Sex Cells: How the use of sex in advertising varies across eight countries

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Available at: https://works.bepress.com/stephen_holden/16/
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Abstract

This study examines how the use of sex in magazine advertising varies across eight different countries – Singapore, Australia, India, South Africa, France, Germany/Austria, Brazil and the U.S. Eight magazines were collected from each country. We examined the incidence of sex in advertising and its various components in the 3,201 ads found in this assortment of magazines. Significant differences between countries were found for use of attractive models, nudity and types of sex appeal. While it is difficult to draw firm conclusions, we believe that the results support the notion that sex in advertising is driven by its novelty value rather than cultural acceptability. We also found that use of specific elements of sex in advertising can operate independently. That is, a country may be a high user of some elements representing sex in advertising, but be a low user relative to other countries, of other elements.
Introduction

Sex in many cultures, is very private. Perhaps this is why advertisers like to use sex in advertising. The very private nature of sex in many cultures means that the use of sex in advertising can be powerful in gaining attention. However, it may also evoke negative responses. Where the use of sex in advertising is titillating for some, it may be offensive for others. We are interested in how sex is represented in advertising for a range of cultures.

Our interest in examining sex in magazine advertising is threefold. Culturally, it is useful for academics and practitioners to know descriptively what appear to be the norms with respect to use of sex in advertising in many different countries and in different magazine formats. Legally, while we do not purport to show the standards that apply by country, we can offer a reminder that what is legally acceptable by country also varies considerably. Economically, standardization of global advertising campaigns may well be an objective, but this study helps to illustrate some of the limitations to that objective. Where sex may sell in one culture, it may offend in another, thereby defeating the value of the standardization.

The use of sex in advertising represents an interesting anomaly where one of the most private domains of many cultures is made public. Advertising is highly visible by definition while sex is typically ‘invisible’ in most cultures. Advertisers appear to use sex in advertising primarily because it is invisible, or close to taboo.

The assumption underlying the use of sex in advertising is that it has some positive communication effects. Accordingly, one of the primary interests has been the effectiveness, or otherwise, of sex in advertising. In 1969, Steadman used male subjects to test whether brand name recall for ads with scantily clad female models was different from ads with fully dressed female models or with no model at all. Interestingly, he found that recall of the brand names in
the sexy ads was less than for the non-sexy ads. Since then, this line of research has expanded considerably to include male models (e.g., Jones, Stanaland and Gelb 1998) and couples (e.g., Severn, Belch and Belch 1990) in tests conducted with male and female viewers (e.g., Morrison and Sherman 1972).

Sex in advertising can have positive effects – and negative effects. For instance, using an attractive model (often regarded as a case of sex in advertising) has been linked to better attention to the ad (Baker and Churchill 1977), improved brand name recognition (Chestnut, LaChance and Lubitz 1977; Reid and Soley 1983), and a positive effect on the attitude toward the ad and the product (Caballero, Lumpkin, and Madden 1989).

However, while sex in advertising generally appears to create some positive effects among men (e.g., greater ad memory and more positive brand attitudes) it has that been found that among women, the effects, such as attitude towards the ad can be negative (Baker and Churchill 1977; Chestnut et al. 1977; Morrison and Sherman 1972). In the testing of more complex relationships including the responses of both males and females to sexy images of both genders (Jones et al. 1998), it was concluded that sexy ads with models of the opposite sex affect memory negatively and, while women react negatively to images of their own gender, men do not.

Overall, it appears that the positive effects of sex in advertising are chiefly more attention to the ad and, in some cases, more liking for the ad. However, it must also be acknowledged that these effects are not necessarily universal. Not only does it differ across genders as has been noted, but it may also vary across cultures. For instance, Zhang and Gelb (1996) suggest that the effectiveness of advertising techniques and content varies across countries, and we have no reason to believe that this is different for content relating to sex.
The issue of effectiveness of sex in advertising is a curly problem, for reasons related to both the dependent and independent variable side of the equation. On the dependent side, there are clearly many possible effects of advertising (see Rossiter and Percy 1997 for a detailed view of the many levels of advertising effects such as ad awareness and attitudes, brand awareness and attitudes, etc.) On the independent side, the specification of what constitutes ‘sex’ or sexiness is equally complex. One of our objectives is to outline a codification of at least some of the elements of sex in advertising to facilitate our understanding of what can be manipulated, and to guide future research which may examine the effects of various elements of sexy ads.

