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FROM THE CHAIR

Diana Crane

Sections are a curious species of organization, hibernating during fifty-one weeks of the year and coming to life briefly during the fifty-second. However, in a period when sociology as a discipline is fragmented and conflicted, many of us identify more with our sections than with our discipline. A section program organized around a few themes that are central to members' current interests can provide a framework for viewing the field that is both coherent and stimulating. As I showed in my previous editorial, there is considerable consensus in the papers presented in Sociology of Culture section programs concerning the importance of analyzing 'meaning' from various points of view.

At the same time, the section program papers as a whole share a lack of concern for the cultures of other countries. Papers dealing with foreign cultures represent between 3% and 14% of the entire program, depending on the year. [1] When we do choose to write about the cultures of other countries, we rarely discuss either the popular cultures produced in those countries or the effects of American popular culture on foreign populations, in spite of the fact that popular culture is one of America's last really successful exports. The products of the American film and popular music industries dominate the entertainment markets of the developed and developing countries. At the same time, America's own popular culture markets are virtually closed to popular culture from other countries, particularly in the film and television industries.

America's cultural exports generate not only cash but a certain amount of ambivalence. The latter was much in evidence in April when the Disney Corporation opened its Euro Disney theme park outside Paris to mixed reviews, including phrases such as "a cultural Chernobyl" and "a version of culture with the effect of intravenous Valium and elevator music."

The interplay of cultures in the emerging global society could provide us with new perspectives for understanding other cultures as well as our own. It might be argued that we play our international themes at the International Sociological Association. However, the ISA convenes only at four year intervals and very few of our section members are also members of the ISA (7%).

Our annual section program provides an occasion to reflect on our goals, as individuals and as a group, as well as to make decisions about the administration and objectives of the section. Specifically this year, we will be considering new procedures for selecting the Newsletter Editor (term to begin in June 1993) and what other types of publication projects to pursue. We will recognize members' achievements by awarding book and paper prizes. Finally, we will all get together for our annual party in my hotel suite (tentatively scheduled at the Vista) on Saturday, August 22: 7:30-9:30. I hope to see you there! In the meantime, my sincere thanks to all of the committee members who have worked so hard during the year to make the program events possible!

NOTE

[1] Excluding articles about foreign theorists.

CONTENTS

* * * ELECTION RESULTS * * *

Nominations Committee Chair Eviatar Zerubavel and Members Nicola Beisel, James Dowd, Gary A. Fine, Lily M. Hoffman and Lester Kurtz are pleased to announce the following election results:

for Chair-Elect 1992-93:   Paul DiMaggio
for Council 1992-95:   Chandra Mukerji
                           Michele Lamont

FROM THE EDITORS
Cheryl Zollars and Muriel G. Cantor

As Diana mentions in her column, the section will be deciding, at the annual meeting, upon a new formal selection process for the position of newsletter editor. Please let Diana or us know if you have suggestions (about the selection procedure, term length, etc.) that you would like us to forward during the business meeting. In the meantime, we have some advice for potential editor(s): Cultivating contributions, editing the results and getting the final product into camera-ready form does require a lot of work. If you want to produce a newsletter that is good looking as well as good reading, you need to find excellent contributors *and* access to a first-rate desktop publishing program. We have been fortunate to find both. [Indeed, we have done the latter one better and availed ourselves of a professional newsletter designer, Marolyn Caldwell, who--because she likes both sociology and sociologists--has good naturedly charged a minimum for maximum assistance.] Unfortunately, you will also need a good virus scanning program. [Please screen your diskettes and systems for viruses before distributing files.]

As for excellent contributors, this issue is a case in point. When planning a special issue on methodology, our interest was not in engendering yet another of the reductive debates about "best" approaches which so often stalemates dialogue within sociology. Instead, we sought articles about the distinctive characteristics, contributions, and/or application trends of different methodological approaches. With varying emphases, this issue's contributors have generously fulfilled these objectives: Gary Fine on ethnography; Thelma McCormack, Bob Weber and Karl-Erik Rosengren on content analysis and on culture indicators; Stanley Lieberson on demography; and Sandra Ball-Rokeach on approaches to studying values. Ball-Rokeach has also used the recent violence in Los Angeles (following the Rodney King court decision) as the basis for a more than timely reflection about the adequacy of different survey approaches for the analysis and prediction of collective behavior and social change.

The articles not only review but look ahead: Fine, Lieberson and Rosengren to future innovations within the respective methodologies they discuss; Weber to a more productive confrontation of interpretive issues which occur across "quantitative" and "qualitative" methods; McCormack to the development of more process-based approaches to the study of communication and cultural dynamics; and Ball-Rokeach to a more forthright intellectual wrestling with interactions between researchers' theoretical (and political) stances and the assumptions underlying the framing of research questions and choice of appropriate methods.

Neither space nor authors' schedules permitted articles here on interpretive approaches, comparative and historical methods, or conversation analysis. We hope to include these topics in the next issue.

[The *deadline* for submissions to the *Fall 92* issue is *1 October 1992*.]

SO, WHAT'S NEW AND WHY DON'T WE KNOW IT?
Sandra Ball-Rokeach
University of Southern California

Sandra Ball-Rokeach is applying her media dependency system research program to the study of organizational change and resistence among ethnic and racial subcultures in Central Europe.

We all knew it was coming, but did we? Does social science data inform us about the conflicts that manifested themselves in the Los Angeles riot of May 1992? Can we point to the Sociology of Culture literature to say we told you so? These questions haunt me as I am thrown by events back to when I was a brand new Ph.D. in 1968. Then I argued with dear friends that change within the system was possible and sociology could inform that change. The combination of the Vietnamese War, urban rebellions, civil rights struggles, and assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, and then Bobby Kennedy compelled me to test my change-is-possible and sociology-is-informing claims by becoming a co-director of the Media and Violence Task Force of the Violence Commission. Our efforts to reframe the violence and media issue in critical socio-political terms and away from the inherently conservative psychological frame met with only limited success. We did work with George Gerbner and we gave the first funding to his cultural indicators project. We reached conclusions about media effects on individuals that, as Leo Bogart correctly noted, were only reiterated by the Surgeon General's Television reports; we reiterated the Kerner and McCone Commission Reports with regard to media coverage of race conflicts and riots; and we fought off incredible political intrusions into the study of the mass media and to the study of violence.

For me, the experience was a critical event. It led me to question every extant theory of violence as well as the dominant psychological approach to mass media effects, questions that have guided most of my professional work since. In a 1985 paper coauthored with Jim Short, Jr., I asked whether the theories that had emerged after the social sciences were found with their intellectual pants down, having failed to predict the collective violence of the 60s, could explain the relative absence of such violence in the 70s to the mid-80s. Our answer was a debilitating "no". The only theory that seemed to have been validated was a conservative version of social control that suggested "gulaging the ghetto."

Sitting here now with my USC workplace in the middle of South Central LA and my home not two miles away from the most far-reaching "incursion" of riot activity into white West LA, I feel in the eye of two hurricanes. The riot hurricane does not feel as if it is over. The other hurricane is the swirl of media air polluted with politicians, law enforcement agents, community leaders, and a few social scientists whipping up post-hoc explanations. This hurricane is not over either. In the remainder of this essay, I discuss only two of the questions that disturb me about sociology's relation to the social world in general and to urban conflict and racism in particular. The first is why the sociological literature in general and the sociology of culture literature in particular is lacking as sources of prediction or explanation of the 1992 LA urban rebellion and those that are sure to follow. The second question concerns the study of belief: Why do quantitative survey research results lead some to conclude that racism and ideology have systematically declined in the US population, when other value-based theory and research leads to the opposite conclusion? Perhaps, raising these questions is more important than the brief answers that I can give here.

Thelma McCormack (1986) raised part of my first question with her charge that communications scholars had lost their initial drive to understand change and had become preoccupied with understanding social control. I would add that no theory of social control through culture control can inform us about urban rebellions until the theory includes social change and manifest conflict as parts of the theory project. It is not enough to account for why change and manifest conflict do not occur in terms of how specific texts or, more generally, culture are controlled through media and other communication mechanisms. I think that our studies would be made more powerful and informing if we posed questions of control in deep integration with questions of change and conflict. My belief emerges from the conviction that we study culture in order to understand behavior, not just why it does not occur, but also when and why behavior does occur. I do not see much concern with behavior in contemporary cultural analyses. Specifically, I do not see concern for understanding change-oriented behavior undertaken by groups or collectives to express, protest, and resolve the fundamental social, cultural, economic and political conflicts of our time. Perhaps I am looking in the wrong places, but the primary emphasis upon behavior that I encounter is in the work of reception theorists. This is not the kind of behavior that I have in mind. Text interpretive behavior that empowers individuals to decode texts, separately or together in loose communities, is no more socially empowering than the experience of non-critical clinical therapies that encourage people to gain "control" over their lives by treating themselves as texts. Neither interpretative power is, or is intended as, a way of "making the personal political." Perhaps the text-focus with the greatest potential for connectedness to social change-oriented behaviors is, ironically enough, the text construction behaviors of critical artists; most notable for urban rebellion are "rapp" and related music forms that speak for the street. I conclude this response to my first question with the observation that the people of South Central

Los Angeles in 1992, like their Watts forebears in 1965, live in material as well as cultural conditions that led them to act symbolically in ways that go unpredicted by culture theories limited to questions of control.

