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Moving On: Altering Habitus.

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“Interpretation is the key to understanding ourselves and who we are. It challenges us to work out what Australia means, as a continent and as a nation. Interpretation makes sense of life, of systems and structures.” Interpretation Australia Association website. www.interpretationaustralia.asn.au

I am in the process of changing lifestyle in Australia and moving house from island Tasmania across the sea to New South Wales (NSW), another state. The process of packing allows me to shed unwanted baggage that I will symbolically throw, as a sea stone, into the ocean en route. Ideally, only desired commodities will accompany me, but the past is located in the present through memory (Bourdieu 1990). My past is positioned in Australia’s history, manifested as culture. Therefore, I imagine being a full-bodied wine, matured in oak and enriched by the elements of fresh air, nurtured soil and expert viticulture. As time matured and enriched this wine it also filtered out unwanted trace elements.

What defines ‘home’? Is it a building, its inhabitants, a sense of belonging, a place, a nation or a hemisphere? My house is located in a capital city, immersed in histories of communal life based on agriculture and commerce on the Derwent River, but the house is not ‘home’, only a commodity. As “places are socially constructed-given different meanings by different groups for different purposes.

Places exist and are constructed by their inhabitants from a subjective point of view. The meanings given to a place may be so strong that they become a central part of the identity of the people experiencing them.” (Knox and Marston 2007, p.4). By leaving, I choose to shed Tasmanian identity.

Australia has ‘the tyranny of distance’ from other continents and embodied in Australia’s histories. The vast distance between this and other continents partially accounts for Australia’s continued reliance on Great Britain until recent partnerships with America (World War Two, Vietnam War) opened the ‘Pacific Rim’ notion and thus the formation of liaisons with Asia, its geographically nearest neighbors. When it is summer in Europe, it is winter in Australia.

Australia is the world’s largest island continent of 2,941,285 square miles. It has six states and two territories, with Tasmania being a small island state to the southeast. The British settled, or invaded, Australia in 1788. Settlers in all states evicted Indigenous populations and felled native bush, using the land for crops and grazing, which decimated the native flora and fauna and ended traditional ways of living. Many states had penal colonies, but those in Tasmania were the cruelest. I argue that these histories are evidenced in social culture today.

The underlying theme is the interrelation between the natural, social and built environments that are situated in Australia. The histories surrounding British settlement provide the framework for inclusion and exclusion. Evaluation of current cultural tastes shows globalization enveloping Australian culture and the conclusion links these threads with my rational to move.

PLACE.

“A place has locational properties... A place also has subjective meaning to people-“a sense of place”. Notions of place are not fixed or universally shared, and social geographers have shown how dominant forms of power and social identities affect what places mean to individuals and groups. These relationships to power, and access to place, define the boundaries which include and exclude people.” (Pain et al. 2001, p 4).

Cartography illustrates power, as evidenced by using Peters versus Mercator projection. Historically, European and American centered maps minimize Australia in terms of size and location. Culture influences environment and geography influences culture. “Environmental possibilism is an approach that recognises a range of possible cultural directions facilitated by the environment and that individuals retain a fair degree of agency in determining that direction.” (Hilary, Winchester and Dunn 2003, p15). The links between environment and culture are located in the development of Australian states. Tasmania has remote wilderness areas, mining, fishing and forestry. Its western landscape is rugged, formed by currents flowing from South America. New South Wales (NSW), in eastern Australia, has the Great Dividing Range of mountains running parallel to the sea, with rich seaside land becoming less arable, further inland.

Sydney, capital of NSW, was the first British penal colony, but exploration led to a rapid expansion of settlements. The 1800s Gold

Rushes enticed migrants from Europe and China, so the population diversified. Tasmania was relatively isolated during early British settlement due to the harsh terrain, severe climate and rough seas. Tasmanian Aboriginal people were seen as 'a dying race' and therefore unimportant. Penal colonies were located in remote, rugged locations where geography assisted social exclusion, but the worst were in Tasmania. For example, John West argued in 1852, "Macquarie Harbour is associated exclusively with remembrance of inexpressible depravity, degradation and woe. Sacred to the genius of torture, nature concurred with the objects of its separation from the rest of the world, to exhibit some notion of perfect misery. There, man (sic) lost the aspect and the heart of man." (Davey 2002, p 6).

