Naughty Pictures: Their Significance to Initial Sexual Identity Formation

**Paul Duncum &
Deborah L. Smith-Shank**

This study is about the formation of sexual identity through popular imagery in everyday contexts. Do images with sexual content help inform the development of sexual identity and, if so, in what ways? What is the nature of these images? What values, beliefs, and web of life experiences are revealed through early encounter with such images?

To answer these questions, we asked 40 art educators - including ourselves - to name and comment about first encounter with what we called a "naughty" picture (Appendix 1). An equal number of male and female participants are included, all are Westerners, and all are 40 years or older. While most are from North America - Canada and the United States - also represented are Australia, England, Finland, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and Spain. Participants are well-established art education scholars in their country of origin, and many are internationally known within the field. They were sought by means of personal networks on a first come basis.

We are concerned with identity because the visual arts are one of the primary sites for negotiating the multiple discourses of identity (Feldman, 1992; Garber, 1992; Hobbs, 1991). "Identity is people's source of meaning and experience" (Castells, 1997, p. 6). We are concerned with sexual identity because it preoccupies pre-pubescent and adolescent students, often to the apparent exclusion of other issues. While identity is fractured and multiple, we develop a primary identity, one that frames the others and is self-sustaining across time and space (Castells, 1997), and the development of sexual identity is critical. As van Manen and Levering (1996) write, "the incomprehensible dimensions of sexuality," as they call it, "dwell in us as mysteries that touch our entire being" (p. 167).

We assume that sexual identity is created through numerous discourses other than those dealing with imagery. We do not inquire as to the relative importance of imagery to sexual identity; rather, we seek to see how imagery contributed, not the extent to which it contributed.

The salience of our interest in popular imagery to art education lies in a debate about art education's content. Will art education continue to focus almost exclusively on the artefacts of the institutionalized artworld, or will it broaden its scope to incorporate the many visual images that now saturate the fabric of our everyday lives? Many art educators argue that high art has special claims to aesthetic sensitivity (Smith, 1992) and symbolic power (Smith, 1998), while others claim that images play a range of social functions irrespective of traditional categories of art (Chalmers, 1999; Freedman, 1999). Moreover, popular images encountered in everyday life situations are thought to be the more powerful in both informing and forming minds (Duncum, 1999).

Our interest in everyday life circumstances reflects our acceptance of post-structural theories of image reception, which hold that meaning resides not in images themselves, but in the multiple readings made by different people in varied contexts. By contrast, art education has tended to focus on perceptually observable images. Art criticism strategies, for example, address the context in which images are made - the sociopolitical background of artists in particular - but they pay scant attention to the circumstances in which images are encountered as part of ordinary life experiences (eg., Anderson, 1993; Feldman, 1992).

Our study addresses these three issues: the importance of popular images verses high art images, the context in which the images were encountered in everyday life, and the construction of sexual identity through images. Furthermore, by involving only well-established art education scholars, the study allowed participants, and now hopefully the reader, to engage with these issues in a playful way.

Method

Data were collected in the form of written - mostly email - responses to the following questions: What was the first ever "naughty picture" you saw? How were you aware that the picture was naughty? Approximately what age were you? What significance do you think the picture had at the time? and what significance do you attribute to the image today, if any? Participants were also asked to provide information about their family of origin. Many respondents indicated that it was not their first "naughty picture" that had had the most impact. Where further experiences were related, these have been included in the study.

Since participants were completely free to respond as they chose and no follow up questions were undertaken, the material on which this study is based varies among participants in terms of length, amount

of detail, and degree of reflectiveness. However, we make no claim to offer definitive or generalizable results. The conclusions we draw were worked out through lengthy discussion and often initial disagreement between the two authors. As in any qualitative study, we seek insights not facts. Because our's is a semiotic study, we are interested in generating interpretations that may lead to further examination, and we hope readers will bring their own life experience to this study and further reflect on our questions (Danesi, 1994). The ownership of insights lies in the space between the reader and the mental images that the words of this paper evoke; and if, through our efforts, readers gain insights into their professional practice or personal agendas we have been successful.

