which outweigh other aspects of an image or video and identify it as content they would prefer to be filtered for 18+ access only; these were full frontal nudity, explicit sexual poses, and adult sexual proclivities.

Participants felt that **full frontal nudity** (breast and genital exposure) should not be viewed in a glamour context by under 18 year olds, especially teenagers considered to be recently pubescent (aged 13 to 15 years old), because this was considered to be a vulgar and crude representation of sex inappropriate for young people. This discussion about nudity in the qualitative phase, was broadly backed up by the images deemed unacceptable in the survey findings, where images with stronger, more obvious nudity (such as images 22, 28, 31) were deemed to be less acceptable than images with lower level nudity (such as images 3, 21, 23).

While the display of full frontal nudity was clearly a primary sexual element, the mere presence of breasts only exposure was not an automatic red flag; it often depended on the context, and perceived crudity, of the image. While many of the images containing only breasts were judged unacceptable in the survey as well as during our group discussion, there were often other issues influencing decision making than solely the exposure of breasts. More detail on the debate surrounding nudity can be found in section 4.3.1.

Furthermore, during discussions, participants made a distinction between nudity in art, as being more tasteful and subtle versus nudity in glamour works where it was perceived to be more 'tacky' and vulgar, generally displaying much more of a women's body in a more obviously sexual manner and designed to get a physical response from the viewer. A more detailed discussion about art versus pornography can be found in section 4.3.5.

While full frontal nudity in a glamour context is clearly deemed unacceptable, images exposing only breasts therefore need to be assessed in the broader context of the image.

In the case of **explicit sexual poses**, participants judged an image or video as unacceptable without any 'sex body parts' exposed, simply because the model's pose



Image 31

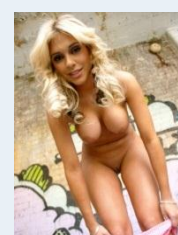


Image 22



Image 18

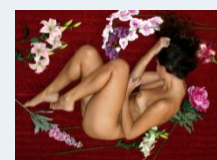


Image 2

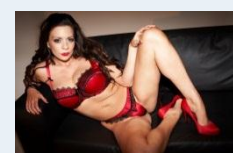


Image 24

encouraged the viewer to see women as sexual objects or available simply for the gratification of men. This was most apparent with images 24 and 25, accepted by 26% and 20% of participants respectively, which show women not exposing any sexual body parts, but in overtly sexual poses. Moreover, there was a perception that sex designed to provoke arousal was the sole overriding subject of the content and that this was therefore not something young people should be viewing on their mobile devices.

'[Image 25] It's a near sexual position.'

Male, Empty Nester, London

'Exaggerated poses, legs apart, bending over.'

Male, Parent, Edinburgh



Image 25

Glamour content containing **sexual proclivities** that were deemed to contain adult activities, or adult sexual choices, were considered unacceptable for under 18 year olds to view. This includes masturbation and unambiguous sexual fetish. Participants felt that these were adult activities which children would be able to make their own decisions about once they are adults themselves, but were not suitable for them to be exposed to while they are still children.

In the case of **masturbation**, some women considered the image empowering because it showed a woman not requiring a man for pleasure. Whilst most did not condemn masturbation *per se*, what concerned them was this being seen in a 'public' context, which then appears to undermine messages to young people that this should be kept private and not shared with others. Participants often commented that they would prefer children to find out about masturbation 'naturally' and not through stylised imagery.

'Well that woman doesn't need a man to make her feel good.'

Female, Parent, London

'Most people think masturbation is a private thing ... so this image is the opposite. I wouldn't want them to think this is okay, bright lights, by the window'

Male, Parent Edinburgh

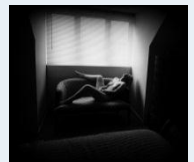
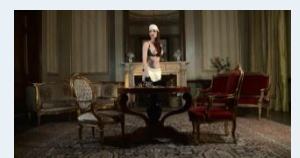


Image 19

More detail on the debate around explicit sexual poses can be found in section 4.3.2.

Unambiguous sexual fetish images were considered to be the territory of adults because sexual fetish contains many advanced forms of sex and sexuality which have the ability to be misinterpreted or decontextualised. For example, participants were concerned that immature minds may consider it to be okay to inflict pain on someone. Participants generally thought this sexual area was 'darker' or more adult and niche than standard sex, and reasoned that young people do not have the sexual maturity to responsibly handle unambiguous fetish related sex.

Sexualised full frontal nudity, explicit poses and adult sexual proclivities were all therefore deemed to be primary sexual elements, and their presence would deem an image unsuitable.



17: (Video 2)

4.2.2 Layering, the sexual invitation, and male fantasy

In the absence of a primary sexual element, people were faced with a less clear decision and turned to a layering of elements to arrive at a judgement. These layers included elements such as sexual gazes, the level of nudity, the 'explicitness' of poses, the mixture of sex with adult activities such as gambling or alcohol, or playing directly into stereotypical male sexual fantasies. In other words, it was usually a combination of different elements, often individually not particularly offensive, that collectively made an image or video unacceptable or otherwise.

'For me, the issue is when it's too provocative ... the lipstick, the blow up doll mouth, the legs open ... and too much nudity'
Female, Parent, Portsmouth



Image 14

In addition to the presence of elements listed above, there were also a number of broader factors taken into consideration including: how outright 'rude' the content was considered to be; its perceived impact on children's emotions; the potential impact on the behaviour or 'moral' outlook of the underage viewer; or the degree to which it was considered to objectify or be 'demeaning' to women.

At the core of many judgements was the extent to which there was an invitation to view the content as being solely about sexual provocation. Although somewhat subjective, different types and degrees of sexual invitations were identified and can be approximately mapped on a spectrum: cheeky and flirty invitations on the one hand, and extremely crude sexual invitations on the other. The former invitation was often characterised by the absence of a primary sexual element (as described in section 4.2.1), a cheeky and coy facial expression, coupled with low levels of nudity and/or the display of a vivacious personality. The latter usually involved a primary sexual element or very direct 'come hither' facial expressions and higher levels of perceived degradation or objectification of the model.



Image 21

'It's too provocative; it's just here I am ... foof [vagina] before person!'
Female, Parent, Portsmouth



Image 12

'On the one hand the pose ... if it's overtly sexual and making her look available or vulnerable or suggestive [equates to invitation] ... and then the degree of body on show ... we agreed not genitals, and not really full frontal [is suitable for under 18 year olds]'
Female, Parent, London

Very closely related to sexual invitation was the role of stereotypical male sexual fantasies. Many participants (usually women) commented that many of the images shown were not realistic portrayals of women, sex, or relationships, but merely reflections of common male sexual fantasies. Participants felt that images which play into such fantasies contribute to the distortion of reality given to the viewer, frequently solely focused on their sexuality and bodies as sellable commodities *for men* to consume and enjoy.

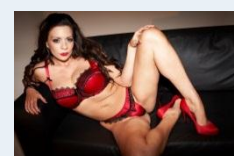


Image 24

For example, image 23 contains two women dressed in lingerie and kissing in what participants described as a 'party shot'. It was deemed acceptable by 18% of participants in the survey and was also rejected by most of the groups. Participants felt that the image was not a reflection of a loving lesbian relationship, rather played directly to male fantasies of two women being together and was designed for male gratification and indicative of young women getting drunk and kissing at parties to gain attention from young men. In other words, this relates to an idea of men having increasing control and influence on the way young women behave in today's society.

[Image 14] 'It makes you feel that all women should be like that. There is a pressure to be more sexy.'
Female, Pre Family, Leeds

[Image 23] 'But they are playing it up for male fantasy. I would be concerned with young girls seeing this because I wouldn't want them to think that this is what they have to do to be attractive. It's attention seeking. It's playing up to camera that bothers me.'
Female, Parent, Portsmouth

[Image 23] 'It's feeding men's fantasies of two women.'
Female, Parent, London

The role of male fantasy is linked to sexual invitation in that images that embody male fantasy are not reducible to one element and are therefore a generalised concern, yet the concern broadly relates to perceived asymmetries in equality, power and autonomy between men and women, which are exacerbated in many images. Also, images that evoke ideas of male fantasy very often contain a strong sexual invitation for the viewer. When many participants reasoned about the acceptability of an image for under 18 year olds to view, they took into account both the degree of sexual invitation as well as the extent to which an image played to male fantasies.