These histories influence current communities. Tasmania has the lowest migrant population of any state and colonial British buildings, suitable to the climate, are preserved. NSW is a multicultural pluralist state whose ethnic groups permeate all social classes and colonial buildings have verandas to shield the sun. These differences manifest in ideologies. Tasmanians view other Australians as 'mainlanders' meaning 'outsiders'. Their food products are more expensive and relatively few have travelled approximately two hundred miles from major cities to visit Macquarie Harbour or other wilderness sites. People in NSW easily travel interstate through road, rail and air transport. I maintain that such histories influence the habitus of people living in these states.

LANDSCAPE. PLACE AND SPACE.

The interaction between the natural, social and built environments influences the ways by which people interpret events. In Tasmania “The rugged and dramatic landscape too has quite often elicited as a metaphor to explain emotions that are perhaps grounded in the difficulty to connect to a place that was not only a penal colony but also stolen from the Aborigines. Feelings of inadequacy on one hand, and loss on the other, may have contributed to the description of Tasmania’s reputed melancholy”. (Anderson –p 3online)

British settlement meant British Westminster System of Law and its accompanying hierarchy based on social class. The soldiers and settlers were superior to convicts, although convicts who were pardoned could practice as professionals (architect Francis Greenway) or own land. The original settlements were dominantly male, so shiploads of female convicts were deported in 1789. Officers and gentleman lived with their families in close-knit communities separated from the others.

The soldiers used food ideology to reinforce isolation. The arid land meant they were reliant on provisions from Britain and their own farming. Soldiers maintained that Aboriginal people cannibalised convict escapees and stole cattle/sheep, as many natural plants were poisonous. “The disregard of the Aboriginal sources of food [bush tucker] meant that the infant colony was often on the verge of starvation and individuals, such as the explorers Burke and Wills, perished while indigenous populations flourished around them.” (Hilary, Winchester and Dunn 2003, p 55). When convicts understood bush tucker, they realised escape was possible and challenged the soldiers’ authority. (See Johnson 1983 for this story).

Food was scarce in penal settlements, especially in remote Tasmania. Settlers could access sheep and cattle, but convicts were dependent on basic imported provisions unless they could farm land, which was virtually impossible in remote Tasmania. Soldiers used food as capital. “[F]lour, of course, is an item which could be saved for escapes, just as biscuit – hard tack – could be. The issue of biscuit was forbidden and bread was treated with sweet vinegar of ergot to mould rapidly and prevent such storage. Eating ergot-tainted bread could be dangerous. It is hallucinogenic and causes gangrene as it restricts blood flow.” (Davey 2002, p 33). Floggings of 100 lashes were common, especially regarding food. In an extract from the offences record Macquarie Harbour on 8 January 1830, William Murray was sentenced to ten days solitary confinement for “leaving his work and going to a garden near the Gardener’s Hut and stealing Parsley’ (sic).” (Davey 2002, p.33).

The geographic isolation of Tasmanian settlements in rugged terrain entrenched spheres of inclusion and exclusion. “Cultural geography focuses on the way in which space, place and landscape shape culture at the same time that culture shapes space, place and landscape. ... Culture is the ongoing process of producing a shared set of meanings and practices, while geography is the dynamic setting that groups operate in to shape these meanings and practices and in the process to form an identity and act.” (Knox and Marston 2007, p. 175). Thus the natural environment facilitated the entrenchment of the social hierarchy. “Forms of domination are naturalized to the extent that they are both unconscious and sometimes unrecognisable; and they are resisted to the extent that resistance becomes impossible within a sociocultural frame of restraints.” (Dillabough 2004, p. 495). The natural and social/built environments were intertwined.

DIFFERENCE PORTRAYED AS PLACE.

Australian Aboriginal Dream Time “Altjiranga’ refers to the pre-history of the land and the interrelationships between the human and spirit worlds. Traditional Indigenous art depicts the places (land, water) where immortal totemic beings sleep. Artists use symbols that show routes for migration by people and animals. The images depict a bird’s-eye view, even where the land was vast and flat (inland Australia) without high vantage points. (Clark 2005, p.20). In 1788, the estimated number of Aboriginal communities was several hundreds.