As for my second question about the study of beliefs, I begin with my bottom line: Contemporary declarations of decreased racism and the end of ideology are data-based illusions created by (a) abandonment of classical public opinion theory, (b) use of attitudes as the dominant belief variable, and (c) design of measures of belief that lack phenomenological correspondence because they do not ask respondents to make choices. The people of Los Angeles who rioted and the reactions of those who did not were hardly non-ideological and were racist. Everyone knew what was at issue: Values and value priorities at the ideological heart of cultural legitimation of an increasingly stratified social structure that materially and differentially affects the quality of life of classes and races in North LA (largely middle class and white) versus South LA (largely lower to under class and people of color) and East LA (largely lower and under class and people of color) versus West LA (largely upper middle to upper class and white). Seemingly mundane behaviors signified these private truths gone public. For example, all Los Angelenos knew where to/not to drive and how to drive. Drive on the "freeway," not "surface streets," drive passively against the aggressive norm and, if you are white, don't let your eyes set on the African American in the next lane (irony of historical reversal in eye contact).

My experience of this event diverges dramatically from that corner of the sociology of belief occupied by survey researchers who have reached the conclusion that ideology in America is dead, racist beliefs are on decline, and there is depressingly little evidence of belief-behavior relations. I believe that these conclusions have been reached on the basis of data produced by a survey re-

search methodology that has allowed the technological tail to wag the theory dog. Features of sampling technology, such as independence of selection and representativeness, led to mechanically produced "mass publics" that have little, if any, phenomenological correspondence with the classical public. In classical public opinion theory, publics create themselves by forming opinions about a shared focus of attention; moreover, a public opinion process does not begin until at least two publics with differing opinions deliberate an issue. This conception of public and public opinion suggests, as Blumer noted in the 40s, purposive, not random, sampling techniques, and requires researchers to first establish if public opinion formation has occurred. None of these requirements are consistent with contemporary definitions of a sound survey method wherein randomly selected individuals play an entirely passive role, responding to questions they did not initiate in ways framed by the researcher. Differences of "opinion" emerge from the researcher's question, response formats, and analysis techniques. The data produced by these practices has led many social scientists to conclude that the American "public" has no coherent or stable set of political beliefs; *ipso* the declaration of an end to ideology. In my view, these data can neither be employed to test a theory of public opinion nor to test the hypothesis that ideology is dead.

The overwhelming emphasis upon attitudes and their mode of measurement are keenly related issues. Attitudes are beliefs about an infinite number of specific objects and situations. Values, in the Rokeachian approach that I have contributed to in some small way, are beliefs about a finite universe of desired end states of existence or preferred modes of conduct. As such, values are not directly bounded by a world of changing objects and situations. Values are conceived to be central components of individuals', groups', and societies' belief systems. They are hierarchically organized in terms of importance, as guides in personal and social life, into value systems. Values are the key symbolic codes available to people

and societies to evaluate the morality and competence of self and other, to construct conceptions of the proper social order, and to justify or legitimate personal and social behavior. Before giving up on ideology, I would have to see convincing evidence of instability and incoherence in value priorities. Inglehart examined longitudinal data from four national surveys employing the Rokeach Value Survey and found no such instability or incoherence.

Before I would give up on the belief-behavior relation, I would have to see convincing evidence that knowledge of value priorities and related attitudes does not afford prediction or explanation of behavior. Convincing evidence is, among other things, evidence that is produced by a mode of observation that meets that seemingly forgotten criterion of phenomenological correspondence. Loges and I (1991) argue that belief measurement should stay close to the phenomenological world where beliefs are held in interactive and hierarchically organized clusters, not in isolation from one another. A behavior is a witting or unwitting choice, e.g., to act or not act, or to act this and not that way. Behavior choice, not behavior per se, is the phenomenon that requires explanation. To the extent that beliefs enter into those choices, there will be a competition between the multiple beliefs that individuals or groups regard as salient to the choice. The mode of observing beliefs that best corresponds to the phenomenological relation between belief and behavior choice is one that captures how people prioritize salient beliefs, making some more important than others in making that choice. The fly in the ointment is that measures which ask people to prioritize or rank order their values or attitudes violate statistical tenets, especially ipsativity (priorities are, by definition, non-independent). The typical mode of attitude measurement does not suffer from ipsativity because isolated attitude items are rated independently of each other on Likert-type scales. Respondents respond by rating one item and then the next item, etc. This method

meets prevailing statistical criteria of excellence, but lacks phenomenological correspondence. The method does not replicate the belief choice or prioritizing condition in which behavior choice requirements of everyday life elicit belief priorities, priorities that symbolically capture the meaning of the choice and guide its making. In sum, I do not find data produced in this fashion sufficiently convincing to give up on the belief-behavior relation because this data was restricted to attitudes and thus ignores the more central belief universe of values, it is produced by methods that lack phenomenological correspondence, and because there is evidence of value-choice/behavior-choice relations that I do find convincing.

This brings me back to the 1992 Los Angeles riot and its connectedness to ideology, belief-behavior relations, and racism. Several years ago, in response to publications that suggested a progressive decline of racist attitudes in the American "public" over the last several decades, Rokeach and I (1989) argued that the data upon which such claims were based were flawed. They were flawed because (1) they employed largely non-choice measures of attitudes and (2) they were inconsistent findings obtained over a similar time period based upon choice-based value measures. Perhaps more important, our observations of relevant choices made by the state, the corporate sector, and groups and individuals in our every-

day lives simply did not accord with the premise that Americans and America had become less racist in belief. The key feature of the data we reported was that they showed a systematic decline in the relative importance of Equality in American adults' value systems. [There is considerable evidence for the Rokeach "two-value model of politics" claim that the relative importance of two terminal values, Equality and Freedom, captures the major ideologies. Their relative importance also affords theory-based predictions of political attitudes and behavior, including racism.] Thus, our key empirical observation was that Equality's systematic decline must be seen in context of no decline in the relative importance of Freedom. Out of 18 terminal values or end states of existence, Equality declined from a high of 4th most important in 1968 to 12th in importance in 1981, while Freedom remained 3rd in importance throughout this period. We believed we could reasonably argue, from what we knew of the relevant literature, that these data supported an increase, not a decrease, in racism. I now add that these findings also stand in clear contradiction to the end of ideology argument. Rather, they support the thesis that Americans had been influenced by the Reagan era to adopt a more crystallized capitalist ideology. Capitalist ideologues rank Equality at the bottom and Freedom at the top of their terminal value priorities.

Because they represent contextualized choices, values and value priorities are

more than data that speak for themselves. As an analyst of everyday life, I see the virtual absence of the word, Equality, in political discourse to be the most telling indicator of what was happening in this country since the 60s, particularly with respect to racism. I do not think that it is the "L" word's departure from positively sanctioned discourse that matters; it is only a code for far more fundamental discourse and resource allocation phenomena—individual and collective moves away from the ideal and the behavior necessary to produce real racial equality. Need I say more?

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—Suggested Readings?—

We would be pleased to include a section in every issue for references to *articles/books/other-media-items* that, for whatever reason, you feel would be of interest to other section members. Please send any suggestions to us at the newsletter address.

Judith Higgins Balfe (CUNY-Graduate Center) writes to recommend the following news article by (section member) Todd Gitlin (U.Ca.Berkeley): "World Leaders: Mickey et al" *New York Times*, May 3 1992, sec. 2, p.1.

SOUND BYTE IN REPONSE TO OTHER SOUND BYTES

--excerpt from "Public TV's Myopic Critics" by television critic Tom Shales, *Washington Post* 21 May 1992:D1:5—"What can't be blamed on the Great Society programs of the '60s is blamed on the television programs of the 90s. Bush and Quayle can be dismissed as hapless politicos looking desperately for scapegoats. But there are other amateur TV critics in Washington who seem considerably more dangerous. They're the new coalition of right-wingers joined together to wage an insane war against public television.... Some senators are opposing the latest authorization bill for public TV funding (through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting) and are attempting to weigh it down with imbecilic amendments.... Why screw around with, of all things, public TV? As Sen. Al Gore (D-Tenn.) has said, 'This is one thing that works in this country.'"
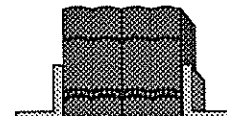
DREAMS OF FIELD
Gary Alan Fine
University of Georgia

A former chair of the culture section, Gary Fine is currently working on a book on the structural and aesthetic organization of the restaurant industry.

Only recently has the sociology of culture shifted from being a somewhat esoteric arena, suitable only for academic aesthetes or humanist-manques, into an industrial-strength center for the production of social science knowledge. The shoving of social scientists from significant public policy realms, the decline of funding for massive research projects, the increasing feminization of the discipline, and the openness of sociology to those who arrive without a scientistic bent have collectively produced a tidal wave of examinations of topics that were once perceived as outside of the sociological mainstream.