The Participants

We limited the study to Westerners and 40 year olds plus in order to ensure a generally common social background. Participants grew up at a time when traditional values dominated, in particular, in relationship to sexuality, where within the domestic sphere, as Foucault (1978) says, "modern puritanism imposed its triple edict of taboo, nonexistence, and silence" (pp. 4-5). Many participants commented on their families in terms of being "Born Again," "Protestant fundamentalists" or under the strong influence of the Catholic Church. Several talked about the "repressive atmosphere" at home. Only a few references were made to liberal attitudes where, for example, nakedness within the privacy of the home was accepted. By contrast, nakedness was commonly seen as naughty, even evil.

As mature adults, however, all participants - including the authors - have become part of what Bourdieu (1984) variously calls the new petit bourgeoisie or the new cultural intermediaries. We no longer orientate our lives in terms of officially sanctioned, time-honored values, but instead adopt a learning mode towards life, self-consciously

pursuing expressive and liberated lifestyles. In Bourdieu's terms, we invest in educational and cultural capital. Rather than rely on traditional sources of authority with which to identify, we seek through our own selection of signs and images the resources for our own constructions of self (Hall & du Gay, 1996). As Giddens (1991) says, "In the context of post-traditional order - the self becomes a reflexive project" (p. 32). Giddens also says that it is a characteristic of contemporary times that the search for personal meaning often takes place in the construction of defensive identities around a collective ideal. Identity is created through what it is not. Hall (1991) says, "It has to go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself" (p. 21). It is possible, therefore, to understand the willingness of participants to contribute to this study as part of an effort to redress the repressive times in which we grew up. Furthermore, as members of the class of cultural intermediaries, we have learnt to deal playfully with the multiple games of signification and, thus, many participants saw as fun the opportunity to contribute to this project. Some respondents clearly wrote with relish. We see in this study what Foucault (1978) calls "an intensification of pleasure connected to the production of truth about sex" (p. 71).

On the other hand, some participants confessed difficulty in telling their stories, and a few were concerned that their anonymity be carefully preserved. Others still, who seemed to have initially indicated their willingness to participate, later declined. We mention these varied responses as suggestive that the multiple discourses of sexuality during childhood that emerge from this study, are ongoing among mature adults. It is precisely because the rupture with repression is only partial, that there exists scope for playfulness and fun. In this study, the anonymity of the participants - the authors included - is both the prime

example of only a partial rupture with repression and the principle incitement to play.

Discussion

The Images

Most images were principally concerned with medical, commercial, and anthropological discoures. However, among the most common images were "girlie" magazines, especially Playboy (9); bare breasts in National Geographic magazines (7); book illustrations (6); medical texts (6); films and television (3); department store catalogues of underwear (2); pin ups (2); and images drawn by the participants (5), including by one child who removed the tutus from his own drawings of ballerinas.

High art and popular art. By excluding the medical references, we counted 29 examples of decidedly popular art images and 6 references where an encounter of high art had been important. (There were many other references that we assume were popular but it was unclear from the data.) Two other references to nudes in art galleries and art books were made but these had not been seen as naughty by the participants. As one male, who had frequently encountered nudes in art galleries said of the first photographic nudes he was shown in his late teens, "But this was real." Furthermore, among the high art images none were viewed for any elevated sentiments with which high art is often associated. As one male wrote:

> My mother rushed into the room where I sat drawing, held the magazine open to the offending page and exclaimed, "I hope you never do anything like this!" As my mother waved the Cranach about before my wide eyes - as I tried to drink in every fast moving detail – the sly thought seeped into my mind that making pictures of naked people might be highly interesting.

A female wrote, "My Dad brought home a book on Ancient Art Wonders. Some of the sculptures had huge penuses [sic]. I couldn't believe that they got so big. It was scary.... The giant penuses [sic] haunted me." And another male wrote:

> I pored over the green and sepia prints in the children's encyclopedias of Ancient Greek and Roman statues. The sculptures often did not have legs, arms, or even heads, but they did have breasts and bums and that's what I was interested in. But at 7 or 8 years I don't recall the interest being erotic; it was more a matter of curiosity.