In contrast, British colonisation was based on the social environment controlling the natural environment. They razed bushland and introduced species such as rabbits, foxes and grazing animals, which ate native foods and led to the eradication of native species, including the Thylacine, or Tasmanian Tiger. “When Europeans settled in the Australian colonies they saw beyond the wilderness of the bush to the possibilities of an ideal landscape. But first the land had to be cleared. And to make a clearing in the colonies was to erase what existed in nature and replace it with something new.” (Bonyhady 2002, p-). Many colonial gardeners unquestioningly changed the Australian landscape to that of Britain. For example, “Sir William Macarthur, the colonial gentleman, took pride in besting a great London nursery. The passionate and energetic nurseryman, Thomas Lang, imported over a million plants to the country.” (Fox 2004, p. www).

“Natural, legal, political and economic systems underlie social order in the world. The natural system can be used for sustaining human

life, but socio-political systems can determine whether or not the natural environment remains unadulterated, improved or built upon.” (Desmarchelier 2005, p . 5). Colonists acted within their belief systems, but subsequent generations have maintained the social hierarchies based on the invasion of native land. “Diaspora space is the point at which boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and otherness, of ‘us’ and ‘them’, are contested. ...Diaspora space is ‘inhabited’ not only by those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous or ‘native’.” (Daniels et al 2005, p 277-278). Binaries of exclusion continue to exist. “Homophobia is crucial to creating and sustaining a heterosexist binary-gender regime, but heterosexuals may not understand at a conscious level how it permeates social interaction even when the homosexuality of a participant is not disclosed” (Desmarchelier 2000, p.239).

Spheres of inclusion and exclusion are located in social culture. Artists depicted the social hierarchies in the natural environment. Colonial “images of Aboriginal people were used to signify the primordial difference and the antipodean landscape. In these paintings, Aboriginality emerged as a motif of Australia’s precolonial past: a timeless, arcadian realm that preceded European colonisation, and in which Aboriginal people enjoyed uncontested possession of the Australian landscape. This uncolonised landscape represented the antithesis of colonial civilisation, both spatially and temporally distinct from the colonial nation.” (Macneil 1999, p.1).

Colonial paintings were sent to Britain to indicate economic and judicial prosperity. Governors and leading administrators sent

official portraits around the colonies to signify their authority and wealth. Colonial art developed from landscapes depicting British styled trees in European hues to realistic portrayals of fauna and flora in natural light.

Relatively few artefacts portrayed Indigenous people. Starting with Benjamin Duterrau's 1835 reliefs of Aboriginal subjects (the earliest known Australian portrait sculptures), Aboriginal people were misrepresented and facial features distorted. (Edwards 2003, p.24). "This exclusion of Aboriginal people from the conceptualisation of the Australian nation reflects the effectiveness with which a visual discourse of 'Australia' painted Aboriginal people out of existence." (Macneil 1999, p.1).

This objectification of Aboriginal people supported the colonisers' sense of superiority and the insignificance of Aboriginal people. The massacres of Aboriginals went largely unchronicled though, in Tasmania, official documents report the Aboriginals as a 'dying race' and cited the supposed 'last' five Aboriginals Trucanini (different spellings), Bessy Clarke, Patty, Wapperty and William Lanley. Only then did Tasmanian officials commission Duterrau, Law and Woolley to record their images for posterity. Craig, in 1866, recorded "Because there were only five of them, Woolley took not one but three photographs of each, recording their full face, three-quarter face and profile. ... They exhibited Lanney in Melbourne 'in a frame by himself' as 'THE LAST OF THE ABORIGINES' ... although Trucanini, died in 1876." (Bonhady and Sayers 2002, p.6).