The flooding into this erstwhile disciplinary backwater has both strengthened traditional methodological stances and incorporated ones previously little seen within this substantive area--an issue that this series of newsletter articles is intended to address. Students of the sociology of culture traditionally embraced 'qualitative' models of textual analysis, in-depth interviewing, informed speculation, and ethnographic analysis. In addition, today one routinely discovers cultural sociology grounded on historical analysis, extrapolations from Census material or large surveys, and even experimental treatments.

My goal in this brief essay is to review some themes of one of those "classic" methodologies: ethnographic or field observation. The connection between ethnography and the study of culture may appear so inextricably linked as to require no review. After all, the heart of anthropology is the examination of *cultures* through ethnographic techniques. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the term "ethnography," first used to describe nineteenth-century descriptive anthropology, refers to writings about peoples or societies--in short, the goal of ethnography is to paint a picture of culture with its attendant social institutions. The description of cultural scenes in the twentieth century, frequently linked to theoretical and methodological advances at Robert Park's "Chicago School" of sociology during the 1920s and 1930s, arrived nearer "home." Yet, even this body of research shared the belief that description of customs, beliefs and behaviors is at the heart of the method. In this fundamental sense, *all* ethnography/participant observation contributes to the sociology of culture. This view, coupled with the growth of a rhetoric of science in sociology, led to the belief among some that ethnography research, particularly when conducted in local or quotidian ("trivial") scenes, was little more than a glorified exercise in journalism, and led to considerable skepticism of the methodology's utility for social scientific understanding.

Despite this unsympathetic questioning as to its disciplinary legitimacy, qualitative methodology has achieved some measure of respectability in the past decade, recapturing some of its centrality in the first half of the century. Currently the health of qualitative research is robust, reflected in the success of three specialty sociological journals--*Symbolic Interaction*, *Qualitative Sociology*, and *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, each of which publishes articles directly contributing to the sociology of culture. Further, although quantitative analysis is still more common than qualitative sociology in national and regional journals, the proportion of qualitative papers published in these journals has nearly doubled in the past fifteen years. Teaching of ethnographic methods also expanded in the 1980s. Graduate departments in sociology offering required or elective course work, and the range of appropriate texts (such as the *Sage* qualitative methods monograph series) have expanded as well.

Many researchers select qualitative methodologies because these methodologies permit interpretive understanding of collective meanings, descriptive richness, analytic induction, and, perhaps equally significantly, are often inexpensive if admittedly labor intensive). In classical sociological ethnography a researcher or team of researchers assumes a quasi-public role in a social setting and attempts to describe and interpret that setting from the perspective of the actors within it. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) remark, ethnography is both a process and a product. As process ethnography is inherently flexible and typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realities of members in field settings which researchers enter as at least peripheral members (Adler and Adler 1987); Leland and Lofland 1984). This approach may involve more or less questioning of informants and a more or less extensive admission to informants of the researcher's goals. The product of this observation is a written or performed account, providing a sociological interpretation of the setting, joined by a history of the process through which the interpretation was generated. While field research typically draws upon techniques of participant observation and in-depth interviewing, often in tandem, it can also be bolstered by a review of the scholarly literature, document analysis, collection and interpretation of artifacts, responses of informants to the researcher's account, personal histories, and reflections by the researcher (Agar 1986; Denzin 1989).

Ethnography, particularly within the sociology of culture, can be conceived of as a technique for depicting the interplay of meaning, interaction, and the public expression of structure. This methodology, so centrally concerned with depicting how scenes are produced and enacted, inevitably focuses on the expressive "fringe" as well as the instrumental "core." When the social sphere being examined is explicitly expressive, this focus is all the more obvious. Presenting a scene with which the reader is not fully

familiar is central to the contribution of the ethnographic method.

A well-recognized division exists in the sociology of culture between those approaches that examine small-c cultures (those which treat culture and society as fundamentally synonymous; from this view all social institutions are "cultural") and those approaches that focus on capital-c Culture (those which focus on *expressive* components of a society, notably art, leisure, sport, and religion). To discuss the former is, as suggested above, to examine all ethnography. Thus the particular ethnographic domain of interest for the cultural sociologist is the latter, studies that analyze capital-c Culture. Those ethnographic works--in sport, leisure, art and religion--lie close to the core of the sociology of culture, particularly for those theorists interested in "subcultural theory" [analyzing the segmental creation and diffusion of culture (e.g. Fine 1987)], rhetorical analyses [linking forms of talk with behavioral regularities (e.g. Kleinman 1984)], and the "production of culture approach" [treating cultural worlds as work worlds (e.g. Blau 1984)].

In terms of the analysis of capital-c Culture, one cannot help but be impressed by the elaboration and existence of multiple voluntary and expressive scenes. In my own research on leisure scenes, I have been continually amazed by the extensive elaboration and differentiation of meaning within these social worlds--to learn of the subtle differentiations that mushroom collectors make among their quarry is astounding to those who barely think of fungus. In addition to the internal differentiation, we learn of extensive external differentiation. The universe of cultural scenes in which one can participate is remarkably diverse, with numerous specialized niches appealing to multiple and complex audiences.

It is perhaps not coincidental that qualitative sociologists have substantially expanded the theoretical grounding of qualitative methods in exactly the same period

that the theoretical elaboration of the sociology of culture has been most apparent, as similar sources have been drawn upon. For instance, there has been a renewed and expanded emphasis on reflexivity and the standpoint of the researcher, sparked recently in many cases by writings of minority and feminist researchers.

Recognizing that both cultural sociology and the ethnographic method are ultimately concerned with exploring meanings, both the meanings that the researcher can draw out of the scenes and the meanings of the participants within the scene, ethnographers have attempted to move beyond the "realist" depiction of interactional scenes to produce "impressionist" (post-modern?) ethnographies which are more explicitly concerned with the depiction of multiple perspectives on social scenes.

The illusion in the past had often been that the researcher was merely an "honest broker" or a "fly on the wall," carefully capturing the events that swirled around. Related to this debate about the extent of privileged perspectives is a challenge to the role of the researcher, focusing on issues of power and control: what constitutes the appropriate relationship between researchers and those researched, both in the course of the research itself and then subsequently with regard to the production and use of accounts that result from the data collection?

What qualitative research used to be—an analytically informed picture of a social scene--is being questioned and expanded, with challenges to traditional theoretical justifications for the methodology (e.g., Clifford and Marcus 1986; Denzin 1989; Van Maanen 1988), making the methodology more distinctively "literary." The humanistic emphases on reflexivity and taking into account the standpoint of the researcher, sparked recently by writings of feminist researchers (Smith 1987; Ellis 1991), have encouraged scholars to include their own reactions in their texts, believing that research should properly be a dialogue between researcher, informant, and audience. This ethnographic technique demands detailed reporting of

one's personal culture affecting orientations toward research themes and subjects.

These concerns about the "ethnographic role" are underlined particularly in those circumstances in which the topic itself is controversial. Within the sociology of culture this controversy swirls most dramatically around scenes that involve explicit issues of gender, class and race. While much, though not all, ethnographic research in the sociology of culture deals with relatively less politically sensitive areas--focusing on general theory or description of "obscure" scenes--it is hard to imagine a social world that does not reveal some of these concerns, at least obliquely.

Core to its scholarly project, the sociological study of culture demands an attempt to address the *meanings* of the social scene for participants, including the researcher. For this goal, admittedly not the only goal in cultural sociology, the various forms of ethnographic investigation are ideal tools. To see is the first step of understanding, and, as a result, ethnographic investigations are bound to play a continuing role in the development of a vigorous sociology of culture, as we attempt to give voice to all those with a stake in cultural arenas.

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FROM CONTENT ANALYSIS TO
CULTURAL THEORY
Thelma McCormack
York University

Thelma McCormack, recipient of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association's 1992 Distinguished Service Award, is working on a study of women and the welfare state.

About ten years ago I invited a group of scholars with different intellectual orientations--Marxism, Symbolic Interaction, Structuralism, Ethnomethodology, Freudian--to analyze the most famous speech of the twentieth century, Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream...." Apart from wanting to demonstrate to students that content analysis is based on the theory you bring to it, I had hoped this exercise would shed light on why this speech moved millions of people all over the world and why it continues to move people who have no recollection of the period or the place.

The assembled papers were published in *Communication Studies Volume II: Culture, Code and Content Analysis* and to complete the book I included a short history of content analysis. My contribution grew out of an experience I had as a discussant on a paper written by a graduate student in communication. The theme of her paper was that once upon a time there was American positivism. Harold Lasswell was its great exponent. That school was now dead and buried--unmissed; what was alive and well, she said, was British cultural analysis.

The phenomenal ignorance and misrepresentation of intellectual history was a good excuse for me to try and reconstruct the history of one of our oldest methods of research. Perhaps I can summarize it here.

Systematic content analysis began in the 1920s after the first World War when social scientists were shocked by German propaganda and wanted to understand it; more precisely, to understand it enough so that we would not be deceived by its tricks ever again. We had great faith in those days that we could all immunize ourselves against manipulation.