The next section of this report goes through these elements in more detail, using examples to help illustrate the findings, and highlighting implications for the BBFC guidelines.

4.3 Key themes depicted in glamour images

This section evaluates the main themes participants debated when reviewing glamour content for suitability on whether it should be accessible for under 18 year olds on their mobile devices.

4.3.1 Nudity

The level of nudity was assessed by the extent to which sexual body parts (bottom, breasts, or genitals) were on show. Participants made a distinction between low level nudity (skimpy outfits, lingerie, or a bottom showing), and high level nudity (full frontal, genital, or breast exposure). Most participants were not concerned with low level nudity. They believed under 18 year olds see bottoms in real life and in images on a regular



Image 23



Image 14

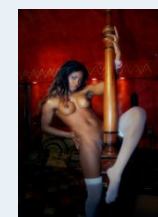


Image 28

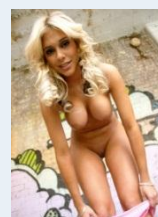


Image 22

basis (amongst family, in art, and on holiday with thong bikinis on the beach for example) and that this was not an immediate concern. However, sexualised full frontal nudity and genital exposure was overwhelmingly considered inappropriate.

'It's no different to seeing a woman on the beach with a thong!'

Male, Parent, Portsmouth

'You go on holiday and kids see women in thongs with their boobs out.'

Female, Empty Nester, Leeds

Images exposing only breasts were more challenging to categorise. Participants would often look beyond the nudity, and consider the context of the image before deciding on its appropriateness for under 18 year olds. Breasts exposed outside of an artistic context were likely to be deemed unacceptable while artistic treatments received more leeway based on arguments around 'taste' and subtlety.

Perceptions of nudity were often interlinked with the perceptions of tastefulness of an image. Participants struggled to define the difference between art and pornography or glamour content, but judgements seemed to relate to the perceived level of offence or crass sexual invitation in glamour content. Furthermore, the degree of 'tastefulness' was frequently a factor when only breasts were exposed. For instance, and outside of other factors, images 2 (37% acceptability); 7 (22%); 18 (16%); 17(14%); and 19 (14%) all contain breast exposure yet returned different levels of acceptability from the survey. Images 7, 17, and 19 were discussed in the mini-groups and while image 7 was frequently considered acceptable, image 17 was judged unacceptable based on the combination of the model's breast exposure alongside unambiguous fetish signifiers.

Examples: Image 22, showing full frontal nudity, was overwhelmingly judged as being inappropriate for under 18 year olds (7% acceptance); furthermore, images 28, 31, 32, and 33 all contain frontal nudity (either full frontal or genital exposure) and only between 3% and 7% of people surveyed thought them acceptable for under 18 year olds, giving strong evidence for the effect of full nudity on judgements of appropriateness.

*'Nudity is an issue, stomach, legs, okay ...
but boobs and down below is a 'no-no''*

Male, Empty Nester, Edinburgh

While images 3 and 5 split participant response in the survey (48% and 44% respectively) both were considered acceptable by most participants in the mini-groups in terms of the low level of nudity (although other factors also came into play in the final analysis of their suitability). Similarly, while image 10 was considered acceptable by 49% of survey participants, qualitative discussions highlighted that no sexual body parts were exposed, and many felt similar images could be regularly viewed in public in high street shops such as Ann Summers.

'[Image 3] It's not offensive, it's soft isn't it.'

Female, Parent, London

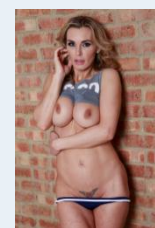


Image 15



Image 2



Image 31



Image 32

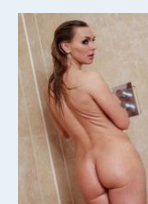


Image 3

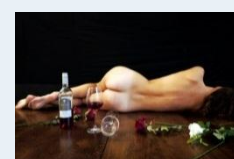


Image 5

The impact of nudity can potentially be ameliorated by other aspects. For example, only 22% of people surveyed thought image 7, a black and white shot of a naked couple embracing, acceptable for under 18 year olds. However, most participants in the qualitative discussions judged it acceptable (with a lot of debate) because it was more naturalistic than other content; evoked ideas of a real relationship; and was art-like in that much of the nudity was softened by the purposeful use of light and shadow. This apparent contradiction between the survey and mini-groups highlights the difficulty in judging 'tasteful' versus 'crude' nudity.

'Nudity [per se] is not necessarily an issue if it's portrayed less on the sexual side.'

Male, Parent, Edinburgh

'Here, they [the man and woman] look equal, equal in power, equal in status.'

Female, Parent, London

'I think this is more okay than the 'glamour' shots ... at least here there is kissing, a context, more about a relationship than the sexual aspect, more healthy and natural than the first images we saw.'

Male, Pre Family Edinburgh

Implications for 18+ filter: Nudity is often bound up in the perceived, and subjective, tastefulness of the shot. Full frontal images featuring genital exposure were universally thought inappropriate for under 18 year olds. However, while most breast exposure only shots were also judged unacceptable, this was complicated by a discussion about artful images, which participants were more lenient with. A key question for consideration that underpinned many judgements relating to nudity: does the nudity serve pure sexual gratification or not? This question also seemed to be in play when participants thought about nudity being acceptable in artistic works or in movies.

4.3.2 Poses

Poses were evaluated on the extent to which the body is arranged in a position designed to draw attention to sex parts (crotch, bottom, breasts, or genitals). This was interrelated with the extent to which a pose was considered tasteful or fun, compared to crude, crass or overtly sexual.

Provocative and explicit poses dramatically increase the extent to which a sexual invitation is perceived. Participants thought that the extent to which a pose encourages the viewer to primarily focus on a model's breasts and/or genitalia, whether clothed or not, is a key indicator of acceptability. Many women also felt that highly sexualised poses also portray women as objects for male gratification, which relates to aspects of equality and degradation.

Examples: Image 24 shows a woman in revealing lingerie. While she is not exposing any sexual areas of her body, she is lying on a couch with her legs spread, drawing attention to her crotch. While a quarter of participants (26%) considered this image



Image 10



Image 7



Image 2



Image 18



Image 24



Image 25

acceptable for under 18 year olds to view, most of our group participants rejected this image based solely on the explicit pose of the model. This was the same rationale as applied to image 25 (20%). While the model in image 25 is wearing more clothes, she is in a pose that objectifies her as a sex object, drawing attention to her crotch. These two images can usefully be compared to image 10, where while participants acknowledged the provocative pose, they considered that the image was not drawing attention to her crotch, and the model was wearing lingerie many thought to be sexy yet tasteful. While some participants felt it was a 'sexy' image, they did not find the model's pose as vulgar as in the other two examples mentioned above.

[Image 14] 'Even if we put big pants on her, it's the position she is in, it's mimicking a sex pose'

Female, Pre Family, Leeds

[Image 24] 'That is a bad pose. She could be in shape, everything could be perfect but that is not what I'd want my 12 year old or 14 year old or even 17 year old to see!'

Female, Parent, London

[Image 25] 'That is overtly sexual. The positioning! It is literally a sexual position.'

Male, Parent, Edinburgh

[Image 10] 'Here [the image] is more about what she's wearing than the position she's in ... she looks nice, in nice underwear.'

Female, Parent, London

Implications for an 18+ filter: Explicit poses were considered crude, vulgar, and related to sexual invitation, in part, because they were thought to be specifically designed to get a sexual reaction from the viewer. This includes sexual poses which draw attention to a specific body area such as the crotch and are considered to be a primary sexual element, and therefore unacceptable for under 18 year olds to access. More tasteful poses were thought to be those that '*left something to the imagination*' in not explicitly drawing attention to sexual parts of the body such as the crotch, bottom or breast area.

4.3.3 Gazes and expressions

The gaze or expression of the model, the extent to which the model sexually engages with the viewer through their eyes and facial expression, influences the way in which the viewer interprets the image. Participants identified two aspects: the extent to which a model is looking directly at the camera; and the extent to which a model's facial expression reflects a 'come hither' look or is more cheeky and coy. Some described the 'come hither' expression more specifically as mouth slightly open, pouting, head down, eyes up, and gazing into the camera lens as if to communicate sexual intent with the viewer.