Benjamin Law's busts of *Woureddy, and Aboriginal Chief of Van Dieman's Land* 1835 and *Trucaninny, wife of Woureddy* 1836 (Edwards 2003, p.24 and National Art Gallery of Tasmania) <http://images.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/Search/Search.asp?Keywords=Aboriginal&x=0&y=0&Page=2> were the first sculptures of Aboriginals, but embody their social exclusion. "As portrayals of exotic non-westerners, by a Western artist, for Western audiences, Law's busts are ethnographically defined and culturally biased. Yet, within this artistic 'colonising of the subject', Law's sculptural mastery lay in the creation of works which were (and are) simultaneously ethnographically shaped objects, intended mementos of 'a dying race', and exceptional portraits." (Edwards 2003, p.25).

The continued disregard for Aboriginal culture is exemplified in Fernyhough's official portrait of the explorers' aide 'Piper, The Native who accompanied Major Mitchell in his expedition to the Interior of NSW 1836.' Piper was made white, but not quite white. Mitchell states "I clothed him in my own red coat and gave him also a cocked hat and feather which had once belonged to Governor Darling. His portrait, thus arrayed, soon appeared in the print-shops; an ingenious artist (Mr Fernyhough) having drawn his likeness so accurately." (Bonhady and Sayers 2002, p.3).

Inclusion/exclusion was implicit when Europeans settled in Australia.

FIRST ENCOUNTERS. DISPLACED SPACE.

Antarctica is currently the most isolated nation despite land claimed by Australia, France, New Zealand, Chile, Great Britain and Norway. "The absence of recognised states in Antarctica reflects the inhospitality and remoteness of the continent, the only one without an indigenous human population." (Daniels et al 2005, pp..387-8). The natural environment was alien to humans until technological advances in clothing, travel and equipment allowed exploration and settlement by researchers. However, settlement is not value-free, as an Australian relates. "On the continuum some of our actions are more 'natural' than others. On one point a totally constructed environment such as an Antarctic base or a space station featuring heavily technological reliant systems of survival, and on the other side the "Rousseauian" interpretation of indigenous peoples living in harmony with their surrounds in a dynamic balance where humanity is not compromising other species." (Baird 2005, p.2)

European explorers also held cultural beliefs akin to Rousseau. Whilst romanticising Aboriginal life, they created the notion of 'other'. La Perouse with his French crew reached Sydney only days after Captain Cook claimed the land for Britain. La Perouse described the Indigenous people as 'noble'. Later, D'Entrecasteaux describes the Aboriginals at Recherché Bay Tasmania as existing "in a state of perfection', 'human beings so close to nature whose candour and kindness contrast much with the vices of civilization" (Denholm 2005, p.27). Similarly, Captain Cook described the Noble Savages of New South Wales as "far more happier than we Europeans: being wholly unacquainted not only with the superfluous but the necessary conveniences so much sought after in Europe, they are happy in not knowing the uses of them. They live in a tranquillity that is not disturb'd by the inequality of Condition: The Earth and sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for life, they

covert not magnificent Houses, Household stuff etc..." (Dixon 1986, p.12).

Cultural exploitation replaced this romanticism of the explorers. Missionaries replaced traditional beliefs with Christianity forbade native languages and customs. Remote settlements were formed where 'civilised' Aboriginals gained privileges and permission slips to travel. Half-castes were stolen from their families and raised in institutions. The White Australian Policy (1901-1972) excluded Aborigines and Asians. Assimilation into the dominant culture was justified in all states. Argus noted, in 1865 "Nowhere else in the Australian colonies is there to be seen so large a number of natives collected together, of whom it can be said that they appear to be reclaimed from their former wandering and savage life, and to be conformed to the manners of Europeans." (Bonhady and Sayers, 2002 p.5).

DEFINING PLACE.

Habitus is fluid and people can alter their dispositions to act so landscapes can be renewed. For example, obsolete toxic wasteland at Homebush Bay was converted into stadiums for the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney. A protest march in June 1987 developed into the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras, which is now mainstream and generates excesses of sixteen million dollars annually. ((Hilary, Winchester and Dunn 2003, p.105). Desmarchelier (1996) evaluated the educational performance of 225 mature students and challenged Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) social reproduction theory in three ways: (1) Cultural capital is more fluid than Bourdieu maintains. (2) Most

mature students come from the lower social classes, yet they consistently outperform traditional students from upper classes. (3) Females tended to experience marital disruption rather than give up studying, as patriarchy and professionalism are contradictory ideologies. These variables challenge social reproduction theories and indicate the habitus can be altered.