Another boy was chastised for drawing nude images from Michelangelo, while still another male wrote of his looking at the art of Michelangelo: "I could indulge my interest in female anatomy while looking at a "legitimate 'artistic' image."

Each of these responses to high art - arousal, shock, curiosity, generator for one's own images, or as a disguise for erotic interests - is, as examples below will illustrate, indistinguishable from those of children who first encountered popular imagery.   Also, in terms of gender differentiation, which we discuss below, no difference was evident between how participants treated the different arts. This suggests that the category of art was less important than its function. This is an unsurprising finding since it was the erotic function per se that formed the basis of our questions. However, an important qualification is necessary about the relative importance of high verses popular art. Popular imagery is held to be more powerful than high art in informing and forming minds because while popular art is ubiquitous, exposure to high art is infrequent and special (Duncum, 1999). Here, the power afforded popular imagery does not lie in their being repeated ad infinitum but in their being taboo and viewed in

situations often charged with fear of exposure. The power afforded the images and the context of their reception was unrelated to the traditional category of the images, and it was often the context as much as the pictures that was crucial in marking meaning. We are therefore content to make the point that popular imagery was often afforded exceptional power and no less power than the high art imagery.

The Contextual Meaning of Naughty

By examining the lived experience of participants we see how variously the term <u>naughty</u> was interpreted. Was it the images themselves that were naughty, their subject matter, the children who looked, the act of looking, the person to whom the images belonged, or all these? For many children, boys and girls, being naughty saturated the whole experience. As one participant wrote of a National Geographic she and her brother found in her grandfather's library:

> I learned about the naughtiness of pictures that showed women's breasts, the naughtiness of the act of looking at pictures that showed women's breasts, and perhaps, most importantly, the naughtiness of women's breasts themselves. It was not only the picture or the act, but the subject itself which I was to understand as naughty.

Contextual issues that proved significant included the ideas children brought to the images, where the images were encountered, to whom they belonged, and the response of others. The significance of the images to the construction of sexual identity cannot be adequately understood without consideration of these issues

Children's ideas. The children brought to the images the same repression that characterized their milieu. One girl remembers being taught, as she says, "that I knew from my upbringing that we were

never to show any part of our underwear. I was trained how to sit and stand properly, as well as how to avoid talking about such articles of clothing." Here we see how, in McNay's (1992) words, "ideological representations of femininity to concrete procedures of confinement and bodily control were central to the maintenance of hierarchical social relations" (p. 31). The same person was, as she says, "very aware that you could only pose for an undergarment ad if your face didn't show ... otherwise you were a bad person." In this example, we see how precisely a child had learnt the particular conventions by which sexuality was policed visually.

Another woman wrote of a film in which a man kissed a woman as naughty because the man reminded her of her father. "They both had a strange, seducing smile. It was the smile I was afraid of all my childhood. My father sometimes looked at me with it, and I always felt naked, unhappy and guilty when he did." In this case, the interpretation of a man and a woman kissing can only be understood as naughty given the child's interpretation of her particular life circumstances. One male wrote about a group of boys who had been shown nude photographs by a friend called Billy.

> Within a year, Billy mysteriously disappeared from town. The scandal was that he was caught exposing himself to his 6-year-old sister. For the next few years I lived with the fear that I, too, would suffer such a disgraceful fate if I looked at magazines of that kind. When I left home and went to University it was a relief that I managed to leave town honorably. This incident has instilled in me a respect for the power of sexually charged images. I approach such images, whether deemed pornographic or not, with a mixture of curiosity and caution.

In this case, the regime of repression produced an unwarranted fear that still influences the meaning of these images for the participant. One girl wrote,

> The pictures trigged an imagined chain of events in which I would be judged "naughty" for viewing them, bringing embarrassment to myself, my parents and the adults we were visiting.... Without knowing the meaning of being a "voyeur," I was unwittingly in that position and afraid of being caught.