Image 14



Image 10



Image 30

'It's all that peek-a-boo looking over the shoulder thing!'
Female, Pre Family, Leeds

Gazes and facial expressions were thought to relate to the degree of sexual invitation and sexual engagement encouraged. Serious but sexually inviting gazes and facial expressions were felt to heighten the crudeness of the sexual intent. More cheeky and coy facial expressions were seen to be less exploitative and less indicative of 'darker' or more extreme or crude depictions of sex and sexuality.

Examples: Image 10 was mostly judged acceptable for under 18 year olds to view, yet many commented on the sexual invitation apparent in the model's face increasing concern about the image. On the other hand, a cheeky or coy facial expression can make an image relatively less sexualised; participants said that these expressions evoked emotions such as happiness and joviality ('just having a laugh'). An interesting comparison can be made between images 14 and 25. Both were often considered unacceptable by mini-group participants based on their sexual poses, yet image 14 was thought to be not as explicit as image 25 partly because of the model's cheeky facial expression, whereas the model in image 25 has a direct 'come hither' look.

'That one [Image 25] looks dark ... not right. This one [Image 14] is bright and smiley. So that one [Image 25] looks more seedy.'
Female, Parent, London

Image 4 was considered acceptable for under 18 year olds to view by more than two-thirds (68%) of people surveyed. This image was not shown in the qualitative stage, but it is a good example of an image which displays a lack of nudity; the absence of a sexual pose; and a fun, flirty facial expression. Conversely, the model in image 12 has a direct sexual gaze and sexual expression, with greater nudity. Many participants found her sexual intent (or 'the sexual invitation') pronounced, perhaps, along with other factors, reflected in the lower level of acceptability (49%) compared to image 4. By comparison, while image 21 has higher levels of nudity than images 4 or 12, the model's expression is considered more cheeky or coy, with an element of her personality coming across.

Implications for an 18+ filter: Although many participants pinpointed gazes and expressions as important, it is not just a direct 'come hither' look and eye contact that made people restrict glamour content to 18 years and above. In other words, gazes and expressions are not primary sexual elements and usually appear alongside other factors. Sexually provocative eye contact with the viewer heightens the sexual invitation of an image. Whereas cheeky or coy facial expressions can lessen the sexual invitation present in an image (although this is not likely to make an otherwise unacceptable image completely acceptable, rather, it is likely to lessen the sexual invitation by a small degree).

4.3.4 Context, adult activities and mise-en-scène

The context and mise-en-scène of an image or video was important for many, and impacted on their interpretation and consequently, acceptability, of an image. There



Image 10



Image 14



Image 25



Image 12



Image 4



Image 21

were two main concerns: the extent to which the environment, as well as the props within an image, was perceived as being associated with sex, pornography or adult sexual themes, and the extent to which the image was perceived to be embedded in a wider story or context even if that was not primarily about sex.

'What is in the background [makes a difference] ... accessorising them, if you see a whip in the hands or high heels etc. ... it could be the props which turn the picture'
Male, Parent, Edinburgh

Participants readily projected their own stories or narratives onto a given image; this perceived context affected the level of acceptability of an image. An unnatural setting was perceived as a deliberate attempt to meet male sexual fantasies and heightened the association of women being objectified. For instance, despite the fun and festive context of Christmas, for some, image 25 evoked a perceived narrative of rough, hard, sex because the model is bent over presenting her crotch to the viewer with direct eye contact and a serious, yet sexual, facial expression as if she is just there as an object to gratify the viewer. While the implied narrative or story was not often explicit in an image, the story that an image implies through context and mise-en-scène is important for people when judging its appropriateness for under 18 year olds. In some instances, these narratives related to sinister themes such as date rape or social problems such as excessive alcohol consumption (image 5). However, in the same way that unnaturally sexualised context can raise concerns, a more congruent or naturalistic context can help alleviate the sexual nature of an image.

Finally, mixing sex with adult activities such as drinking of alcohol or gambling, within an image (such as images 5 and 17) were also deemed unsuitable for those who are not yet of adult age. In society, these are deemed to be adult activities, so it was not considered appropriate for under 18 year olds to be exposed to such activities until they were old enough to partake. Moreover, a clear mixing of alcohol infers other storylines and creates an unpleasant context to the image which is not deemed appropriate.

Examples: Images 14 and 12 are both set within the kitchen, which participants thought was not a 'realistic' or 'natural' context for women in terms of the mixture of lingerie, and sexualised poses. . Some participants therefore found these images 'porn like' because of a lack of reality within the images and the crude display of sex, which the incongruent contexts accentuate.

One image that participants debated over the context of was image 3, where the model is in the shower. Less than half of those surveyed (48%) considered this image to be acceptable, yet in our group discussions, this image was overwhelmingly considered be acceptable due to the naturalistic setting. Some participants explained that young people might catch their mum or sister in the shower accidentally, and this was not of real concern because it was at least a 'natural' or non-sexual setting.

'That one [Image 3 in shower] was more natural ... this [Image 12 in kitchen] is posed'
Male, Parent, Edinburgh



Image 25



Image 14



Image 12



Image 3

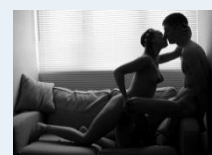


Image 7

Image 7, a black and white image of a couple, raised lots of debate about its suitability. Only 22% of survey participants felt this image would be acceptable for under 18 year olds, yet our qualitative participants noted the perceived positive 'story' in the image as being a tasteful portrayal of 'love making' between a couple that many saw to be in a relationship, and because of this implied context, many felt the image was acceptable. Conversely image 23, two women kissing, was not perceived to be a lesbian couple in a loving relationship, but a stereotypical depiction of lesbianism serving male fantasy. While two women together were not perceived to be problematic, objectifying women and playing to male fantasy was.

There was a lot of debate about image 5, which shows a nude model lying on the ground with her back to the camera; the foreground contains a bottle of wine accompanied by scattered roses and a knocked over wine glass. While this image was considered to be acceptable by 44% of survey participants, the qualitative discussions raised real concerns. While many initially saw the image as artistic and were not concerned with the level of nudity, it was often considered unacceptable based on the wider adult story they perceived within the image. Some said the model looked like she had been date raped and others said that the knocked over wine glass implied a struggle. Participants were very uncomfortable with the mixing of alcohol with sexual themes, as they believed there would be a connection between this and behaviours, for example, a fear that boys would attempt to get girls drunk to have sex with them.



Image 5

'For me, the kissing gives context. It associates sex with love which is what I'd be trying to show my kids.'
Female, Empty Nester, London

'I don't like the idea it's maybe someone passed out with the wine ... the back story it's suggesting is a bit disturbing'
Female, Parent, London

'It's like she's been date drugged'
Female, Pre Family, Leeds

'I think my [son] might think ... if I get her drunk... I can do what I want with her.'
Male, Parent, Portsmouth

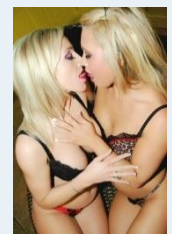
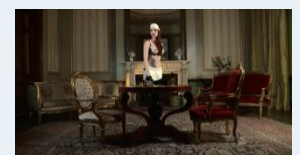


Image 23

Almost all participants objected to image 17 (a short video) being available for under 18 year olds because of a mixture of nudity and contextual factors, supported by only 14% indicating it to be acceptable in the survey. The video shows a heavily tattooed woman wearing a maid costume, who tastes some wine and then sits down. While the PVC outfit was a contributing factor, it was the combination of the gambling chips and the wine which deemed this video inappropriate as they are adult activities, being displayed in a sexualised context.

An important factor to note is that the video we showed participants was only 30 seconds long, which made the video decontextualised. Had the video been embedded within a plot, this may have contributed to a more positive and accepting response.



17: Video 2

'Gambling, alcohol, provocative ... all the thing you're trying to encourage your kids against! All you need is a cigarette or a spliff and it's the full house.'

Male, Empty Nester, London

'It is a style of porn, the gambling thing, they have used her as a maid while they were gambling, it's that style, they've used her as the entertainment'

Female, Pre Family, Leeds.

