









The strategies of the habitus are like those of players who have 'a feel for the game', without being the product of a deliberately strategic intention (1977:11, 1990:62). The habitus is embodied, loaded with incipient anticipation and contextual meaning, each move triggering a counter move amongst the agents. Strategies resist universalisation and mechanisation. They occur as a product of history at a certain time and with a particular tempo in a social domain. The habitus produces, amongst agents who are disposed to enter and play the game, a common sense world-view that is objectively secured by a consensus of meaning (1977:80). Bourdieu notes that the practices that the habitus generates are reinforced objectively, through the agents' harmonisation and adjustments and through the continuous reinforcement that each receives through individual and collective experience (1997: 81). They are 'objectively compatible with their conditions and expectations and are pre-adapted to their objective demands' (1990:63).

This logic, with its stylistic unity that is immediately perceptible, has neither the rigour or constancy of logical logic, nor the strict, regular coherence of the concerted product of a plan (1990:102). Nevertheless it maintains a practical, symbolic and economical coherence that can be applied in different social contexts in sensible, foreseeable and reasonable ways.

Bourdieu's explanation of the theory of symbolic capital extends his theory of the habitus. Symbolic capital, as the primary currency of exchange in the social economy, is a capital of credit used in the day to day economy of social transactions. It is any property *recognised* as

despite the simultaneous self-deception and denial that occurs about the truth of the exchange. This self-deception and denial is supported by a collective self-deception that misrecognises the inaugural act and subsequent acts as singular acts rather than as stages in a relationship (2000:192). Bourdieu recognises the *illusio* of the collective activity of agents who will deny the labour devoted to maintaining this misrecognition. He explains how 'this collective self-deception is repressed through the lapse of time' which masks the contradiction of the exchange. This contradiction is exposed when a gift is returned too soon revealing the objective mechanism and truth of the exchange (2000:192, 1990:105). Bourdieu's recognition of the interval of time within gift exchange marks a significance departure from structuralist interpretations of gift exchange as proposed by Levi-Strauss and Mauss.

Within gift exchange, as with the exchange of any symbolic capital, the interval of time

intended towards the teacher and students for their actions. On the contrary, the study seeks to understand the social logic of these transactions and their causal functions.

This study is empirical, emergent and experimental in design and is well suited to discovering the rich and complex contextual detail of the social transactions between the

The use of a digital video camera is a significant aspect in the design of this study. Used as the primary methodological tool for the collection and analysis of data within the cultural context of the art classroom it is well suited to further analysis and interpretation of the embodiment of the habitus, its products and the distribution of symbolic capital within the respondents. Documentation of this social and material context is rich in detail and complexity and is of both visual and semantic interest. Morphy and Banks note how visual anthropological methods extend the possibilities for ethnographies:

*'Visual recording methods [and sound recording methods] have properties such that they are able to record more information than memory alone, or notebook and pencil ! they are indexically related to the reality they encode' (1998:14).*

The technology lends itself to the study of visible systems and visible culture as well as to audio and oral culture within the classroom contributing to its rich description and contextualisation.



The researcher fully intended to work with two teachers and their students in different schools. However, due to the emergent reasons following, the study did not proceed according to the initial design. The investigation in the first of the selected schools required furthe

and while not altogether sure of the reasons were willing to proceed. Due to the complexity of data emerging, observations were renegotiated with the teacher and extended incrementally to around eight months.

This study uses an emergent qualitative design methodology that rests on two planks of validity: the first is triangulation, the second semantic analysis. Triangulation subjects a variety of discreet observational methods to cross

Over time, the observer develops a heightened awareness of things usually blocked out. The role becomes increasingly introspective actions, and events are pieced together and their consequences considered (Spradley 1980:54). Observations were conducted over eight months in 2000. Each observation was recorded using the video camera and written notes and other points of interest were recorded. Observations included scrutiny of the

symbols and their *use*

commending, condoling, cursing and challenging. *Expositives*, Austin notes are probably the most difficult to define and include statements that postulate, argue, reply and assume. He notes that these kinds of utterances, in particular must be considered in terms of how they fit into a course of an argument or conversation.