**Classification of Sex in Advertising**

We believe that sex in advertising can be classified broadly on at least three levels as follows: (1) physical attractiveness / features of the model, (2) clothing – or lack of as in nudity, and (3) sexual suggestiveness. Our classification is based on the grounded theory on what constitutes sexiness developed by Reichart and Ramirez (2000). Sexy like beauty, not coincidentally, is in the eye of the beholder.

First, we consider the physical attractiveness and features of the model. The place of physical attractiveness of the model in denoting sexiness is probably apparent, but less apparent, is the featuring of certain physical body parts. For instance, research by Iijima-Hall and Crum (1994) investigated the relative use of images of body parts (versus images of the face) across male and female models. In extending prior research of TV beer advertisements, they found that these ads were significantly more likely to show female models’ body parts (e.g., chest, buttocks, legs or crotch) than male models’ body parts. Thus, ads featuring body parts (“bodyisms”) may typically be counted as portrayal (or at least suggestion) of sex in advertising.
Second, we consider the dress of the models – or lack thereof which may also obviously
denote sexiness. Many studies of sexy ads simply operationalize sexiness as nudity – often
focusing only on female nudes (e.g., Alexander and Judd 1978; Steadman 1969; Judd and
Alexander 1983; LaTour 1990; LaTour, Pitts and Snook-Luther 1990; Severn et al. 1990). Jones
et al. (1998) examined partial nudity of both genders, and Belch and colleagues (Belch et al.
1981, Severn et al. 1990) counted couples as well as nudes of both genders in making their
assessment of sexiness. Generally, these studies find that as nudity increases, attention to the ad
rises, memory measures suffer, and beliefs and feelings take on a negative cast. However,
gender moderates the memory effects; with the effect being stronger when respondents view the
opposite sex (Jones et al. 1998).

Sexual suggestiveness is a third area of inquiry. This is a very broad category which is
perhaps the one that has created the most differences in dimensions, and perhaps most likely to
be disputed. For instance, Reichart and Ramirez (2000) noted that viewers also found sexiness
in the behavior or movement of models, the amount of intimacy conveyed by the pose of
multiple models, and in the contextual features of the ad (e.g., lighting, location, other symbols,
setting). Others have suggested that sexual suggestiveness may derive from the sexual
connotations of the product and suggestive copy (Morrison and Sherman 1972), or the pose of
the models (Weller, Roberts and Neuhaus 1979).

Previous studies have shown that there tends to be variation across cultures in terms of
the use of sex in advertising. At least two hypotheses have been advanced for such differences.
First is what might be called the acceptability hypothesis. For instance, Biswas, Olsen and Carlet
(1992) found that sex appeals were used more frequently in French than American ads and
concluded that this finding was consistent with the perception that France is a more sexually
liberated society than the U.S., and hence more receptive to sex appeals in ads. In a similar manner, Boddewyn and Kunz (1991) found that Islamic and Catholic countries were apparently less likely to use sex in advertising, or even women in advertising presumably reflecting what is acceptable to these religions. Prendergast and Huang (2003) found that Chinese consumers were most offended by web ads that contained nudity or had sexist attitudes. So, the use of sex in advertising is determined in part by what is acceptable in the culture. If it is acceptable, it will be used more.