Implications for an 18+ filter: The environment and context of a glamour image is a key factor in people's thinking about acceptability for under 18 year olds. More 'naturalistic' or 'realistic' settings and scenarios are likely to be more acceptable than fantasy or overtly sexual settings and scenarios. Props relating to adult sexual activity such as unambiguous sexual fetish, gambling, or alcohol are easily identified by most people and because these elements are associated with adult lifestyle choices which are inappropriate for under 18 year olds to experience, content that reflects these themes is of concern. In particular, unambiguous sexual fetish was identified as a primary sexual element as stated in section 4.2.1, while the presence of alcohol or gambling props in an image was a secondary factor.



Image 5

4.3.5 Art versus pornography

Differentiating between art and pornography is problematic because it is subjective. Nevertheless, while unable to articulate their reasons, participants *felt* they knew art when they saw it or they knew pornography (or glamour content that was more pornographic than artistic) when they saw it.

'It's a glamour picture and there's no other purpose to that picture'

Male, Empty Nester, Edinburgh

Debates ultimately concluded that artistic images are less 'in your face', and leave a little interpretation to the imagination. The primary aim of an artistic image is not one of sex that is aiming to get a physical reaction from the viewer, but one of beauty. While black and white images are not always artistic, the use of lighting, shadows and composition can often mean these images were considered more artistic.



Image 2

When participants recognised artistic elements in content, the underlying rationale was either aesthetic (it is beautiful), or intentionality (a higher purpose other than sex). Images that were considered to be unacceptable for under 18 year olds were often the inverse: not beautiful, crude, vulgar, and crass, or having no purpose other than titillation. The main point is that art, or a work with artistic elements, is felt to have a goal that does not attempt to, or goes beyond, provoking a sexual response in the viewer.

'Black and white is stylised, whereas colour is more 'in your face''

Female, Parent, London

Examples: While only 22% of survey participants considered image 7, a black and white image of a naked couple, acceptable, most group participants considered it to be

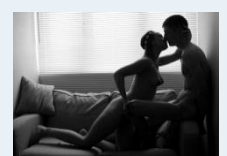


Image 7

artistic because of the intelligent use of light and dark. Many said the use of light and shadow minimised the amount of explicit nudity, making the image less sexually inviting. Some participants also perceived the image as romantic, although this was likely to also relate to the subject matter being a male and female embracing.

'I think it [Image 7] maybe okay on artistic grounds, you could see that in a gallery.'
Male, Pre Family, Portsmouth

There was considerable debate over image 19, a black and white image of a lady apparently masturbating. Many participants acknowledged the artistic themes evident through the intelligent use of lighting and shadow, and the model being positioned in the mid-distance and not the immediate foreground (which lessens the sexual invitation). However, only 14% of participants surveyed considered the image acceptable and discussions ultimately deemed the image unacceptable due to the belief that masturbation was not appropriate in a glamour, non-educational context (see section 4.2.1).

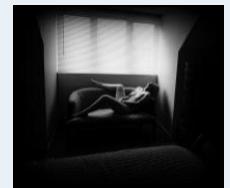


Image 19

[Image 19] 'the arty idea doesn't wash for me, it's just a cover ...'
Female, Parent, Portsmouth

'Yes you could frame that [Image 19] in an art way, but of course famous artists do also take porn pictures. I don't believe in censorship but I don't want people to see them [artistic porn images] when they're young as we have to protect them.'
Male, Empty Nester, Edinburgh

Tellingly, many participants did not initially comment on the model's exposed breasts as grounds for filtering the image; although when prompted, many indicated this was another factor that made it unacceptable.

'You're not going to linger on a picture where you see more of the blind than the girl!' [Image 19]
Male, Pre Family, Portsmouth

While deemed unacceptable due to the narrative which was inferred from the presence of alcohol, image 5 was also often thought to contain an artistic feel, although less so than the previous two images. The arrangement of the flowers, the wine, and the contours of the woman's body were mentioned as artistic elements which some participants thought made this image aesthetically pleasing.



Image 9

'You could see that [Image 5] in Tate Modern'
Female, Parent, London

'It [Image 5] looks like it's trying to tell you something whereas those [selection of other images] were for the sake of it'
Female, Parent, London

Implications for an 18+ filter: Artistic elements can ‘soften’ the seductive and sexual nature of glamour content, but images do not become acceptable by invoking an art argument. For instance, a work previously judged as clearly pornographic would in most cases still be considered pornographic if in black and white with ‘artistic’ uses of shadow and light. Rather, it is the combination of artistic techniques and identifiers, with notions of a higher purpose, intentionality, and aesthetics as discussed above which makes a (glamour) work more artistic and therefore potentially more acceptable than other types of glamour works.

4.4 Viewing video versus static images

Many participants indicated that a static glamour image could potentially be more concerning than a short video clip because video clips can be embedded within a narrative; for example, within the plot of a movie. However, glamour videos are often decontextualised and not accompanied by a narrative or even character development. Although the evidence base is not extensive, we tested four short glamour video clips, images 6, 17, 26 and 34, which allow us to dig into the differences between participants’ reactions to glamour images compared to glamour video. Images 6 and 7 were shown to participants in the mini-groups.³ Video was more dynamic. Simply put, (glamour) video more closely approximated non-mediated sex and seduction than static glamour images because the sexual communication was amplified through different aspects, such as: camera shots (dynamic and shifting close up shots and mid shots), the mise-en-scène, sound and music which add to the sexual ambiance of a clip, as well as sensual and seductive movement by models. Therefore, glamour video was judged more harshly than static images in terms of acceptability for under 18 year olds, and all of the elements that apply to images (such as pose, nudity, masturbation) to make them unacceptable for under 18 year olds apply to video.

The survey revealed that image 6 (video 1), a woman who seductively performs for the camera in her lingerie, was deemed acceptable by 35% of participants. Participants felt this clip was unacceptable for under 18 year olds in the mini-groups based on the manner in which the model runs her hands over her body; in other words, rejection of this image for under 18 year olds was based on motion, which contributed to heightening the perceived sexual invitation, rather than on the grounds of nudity or extreme poses.

Many participants also perceived the video clip to be a precursor to sex, and that they felt that the next logical sequence was sexual escalation. This seemed to be attributable to the heightened sexual invitation within the clip. It was perceived that the model in lingerie in the video clip invoked sex much more than she would have if the same model was presented in a static image. On this point, an illustrative comparison can be made between image 10, a static image depicting a model in lingerie, and image 6, a video clip which also contains a model in a similar type of lingerie. Image 10 was deemed accepted for under 18 year olds to view by most people in the mini-groups and was just



Image 5

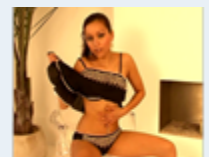


Image 6 (Video 1)



Image 17: (Video 2)



Image 26 (Video 3)



Image 34 (Video 4)

³ Images 26 and 34 (videos 3 and 4) were videos of two women in the early stages of sex; only 10% and 3% respectively of those surveyed thought they were acceptable for under 18 year olds to view. We did not show participants these videos in the mini-groups because we anticipated complete rejection.

short of a majority (49% acceptability) in the survey. However, image 6 was mostly rejected for under 18 year olds in the mini-groups and only 35% of participants thought it was acceptable for under 18 year olds. This was despite both models containing similar amounts of nudity and no primary sexual elements being present. We might therefore infer that sexual invitation increases in video clips based on the aforementioned factors like motion and ambiance.

'She's covered but she's 100% trying to seduce you ... no nudity but that's the intent.'

Male, Empty Nester, Portsmouth

'It's the sort of thing you get on video chat things, dial ups, and subscribe channels... 'take this off and she'll do more.'

Male, Parent, Leeds

'It's very obvious what's coming next... she will take off her clothes.'

Male, Parent, London

If you were at home and your partner did that [touching herself] you'd think 'here we go, early night!'

Male, Parent, London

Image 17 (video 2) contains unambiguously sexual fetish themes, breast exposure as well as adult activities such as drinking and gambling. While it was deemed acceptable for under 18 year olds by 14% of survey participants, the mini-group participants unambiguously rejected this video for under 18 year olds based on the combination of all these factors. While acceptability would not have changed much between a static image, largely because of breast exposure and obvious fetish themes, these two aspects were heightened partly because they were 'brought to life' more in video form.

'It's like a fetish video, housemaid, a nurse, these are fetish videos!'