Here, the viewer observes herself being watched by an imaginary critical viewer; the process of internalized repression and control is complete. For Foucault (1978), this process of self-surveillance lies at the heart of power relationships in the modern world. On the other hand, one boy wrote that his school pictures were confiscated and the offenders reprimanded, sometimes in public. He writes of the pictures as sites of "insurgency." "Initially the significance of the picture was its power to arouse sexually. This power became greater knowing that the image also had the power to offend." For him and his classmates, naughty images were part of what McDonnell (1994) calls the "childhood culture of resistance" (p. 31).

Location and Ownership. Children discovered images in relatives' libraries, in the magazine racks at home, in newsagents, and at school. Often they recognized images as naughty because they were found in secret or hidden places. Some children were embarrassed to learn that a much older relative possessed such images. One girl discovered "cheesecake" images on a set of drinking glasses where "the outside of the glass showed a woman fully clothed but when you looked inside, she was in the same pose, only naked." They were doubly shocking: the subject matter and the fact that they were discovered in the garage of a friend's grandparents. She wrote of herself and her friend:

> We were both astounded and embarrassed that someone as old as her grandfather (we never suspected that they might have belonged to her grandmother or been a jointly owned item of course) would have such clearly naughty objects.... It was clear that the nude images were to be hidden, a secret available only to those who were somehow in the know. It made me aware that even "really old" men (the grandfather was probably 55 at the time!) were interested in pictures of naked girls.

In such cases, children immediately recognized that the images were taboo, but other children only realized this from the response of others.

Others' Responses. One girl learnt that the images in a National Geographic were naughty from her older brother's giggling and the fact that he hurriedly hid them whenever threatened by an adult's presence. One boy copied images of Michelangelo and other Renaissance artists with "big muscles" and thought it the best thing he had ever drawn: "I took the drawing to my mother to show it off. I thought she would bundle me into the car with it and speed to the art museum to announce the discovery of a new genius. Instead she told me that I shouldn't be drawing nudes." Another male wrote,

> I was absent-mindedly flipping through a magazine while my older brother was getting his hair cut. When we got home, my brother told my parents that I was looking at "dirty pictures" at the barber's shop. Naturally, my parents who were fundamentalist Protestants, went nuclear.

Yet another male wrote, "I noted the female nudes of Michelangelo. These were not turn-ons at all, but my grandparents reactions when I lingered a bit over some of his hefty, busty women, alerted me to the fact that something was up."

In each of these cases the children learned what they should be looking at from what they should not be looking at. By means either of peer experience or adult censor, demonstrative or by implication, children learnt and internalized the discourse of naughty pictures.

Sexual Identity through Gendered Readings

This study is concerned with how this discourse contributed to sexual identity, not its relative importance to other experiences or to exposure to other forms of representation. The single most striking finding from this study is that, without exception, readings were gendered. We argue that an awareness of sexuality was engendered when, on viewing imagery, participants read the imagery in gendered terms. Being made aware or being reminded of ourselves as sexual beings, and of others as sexual beings, occurred in having our sense of being male or female reinforced. Jackson argues that "gender is the single most important aspect of our identity" (p. 83), and differentiation is critical to this process. Hall (1991) adds that identity is always constructed through establishing "otherness." Encountering erotic images helped to confirm how participants viewed themselves in relation to the opposite sex. This occurred when participants recognized the subject of the image to be sexually alluring or when they assumed the intended viewer to be a sexual being.

Most of the images encountered were of women. Typically, boys looked at naughty pictures of women and thought about body feelings. Girls typically looked at naughty pictures and projected themselves into the pictures, either as someone who would someday have a body like the women in the pictures, or as someone who felt violated in some way. Typical comments from males were:

The photographs of attractive, unclothed women gave me pleasurable sensations akin to those I got from looking at the pretty girl in my classroom.

The woman was not in a "decent" bathing suit but in a tight fitting and small bikini. She had one hand on her leg and the other hand in the sky. The way she used her facial expression (mouth and eyes) was rather "inviting."