Among those studying propaganda was Harold Lasswell, a political scientist and a Freudian, who introduced American students to a psychoanalytic interpretation of politics. Positivist? To understand propaganda, he said, we had better understand the power of symbols and the way they reach into our psyches at the unconscious level. The other side of Lasswell, however, was a positivist scholar who dreamed of creating a single-word index of terms like "liberty", "equality," "freedom" which would list all of the symbolic associations that adhered to them.

Lasswell was followed by another political scientist who had been influenced by the new social psychology: Walter Lippmann. In *Public Opinion* (1922) Lippmann taught us to look at political information in terms of stereotypes. The modern citizen, he said, could not handle the complexity of modern society and would inevitably seek simplification. Fifty years later we are still looking at stereotypes. African-American students monitor popular culture for demeaning stereotypes of blacks; feminist students write critiques of the stereotypes of women and girls in textbooks, advertising, popular music, television comedies, movies, etc. These studies are driven by anger but it is still not clear whether the research problem being operationalized is stereotypic thinking or just those stereotypes which are negative (racist and sexist).

The positivist side of Lasswell was picked up by Bernard Berelson who had been trained as a librarian and was interested in reading. Berelson was distressed by the casual way inferences were being made about "meaning" and by the skills we all had in reading between the lines. 'Cut it out,' he said. 'Just look at the surface, the manifest content and track the trends. Stop trying to guess the latent messages.' A real killjoy he was, but his advice led to some good comparative studies. Long-term trend studies would depend on developing a machine technology for coding.

Berelson notwithstanding, scholars continued to expose social and ideological biases. There were wonderful demolitions of the popular comic strip "Little Orphan Annie" which anticipated Dorfman and Mattelart's (1971) analysis of Donald Duck. Patriarchy was not one of the things we were then concerned about, racism and class bias were.

Sociology began to replace political science as the place to do research on the media. Popular culture was part of an urban social system. The ethnic press, the soap operas, the various popular entertainments were studied by students of Louis Wirth at the University of Chicago. Were these the escapist fantasies of people bored by work and lacking in social ties, the consequences of anomie? Or were they late and dysfunctional survivals of folk culture? Or did they have a function in developing community cohesion? Were they harmless projections of our deeper anxieties or systems of control? All of these questions are still debated, and nowhere are they more contentious than in the colloquia on children and television violence.

But the tradition of studying popular culture in the frameworks of the urban environment or social problems was eventually overshadowed by the rise of Fascism in Europe. The refugees who came to New York brought with them an analysis of Fascism based on mass society. *Echt* intellectuals, they distrusted cultural democracy and made those of us who had grown up going to Hollywood movies every Saturday and who

read the Sunday tabloid press with what can only be described as prurient interest feel guilty and utterly déclassé. Worse yet, we had been softened-up and were ripe for the takeover. With the face of Goebbels staring down at us, we read Julien Benda's (1922) *La trahison des clércs*, Kracauer's (1947) *From Caligari to Hitler* and Dwight MacDonald on "masscult" and middlebrow culture.

Paul Lazarsfeld brought together the political concerns about mass society, the social psychological tradition of studying audiences and the psychoanalytic analysis of content. He was concerned with both public opinion and aesthetics, motivation and effects, images and themes. He is probably best remembered for his empirical studies of voters and how audiences select the media and selectively interpret the content. This became known as "uses and gratifications" research. Neo-Marxist critics dismissed the attention to audience and empiricism as a vulgar form of market research and as validating a form of "false consciousness". But "uses and gratifications" lives on. It has returned through the backdoor. My colleagues in the humanities who never heard of Elihu Katz keep telling me how important it is to study the people who read Harlequin romances and who watch the "soaps" to discover what is so satisfying about these media. We cannot assume we know. Right.

During World War II propaganda was again important, and this time experimental psychologists were studying the impact of certain messages on the morale of our troops. They were the methodological precursors of contemporary research on violence and pornography. Berkowitz, Bandura and their students are still grinding out experimental stimulus-and-response studies, and the people who do them do not have a clue about cultural theory. My (1984) study of prizefight films was a reaction to Berkowitz's experiments which, you may remember, used scenes from *Champion*. I attempted to get away from the behavioral assumptions of the Berkowitz and Bandura studies, and to look at a film like *Champion* as part of a genre.

The pendulum has swung back to texts and a more qualitative approach, although you would never know it if you read *Public Opinion Quarterly*. But what has been lost is any sense of why we are studying texts. By that I mean there is very little interest in the dynamics of communication as a process. My (1986) study of women and the use of alcohol in popular culture, based on reading both Lévi-Strauss and Simone de Beauvoir, is frequently cited for its use of binary oppositions since I studied both the alcoholic and the teetotaller as the unit of analysis. Beyond that the study was based on a feminist hypothesis that women, whether portrayed as "good" or "bad," are always seen as cognitively inferior to men. The point I wanted to convey is that audiences are engaged not through "projection" or "identification" but in a different way through the tension of a dialectical conflict between normative choices. However, while many people like the study for its method and its feminist analysis, I have never found anyone interested in what I regarded as most important, a theory of communication based on models of choice instead of our older theories based on the mechanisms of projection and identification.

I think this is what disturbs me about the contemporary work I see. The studies themselves are fascinating demonstrations of discourse analysis or some other unit but there is little curiosity about the interactive process of text and audience. Our techniques of analysis, whether based on Foucault or Bakhtin, Barthes or Lacan, have overwhelmed our concern with process. When I am on a dissertation committee in the English department, this does not bother me; when I am on one in sociology it does.

We have come a long way since the early 1920s. Yet, it is interesting to see how the study of texts has always been situated in a context of politics and conflict. It has never been pure knowledge-for-knowledge sake. Second, it has always been influenced by other disciplines and other theories--social problems, the Freudian theory of dreams, the anthropological study of rituals, mass society theory, feminism, and post-modernism in the humanities. We have really never developed our own discipline. Nor has there ever been any consensus about how to do text analysis—whether you study images, themes or relationships--and very few guidelines on how far you can generalize. Third, our confidence in content/text analysis as a method rises and falls in some cyclical pattern. Finally, there is a burn-out factor especially for those of us who are, at bottom, materialists. After reading hundreds of papers on the significance of the lyrics in rock music, even more on horror movies, my tolerance for banality gave out.

Still, I am hopeful that as we reinvent cultural theory and reconstruct our own intellectual history we will draw on its strengths. Let us stop beating the dead horse of positivism and quantification, and meanwhile remember that linguistics, semiotics, and hermeneutics will not unlock the mystery of what made "I have a dream..." the most powerful speech of our time any more than earlier theories did. That should be our purpose and that requires a daring act of creative imagination.

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CULTURE INDICATORS AND THE INTERPRETIVE MOMENT:
ONE REASON TO FORGET THE QUALITY/QUANTITY DEBATE [1]

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Currently a consultant focusing on strategic management, computing and communications, and the publishing industry, Bob Weber is also writing a book on the structure, functions and processes of collective memory.

In its most general sense, the term culture indicator refers to quantitative measures of some aspect of culture production, culture consumption or culture content. Indicators of culture production in the U.S. include the number of new plays produced annually on Broadway, the number of new films released annually, and the number of new trade and mass market titles published each year. Indicators of cultural consumption include the annual box office receipts for Broadway plays, annual theater attendance or revenue, and the number of trade and mass market books actually purchased each year. Indicators of culture content include the percentage of words in Democratic and Republican party platforms in each campaign which are devoted to education policy, economic policy, or to foreign affairs. This brief article focuses on indicators of cultural content and certain related problems of interpretation.

Culture indicator research was the focus of several books, articles, and scientific conferences in the 1980s, but toward the end of the decade interest waned, probably because many of those interested in the sociology of culture held the erroneous view that their largely humanistic, qualitative, and interpretive sensibilities were incompatible with the apparently quantitative, positivistic, and explanatory thrusts of culture indicators methods and research. This short article addresses exactly this point.

Scholars have addressed audio, visual, music, speech, and text materials as the subject of culture indicators research. This paper addresses culture indicators based on text because of space limitations, this author's particular expertise, and because many of the essential methodological issues found in text analysis are also found in the analysis of other communication forms.

Culture indicator research based on coding text has shown, for example, that the issues addressed in political documents in Great Britain and America have varied according to economic expansions and contractions. For example, when the economy is depressed, political documents stress economic problems and their resolution. As the economy begins to expand, attention focuses on the amelioration of social problems. At the height of the economic expansion attention becomes focused on international affairs. As the economy begins to decline, political documents become preoccupied with traditional moral values and fiscal austerity. Finally, as the economy sinks into depression, economic matters become the principal preoccupation once again.

A good deal of culture indicator research has been done within the relative attention paradigm (Namenwirth and Weber 1987; Weber 1990), that studies how groups, institutions, organizations, and societies devote more or less attention to various social, political, economic, and cultural themes or issues. Some research in this tradition compares the attention of different social units at the same point in time, some compares the attention of the same unit at different points of time, while other studies compare the attention of several social units over many points of time.