Male, Empty Nester, Edinburgh

'It's gratuitous – what the hell is that about!'

Male, Parent, Leeds

4.5 Gender perspectives

While generally men were more likely to deem glamour images acceptable for under 18 year olds to view than women, the qualitative discussions revealed differences in the rationales of men and women, and showed men to be more conservative than the quantitative data suggests.

In general, **women** had a much more sophisticated, articulate, and in-depth response to glamour content than men because this issue was more personal for them. Women also had much stronger reactions than men. Some women were visibly offended at certain images. It was apparent that they had been thinking about and even experiencing the stereotyping and degradation of women in glamour images and even wider society, prior to our groups. When women discussed the glamour content presented in the mini-

groups, themes such as inequality, objectification and power relationships were commonly raised. One particularly salient concern for women was the effect of idealised body imagery on young people in terms of expectations, attitudes, and behaviours gleaned through consumption of glamour images and videos by under 18 year olds. Some women gave examples of scenarios where this had been in effect. Specific aspects in images that seemed to provoke these strong reactions: full nudity; extremely sexualised poses; provocative gazes that imply a direct sexual engagement with the viewer; showing off G-strings in an obvious manner; and lesbianism as part of a male fantasy, and as being 'for show'.

'When I was at school some lads were showing pictures to me on their phone, [participant demonstrates phone pushed close into her face] which were violent and graphic. They got them off the internet or their siblings. They show stuff to girls to make them go 'eeww', pictures of women with their legs open'

Female, Pre Family, Leeds

'Boys would look at that kind of thing [Image 14] as sexualisation of girls and think that's how they [girls they know] should look.'

Female, Parent, London

'I know a person who made his girlfriend get out of bed to shave before he would sleep with her'

Female, Empty Nester, Leeds



Image 14

Women expressed strong concern about the impact of glamour images on young people in terms of the distortion of reality of body image they provide and desensitisation of glamour content in society. Many participants spoke about the possibility that glamour images desensitise young people to sex at an early age, giving both boys and girls distorted expectations and notions about sex, beauty, and sexuality. Girls were seen to be pressured into conforming to unrealistic standards of beauty such as dress and breast size, and uncomfortable, and even oppressive, behaviours around sex (such as shaving their pubic hair) as the norm for instance, or being pressurised into anal sex as a result of porn, with glamour content being a precursor to much of this. Conversely, in absence of real sexual experiences, young men were thought to adopt unrealistic expectations of women.

'If they come across things like this they get used to seeing it and it will make them more desensitised; it just seems more the norm for a certain age group.'

Female, Empty Nester, Leeds

'I think there's a level of maturity that children have at a specific time. I don't think a 13 or 15 year old has that [level of maturity] ... if they get desensitised to those, what will they look at age 18? And that will impact their relationships in the future.'

Female, Parent, London

*'The age of women getting full waxes is getting younger and younger,
because that is what they think their partners like.'*

Female, Empty Nester, Leeds

*'Real women aren't like this. They're [i.e. men] just looking at this image
and they're not thinking about what's going on in her brain!'*

Female, Parent, London

'Guys expect sex to be like porn!'

Female, Pre Family, Leeds

*'Boys were expecting me to be like what they were exposed to. I believe
that has made them be like that'*

Female, Pre Family, Leeds

Men had a much more straightforward engagement with glamour content than women; their concerns were more likely to be related to an overall, general feeling about an image whereas women were more in-depth with their reasoning. Although men were more likely than women to accept glamour content for under 18 year olds in the quantitative survey as well as the mini-groups, many still consistently articulated a concern with protecting young children and early teens from pornography as well as much of the glamour content we showed them.

'For me it's not allowing a child to have a childhood ... with the make-up, the ear piercing, they don't get a childhood. When we were children, we were playing footy and other stuff like that!'

Male, Parent, Portsmouth

*'There's a learning curve they [kids] have to go through to understand
that an image is not okay'*

Male, Parent, Portsmouth

It was apparent that many of the men in our mini-groups had not fully considered their reasons for filtering content because they struggled to articulate their rationale for judging glamour images acceptable or unacceptable for under 18 year olds. Furthermore, many of the men seemed to find the content personally appealing or at the very least were ambivalent in terms of their own personal feelings, whereas women were often personally offended at what they saw as the degradation of women.

The main consideration for men's judgements about glamour content was the overt sexual explicitness of the image. Crudely put, men often decided acceptability on the basis of whether it was 'rude' or not. We previously used the phrase 'sexual invitation' to describe the layering of certain sexual elements in glamour content, most commonly: sexual poses, nudity, and direct gazes and sultry facial expressions. This approximates the reasoning of men generally. Akin to this, men often said that an image was either 'just about sex', and therefore unacceptable for under 18 year olds, or that there was 'something more going on', that you can find worse elsewhere, or that it was harmless and therefore more likely to be acceptable for under 18 year olds.

Finally, a few men responded similarly to women about the wider social implications of glamour content and the effect on young people; yet as stated, most men's reasoning took into account the explicit sexual nature of content and were less closely aligned to the much more sophisticated reasoning put forth by women.

'The amount of nudity – more is bad, less is better!'
Male, Pre Family, Edinburgh

'I'm okay generally ... if it's not full nudity, and it's not topless, or you can guess at what's going on, I'm okay.'
Male, Parent, Edinburgh

4.6 Applying an age filter

Many participants felt that an 18 years old only filter was very blunt and most found it frustrating to be forced to only apply an 18+ rule. Consequently, when making their decision, most erred on the side of caution when forced to make a choice (which may go some way to explain the high levels of rejection in the quantitative findings). Many raised the idea of a future second filter being available at 15 or 16 years old, which would allow them to be more flexible in the grading of images.

'I'm finding it difficult to answer. A 13 year old versus a 17 year old. A 17 year old okay, but down to 13 and 14 you have to think about it.'
Male, Parent, Edinburgh

'If there is a broad line and everyone under 18 is a child then it should be filtered[Image 12]
Male, Pre Family, Portsmouth

'You could be in the army and you can't look at that! [Image 14]. It doesn't make sense'
Female, Parent, London

'You're allowed to have sex [at 16] but not see porn until you're 18!?''
Female, Pre Family, Leeds

There were broadly three age ranges cited when talking about glamour content for under 18 year olds: very young, 9-11 years; young, 12-14 years; and borderline, 15-17 years. Anyone under the age of 9 years was considered too young to fully understand the images or videos. Most participants were concerned about protecting the very young and the young; however, the borderline age group of 15-17 years was considered as nearing sexual maturity. Indeed, some commented that it is illogical that it is legal to have sex at 16 years but not to be able to view pornography (and by extension, glamour content).

'18 is tricky ...if you said under 16, well my son is 16 and I'm not too worried ... but when you're thinking under 18s in general and you have a 12 year



Image 12



Image 14

old, it's just very young.'
Female, Parent, Portsmouth

'It's a huge scale.'
Male, Parent, Edinburgh

In many decisions regarding suitability for under 18 year olds, participants were thinking of the two younger ages, those aged 9-14 years. This was based on a complicated range of factors. The most general was a protective and generalised instinct to 'let kids be kids' and only to expose them to sexualised content once they have the relevant level of maturity to handle their own physical and emotional response to what they are viewing.

'I'd rather protect the youngsters than let a few 17 year olds see'
Female, Parent, London

Beyond this we saw some gender differences. Women were more worried about the negative effects of the imagery on young boys and girls, on their views of what constitutes 'normal' sex, and consequently their potential sexual behaviour and attitudes in their future relationships. In addition, their responses were also frequently taking body image into account and it was clear that for many these were issues which they had strong views on, even before they came to the group discussions. Men, meanwhile, were more concerned about the rudeness or crudeness of an image or video. Men (generally) had less reflective engagements with the material and there was a sense that they were in many cases forming their views during the groups, but they still consistently maintained a sense that highly sexually provocative images or videos were inappropriate for the very young and young.



Image 14

'Sex isn't just about this kind of sex. It's about people being in love. The problem with these images is that they desensitise sex; it leads to more graphic images becoming the norm and by the time lads are 20 they are watching very graphic images.'
Female, Pre Family, Leeds

'I think girls are impressionable ... it's about her [the daughter] looking at her [Image 14] then going 'I want to look like that'!'
Female, Parent, London

5 Considerations for guidelines

Based on the research findings, this section outlines the key considerations that might usefully inform the BBFC's thinking when drafting its guidelines for the filtering of glamour content for under 18 year olds on their mobile devices.