However, a counter-hypothesis is that sex will be used more in advertising where the audiences are less habituated to its use; that is, where it is more novel. This novelty hypothesis as we might name it, is in-line with the notion that sex is useful for capturing attention. Support for this notion was found by Piron and Young (1996) who examined the pervasiveness of seven elements of sex in advertising in selected German and U.S. magazines and found that sexual-oriented stimuli were used 60% more in the U.S. than in German magazines, the authors attributing this result to German audiences’ habituation to different forms of nudity. Similarly, Dudley (1999) who found that use of models that were nude vs. topless in print ads exposed to young U.S. consumers resulted in greater attention, interest, ad appeal, and contributed to a perception of the brand as being more distinctive. These studies suggest a novelty / habituation hypothesis – that is, that sexy ads are used where they are perceived to be a novelty and less likely to be used where the audience has become habituated to sexy images.

We do not believe there are any strong, a priori reasons to argue for the novelty/habituation hypothesis vs. the cultural acceptability hypothesis. Instead, we prefer to pit these two hypotheses against one another in the following study. Support for the cultural acceptability hypothesis is gained where use of sex elements in advertising in that country reflects the
stereotyped perception of acceptability of such elements within that culture at large, and support for the novelty/habituation hypothesis will come from the opposite result; where use of sex elements in the advertising in that country appears to be contrary or counter to the acceptability of such elements within that culture at large.

**Method**

This study describes the incidence of sex, and various elements of sex, in ads in eight different magazines drawn from eight different countries. We also explore the data to see whether sex is more likely to be used in advertising when it is more culturally ‘acceptable’, or rather, when it is more ‘novel’.

**Magazine Selection**

Eight countries were selected by convenience with the aim being to represent a broad array of countries. The eight countries in this study are the U.S., Australia, South Africa, France, Austria/Germany, Brazil, Singapore and India. Eight magazines were collected from each country in the year 2000. In each country, two general interest magazines were collected as follows: general news (e.g., *Asia Week, Time*), business news (e.g., *Financial Mail, Der Trend*). The remaining six magazines were drawn from magazines that we consider are targeting one gender more than the other. From each country, we chose three magazines targeting females as follows: gossip (e.g., *Who, Voici*), fashion/lifestyle (e.g., *Cosmopolitan, Elle*), and home/family (e.g., *Redbook, Women’s Weekly*). From each country, we also chose three magazines targeting males as follows: sports (e.g., *SA Sport, Sportstar*), fashion/lifestyle (e.g., *FHM, GQ*) and automobiles (e.g., *Autocar, Wheels*). In all cases, an effort was made to identify the magazine that offered the best combination of local origin and popularity with readers.
Ad Selection

All ads contained on the regular-size magazine pages and regular size card stock glue-in pages were coded for a variety of characteristics. The exceptions were any small blow-in or glue-in ads on card stock paper, clusters of quasi-classified type advertising commonly found at the end of the magazine (e.g., Serena the Psychic, etc.), and product placement mentions found in the fashion and cosmetic review articles of fashion magazine.

Coding Procedure

A content analysis of the advertisements was conducted as has been undertaken by numerous other researchers (e.g., Biswas et al. 1992, Cho et al. 1999, Al Olayan and Kirande 2000, Reichert 2003). To insure that sex appeal and sex-related elements were viewed as they would be by the ad’s target audience, magazines were coded by someone who was a native of the country and spoke the official language of the country.

Coding variables considered in this study may be grouped into 3 broad areas: general characteristics of the magazine, detail on all ads with human models and details on all ads deemed to have sex appeal. General characteristics of the magazine considered in this study included the country, magazine format, and number of pages devoted to advertising. Presence of a human model was noted. Finally, details about the human model were coded – specifically, number of models, gender, amount of nudity, and overall sex appeal were recorded. Ads judged to have sex appeal were also coded for all the apparent sources of sex appeal (whether just verbal or based on the qualities of a human image).