The pictures I created by erasing clothing were simply an enactment of what I would have liked to do with a real woman. The nudist magazines were the occasion for secret lust and titillation. They turned me on at the time. They marked out an area of secret imagery in term of certain features, that is, the cheap, cheesy, depersonalized, submissive object of desire.

The only male in our study to acknowledge being gay wrote, "I was supposed to have been ogling the babes in the magazine, but I did have the urge to stare at the male stars of television westerns, which was doubly sinful." Note that he writes of the images in terms of their ability or inability to arouse him; he does not project himself into the picture he finds exciting. Though he responds to images of men, not women, his reaction is typically male: The subject of the image is constructed as an object of desire.

The response of the girls was altogether more complex. As McNay (1992) writes, "the internalization of representations of the female body by women is fundamental to the formation of feminine identity, but this process must not be understood as being straightforward or unproblematic" (p. 24). One woman wrote,

I was a Zorro fan. A television show about Zorro was being aired

once a week and I was an avid viewer. It was dangerous, sensuous, and swashbuckling. Zorro was tall, dark, and handsome. But most of all he was smart, and even at that age I found that attractive. I had the impression that the clothing of the men and women were suggestive, but I wasn't sure of what. Zorro wore tight, revealing pants. I wanted to be Zorro. Zorro was a rebel and the hero, after all.

She wanted to be Zorro, not the females in the story, not because she is a closet lesbian, but because the erotic for her was brains and male privilege. For both boys and girls the images provided an invitation, as it were, to come over here and live for a while in the mise-en-scene of a fantasy, but the fantasies were quite different. As Kaplan argues of adults, "Men do not simply look: their gaze carries with it the power of action and possession that is lacking in the female gaze" (cited in Garber, 1992, p. 215). In examining underwear catalogues, girls were intrigued to see what they would, in time, become. One wrote, "I dreamed of growing up and wearing bras ... what would it be like to have breasts, to have a waist and hips. I didn't think about sex." In examining bare breasts in National Geographic, girls learnt, as one wrote:

> women from far-off cultures seemed unashamed, happy, relaxed, confident; in short, the pictures suggested a reality very different from the one I was experiencing - one where modesty, shame, evasion and vague intimations of danger accompanied my inquires about my own and other bodies.... It presented to me notions of racial and cultural diversity that helped me to know that the circumstances of my own family and culture were not the only possibilities that existed.

On examining pictures in a nursing book with a friend, one woman wrote:

> Quite a few of the people were naked. And most were diseased. I know that this was a time when my friend and I were trying to understand ourselves as potentially grown up women with bodies that were becoming more and more confusing and not just a little bit disgusting too. Boys weren't even in the conversation yet.

Even in looking through Playboy where the viewer is assumed to be male, girls responded by projecting themselves into the image. One wrote:

> I know that my cousin and I wondered what it would be like to be one of the beautiful women. We did think they were beautiful and we wanted to grow up to be beautiful too. I remember talking about whether we would pose for a picture like the ones we were looking at. What would it be like to show your breasts to someone?

Here, as Mayne suggests of women, the girls were able to assume the voyeuristic male gaze while retaining their position as female (cited in Garber, 1992). Yet a tension is created. Here it seems in balance, but other girls were unbalanced by the experience. Some girls were horrified to see pictures of eroticised women. One woman wrote:

> I had to go to the "outhouse" toilet... While I was sitting there in the semi-darkness ... I noticed a rolled up magazine hidden between two rows of bricks. I pulled the well warn mag from its hiding place and to my surprise and horror it was a Playboy. I opened it and what I saw shocked me. I had never seen naked women with such enormous breasts before. And they were

photographed with their legs spread wide open. And she was wearing high heels. I think the Playboy belonged to my friend's older brother, and for a long time I couldn't look at her brother in the face.