British colonisation transferred the Westminster System to Australia, along with beliefs in the legitimacy of British Empire to colonise native populations. Australia is still a constitutional monarchy. The Queen of England is also the Queen of Australia and her appointee, Governor General Sir John Kerr, ejected the elected Prime Minister, Hon. Gough Whitlam and his Labor Government in 1975. There is neither an Australian Head of State nor a Bill of Rights.

The legitimacy of British rule is epitomised in a speech by the (then) Prime Minister, The Hon Robert Menzies to Queen Elizabeth II. "You have today begun a journey around Australia.... All I ask you to remember in this country of yours is that every man, woman and child who even sees you with a passing glimpse as you go by will remember – remember it with joy... 'I did but see her passing by and yet I love her till I die.'" (Fullilove 2005, p.220).

Some recent changes have occurred. Australian Aboriginals received citizenship by a referendum passed in 1967, but supported by 90% of voters (Noonuccal 1990, p.119). In the twentieth century, many Aboriginal people served in wars without recognition. Aboriginals have higher mortality and sickness rates than non-Aboriginals, have far lower retention rates in schools and are ten times more likely to

be imprisoned. Until 1960 the banner of the Bulletin [national newspaper] proclaimed, "Australia for the White Man" (Clark 2002, p.15). Indigenous land rights became formalised in 1987. The first school curriculum on Aboriginal Studies commenced in 1999.

Shifts in habitus are often gradual. Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Cath Walker) was an Aboriginal Rights activist and renowned poet. Prime Minister Menzies formally met her delegation at Parliament House and offered alcoholic refreshments. She declined, saying truthfully that people serving alcohol to Aboriginals were liable for gaol sentences!

There is considerable debate as how these histories can be reconciled with current ideologies. Nationwide there have been attempts at reconciliation, but for eleven years, the current Prime Minister, Hon. John Howard, refused to say sorry to Aboriginal people for what happened. The previous Prime Minister, Hon. Paul Keating attempted to reconcile this rift in a 1992 speech. "... the starting point might be to recognise that the problem starts with us non-Aboriginal Australians. ... Recognition that it was we who did the dispossessing. We took the traditional lands and smashed the traditional way of life. We brought the diseases. The alcohol. We committed the murders. We took the children from their mothers. We practised the discrimination and exclusion. It was our ignorance and our prejudice. And our failure to imagine these things being done to us." (Fullilove 2005, p.159).

Oodgeroo Noonuccal's 1962 poem, 'The Aboriginal Charter of Human Rights' encapsulates the Aboriginal stance.

"We want hope, not racialism,

Brotherhood, not ostracism,

Black advance, not white ascendance,

Make us equals, not dependants.

We want help, not exploitation,

We want freedom, not frustration..." (Noonuccal 1990, pp.36-37)

"The habitus, as a system of dispositions to a certain practice, is an objective basis for regular modes of behaviour, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice, and if practices can be predicted ... this is because the effect of the habitus is that agents who are equipped with it will behave in a certain way in certain circumstances." (Bourdieu 1990, p.77). Thus, until all Australians recognise Indigenous histories, and separate their government from Britain by becoming a republic, the domination of conservative white Australia will continue.

CULTURE AND PLACE.

"[T]he starting point for social geography is everyday experience, and therefore analysis is usually of events and phenomena on a *local* scale- the neighbourhood, the home, the local park, the workplace and the body. Different meanings of place, and their relations to

power have a central interest.” (Pain et al 2001, p.3) but such differences are based on culture and altered by globalisation.

“[I]f there is a global culture it would be better to conceive of it not as a common culture, but as a field in which differences, power struggles and cultural prestige contests are played out. ... Hence globalization makes us aware of the sheer volume, diversity and many-sidedness of culture.” (Featherstone 1995, p.14).