One of the principal techniques for generating culture indicators is content analysis, which consists of reliable techniques (methods that yield repeatable results) for classifying and counting textual units based on their content and for making valid inferences based on them.

The central questions of content analysis, and hence of indicators based on cultural content, originate mainly in the process by which the many words of texts are classified into much fewer content categories. Some of these problems are identical to those encountered in so-called qualitative or interpretive analysis of cultural content.

One set of problems concerns the consistency or reliability of text classification. In content analysis, reliability problems usually grow out of the ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions or other coding rules. Classification by multiple human coders permits the quantitative assessment of achieved reliability. Classification by computer, however, leads to perfect coder reliability (if one assumes valid computer programs and well-functioning computer hardware). Once correctly defined for the computer, the coding rules are always applied in the same way. In any event, what the computer produces is not *results* but rather differing views of the texts and their content, views that require interpretation and explanation.

A much more difficult set of problems concerns the validity of variables based on content classification. A content analysis variable is valid to the extent that it measures the construct the investigator intends it to measure. As happens with reliability, validity problems also grow out of the ambiguity of word meanings and category or variable definitions. This ambiguity is a vexing problem in interpretative studies also.

As an introduction to these problems from the vantage point of content analysis, consider two sample texts and some simple coding rules. Using common sense definitions, imagine that the coding instructions define five categories: CITIZENS' RIGHTS, ECONOMIC, GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL DOCTRINE, and WELFARE (category names are capitalized throughout). Imagine also that

coders are instructed to classify each entire paragraph in one category only. Consider first a portion of the Carter 1980 Democratic Platform:

> Our current economic situation is unique. In 1977, we inherited a severe recession from the Republicans. The Democratic Administration and the Democratic Congress acted quickly to reduce the unacceptably high levels of unemployment and to stimulate the economy. And we succeeded. We recovered from that deep recession and our economy was strengthened and revitalized. As that fight was won, the enormous increases in foreign oil prices — 120 percent last year — and declining productivity fueled an inflationary spiral that also had to be fought. The Democrats did that, and inflation has begun to recede. In working to combat these dual problems, significant economic actions have been taken (Johnson 1982:38).

Now consider another paragraph from the Reagan 1980 Republican platform:

> Through long association with government programs, the word "welfare" has come to be perceived almost exclusively as tax-supported aid to the needy. But in its most inclusive sense — and as Americans understood it from the beginning of the Republic — such aid also encompasses those charitable works performed by private citizens, families, and social, ethnic, and religious organizations. Policies of the federal government leading to high taxes, rising inflation, and bureaucratic empire-building have made it difficult and often impossible for such individuals and groups to exercise their charitable instincts. We believe that government policies that fight inflation, reduce tax rates, and end bureaucratic excesses can help make private effort by the American people once again a major force in those works of charity which are the true signs of a progressive and humane society (Johnson 1982:179).

Most people would code the first excerpt in the ECONOMIC category, but the proper coding of the second is less obvious. This paragraph could be taken to be mainly about the rights of citizens, the desirability of restricting the government's role, the welfare state, or the espousal of a political doctrine. In fact, it occurs at the end of a section titled "Improving the Welfare System."

The difficulty of classifying the second excerpt is partly contrived by the present author, since it results from the lack of clear and detailed coding rules for each category and from the variety of subject matter. Large portions of text, such as paragraphs and complete texts, are usually more difficult to code as a unit than smaller portions, such as words and phrases, because large units typically contain more information and greater diversity of topics. Hence they are more likely to present coders with conflicting cues.

These problems exist regardless of whether quantitative or qualitative approaches are used because both approaches entail interpretation. Thus it may be helpful to consider the nature of the interpretation process.

Interpretation consists of translating one set of linguistic or linguistically expressed elements into another (Namenwirth and Weber 1987: chap. 2 and 8). This translation or "mapping" procedure leads to several difficulties that are best explored through another extended example.

Weber analyzed "British Speeches From the Throne 1689-1972" (Weber 1981; 1982; Namenwirth and Weber 1987: chap. 4 & 5). For each of the documents, the content analysis procedures created quantitative measures of attention devoted to various content categories. Subsequent analysis of these quantitative data suggested the existence of political issues or themes that recur periodically in these texts. For example, Weber (Namenwirth and Weber 1987: ch. 4) identified four issues or themes that recur approximately every 72 years during the period 1689-1795. Consider the following excerpt from the speech of 1690:

> It is sufficiently known how earnestly I have endeavored to extinguish, or at least compose, all differences amongst my subjects, and to that end, how often have I recommended an Act of Indemnity to the last Parliament; but since that part of it which related to the preventing of private suits, is already enacted, and because debates of that nature must take up more of your time than can now be spared from the dispatch of those other things which are absolutely necessary for our common safety, I intend to send you an Act of Grace, with exceptions of some few persons only, but such as may be sufficient to show my great dislike of their crimes; and, at the same time, my readiness to extend protection to all my other subjects, who will thereby see that they can recommend themselves to me by no other methods, than what the law prescribes, which shall always be the only rules of my government.

Now compare the preceding excerpt with the following one given in 1757:

> I have had such ample experience of the loyalty and good affections of my faithful subjects towards me, my family, and government, in all circumstances, that I am confident they are not to be shaken. But I cannot avoid taking notice of that spirit of disorder, which has shown itself amongst the common people, in some parts of the Kingdom. Let me recommend it to you, to do your part in discouraging and suppressing such abuses and for maintaining the law, and lawful authority. If anything shall be found wanting, to explain or enforce what may have been misunderstood or misrepresented, I am persuaded it will not escape your attention. Nothing can be so conducive to the defense of all that is dear to us, as well as for reducing our enemies to reason, as union and harmony amongst ourselves.

Many readers will agree that these excerpts address the same underlying issue or theme, but might disagree over what to name it. Let us briefly postpone naming the common theme until after we consider interpretation itself.

The process of interpretation constitutes translation from one language to another (Namenwirth and Weber 1987). Each language consists of a set of rules that

define what constitutes a valid sentence in the language. Using these rules, speakers of the language can generate a virtually infinite number of sentences. Considering a text in one language, translation consists in large part of mapping the syntactic and semantic structures that comprise the text in the first language into structures that are valid for the second and that convey the meaning of the first.

As is well known, translation can be a difficult process (Steiner 1975). However, a procedure for checking the validity of a translation exists, namely, back-translation. Here the text in the target language is translated back into the original and then compared with the original. When the back-translation and the original text are the same, then the first translation is valid. Note that this kind of translation is bi-directional or reversible: once the investigator has translated the text into the second language she or he can usually reconstruct the original text. Note also that there may be only one or very few translations that are valid. However, not all translations are reversible.

The primary concern here is with irreversible or unidirectional transformations that map the content of texts into more abstract, usually theoretical structures. For content analysis, this specialized language is usually the social science theory (or theories) used by the investigator to interpret the text and explain the substantive results. Here the mapping is from the many words of the text into fewer and more abstract categories and into relations suggested by the theory.

Note that in the excerpts above, the words, let alone the syntax, used to convey the basic themes are hardly identical. For example, the first excerpt begins by discussing differences among subjects of the King while the second excerpt begins by discussing the loyalty and good affections of the subjects. Some differences reflect differing historical cir-

cumstances. Coming two years after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the first excerpt discusses an Act of Indemnity and Act of Grace. Given during the Seven Years War, the second excerpt ends with a reference to foreign enemies and internal cohesion.

These differences aside, sociologists and political scientists would usually choose one of two principal theoretical and conceptual frameworks for labeling the common underlying issue. Marxists and other conflict theorists might say that these excerpts deal with conflict between the common people on one side, and the aristocracy, commercial interests, and the incipient capitalist classes on the other. ("Class conflict" is probably not appropriate here since industrial capitalism had yet to appear and the country was firmly in the grips of Mercantilist theories and practices.) Weber (Namenwirth and Weber 1987: chap. 4) chose to interpret the common underlying issue as reflecting what Bales and Parsons refer to as Integrative concerns, whose principle focus is the coordination of the various subgroups in society (or other social system).

As this example illustrates, there is no one-to-one mapping between text and theory. Also, the translation from text to theory is not reversible. One could generate virtually an infinite number of excerpts whose interpretation is an instance of Integrative themes in the Bales/Parsons sense. Thus the strategy of back-translation is not available to us as a means of validating the mapping from text to theory.

Given that two differing, perhaps antithetical theoretical frameworks can be used to interpret these texts, what should we conclude? First, a variety of interpretations will usually be available and the investigator must choose. However, it is fruitless to pursue a quest in search of the "true" or the "valid" interpretation. As Slater (1966) points out, it is not the validity of an interpretation per se that is at issue, but rather the salience of an interpretation given one or another theory. Second, just as it is true that quantitative data do not speak for themselves, i.e.,

that the doctrine of radical empiricism is false, so it is true that texts do not speak for themselves either. The investigator must do the speaking and the language of that speech is the language of theory.