Another wrote,

It was in the home of a friend that I first saw explicit magazine images. We found them while going through my friend's father's desk drawers looking for his stash of marijuana. Our act of snooping with an intent to steal, turned into a moment of shared embarrassment, confusion and fear. We never discussed this encounter, nor did we look again in that drawer for anything forbidden. I tried to imagine myself as the woman in the image. The idea of being the woman was terrifying to me.

Though the following account seems, in retrospect, to have been turned into a funny story, at the time the girl felt humiliated.

It happened in a 9th grade geography class where most of the kids were older than me. Donny Johnson, one of the very tall star basketball players was the back of the class. He verbally got my attention when the teacher was writing on the blackboard. When I turned around, he flashed a picture of a man and woman doing the deed. I was shocked, not only that he would present such a picture to me (while half the class was watching) but because the subjects in the picture were not in the missionary position. To make matters worse, he then pointed to the picture and asked if I wanted to screw. I shook my head - no way. And then he reached in his pocket, took out some (metal) screws and asked if I was quite sure I didn't want to screw. He said he also had some nuts (referring to the nuts that go with the screws) if I

didn't want a screw, but I could have both, nuts and screws.

Generally, for the boys, the naughty person in the image looked back at them and created a response that anticipated adulthood activities that might include someone like the person in the image. The boys remained outside the image with the person in the image clearly "the other." For the girls who projected themselves into the image, the projection varied, but retreats into modesty, embarrassment, and shame were common. In some cases girls assumed the male gaze while remaining female, and, as Mayne argues, the tension thus created is "a condition of being constantly pulled, usually off balance, sometimes teetering wildly, almost always tense" (cited in Garber, 1992, p. 215). In the few cases where girls encountered male images, they were horrified, offended, or confused. One girl's response to the defacement of a textbook by drawings of penises was simply to report the incident. In no cases did the girls find the images sites of desire. We see in these cases, as McNay (1992) says, "sexuality is not an innate or natural quality of the body, but rather the effect of historically specific power relations. Women's experience is controlled within certain culturally determined images of feminine sexuality" (p. 3).

Summary

Many of the images in this study were intended as part of medical and scientific discourses, not erotic ones, but, given the edicts of silence and taboo where sex was rarely spoken of and as rarely pictured, the images became part of children's struggle to understand themselves as sexual beings. Despite adult repression and the children's own internalization of repression, the children struggled to make sense of their sexual identity, in understandably haltering and sometimes faulty ways. Girls and boys approached imagery differently in ways that undoubtedly arose from already existing predispositions but which further differentiated them in terms of gender. The male gaze worked

as a mechanism of oppression insofar as it elevated boys to a position of privileged spectator. For girls who viewed with the male gaze, a tension was created that was sometimes held in check but sometimes was deeply disturbing. While encounters with pictures, most of which were popular imagery, were only one means of establishing their identity, they served as a focus and in some cases an important one. Their significance lay in reinforcing gendered perceptions, and variously provided anatomical knowledge, assisted peer bonding, and opened up realms of previously unknown worlds.

Implications for Art Education

Several implications for art education arise from this study. First, our study has shown that an understanding of context is indispensable in determining meaning. Art education needs to address the everyday contexts in which images are interpreted; a content analysis is never sufficient to understand what meanings are created with images.

Secondly, art education needs to address issues of sexual identity formation whether the imagery is derived from the high arts or not. If we conceive art as primarily sites at which ideas, beliefs, and feelings intersect in tangible, visual form, then art education and sex education are natural partners for youngsters preoccupied with their sexual identity. One participant in our study wrote, "I still find it intriguing that my family offered knowledge of the world but so indirectly." We ask, are we as art educators collectively doing the same thing as this person's parents in ignoring, first, the popular visual sources from which identity is created and, secondly, the subject of sexuality. If one considers schools one can, as Foucault (1978) says, have the impression that sex is hardly spoken of at all, yet the question of sex is "a constant preoccupation" (p. 27). Clearly, popular images are part of our students' lives and part of their collateral knowledge. By ignoring the power of these images, are we tacitly teaching that only some art is relevant to

their lives? While some art educators have recently dealt with issues of censorship within the classroom (Blair, 1996; Henley, 1997) the issue of erotic material in the classroom remains pressing. The varied nature of the respondents to this study, even under the cover of anonymity, suggest that art education has a long way to go before it can address sexuality in a consensual manner. But we should begin, perhaps by examining what images of sexuality are missing from the classroom (Tarlow-Calder, 1993), the sexual orientation of artists (Check, 1997), how images construct viewers as male, rarely as female (Bolin, 1995/ 1996), and the commonly gendered nature of reading (Garber, 1992).