Coders were trained and supervised by the principal investigators, and questions about specific ads were resolved through consultation with the principal investigators.
Results

Sample Characteristics

A total of 10,513 magazine pages were examined, and a total of 3,201 ads make the basis of the sample used in this study (see Table 1\(^1\)). In terms of sample characteristics, the average number of ads per page was surprisingly stable across all magazines formats and all countries at a rate of .29 ads per page (see Table 1). It should be noted that this is simply a rate based on number of ads per page irrespective of size. Nevertheless, an ANOVA examining the main effects of country and of magazine format revealed that there were some significant differences in the average number of ads per page by country\(^2\). In post-hoc examinations of all the pair-wise comparisons using t-tests, the U.S. had significantly more ads per page (.42) than all other countries. India (.20) had significantly fewer ads per page than France, Singapore, South Africa and the U.S. There were no other significant differences in the remaining pair-wise comparisons. Interestingly, there were no significant differences across magazine formats.

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Insert Table 1 about here
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Use of Human Models

We first examined the use of human figures in the magazine ads (see Table 2). Just over half of all the ads (55%) featured a human figure. However, there were some significant differences between countries (\(\chi^2 = 60.8, \text{df}=7, p <.001\)). Pairwise comparisons of proportions revealed that South African and Indian magazine ads were significantly less likely to feature human figures (41% and 43% respectively).

\(^1\) For ease of representing the countries in tables, we have adopted the two-letter suffix used on the internet to represent countries as follows: AU-Australia, BR-Brazil, FR-France, IN-India, OS-Austria, DE-Germany, SG-Singapore, US-USA (even though US websites do not have a two-code suffix), ZA-South Africa.
Overall, 30% of ads featured at least one male; however the number of males featured in ads varied systematically by country and magazine format. French magazine ads featured the lowest number of males (0.3 males per ad) while the higher end was represented by the U.S. (0.7), Singapore (0.6) and Brazil (0.6). More male-oriented magazines (sports and male fashion/lifestyle specifically, but not automobiles) featured a high average rate of one male per ad while women’s magazines featured a low average rate of 0.2 to 0.4 males per ad in home/family and gossip magazines respectively. There was also a significant interaction of country and magazine format indicating that countries have their own idiosyncratic approaches to use of male models that do not necessarily reflect the overall picture\(^3\).

Overall, 35% of magazine ads featured at least one female, although again, there were significant differences in the average number of females per ad as a function of both country and magazine format. South Africa featured a low average of just 0.3 females per ad while the higher end was represented by the U.S. (0.7), Singapore (0.7) and Brazil (0.6). Female fashion/lifestyle magazines featured a high average of one female per ad while general business and men’s magazines featured the lowest number of females with as few as 0.1 females in ads in automobile magazines and 0.2 females per ad in business magazines.

As the use of human models varies by country and magazine format, for the following analyses, the results are based only on those ads which featured a human model.

**Attractiveness**

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\(^2\) As there was only one observation per cell, it was not possible to examine for interactions between country and magazine format.

\(^3\) We do not include the full results here due to space limitations, but interested readers can request these tables from the authors.
In addition to coding the presence of human models, coders were asked specifically whether or not the model might be considered attractive. The results (see Table 2) show that of the ads featuring human models, Singapore used a significantly higher proportion of models (80%) rated as attractive than virtually every country other than India (79%). India for its part, used a significantly higher proportion of attractive models than all of the remaining countries except the US (67%) and Brazil (61%). At the lower end of the scale, Germany/Austria and France were significantly less likely to use models rated as attractive (45% and 34% respectively).

**Dress / Nudity**

An assessment was made of the level of nudity displayed by the human model on a 1-11 scale using the following categories: fully clothed – or not enough picture to tell, low nudity (bare legs, shoulder, etc.), medium nudity (swimsuit), high nudity (bare breast, buttocks), full nudity (side / back view), and full frontal nudity. For the following analyses as for attractiveness, nudity is assessed only in ads where a human figure appeared. Accordingly, the following analyses are based on reduced samples, especially as there were few human figures featured in some formats; for example, few male figures appeared in ads in women’s magazines, and few female figures appeared in automobile magazines. In the automobile magazines from Australia and India, there were no female figures.