In summary, images that have a strong or **crude sexual invitation** or otherwise clearly have their **primary purpose to sexually arouse the viewer**, were of strongest concern to participants; therefore, these types of images were primary candidates for filtering. It is important to caveat this point by noting that the sexual invitation is likely to consist of either **one strong** sexual element (full frontal nudity, explicit poses, or adult sexual proclivities), or a **mixture** of less individually **salient** elements that combine to make a strong sexual invitation.

5.1 Core considerations

The following points provide relatively clear guidance on what participants consider to be unacceptable for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile device:

1. Images that show **full frontal nudity in a glamour context**, or sole exposure of the genitals are images that participants deemed to be unacceptable for under 18 year olds.
2. Images that contain **sexual poses** that imply readiness for sex or draw attention to sex organs whether exposed or not, like a woman bending over or spreading her legs, are deemed inappropriate for under 18 year olds because these poses are a main factor in heightening the sexual invitation or the arousing nature of an image.
3. Images that contain unambiguous sexual **fetish** themes in the mise-en-scène in an obvious or sustained manner are deemed to be unsuitable. These sexual themes were thought to be advanced forms of sex that under 18 year olds are not mature enough to handle.
4. Images containing **masturbation in a glamour context** are considered unacceptable for under 18 year olds, as this is considered a private activity, not for public display.

While the above issues help to provide some clarity, many judgements are not clear cut because images contain a layering of sexual elements that have to be carefully considered. The following issues are those which alone do not make an image unacceptable, but should be taken into consideration alongside other factors:

1. Images that **play to male fantasies**, such as 'girl on girl' sexual embrace, or objectify women, are not immediately deemed unacceptable, but are important for participants' considerations because these constructions are primarily about **sexual arousal** for the viewer and evoke ideas about female exploitation and inequality.
2. '**Come hither**' expressions and **direct gazes alone** do not make an image unacceptable for under 18 year olds to view, but are a clear markers of glamour content that is sexual in nature. Images that contain sultry and serious sexual facial expressions and/or direct eye contact with the viewer are likely to be perceived as

sexually inviting or arousing in nature; however, it is possible for glamour content to be arousing without a direct gaze or a 'come hither' facial expression (through nudity or a sexual pose, for instance).

3. **Non explicit sexual poses** *alone* do not make an image acceptable. A sexy pose combined with other elements such levels of nudity or the gaze of the model, may increase the sexual invitation of an image. All elements should be evaluated to assess whether the image seeks a sexual reaction from the viewer.
3. Images exposing **only breasts or bottom**, are not immediately deemed inappropriate, but should be judged in relation to the wider context of the image, and the degree to which exposure is heightening sexual invitation. Images where exposure is perceived too explicit and 'in your face' are considered less acceptable than images within an artistic setting.
4. Images that make implicit or explicit links **between sex and adult themes**, like drinking, or gambling, are often considered unacceptable because by definition, these activities are for adults and therefore inappropriate for under 18 year olds.

5.2 Additional considerations

1. When reviewing content, the BBFC need to take into consideration the uniqueness of viewing content on a mobile device. The **private** and mobile nature of these devices means that under 18 year olds can **evade parental oversight**. The **personal** attribute of mobiles, as well as the **sharing** and **zooming** functionalities, mean that images can potentially be decontextualised and obsessed over in minute detail in private, as well as shared amongst peer groups. These issues are more explicit in glamour content than other genres, as there is no context or narrative provided for the viewer. All these factors potentially mean that a given image may be more concerning when viewed on a mobile device, for instance, compared to a fleeting moment or a contextually justified scene in a television programme or film. The BBFC should take into account the unique nature of viewing glamour content on mobile devices, and how young people interact with this technology, when formulating their mobile glamour policy.
2. While outside of the current remit, participants would encourage the BBFC to consider the future implementation of a **two tiered system of age filters**. Instinctively, most participants were concerned with protecting children aged 9-14 years old and therefore, when they were only offered the choice of an under 18 filter, they chose conservatively to filter images to protect this very young age group. This may explain much of the conservatism in the quantitative survey. The idea of a second filter, at 15 or 16 years old was agreeable to most participants based on the legal age of sex and developing sexual maturity at these ages. This could then result in a two tiered system of filters, one aged 16 years, and another at 18 years signifying the age of entrance into adulthood, which most thought agreeable.

Parents felt that a filter on glamour content would be **helpful in supporting them in dealing with children's curiosity and questions**. In this context, the filter was supported by many as a way of taking the pressure off them in what they often perceived to be a lone battle when **setting boundaries** for their children. A filter marks

certain content for young people as 'off limits', and fulfils a guardian role that reinforces boundaries of appropriateness even if they surreptitiously get access.

6 Appendices

6.1 Quantitative methodology

Ipsos MORI conducted a 15 minute survey in the summer of 2014 among a nationally representative sample of 1,000 people. The sample for the research was obtained using Ipsos MORI's online access panel, a source of approximately 350,000 people across Great Britain who have agreed to be contacted for market research purposes. The access panel is meticulously recruited and ensures a high quality sample that can be deemed representative of the online or the offline population.

For the purpose of our survey, quotas were in place on age, gender and region to ensure a representative spread of Great Britain residents. We also placed a quota on the presence of children in the household (25% with children at home, 75% without) to make sure the sample reflected the proportion of households in the UK with children under 16 years.

The survey was conducted online and participants were given a full description of the purpose of the research prior to any questions being asked. Participants were informed that they would be shown a series of images and short video clips of a sexual nature, featuring varying degrees of female nudity. They were given a full explanation of the purpose of the research: to help the BBFC better understand what should be placed behind adult filters or what should be suitable for all to view on mobile devices.

We explained fully who the BBFC is and what its remit is, and that everyone featured within the images and videos was above the legal age of consent. Participants were told at several points that they are under no obligation whatsoever to take part and that they should not proceed if they are likely to be offended by the content shown in the study.

At this point, all participants were asked if they would like to proceed with the survey. Those who said yes were shown the first image. Within the survey itself we split the images and videos into four banks of questions based on our perception of the strength of sexual content. The section containing what we deemed to be the most mainstream and least sexualised images was shown in a randomised order to participants first, and those images we thought more aligned towards pornography were shown last. Each bank of questions contained one 30 second video clip.

For every image or video that we showed, we asked the same question: Should it be placed behind an age filter so that only those aged 18+ can access it on mobile devices, or is it suitable for under 18s to view on mobile devices. Participants were given a choice of four answers to each question:

- It is suitable for under 18s to access
- It should be placed behind an age filter so that only those aged 18+ can access it

- Don't know
- Did not appear on my screen

Prior to taking part in the survey, participants were also screened for age so that only those aged 18+ could take part, and were asked to ensure that no-one aged under 18 was in the room at the time they were completing the survey. Participants were incentivised in the form of access panel points, which translate into online shopping vouchers when a set number of points have been earned.

6.2 Qualitative methodology

Ipsos MORI conducted fieldwork between 11th September 2014 and 23rd September 2014. We completed eight mini-groups in total and a trio interview.

We took care to recruit a mixture of ethnicities, ages, demographics, and lifestages (parents with children living at home, non-parents, and parents with children who have left home), as well as to conduct mini-groups in different locations: London; Portsmouth; Edinburgh and Leeds. Potential participants who were involved in the media or adult industries were screened out.

The research was positioned to participants in terms of investigating their views and feelings about glamour content. Participants were told that there is the potential for a filter on mobile devices, which would filter certain glamour content for under 18 year olds. Participants were shown the same 12 images and two videos in the same order in each focus group. Each image was discussed after viewing, exploring the key question: do you think this image/video is acceptable for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices? Further discussion then followed to explore rationale, degree of seduction perceived to be intended in each image and a range of other image specific probes.

The groups in London were held in the Ipsos MORI viewing facility. All other groups were held in hotel conference rooms. These neutral environments were chosen to minimise any discomfort participants felt when discussing this sensitive topic.