However, it appears to us that an even more fundamental issue is raised by this study for our field. We should reflect on the implications that eminent art education scholars from many parts of the world recalled their experiences in strongly gendered terms. If the single most striking feature of this study is that the memories of eminent art education scholars is strongly gendered, the single most significant question raised by this study is whether, in reading images, the field of art education is strongly gendered? The study relied on participants' memories. It is a commonplace among social historians that the past in constructed in terms of the present (Foucault, 1978; Hall, 1991). More specifically, it is widely believed that recollections of childhood are a construction where the past is subordinated to the present (White, 1998). It follows that if childhood experiences were recalled in distinctly gendered terms, participants continue to read images in clearly gendered terms.

The conduct of this study has been a journey for the authors into their own predisposed ways of looking. It seems as though it may be necessary for all art educators to reflect critically upon their own predisposed perceptions and what their predispositions might mean for research and teaching in the field.

Appendix 1

Male

Allison, Brian. (Independent Researcher, England)

Anderson, Tom. (Florida State University, United States)

Blandy, Doug. (University of Oregon, United States)

Boughton, Doug. (University of South Australia, Australia)

Bracey, Ted. (Canterbury University, New Zealand)

Clark, Gilbert. (Indiana University, Emeritus, United States)

Clark, Roger. (University of Western Ontario, Canada)

Duncum, Paul. (University of Tasmania, Australia)

Darras, Bernard. (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, France)

Fehr, Dennis. (Texas Tech University, United States)

Hernandez, Fernando. (University of Barcelona, Spain)

Hausman, Jerome. (Independent Researcher, United States)

Lankford, Louis. (University of Missouri-Saint Louis, U.S.

Lightvoet, Johan. (Fontys University for Professional
 Development, Netherlands)

Marantz, Ken. (Ohio State University, Emeritus, United States)

Pariser, David. (Concordia University, Canada)

Pearce, Harold. (Nova Scotia School of Art and Design, Canada)

Smith, Peter. (University of New Mexico, United States)

Steers, John. (National Society for Education in Art and Design,
 England)

Webb, Nick. (Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Canada).

Female.

Blair, Lorrie. (Concordia University, Canada)

Chapman, Laura. (Independent Consultant, United States)

Chanda, Jackie (Ohio State University, United States)

Congdon, Kristin. (University of Central Florida, United States)

Freedman, Kerry. (University of Minnesota, United States)

Galbraith, Lynn. (University of Arizona, United States)

Garber, Elizabeth. (University of Arizona, United States)

Gaudelius, Yvonne. (Pennsylvania State University. United States)

Grauer, Kit. (University of British Columbia, Canada)

Hicks, Laurie. (University of Maine, United States).

Irwin, Rita. (University of British Columbia, Canada)

Lewis, Hilda, P. (San Francisco State University, Emeritus, U.S.)

McRorie, Sally. (Florida State University, United States)

Mullen, Cathy. (Concordia University, Canada)

Räsänen, Marjo. (University of Art and Design, Helsinki, Finland)

Smith, Annie. (Sheridan College, Canada)

Smith-Shank, Deborah. (Northern Illinois University, U.S.)

Stankiewicz, Mary Ann. (Indpen. Researcher & Consultant, U.S.)

Stokrocki, Mary. (Arizona State University, United States)

Zimmerman, Enid. (Indiana University, United States)

Participants signed a declaration stating that, while they understood their comments would be anonymous and all care would be taken to ensure quotes would not identify them, their names, nationalities, and institutional affiliations would be listed in any material arising from this study.

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