The average amount of male nudity seen in ads in the various countries and magazine formats are provided in Table 3. A two-way ANOVA revealed that the main effects of country (F=2.2, df=7, p=.03) and magazine format (F=5.7, df=7, p<.001) were statistically significant. An examination of Table 3 shows male nudity was highest in magazine ads in India (2.2) and Australia (2.1), and lowest in ads in magazines from Brazil (1.4) and Singapore (1.4). Male
nudity was highest (1.0) in the female fashion/lifestyle magazines suggesting it was being used to attract attention. For male nudity, the interaction of country and magazine format was also significant (F=1.4, df=49, p=.05) suggesting that the effects of magazine format are not consistent across countries.

In examining the amount of female nudity (see Table 3), it was notable that in the two-way ANOVA incorporating country and magazine format, country was not a significant factor. However, magazine format was a significant factor (F=3.4, df=7, p=.001) with female nudity highest in both women’s and men’s magazines (2.5+), and lowest in news and business (1.7 and 1.8 respectively). The interaction of country and magazine format was not significant.

**Sexual Suggestiveness**

About 15% of all ads were considered to contain some sex appeal (see Table 4). Please note that this analysis is based on all ads, not just those featuring a human model, as an ad can have a sex appeal without featuring a model (e.g., the words and/or images have a sexual connotation). However, there were some significant differences between cultures ($\chi^2$ (df=7) = 159.5, p <.001). Pairwise comparisons of proportions revealed that French and South African ads were significantly less likely to feature sex appeal (6% for both) than all other countries. At the upper end, both Singapore (31%) and Brazil (23%) had significantly higher proportions of ads with sex appeal relative to four or more of the other countries (see Table 4).
An examination of the kind of sex appeal used is interesting for what it reveals about approaches usually adopted by country. Early results suggest that all countries tend to use ‘suggestiveness’ most commonly (55%+) as an element of their sex appeals, except for the US (30%) and South Africa (22%). The US and South Africa are more likely to use a ‘sexy physique’ in their ads (73% and 78% respectively) than many other countries.

Discussion

This study aimed to explore the patterns of usage of sex in advertising across eight different countries. As one might guess, the use of sex in advertising tends to be culturally-bound. Our interest was in exploring whether any insights could be gained on the question of whether the use of sex in advertising might be driven by what is culturally acceptable or rather, but what is novel and likely to attract attention. Notwithstanding the limitations of this research, perhaps most notably that each ad is coded by only one pair of eyes, we are able to offer the following summary of the key findings and their implications.

First, it was found that India and South Africa were less likely to use human models than virtually all other countries, while the remaining countries did not vary significantly from one another. The US, Singapore & Brazil had the highest use of male and female models. France had the lowest use of male models, and South Africa had the lowest use of female models. None of these findings relate directly to the issue of the use of sex in advertising, but as much of the use of sex in advertising focuses on the human form, this analysis reminds us that there are fundamental differences in the use of human models, and accordingly, analyses of sex in advertising may need to be conditioned on the presence of a human model.

Accordingly, in analyses focusing on ads featuring human models, it was found that the use of attractive models was significantly higher in India and Singapore than most other

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4 Full details and results are available from the authors.
countries, and lowest relative to all other countries in France and Germany/Austria. As France and Germany/Austria would be thought the most likely to accept the use of attractive models, and India and Singapore the least likely to accept such portrayals, we postulate that the use of attractive models is less about cultural acceptability, and more about novelty. That is, attractive models are used in cultures where they are less acceptable culturally because they are novel, and therefore likely to encourage more attention and perhaps processing of the ads. Overall, this result suggests that novelty and lack of habituation rather than cultural acceptability may be the driver of at least the use of attractive models.