These distinctions were particularly important for considering the intentionality and force of the speech acts of the teacher respondent and his students as the semantic analysis of texts continued and folk domains emerged.

Three broad areas were problematic. The investigator attempted to analyse the shared meanings of words, short phrases and references and to sort these under their apparent local meanings into 'local' or folk domains using the methods of semantic analysis described. This proved to be a difficult task and required further assistance from the Supervisor. Whilst possible cover terms appeared to emerge from interviews and observations they were insufficiently refined. There appeared to be great inconsistency and ambiguity. Selected extracts of text were analysed and re-analysed for cover terms to be

structured interview and triangulated, to some extent, with the semantic analyses of selected observations and the further review of transcripts and video footage. Further analysis and triangulation is required.

It emerges from the semantic analysis of the initial unstructured interview and selected observations that a considerable amount of R2s time involves asserting his influence over students, some more than others. In the structured interview that follows the observations R2 represents his dire

pyramid' (O 6, P8, L27-28) directly asserting his influence on how the student should proceed.

Observations over 2000 indicate that R2s students have considerable interest in producing artworks developed with a contemporary look. In the structured interview (SI 2, P3, L8-25) R2 is questioned about his students' interests in manipulating photographic and digital imagery in their artmaking. He is quick to point out that the students' reasons for wanting to work with photo-based and digital imagery is due to their 'visual literacy', their 'intuitive aesthetic sensibility' and immersion [in contemporary culture] — something they have grown up with. At this point he makes no reference to his own interests in these media or the more conventional interests of students in the other class in painting, drawing and printmaking.

related to his knowledge of contemporary photographers and qualities in his ex-students HSC artworks (SI 2, 13, L15-19). He factors these aspects strategically into the incremental suggestions offered to students, instances of which are evident in the observations. Students use the computer to manipulate their photographs; others variously use food dyes, shellac, and staples and blister the surface of photographic papers. However, his suggestions within the classroom and the students' subsequent performances remain unsatisfied by an explanation of technical improvement although at the moment of the exchange with a student and subsequent exchanges, they might be perceived as such.

The results emergent in these cover terms are sustained in others. The significance of the social transactions between the teacher and his students is overwhelming in these emergent results. The teacher's pedagogical role as an agency in the students' production of artworks, their conceptualising of what they do and how they proceed is unequivocal in what is emerging in this study. There are many instances of the sincere fiction of the disinterested exchange and interested relations between the teacher and his students are retrospectively transfigured into generous acts. Yet these findings would be discredited or misrecognised under the terms of more conventional theories of creativity.

As an exchange of symbolic capital the giving and receiving of gifts within the classroom at moments of creative origination functions within the logic of surprise and uncertainty and defies universalisation. R2 is never entirely predictable in any mechanised sense in how he



and age related interests. This aspect conforms markedly to Bourdieu's notions of symbolic capital where capital is recognised as symbolic power and profit and contributes to the accumulation of prestige for the teacher and the group.

Other students (eg S6) overplay their hand in seeking his direction too overtly and demand his guarantee of success. R2 withholds his insights as directions on these occasions and utilises other kinds of tactful strategies to alter the pace of the exchange.

There are many instances within the interviews and observations where misrecognition and self and collective deception are in evidence. It is in these very acts of misrecognition and deception between the teacher and his students that the social, linguistic and practical transactions entailed in creative performances and their resultant artifacts can proceed. In regard to R2s *Directions* (Cover Term 1), while various options are regularly given at certain points at others they are less disguised when R2s strategic urgency overrides his concern for discussion and the possibility of options. When asked in the structured interview following the observations (SI 2) about his bearing on the direction of particular works produced by students, R2 misrecognises the causality of his involvement indicating that this is kind of advice is just 'technical rather than critical'. In so doing he appeals to the honour associated with his position and indicates how he makes it his business to know the 'mechanisms behind', the technical properties of different materials and processes. In his view this knowledge is absolutely necessary because he must be able to assist the problems students face





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