This paper has addressed several problems that arise when text is analyzed for social science purposes. These difficulties are inherent in the process of generating indicators of culture content. Not only are they fundamental to culture indicators, these difficulties of interpretation are fundamental to most inquiry in the humanities and sciences. Thus, these examples illustrate the point that culture indicators research, based on large-scale quantitative analysis of culture content, shares with so-called qualitative approaches many of the same problems of interpretation. Consequently, the whole quality/quantity debate seems unhelpful because it obscures common processes and common problems.

NOTE

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1992 ANNUAL PROGRAM, CULTURE SECTION PROGRAM DAY:
SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1992

REGULAR SESSIONS:

First Session: **8:30 a.m.**
CULTURAL CONTESTATIONS: IDENTITY, ETHNICITY, NATION
Organizers: *Jon Cruz*, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara,
             Herman Gray, U. of Calif. Santa Cruz.
Presider: *Jon Cruz*, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara.

The Unruly City and the Mental Landscape of Colonized Identities: Internally Contested Nationality in Puerto Rico, 1945-85
       Kelvin Santiago-Valles, State U. of NY, Binghamton
The Reception of Fascism: A Discussion of Audience-Formation and Popular Consent in Mussolini's Italy
       Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, U. of Calif. Berkeley
The Conscience of Society: Rastafari and Jamaican Political Culture
       Anita M. Waters, Bard College
       Winston Thompson, Broward Community College
The Color of Money: Ethnic Tourism and Ethnic Currency
       Susan R. Pitchford, U. of Washington
Discussant: TBA

Second Session: **10:30 a.m.**
SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE AFTER POSTSTRUCTURALISM: DIALOGUES, APPROPRIATIONS, APPRAISALS
Organizer: *Ron Lembo*, Amherst College
Presider: *Ron Lembo*, Amherst College

Culture Work: Toward a Poststructuralist Synthesis in the Sociology of Culture
       David Brain, New College of the U. of So. Florida
Abortion and Media Discourse: Mapping the Narrative Construction of "Rights," "Life," and "Choice"
in the Popular Press, 1973-1989
       Laura Grindstaff, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara
A Culture of Argument: Constitutional Interpretation and the Contingent Meaning of "Equal" Protection Law
       Pamela Brandwein, Northwest U. and American Bar Foundation
       Michael Huff, Northwestern U.
Saving Culture after Postmodernism: The Modernism of Giddens and Habermas
       Kenneth H. Tucker, Jr., Mount Holyoke College
Discussant: TBA

Third Session: **2:30 p.m.**
GENDER, CULTURE, POWER
Organizers: *Elizabeth Long*, Rice U.
             Annette Lareau, Temple U.
Presider: *Michelle Lamont*, Princeton U.

The 'Out-of-Body-Experience': A Contradiction for Feminism
       Dorothy E. Smith, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Motherhood as Maturity: The Crisis of Femininity in Prime-Time Television
       Margaret J. Heid, New School of Social Research
Manufacturing Men: Women, Sex, and Boxers in a Ghetto Gym
       Loic J.D. Wacquant, Harvard U. and EHESS, Paris
Post-Modern Patriarchy: Sexual Politics of Contemporary Cultural Change
       Robert Connell, U. of Calif. Santa Cruz
Discussant: *Andrea Press*, U. of Michigan Ann Arbor

Fourth Session: 4:30 p.m.
RECEPTION AND THE USES OF CULTURE
Organizer: *Elizabeth Long*, Rice U.
Presider: *Elizabeth Long*, Rice U.

Allegories of Nature and Power: The Political Organization of Seventeenth Century French Gardens
          Chandra Mukerji, U. of Calif. San Diego
Where Did You Hear That? Electronic Gossip Networks or Idioculture in a Postmodern Context
          C. Lee Harrington, Miami U.
          Denise D. Bielby, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara
Constitutions in Stone: The Political Uses of Archaeology
          Henrika Kuklick, U. of Pennsylvania
Japanese, Culture, Modernity and its Consequences
          Barry Smart, U. of Auckland
Discussant: *Elizabeth Long*, Rice U.

REFEREED ROUNDTABLES: 12:30 p.m.
Organizers: *Elizabeth Long*, Rice U.
               Jon Cruz, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara
               Herman Gray, U. of Calif. Santa Cruz
               Annette Lareau, Temple U.
               Ron Lembo, Amherst College

1. SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
Edith Wharton's Sick Role
          Mary Lagerway-Voorman, Western Michigan U.
Visual Art as Social Data: The Quaker's Meeting
          Grace O. Vicary, Alliance of Independent Scholars, Cambridge

2. CULTURE, GENDER, AND WORK: INTERACTIVE ANALYSES
The Cultural Effect of Scripted Service Work
          Robin Leidner, U. of Pennsylvania
'Mommy, Mommy' or 'Excuse Me Ma'am' The Job is Much the Same: Gender and Interpretations at Home and Work
          Christina Nippert-Eng, State U. of NY Stony Brook

3. SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE BODY
The Body and the Public Sphere
          Jan C.C. Rupp, School for Social Research, the Netherlands
          Anjo F.L. Arlman, School for Social Research
The Politics of Appearance
          Daniel Martin, U. of Minnesota
Representing Blackness in the White Imagination: Visual Images of African Americans in Popular Culture, 1893-1917
          Wayne Martin Mellinger, U. of Calif. Santa Cruz

4. CULTURE, RACE, GENDER: CONSTITUTING AND CONTESTING "OTHERNESS"
Representing the Veiled Other
          Meyda Yegenoglu, U. of Calif. Santa Cruz
Cultural Presentations of Self in Professional Football: The Touchdown Dance as Ethnic Identity
          Vernon Andrews, U. of Wisconsin
Dowry in India: A Window to the Conflict
          Richa Chauhan, State U. of NY Stony Brook

5. CULTURE, GENDER, AND WAR
Vietnam: A Narrative of Masculine Identity
Tracy X. Karner, U. of Kansas
Gender, Inequality, Warfare, and Islam
Elhum Haghighat, U. of Maryland
Janet G. Hunt, U. of Maryland

6. CULTURE, POLITICS, AND AMERICAN CRISES
The American Frontier: Implications of a Cultural Heritage of Expansionism
Marcia Ghidina, U. of New Hampshire
Death Metal: The Swan Song of Modernity
Dana Cole, Loyola U. of Chicago
Realizing the Soviet Threat in Classroom Histories of the Cold War: The Politics of Classroom Knowledge
John S. Wills, U. of Calif. San Diego

7. CULTURE, THE STATE, AND SOCIAL POLICY
Weighing Cultural Sensitivity: the Ethnocentric Roots of Preferences and Choices in Federal Policies Toward Native Americans
Alfred Darnell, Vanderbilt U.
The Kinko's Case and the Problem of Intellectual Property
Laura Miller, U. of Calif. San Diego

8. CULTURE/MEDIA
Presider: *Gladys Engel Lang*, U. of Washington
              Kurt Lang, U. of Washington

Constructing the Public Image of Welfare in National Newsmagazines, 1935-88
Cheryl Zollars, Harvard U.
The Politics of Sport: Sport Periodicals and the 1991 Pan American Games
Jack Lule, Lehigh U.
The Portrayal of the Visual Artist in Motion Pictures
John Ryan, Clemson U.
Deborah A. Sim, Greenville Museum of Art

9. THE ARTS
From Philanthropy to Funding: The Effects of Corporate and Public Funding on American Art Museums
Victoria D. Alexander, Harvard U.
Building a Historical Sociology of Art on Parsonian Foundations
Jeremy J. Tanner, Cambridge U.
Formalist Art Criticism and the Repression of the Spiritual in Modern Art
Deniz Tekiner, New School for Social Research
Scholarly Authority and Community Formation in the Reconstitution of the Genesis of Polyphony
Barbara Walters Altizer, State U. of NY Stony Brook

10. ORGANIZING CULTURE AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS
Race, Culture, and Fraternal Organizations
        Connie L. McNeely, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara
Music as Social Control
        Catherine T. Harris, Wake Forest U.
        Clemens Sandresky, Salem College

11. INTELLECTUALS, CULTURE, AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE
The Transformation of the Middle Class and the Ideology of Efficiency
        Alan L. Dahl, Northwestern U.

12. CULTURE, POLITICS, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
The Sociological Hermeneutic, Political Scandal, and National Identity
        Mark D. Jacobs, George Mason U.
Identity and Social Structure
        Yasusuke Minami, U. of Calif. San Diego
Youth Culture in China
        Zhong-xiong Sun, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

13. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURE
From Stability to Silence: The Dilemma of the Modern, Postmodern, and the Nonmodern
        John Saunders-Reed, U. of Calif. San Diego
Methods, Meaning, and Form in the Sociology of Culture
        Anne Bowler, U. of Delaware

14. TEACHING THE SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE
Culture: Sociological Perspectives
        Mary Jo Neitz, U. of Missouri

15. BETWEEN TECHNOLOGY AND ART: A SOCIOLOGY OF DESIGN
Towards a Sociology of Design
        Peter Whalley, Loyola U. Chicago
Elements of a Sociology of Graphic Design
        Laura Rice, Loyola U. Chicago

16. ORGANIZING CULTURE AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS: II
Jewish, Middle-Class and Professional: Cultural Reproduction in the Ethnic Church
        Evan Adelson, U. of Calif. San Diego
Aligning Action and Social Change
        Fred Pestello, U. of Dayton
Twenty-five Writers' Beginnings: Tales from a Writing Workshop
        Suellen Gawler Butler
Concept 6: A Constrained Holographic Theory of Collectivity in Action: A Control Logic Approach
        John O'Brien, Indiana U.