Processes of urban regeneration and aestheticization have presaged the city as both consumer playground and gentrified residential space, here, facilitating the consumption habits of an enlarged middle-class faction and destabilising boundaries between high and low culture. Thus, museums and department stores are interchangeable cultural spaces. (Prior 2005, p.132).

Liquid modernity is epitomised in spaces of social consumption such shopping malls. “When consumers are inside such places, they could be anywhere in the world, as all these types of places seem to be the same whether they be downtown centres, airports or shopping malls.” (Voyce 2006, p.274). Social relations of consumer capitalism and the associated aestheticization of everyday life promote individualization and detraditionalization of culture. The “placement and mix of stores and their interior design, the arrangement of products within stores, the amenities offered to shoppers, and the ambient music all combine to send signals to the consumer about style, taste and self-image. Called by some ‘palaces of consumption,’ malls are complex semiotic sites, directing important signals not only about what to buy but also about who should shop there and who

should not.” (Knox and Marston 2007, p.227). Hence, global chain stores distribute identical goods under different language names and specialist shops offer local goods as luxuries.

CONSUMPTION AND TASTE

This section analyses cultural tastes of Australians using Bourdieu’s foci of art, museums and food.

Knowledge and what goes unrecognized in the knowledge we produce and what is the source of that misrecognition. All capital – economic, social and cultural- is symbolic and the prevailing configurations of it shape social practice. Fields have boundaries. “To each of the fields there corresponds a fundamental point of view of the world” (Bourdieu 2000, p.99). Misrecognition is often latent and drawing attention to it may be problematic as, when in America, I attended a museum exhibition of Australian wine and cheese where the Australian flag displayed upside down, which has overtones of disrespect.

Taste is a middle class concept since it presupposes freedom of choice, whereas the disadvantaged classes only have “ a taste for what they are anyway condemned to ... the pretext for a class racism which associates the populace with everything heavy, thick and fat.” (Bourdieu 1984).

Gastronomy is a phenomenon of cultural expression and an aesthetic for living through combining consumption with status and aesthetics. "In the modern world the fashioning of "tastes" can take many forms in the way we display, prepare and cook our food. ... Food taste preferences are now inextricably linked to artistic design and media manipulation, as in advertising and creating social status and prestige to the extent of elevating to a fashionable cult status some individuals who are presenters of cookery competition programs, food fashion writers and celebrity chefs." (Wright, Nancarrow and Kwok 2001, p.2).

In Australia, gastronome or 'foodie' hyperbole embraces French influences in the language and context of gourmet cuisine, with Epicure being the first gourmet magazine. French Australians are less than four percent of the population, but French cuisine influences sophisticated tastes and modern 'foodies' differentiate between Brie and Camembert. It is only in the last ten years that Australian 'bush tucker' has become an item to be eroticized, with emu, kangaroo and crocodile finding favour in up-market restaurants." ((Hilary, Winchester and Dunn 2003, p.55). In similar manner, Tasmanian cheeses and wines are marketed as luxuries and are usually priced higher than similar provisions from other states.

"It could be argued that contemporary tastes in food exemplify the postmodern condition of eclecticism, fragmentation, recycling and the triumph of style over substance." (Wright, Nancarrow and Kwok 2001, p.5). This is shown by the increase of cooking, house and garden shows which cater for different social classes The growth of small wineries and the expansion of wine tastings (accompanied by

tasting chef-prepared foods), is European influenced, especially regarding oak casks, Chardonnay and the growth of specialist delicatessens importing European delicacies.

Globalisation affects tastes. La Parisienne Deliverance is an international franchise where ingredients, exported from France, ensure the foods taste the same in all countries. However, travellers eating a Deliverance croissant will contextualise it differently when abroad as the time/space location of 'home' is missing, especially if one is homesick. International franchises use formal organisational procedures to reproduce social spaces without national contexts with the identical foods in similar surroundings, generating feelings of belonging. These places are the antithesis of high culture.

Personal differences moderate this replication of time and space. For example, in Israel, Mc Donald's restaurants are not kosher as milk and meat products, including pork, are mixed in cheese hamburgers. The chief executive officer (CEO) of McDonald's Israel, Dr Omri Padan, shuts McDonald's restaurants on the anniversary of Prime Minister Rabin's death and refuses to open franchises in the West Bank or Gaza Strip as, "there should be a Palestinian franchise owner chosen by McDonald's." (Illouz and John 2003, p.10). Surely this indicates a cultural shift amongst moderate Israelis.