Use of male nudity was highest in Australia and India, and lowest in Brazil and Singapore. Use of female nudity did not differ significantly across countries. In terms of acceptability, it is difficult to truly stereotype a country in terms of the acceptability of male nudity. Brazil with its open sexual image may be more open to it, but the machismo component of the culture may be less open to it. Perhaps male nudity is acceptable to some and ‘novel’ to others, and the confusion leads to it being used less. Despite Australia’s masculine stereotype which may have some parallels to machismo, it is also home to one of the world’s gay capitals, Sydney, which may contribute to a degree of greater openness to male nudity. Here the mixed responses do not appear to have affected its use as Australia scores as a high user of male nudity. That female nudity did not differ significantly across cultures suggests that, despite different cultural perspectives, the use of female nudes in advertising appears to have a degree of universal acceptability across all the countries that we examined.

And finally, across all ads in the study, the use of a sex appeal was highest in Brazil and Singapore, and lowest in France and South Africa. Again, these results do not offer an easy interpretation. Firstly, it is perhaps surprising that France, stereotypically renowned for sexy
advertising, tends to have the fewest ads featuring a sex appeal. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this finding is the apparent reversal to the male nudity results where Brazil and Singapore scored lowest. This suggests that there are clearly different drivers for nudity vs. use of sex appeal. It should be noted here that use of attractive models and sex appeal does appear to have some overlap with France being the lowest on both, and Singapore being the highest on both.

Perhaps the most important takeout from these results is that ‘sex in advertising’ is not a cohesive concept. Use of male nudity in particular, appears to be an issue that may be somewhat apart. The effort to try and determine the underlying hypothesis driving use of sex in advertising, cultural acceptability or novelty, is somewhat undermined by this fact. However, if we leave out the male nudity results, we at least see some evidence that where sex in advertising might be acceptable (e.g., France), it tends to be used less, and where it is less acceptable, and arguably more novel (e.g., Singapore & India), it tends to be used more. Accordingly, there appears to be some tentative support for the novelty hypothesis over the cultural acceptability hypothesis.

By examining multiple countries, we hope to add our support to the criticism made by Onkvisit and Shaw (1999) of comparing two apparently divergent countries to find differences in advertising practice. Simple examinations of one country versus another are likely to offer very limited results when the picture, as we have shown, is far more complex as we see in trying to explain why Australia and India score highest on use of male nudity while Brazil and Singapore score lowest.

Based on the results of this study, we confirm that the use of sex in advertising varies between countries. More importantly, we suggest that it appears that the hypothesis that novelty
drives the use of sex in advertising receives stronger support than the hypothesis of cultural acceptability. Indeed, cultural acceptability presumably reduces the novelty of sex in advertising and thus, its effectiveness, especially in attracting attention. We also observed that our disaggregation of the notion of ‘sex in advertising’, into use of an attractive model, nudity and sexual suggestiveness, is helpful because these do appear to represent quite separate elements of sex in advertising. So that whereas the advertising in one country may tend to be a high user of attractive models and sex appeals, that same country may be a low user of nudity, and specifically male nudity.
Table 1
Sample Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Br</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>In</th>
<th>Os/De</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>US</th>
<th>Za</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>1182</td>
<td>1431</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>1622</td>
<td>1137</td>
<td>10513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of ads</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>3201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall average$^5$</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Use of Human Models & Physically Attractive Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Br</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>In</th>
<th>Os/De</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>US</th>
<th>Za</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of human model</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>55.5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive model –</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F.O.</td>
<td>A.F.O.</td>
<td>A,B,F,O,U</td>
<td>F.O.</td>
<td>F.O.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^5$ This overall average is not weighted by the number of pages in the magazine, but rather, is calculated as the average of the ad-per-page rate of each magazine.

$^6$ Each proportion is significantly higher than those countries noted – for instance, in this first cell, Australian ads have a significantly higher proportion of human models than South Africa.
### Table 3
**Amount of Nudity in Ads by Country**

#### Male Nudity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Au</th>
<th>Br</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>In</th>
<th>Os/De</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>US</th>
<th>Za</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gossip</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Lifestyle</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home\ Family</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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### Table 4
**Ads Featuring Sex Appeal by Country**

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FZ AFUZ FZ FUZ AFOUZ FZ
References