Table 4 Mini-groups overview

	Date	Location	Description	Quotas
1	Thurs 11/09/14	Central London	Mums with teenage children living at home (aged 13-17 years)	A mix of ages, socio-economic status, ethnicity
2	Thurs 11/09/14	Central London	Adult females (3 non-parents and 3 empty nesters)	2 x under 25 years, 2 x 26-44 years, 2 x 45+ years
3	Mon 15/09/14	Edinburgh	Adult males (3 non-parents and 3 empty nesters)	2 x under 25 years, 2 x 26-44 years, 2 x 45+ years
4	Mon 15/09/14	Edinburgh	Dads with teenage children living at home (aged 13-17 years)	A mix of ages, socio-economic status, ethnicity
5	Tues 16/09/14	Leeds	Dads with teenage children living at home (aged 13-17 years)	A mix of ages, socio-economic status, ethnicity
6	Tues 16/09/14	Leeds	Adult females (3 non-parents and 3 empty nesters)	2 x under 25 years, 2 x 26-44 years, 2 x 45+ years
7	Thurs 18/09/14	Portsmouth	Adult males (3 non-parents and 3 Dads with teenage children)	2 x under 25 years, 2 x 26-44 years, 2 x 45+ years
8	Thurs 18/09/14	Portsmouth	Mums with teenage children living at home (aged 13-17 years)	A mix of ages, socio-economic status, ethnicity
9	Tues 23/09/14	Harrow*	Adult males (3 empty nesters)	3 x 45+

*Male empty nester trio added to supplement and clarify our perspective on empty nesters.

6.3 Quantitative and qualitative images shown to participants

The following images are ordered by the percentage of participants who indicated in the online survey that a given image should not be behind an age-restricting filter. In other words, the images are ordered by what participants thought was the most to the least acceptable images for under 18 year olds to view on their mobile devices.

Image 4



- 68% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (80%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (56%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (75%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 60%, 18-44 - 63%).
- Non-parents (71%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (55%).

Image 1



- 63% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (74%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (52%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (67%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 57%, 18-44 - 59%).
- Non-parents (65%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (54%).

Image 11



- 62% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (71%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (52%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (68%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 52%, 18-44 - 55%).
- Non-parents (64%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (51%).

Image 29



- 60% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter'
- Men (68%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (51%)'
- Those aged 45 years old and above (61%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 59%, 18-44 - 58%).
- Non-parents (62%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (49%).

Image 8



- 53% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (65%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (41%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (57%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 48%, 18-44 - 49%).
- Non-parents (55%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (43%).

Image 16



- 53% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (60%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (47%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (59%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 46%, 18-44 - 48%).
- Non-parents (55%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (44%).

Image 10



- 49% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (62%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (37%).

Qualitative summary

- Considered to be an acceptable image for under 18 year olds to view against the full set of 12 images.
- Considered comparable to widely accessible images in retail and advertising and hence not felt to be sensible to filter it for under 18 year olds.
- Seen as attractive but not 'titillating', due to limited nudity and visual focus on the woman's face rather than, for example, her groin and therefore her sexuality. This is despite what could be considered a relatively invitational gaze.
- Although some considered the pose to be sexual, it was generally seen as less of an 'invitational' pose than the other images seen and consequently felt on balance to be acceptable to under 18 year olds.

Image 12



- 49% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (62%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (36%).
- Non-parents (51%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (42%).

Qualitative summary

- This was an image which provoked some debate.
- Participants did not have a problem with under 18 year olds viewing this image based on the level of nudity.
- However the bent forward pose was seen by many as somewhat provocative, and for some this was compounded by the model's perceived sultry gaze and the right breast appearing to fall out of the bra. The rubber gloves, for some, suggested an element of fetish, which can further compound the argument against this image being widely available.
- On balance however, whilst more overtly provocative images were seen, many ended up feeling this image should nevertheless be filtered for 18+ access only.
- Had a 15+ option been in place, however, many would have felt comfortable with it filtered at this level.

Image 3

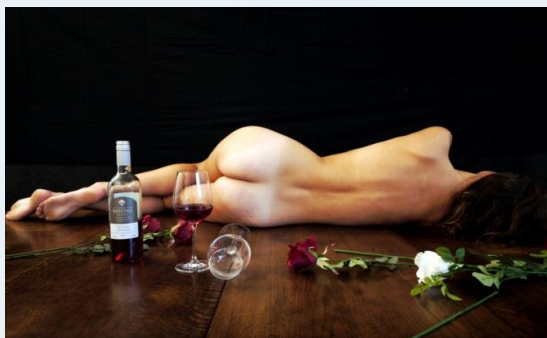


- 48% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (52%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (44%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (57%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 38%, 18-44 - 40%).
- Non-parents (51%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (36%).

Qualitative summary

- This was the first image seen in the mini-groups and this meant some were a little unsure how to react to it. On first sight many rejected it on the grounds of nudity and gaze but later, after seeing other images, their views were recalibrated and this first image became more acceptable for under 18 year olds to view.
- The key elements identified by participants contributing to an argument for filtering this image were the whole back view and particularly the bare bottom, in combination with the over the shoulder 'peek-a-boo' look.
- The arguments in favour of allowing under 18 year olds to access this image were the fact that there is no front view of her body and the 'real life' setting of the shower. Women in particular also commented on her body image as similarly more 'realistic' compared to other images seen, which again argues in its favour (for example, the 'normal' creases in her back). However her full make up reduces the 'innocence' of the image meaning it cannot be interpreted as wholly 'natural'
- When doing a final review however, most concluded that this image should be accessible to all.

Image 5



- 44% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (52%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (36%).

Qualitative summary

- Discussion of this image in the groups was dominated by the tension between the 'artistic' style of the image and the visual content.
- In terms of content, whilst there is a degree of nudity here, it is a rear view and with only the bottom on show this was at the lower end of the spectrum in terms of nudity.
- And overall the naked bottom per se was less of a concern for participants than the interplay between nudity and alcohol. The open bottle and two glasses, one overturned, suggested a dark back story to this image for many, with date rape and drinking high on the agenda for concerned parents. These are the elements which argue in favour of this image sitting behind an 18+ filter.
- At the same time some participants noted the 'artistic' style of the image by identifying the shadowy colour palette, strewn roses, and the aesthetic contours of the model as softening the sexual appeal of the image.
- In the final analysis, however, it was the interaction of nudity and alcohol which left most placing this image in the 18+ filter to shield younger children from the suggestion of a potentially negative link between alcohol and nudity. Most would have been more comfortable to see a 15+ filter in place.

Image 2



- 37% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (42%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (32%).
- Non-parents (38%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (31%).

Image 14



- 35% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (49%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (22%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (39%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 29%, 18-44 - 32%).
- Non-parents (37%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (29%).

Qualitative summary

- This image which was dominated by reactions to the sexual pose, which for nearly all was therefore expected to be filtered for under 18 year olds.
- The reactions were compounded by the kitchen setting in combination with the clothing, including extreme high heels, both of which were felt, particularly by women, to be unnatural and to fuel male fantasy and gender stereotypes.
- The negative comments were somewhat softened by the model's facial expression; her smiling, fun expression was felt to lighten the image, giving it a moderately playful feel. Participants thought that this worked slightly in its favour in terms of an 18+ filter compared to other images where they recognised a darker, more serious tone, that they felt suggested exploitation of the woman involved.
- However, even when offered the option of a 15+ filter in the group discussions, most still opted for an 18+ control on this image.

Image 6 (Video 1)



- 35% believe this video does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (46%) are significantly more likely to accept this video than women (23%).
- Non-parents (36%) are significantly more accepting of this video than parents with children under 18 (27%).

Qualitative summary

- As a static image this image would most likely have been acceptable for under 18 year olds. However, as a video clip it was felt by to be only suitable for 18 year olds and above by nearly all in the qualitative sessions.
- Reactions were largely determined by the movements the model makes. By stroking her skin, raising her top, and turning and looking over her shoulder at the camera she is felt to be offering a sexual invitation to the viewer.
- Many thought that this video fit a genre in which an 0800 number would appear for the viewer to call for phone sex, or there would be the offer to click to pay and see more on the internet. The suggestion of this genre made the video appear even less appropriate for under 18 year old viewers.

Image 20



- 34% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (40%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (29%).

Image 13



- 31% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (41%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (21%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (35%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 24%, 18-44 - 27%).
- Non-parents (32%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (26%).