17. CULTURE IN EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE
        How Culture Induces Altruistic Behavior
        Paul Allison, U. of Pennsylvania
        Ram Chaan, U. of Pennsylvania

CULTURAL INDICATORS RESEARCH:
A THUMBNAIL SKETCH, A SWEDISH PERSPECTIVE
Karl Erik Rosengren
University of Lund

Together with Swedish colleagues, Karl Erik Rosengren is presently finishing a book summarizing the Media Panel Research Program, which has followed the ways 2,000 Swedish children and adolescents (age span 6-21) have used media.

I

There are three main types of societal indicators: economic indicators, social indicators, and cultural indicators. Economic indicators have been around for millennia; social indicators, for centuries; cultural indicators, for decades. Economic indicators measure wealth. Since they are necessary for taxation, no state can exist without them. So-called objective social indicators measure welfare, while so-called subjective indicators measure well-being. Both objective and subjective social indicators are often used by reformers wanting to show that social conditions are less than satisfactory; sometimes the powers-that-be use them in order to show that everything is fine and well. Social indicators may be used in the cultural sector (measurements of the number of libraries, theaters, museums etc.), but such measurements must not be mistaken for cultural indicators. Cultural indicators measure ideas, especially basic values about what is good and bad, true and false, foul and fair.

Economic indicators tap the production and accumulation of goods in society; social indicators, the distribution and consumption of goods (and ills); cultural indicators, the maintenance, reproduction and innovation of the central value system of society. Economic and objective social indicators are based mainly on statistics culled from registers and reports of various types. Subjective social indicators are usually based on surveys, while cultural indicators may be based on content analysis, survey analysis or secondary analysis of available statistics (cf. below).

All three types of societal indicators have been in existence much longer than have their names. Social indicators have been systematically produced at least since the mid-19th century, but the term itself gained currency only in the 1960s (Bauer 1966). In the beginning of the century, Max Weber discussed content analysis of newspapers in order to tap the climate of opinion and culture; William F. Ogburn included quantitative measurements of mass media content to that end in his *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (Hart 1933). Pitirim Sorokin was probably the first to produce cultural indicators on a really grand scale (Sorokin 1937-41). The term cultural indicators, however, was not coined until the late 1960s (Gerbner 1969).

It is still not unusual that both social and cultural indicators (especially cultural indicators) are produced under other, more or less ad-hoc, names. In this presentation interest is focused on cultural indicators research going under this term, but other types of cultural indicators research will also be heeded. [1]

II

The term *cultural indicator* is still very much associated with George Gerbner and the group around him. Originally, their project was a three-pronged one. By means of institution oriented, content oriented and audience oriented research the role of mass media (more specifically, television) in building, maintaining and changing societal culture was to be assessed. The research program started in the late 60s and is still productive. Of the three prongs, institutionally oriented research always got the least attention. The content oriented research probably culminated in the late 70s, when a series of *Violence Profiles* got much public attention. The audience oriented research, *cultivation research*, is still thriving and well established on the international scene (Signorielli and Morgan 1990).

At the *Vienna Symposium on Cultural Indicators Research*, convened in 1982, a number of scholars from the humanities and social sciences met to discuss in general terms the state of the art in the area (Melischek, Rosengren and Stappers 1984). Not surprisingly, a number of rather different traditions of research were found to be active in the field--for instance:

--the three-pronged approach of Gerbner and his followers in the U.S. and Europe (cf. Gerbner 1969, 1984, 1990);

--a U.S.-German group associated with names such as Zvi Namenwirth, Robert Philip Weber, and H.D. Klingemann, trying with some success to relate cultural indicators based on computerized content analysis to economic indicators culled from general statistics and other sources (cf. Klingemann *et al.* 1982; Namenwirth 1973, 1984; Namenwirth and Weber 1987; Weber 1984);

--Richard A. Peterson and his associates, tapping societal culture by means of secondary analysis of survey data about leisure activities (cf. Peterson 1981; Peterson and Hughes 1984; Peterson and Simkus 1991);

--a Swedish group concentrating on content analysis of Swedish dailies and weeklies, building to some extent on the precursors of cultural indica-

tors research mentioned above (cf. Rosengren 1968, 1981, 1984, 1985);

--an international group around Robert Inglehart, carrying out large comparative population studies of a value dimension called materialism/post-materialism (which, by the way, is roughly equal to the basic distinction between instrumental and expressive value orientations) (cf. Inglehart 1971, 1984, 1990).

During the 1980s all these tendencies were further developed by their representatives, sometimes producing landmark volumes--such as Inglehart (1990; cf. Reimer 1989), which traced developments along the materialism/post-materialism dimension in a large number of American, European and Asian countries, or such as Namenwirth and Weber (1987), which found two distinct types of long-term cycles of cultural change in England and the U.S., and systematically related political conditions and cultural change to economic change. Unfortunately, these and similar efforts were carried out without much mutual contact, one reason being that each group tends to have a partly unique focus, although most of them may work in much the same general area. For instance, Inglehart and his associates study culture as internalized within individuals, while Namenwirth and Weber study culture in the traditional way of a macro phenomenon. In Sweden, attempts are being made to combine these two approaches (cf. section V below).

III

Culture is a system of ideas manifesting itself (on both the macro and the micro levels) in patterned actions and artifacts. At the macro level it may be studied by means of content analysis of texts produced by central authorities and agents of socialization such as political bodies, churches, educational agencies, mass media. At the micro level, culture may be approached by means of survey studies of individual values, attitudes and actions.

Measurements undertaken at the macro and micro levels may be related to each other in various ways--for instance, by way of time series analysis. Since measurement of individually held values cannot be retrospectively undertaken, it is vital that such data be collected as soon as possible, in as many countries as possible. The magnificent data collections having been amassed on the basis of Inglehart's seminal material/postmaterial scale offer a challenge indeed in this respect, calling for a number of longitudinal content analytical studies to be carried out at the macro level, so that measurements of societal culture at the macro level may be related to the already available measurements of internalized culture at the micro level (cf. section IV below).

While Inglehart may have produced the most extensive collection of measurements of culture at the (aggregated) micro level, Milton Rokeach's set of terminal and instrumental values probably represents the most complete, theoretically anchored instrument for measuring basic values internalized by individuals which has been produced so far (Rokeach 1973, 1979; cf. Ball-Rokeach *et al.* 1984). In Sweden, groups at the universities of Gothenburg, Lund and Uppsala have undertaken measurements of individually held values ("internalized culture") on nationally representative samples since the mid-80s, using adapted versions of the scales developed by Rokeach and Inglehart (Pettersson 1988; Reimer 1989; Rosengren 1985). According to detailed plans laid out in cooperation between the groups, the emerging time series of cultural indicators at the aggregated individual level will later be related to content analytical cultural indicator studies based on content analysis of the type previously undertaken in Sweden (cf. section V below).

A quite different way of using Inglehart's and Rokeach's value scales is to relate them to individual media use, thus approaching the rather interesting question about the relationship between, on the one hand, basic value orientations such as instrumental/expressive orientation, or basic values such as equality or freedom, on the other. Do basic ideas call for certain types of media use by audience members, or do certain types of media use "cultivate" certain, more or less basic, ideas among media users?

Within the Swedish Media Panel Program at the University of Lund (Rosengren and Windahl 1989; Rosengren 1991), a rich collection of panel data on individual media use, its causes and effects have been built up during the last two decades. Drawing on this data set, Johansson and Miegel (1992) and Dalquist (1992) have shown that there are indeed relationships to be found between patterns of basic values, media tastes, and media use. Similar results have been presented by Reimer and Rosengren (1990), drawing on yet other data collections undertaken at the University of Gothenburg. In the Gerbnerian cultural indicators tradition such relationships are traditionally interpreted in terms of media "cultivating" beliefs, attitudes and opinions among their audiences. Members of the Swedish group are more inclined to regard such relationships in terms of a mutual interplay between agents of socialization and individuals being socialized, also stressing the fact that media products are often used by audience members to express, and sometimes very forcefully demonstrate, not only aesthetical tastes but also political opinions and religious (or a-religious) convictions. Further research along these lines is on the way in Lund, drawing on the rich possibilities of the combined cross-sectional/longitudinal design of the Media Panel Program.

IV

Given the background sketched in the previous sections of this paper, there seem to be at least two fascinating tasks to be approached in future cultural indicator studies.

The first task is to relate time series of cultural indicators to time series of eco-

nomic and social indicators, thus clarifying that ever-present enigma of social science: the relationship between (in Parsonian terms) the social system and the cultural system, (in Marxisant terms) the base and the superstructure. Only very few attempts have been made to undertake this huge task in terms of hard statistical data (for the simple reason that while there are no dearth of time series of economic and social indicators, there are only few time series of cultural indicators). Among the traditions of research surveyed in this thumbnail sketch, two different attempts in this direction have been made.