ART, CULTURE AND TASTE.

“[G]alleries or publishing houses, like painters or writers, are distributed at any one time according to their artistic age, that is according to the antiquity of their mode of artistic production and according to the degree of canonisation and the influence of that generative schema which is at one and the same time a schema of perception and appreciation.” (Bourdieu 1996, p.158)

Commodification of high culture is evident in art and literature domains. Users can see/read the artefact using information technology and most national or reputable Art Galleries exhibit online. Literature is available in print, CD-Rom, audiotape and film version, whilst Internet distributors (notably Amazon) supply goods on demand. Purchasers can select from high quality or mass-produced items and choose from pristine new copies, first edition rare items or second-hand soiled items. Yet, in a society full of lifestyle choices and newly freed from the hierarchies of cultural taste, cultural intermediaries are valorized as the benign taste leaders of a reflexive, late-modernity. (Wright 2005). Why then visit a bookseller, museum or art gallery? Is it because the zone between audience and artefact is the ‘interpretative space’? “This is the place where someone with knowledge and someone who wants to know, engage in conversation, exploration and sharing of ideas and the discovery of meaning which is cultural transmission.” (Faggetter 2005). Does the presence of other audience or purchasers legitimate the experience as high culture?

Entry to bookshops, wine tastings, and galleries is open and usually free of charge. However, those that lack sophisticated cultural tastes are recognised and excluded from those who understand. The

language of a vigneron is unrecognised by those who lack the parlance. Thus, the world of cultural goods offers a particular opportunity for the expression of social differences because; “the relationship of distinction is objectively inscribed within it, and is reactivated, intentionally or not, in each act of consumption, through the instruments of economic and cultural appropriation which it requires” (Bourdieu 1984, p.227).

Objects have no intrinsic justifications or qualities. “Each has meaning only in relation to the other. It is the relation that makes the meaning. The distance between that which has distinction and that which is vulgar both measures and marks the distance between groups within the social hierarchy, and is that social distance.” (Moore 2005, p.447).

The recent trend for coffee bars within the space of the chain bookshop emphasizes the distinctiveness of the consumption place and that high culture has become popular. Large, corporate specialist bookshops emphasize precisely these 'cultural' aspects of the space in different ways to other bookseller places, such as supermarkets. (Wright 2005). Cultural intermediaries are central to these kinds of change as they actively promote and transmit the intellectuals' life-style to a larger audience and collude with the intellectuals to legitimate new fields such as sport, fashion and popular music and popular culture as valid fields of intellectual analysis. (Featherstone 1991, p.44).

New and old texts are valued in different ways. Obviously, first editions of hand written Gothic texts have value, but worn copies of

popular texts also have meanings that challenge the mass production of glistening new texts. “The pleasure of used texts invoke cultural norms and class-related social practices – style, taste, etiquette – packaged and presented to an upwardly mobile market.” (Borgerson and Schroeder 2006, p.4) Used texts differ from pre-owned art in that they are portable, class-based and inexpensive. The intimacy of reader/writer relationship is transmitted by touch and sight, of artist and viewer by sight alone. Reading a text takes time and is influenced by the setting in which the reader is located, such as the seat, lighting, background sounds. (Calvino 1998, pp.3-9) Authors are influenced by the chair, desk and writing place. The reader wants the writer to intertwine ideas and challenge ideas and satisfactory close. Successful authors appeal to specific genre audiences by repeating this process.

The popular value of used books contradicts the notion that ‘clean’ and ‘new’ determine the borders of consumer desire. Used books embody an unknown history of the relationship between previous readers and the work. “..examining the material pleasures of these used texts, including ‘inscriptions’ such as previous owner’s marginalia... such wonderings play a central part in the creation of an object’s value, one not embraced in more traditional framings of consumption stemming from a consideration of new goods.” (Borgerson and Schroeder 2006, pp.1-2). This said, the content of the text determines its value.