Image 21



- 30% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (39%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (22%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (37%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 - 23%, 18-44 - 25%).
- Non-parents (32%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (24%).

Qualitative summary

- Participants often found it difficult to decide which side of the filter to place this image as the component factors are somewhat contradictory.
- On the one hand the image reveals only a limited degree of nudity which most participants judged as on a par with, or even less revealing than The Sun's Page 3.
- Yet on the other hand participants came back to the fact that there is nudity with visible nipples, that the woman is clearly shaved and that she is effectively 'flashing' in a park, which suggest that the image should be placed above the 18+ filter.
- In summary, this image was judged as relatively harmless and lacking in sexual real impact, and on these grounds some participants concluded that it would be fine for general access. Others also commented on the model's cheeky expression, which gave the image more 'personality'. For others however the visible nipple, the flasher theme, and the suggestion of nudity of her lower half tipped them towards and 18+ year old filter.
- Had a 15+ option been in place, however, there would have been more consensus with most preferring to see it filtered at this level.

Image 30



- 27% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (33%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (20%).

Image 24



- 26% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (37%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (15%).
- Non-parents (27%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (20%).

Qualitative summary

- There was universal agreement that this is an 18+ image.
- Despite the limited nudity, the sexual 'open leg' pose is a primary sexual element and participants universally agreed that this should be unavailable to under 18 year olds.
- Whilst the leather sofa, the red and black lace underwear, bright lipstick and sultry facial expression were also commented on, these without the pose would not be enough to result in an 18+ judgement. Instead it was the invitation 'on offer' from the spread leg pose which was responsible for the very strong negative judgement.
- Nearly all remained steadfast on an 18+ filter even when offered the option of a 15+ level.

Image7

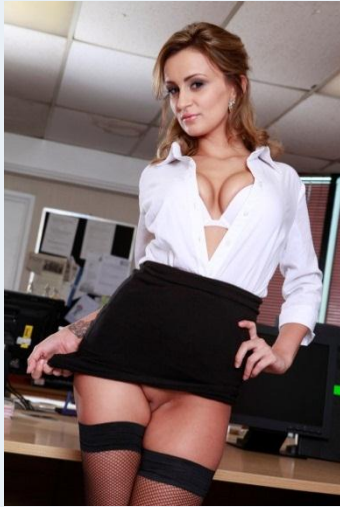


- 22% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (30%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (15%).
- Those aged 18-44 years old (25%) are more accepting of this image than those 45+ (19%).

Qualitative summary

- Despite the significant 18+ judgement which dominated the quantitative results, this decision was far less clear cut during the mini-groups.
- Although it is a direct portrayal of possible future sexual intercourse, it provoked some relatively lenient responses. As the only image which provides any suggestion of a loving relationship between the protagonists, this image was even welcomed by some participants for demonstrating an interaction that is not focused solely, or arguably even at all, on provoking a sexual response in the viewer.
- And somewhat in contrast to the quantitative results, this more lenient approach appeared to be more prevalent amongst women than amongst men. Many women welcomed the apparent balance of power between the man and woman, perhaps even the slight dominance by the woman. For many this was noted in contrast to the more submissive role of women in many of the other images, which explains their softened response to this image. The 'arty' black and white and shadowy definition of the figures also contributed to this gentler response.
- However, when given the choice of a 15+ filter nearly all participants say they feel this would be the most appropriate level; this may explain the conservative answers in the quantitative results as when given a stark choice between filtering or not filtering, many may have been seeking to protect the very young, thereby rejecting the image for under 18 year olds.

Image 27



- 22% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (26%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (17%).

Image 9



- 20% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (25%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (15%).

Image 25



- 20% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (30%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (9%).

Qualitative summary

- There was universal agreement that this is an 18+ image.
- The bent over, open leg pose is the key determinant of this judgement because it escalates the sexual invitation for the viewer.
- Although compounded by the 'dressing up' element, for participants, the 'fantasy' stockings and heels, and the incongruous Christmas setting, merely exaggerate how inappropriate this image is, rather than contributing directly to the judgement on the 18+ filter.
- It is worth noting that women were often provoked and somewhat angered by this image, which was seen to portray a woman in a demeaning and vulnerable pose. Her somewhat unhappy face added to the sense of unease expressed by many women.

Image 23



- 18% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (25%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (10%).
- Non-parents (19%) are significantly more accepting of this image than parents with children under 18 (13%).

Qualitative summary

- There was consistent agreement that this is an 18+ image. But with limited bare skin and no sexual body parts directly on show, the objections had relatively little to do with nudity.
- The discomfort stemmed from its significance in reflecting a current cultural trend rather than the literal kiss between two women that is depicted. Many participants thought the image reflected a typical drunken Saturday night scene with 'girl on girl action' being staged by young women to draw attention to themselves for the amusement of men. The visible tongues, the lurid leopard print lingerie, and the slightly turned pose to face the camera all compound this impression. Interestingly, for all these reasons, the image was not generally interpreted as portraying a lesbian relationship.
- And it is this cultural phenomenon which participants appeared to find most distasteful, and which they wish to protect young people from seeing, and in turn potentially considering to be 'normal' behaviour.

Image 18



- 16% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (23%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (9%).
- Those aged 45 years old and above (20%) are more accepting of this image than other age groups (18-34 – 12%, 18-44 – 13%).
- ABC1s (17%) are significantly more accepting of this image than C2Des (12%).

Image 17 (Video 2)



- 14% believe this video does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (21%) are significantly more likely to accept this video than women (8%).

Qualitative summary

- There was universal agreement that this is an 18+ video.
- This was primarily because of the nude breasts which are visible in the cupless bra, but also driven in part by the sexually 'fetishistic' feel of the material. A secondary factor identified by the participants was the wine and gambling themes, which many felt inappropriate for under 18 year olds.
- There was some discussion and deliberation over whether younger viewers would understand what is shown in relation to the fetish symbols and hence whether a filter is even unnecessary.
- However in the final analysis there was a general consensus that that participants would prefer this to be seen by adults 18 years old and over who would be less vulnerable to being influenced by it, or would be sexually mature enough to handle sexual fetish themes.

Image 19



- 14% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (21%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (7%).
- Those aged 18-44 years old (16%) are more accepting of this image than those aged 45+ (12%).

Qualitative summary

- This image was felt to require an 18+ filter to be applied.
- Although the image shows a side view, it was clear to viewers that the woman is masturbating and masturbation per se was felt to be inappropriate as subject matter available to all age groups.
- That said, the image provoked much debate and many women in particular felt that the image could be interpreted as empowering for girls who might currently wrongly perceive masturbation to be shameful or that they require men for pleasure.
- Had a 15+ option been available, many women would have placed this image in the 15+ rather than 18+ category. Men's views on this aspect were less clear, but overall it appeared that they were more definitive in their view that masturbation per se was an unsuitable topic and were more likely than female groups to see it as only suitable for 18+ viewers (though this contradicts the quantitative results where men were statistically more likely to accept this image for under 18 year olds compared to women).

Image 26 (Video 3)



- 10% believe this video does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (13%) are significantly more likely to accept this video than women (6%).

Image 15



- 8% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (13%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (3%).

Image 22



- 7% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (8%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (5%).

Qualitative summary

- This image was felt to require an 18+ filter to be applied.
- Despite some mitigating comments about the more 'naturalistic', less posed style of the photo, the full frontal shot was the key factor which led all participants to place it firmly above the 18+ filter.
- Women also often objected to the model being shaved, having an 'unrealistic' body shape and likely enhanced breasts. Men did not make much comment on these elements and when prompted often felt the model was quite a 'realistic' representation of women, thus demonstrating the quite different perspectives on body image between the male and female participants and the importance of this as a contributing factor for women in determining their view on the likely harm from an image for under 18 year olds.

Image 33



- 7% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (9%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (4%).

Image 28



- 6% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (9%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (3%).

Image 31



- 4% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (6%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (2%).

Image 32



- 3% believe this image does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (5%) are significantly more likely to accept this image than women (1%).
- Those aged 18-34 years old (5%) are more accepting of this image than those aged 45+ (2%).

Image 34 (Video 4)



- 3% believe this video does not require an age-restricting filter.
- Men (6%) are significantly more likely to accept this video than women (1%).

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