Australian literature has developed from narrative to internationally recognised genres. Australian and Tasmania-focused literature and photos proliferate, with dozens being published each month. Many

texts depict Aboriginal life, but few are written by, or about, Aboriginal people. Traditional Aboriginals communicated orally and artistically. However, once again, the Indigenous voices are not being heard.

ART

The art museum is implicit in propagating and maintaining certain myths, such as taste in art is innate, ineffable and spontaneous. Bourdieu demonstrated otherwise - some belong and others feel exclusion. In Sydney Art Galleries, those with cultural capital come alone or with a friend, stay longer, avoided interpreters and handouts, relying on their own knowledge. (Suchy 1998 p49) “a work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is the code into which it is encoded. A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in the chaos of colours and lines, ... Thus the encounter with a work of art ... presupposes an act of cognition, a decoding operation, which implies the implementation of a cognitive acquirement, a cultural code.” (Bourdieu 1986, pp..2-3).

Jeffrey Smart is a current non-Indigenous artist who has global recognition. Now residing in Italy, Smart produced paintings which, to me, most profoundly depict the modern Australian landscape. He was influenced by T.S. Eliot and understands the wastelands of isolation and despair experienced by many people who are disposed of their culture, be it traditional or modern life. He depicts built environments that are alien and alienating, using strong colours.

Sydney's 'Cahill Expressway' exemplifies this genre.

<https://apps.ngv.vic.gov.au/shop/ProductPage?itemId=148>

Many paintings feature corrugated iron, a form of fencing popular in Australia, and the viewer sees the corrugations ripple as they walk by these works of art. Smart has captured the essence of current life, the impact of globalisation and commodification of culture. Arguably, his Italian and Australian landscapes are interchangeable, for the architecture is similar; the goods are similar, only 'packaged' in different languages. Websites of some of his paintings are included as references.

The portraits of the 'last' Tasmanian Aboriginals were discussed earlier. However, their marginalisation continues. The Sydney Archibald Prize (Sydney Art Gallery) is an annual contest for portraiture and attracts key artists. Portraits focus on popular people and rarely are Aboriginal people portrayed. Aboriginal artists in Central Australia create traditional artefacts that are sold in cities at inflated prices or on-site, mainly to tourists. Rarely do Australians display Indigenous artefacts in their homes.

"What the art world has to offer is not a collection of certified masterpieces but linguistic tools for talking about art (indeed, any kind of art) in an intelligent way. It is more accurate to characterize this practice as the ways works are discussed to determine what has value as art, why it has value, or why not." (Efland 2004, p.6). The manner in which depiction is rendered is important.

CONCLUSION.

Imagine the metaphor of DNA with two chains forming a double helix. One chain represents my understanding of Bourdieu's discourses; the other is situating these concepts within an Australian context. I decided to move interstate partly because the insularity of Tasmanian life was so evident, even though I do not yet have employment. Although all Australians share history, the brutality of convict life in Tasmania was more brutal than elsewhere. During the colonial period, massacres of Aboriginal people were condoned and Tasmanians sought to eliminate 'the dying race'. These events form streams of consciousness; dispositions to act (*habitus*) that unconsciously reflect the historical events that gave rise to them.

Until I moved to Tasmania in 2003, I considered myself an Australian citizen with French and British ancestry. However, Tasmanians refer to citizens from other states as 'mainlanders'. It is a truism that, no matter how long you reside in Tasmania, you are never really a Tasmanian. It is exclusion. Obviously all people are individuals and that Australia is a modern pluralist nation. Yet, I maintain that NSW 'mainlanders' are more attuned to social and cultural differences, partly because the ethnic population has always been varied, and that ease of travel enables new ideas to permeate the existing culture.

When I travel interstate, I will take a ferry across the Tasman Sea. Historically, the geography and topology of Tasmania caused its isolation, but individuals choose ways of interpreting personal memories and historical events. Tourism advertising refers to

Tasmania as Australia's wine cellar, due to climate and famed wine/cheese exports. The analogy is accurate, but in my symbolism, the wine has not matured in oak!

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Australian spelling uses the letter s rather than z in many works. All citations use Australian spelling.

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