So far, Namenwirth and Weber (1987) probably presented the most consistent attempt in that direction. *Dynamics of Culture* is a truly pioneering volume which I hope will be followed by many more, for many more will be needed. What the authors do is relate very long time series of cultural indicators built from series of messages from central authorities in the U.S. (party platforms) and the U.K. (speeches from the throne). One advantage with the Namenwirth and Weber volume is thus that it adds spatial comparisons to temporal ones.

In his magnificent volume, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Inglehart (1990) offers even more spatial comparisons, but shorter time series. He relates a secular, almost global shift in value orientations (from "materialism" to "post-materialism") to the decline of the traditional industrial society. In our terms, cultural indicators (at the individual level) are thus related to economic and social indicators and other measurements undertaken at the micro and macro levels: a host of available data are interrelated in an impressive jig-saw puzzle. No doubt this is a landmark study, and the many different time series of values at the individual level (materialism/ post-materialism) do call for continued detailed studies, not least at the national level.

The second task, which so far has not even been approached, is that of system-atically relating time series of cultural indicators based on content analysis of media content to time series of cultural indicators based on aggregated measurements of individually internalized basic values and related attitudes, as well as on manifestations of culture at the level of action (cf. references in section II above to the works by R.A. Peterson and his associates). Such studies should be able to tell us a lot about that most basic of all problems in the sociology of culture: the ontological status of culture. Where will we ever find and come to grips with that motley beast, if not by combinations of micro and macro data?

V

The two basic tasks of the sociology of culture which were shortly discussed in the previous section have been approached in a number of different ways by Swedish sociologists of culture and communication. By way of conclusion, some such approaches will be presented in this final section.

The Swedish Cultural Indicators Program mentioned in section II above was active between 1975 and 1985. Its goal was to develop and apply cultural indicators for Sweden during the time period of 1945-1975. The task was successfully solved (E Block 1984; P Block 1984; Goldman 1984; Nowak 1984, 1992; Rosengren 1981, 1984, 1985). After the program was ended, attempts were undertaken to relate the resulting time series of cultural indicators to corresponding time series of economic and social indicators. These efforts have not been very successful so far, one reason being the relatively short length of the cultural indicator time series available (25-30 years). Recently, however, attempts have been made by three different groups (headed by professors Goeran Gustafsson, University of Lund, Thorleif Pettersson, University of Uppsala, and Karl Erik Rosengren, University of Lund) to start complementing the time series of the program, and to relate them to other studies of societal culture in the Nordic countries (Gustafsson 1985; Pettersson 1988). The efforts are directed toward the two different tasks mentioned in the previous section. The nature of the two tasks demands that the study of internalized culture be the first ones to be undertaken (since surveys of this type cannot be carried out retrospectively, while content analyses can).

In the first place, then, efforts have been directed towards building time series of cultural indicators at the individual level (value measurements à la Rokeach and Inglehart), in order to later relate cultural indicators at the macro level (based on content analysis of media content) to those cultural indicators at the aggregated individual level. The ultimate aim of these empirical efforts is, of course, to arrive at a better understanding of the ontological status of culture: how is culture as a macro phenomenon (observed by means of analysis of media content) related to individually internalized culture (as observed on the individual level, and on the aggregated individual level)? These efforts correspond to the second of the two tasks mentioned towards the end of the previous section. Some results of efforts in this direction have been presented in, for instance, Reimer and Rosengren (1990), Rosengren (1991), and Johansson and Miegel (1992).

The full yield from these efforts, of course, can only be reaped when the corresponding time series of cultural indicators at the macro level have been established, so that the two types of indicators may be related to each other (cf. below). Meanwhile, the value measurements at the individual level have a worth of their own, and that has been put to use by relating values held at the individual level to a number of media-related variables: individual media use, tastes, preferences, etc.. They have also been discussed against the background of recent research on cultural capital, lifestyle, etc. (Rosengren 1991; Johansson and Miegel 1992). This type of research has a direct bearing on a number of central, topical and thorny questions-- for instance, on the problem of media's role in processes of socialization and cultivation, etc.. Even notoriously difficult problems such as the latter, how-

ever, may be approached with some hope of success within a combined cross-sectional and longitudinal design such as the one used in the Media Panel Program. Regarded from a very general point of view, these problems are very specific cases of that time-honored problem of the relation between agency and structure.

Secondly, (as mentioned above) three Swedish research groups have now laid out concrete plans for a follow-up study concentrating on the most promising results among the time series based on content analysis previously carried out within the Swedish Cultural Indicators program. This will be done by means of computerized content analysis of representative samples from the Swedish daily press, primarily from the time period 1976-92. In this way we will have at our disposal continuous cultural indicators time series for close to 50 years--a data bank which will be valuable in itself, and which will later on be used in two different ways. As mentioned, they will be related to corresponding time series of cultural indicators at the individual level. They will also be related to time series of economic and social indicators, in order to approach that classical problem mentioned in the previous section: the relationships between the social system and the cultural system, between base and superstructure.

Thus, a long-term attempt has been initiated by Swedish scholars in the area of cultural indicators research to find some preliminary answers to two very basic questions in the sociology of culture:

--What is the ontological status of culture?

--What are the relations between culture and other societal systems?

NOTE

[1] Namenwirth and Weber (1987:12) suggest that the term "Cultur*e* Indicators" be used instead of "Cultur*al* Indicators". I sympathize, but there are probably only weak chances of changing a term having become as relatively widespread as that of "Cultural Indicators".

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A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF CULTURE
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Although more demographers probably affiliate with sociology than any other academic discipline, most sociologists are not demographers. As a consequence, many of us fail to appreciate how we can profitably study numerous other subjects with the well-developed methods and models of demography. In this regard, the demographic approach provides a powerful tool for helping us to understand cultural processes, although it is by no means a substitute for other more conventional approaches.

Rather than attempt too much here, I will consider one specific demographic concern which we underutilize in the study of culture. Demography has an intense interest in "age", given its influence on such phenomena as birth, death, migration, marriage, divorce, widowhood, and morbidity. In turn, this leads to elegant and well-developed procedures for understanding age-linked events and interpreting their causes and consequences. In turn, demographers recognize three different ways that will lead age groups at a given point in time to differ. The demographic analysis of *life cycles*, *age cohorts*, and *period effects* are powerful tools that are applicable for the analysis of cultural change. In addition, there are excellent models for determining the *intrinsic* long-term growth (or decline) of a population if the current set of rates were to continue indefinitely. These perspectives and techniques can help us understand the forces driving changes in our popular culture. The approach is particularly useful because it partially overlaps with a perspective stemming from Mannheim (1952) as well as the life course perspective summarized in Elder (1992).

It is relatively easy to measure age differences in cultural tastes and practices, and knowledge will advance simply by increasing our information on this matter. However, it is not such an easy task to sort out the influence of age, cohort, and period effects—particularly since several are likely to be operating simultaneously. I will not delve into these technical matters in this brief paper. Mason and Fienberg (1985) describe these problems and offer solutions; in addition they provide illustrations of age analysis applied to traditional demographic problems. See also McDonald (1986) for an outstanding description of these issues applied to a cultural phenomenon, the readership of news magazines.

Age and Culture

How does age influence culture? Let us start with two basic social facts. First, there is a continuous flow of people into and out of society. People enter through either birth or immigration; they leave through death or emigration. To maintain the existing cultural features, elders must socialize the newcomers—whether they be newly born or immigrants. It is likely that each new birth cohort will grow up with many cultural similarities to those who came before them. This is because the replacement of the population is usually gradual such that relatively small numbers either drop out or enter over the course of five or ten years. As a consequence, the pace of the replacement process is usually gradual enough to allow earlier members to pass on existing cultural features to the newcomers. On the other hand, in a fluid and continuously changing modern society, it is unlikely that new birth cohorts will grow up entirely the same as their elders. Insofar as the experiences of the cohorts differ, it also means that cultural changes occur simply as new birth cohorts enter and older birth cohorts disappear through death.

Secondly, it is almost certain that any social pattern will be age-linked. Whether it be affinity for types of music, political attitudes, beliefs, frequency of movie-going, use of illegal drugs, social attitudes, sexual behavior, concerns, fears, or goals, one can confidently expect differences between age groups within the society. Age, in this respect, is not different from gender, class, and race (in American society) as a ubiquitous divisor within the population. (With sufficient space, we would also consider how age differences in organizations may be related to their roles in the adaptation of new cultural elements and resistance towards change; for example, new recording companies vs. old ones, or new theater groups vs. established ones.)

The three major ways demographers think about age-linked data are also relevant for cultural analysis. First, there is a simple process of age changes that will occur in even the most stable of societies. These may be thought of as part of the life-cycle. For example, there will be attitudinal changes that people undergo as they move from one age to another: the adolescent rebellion; a mid-life crisis; the empty nest syndrome; and retirement. The notion is that certain experiences and dispositions occur as one reaches various ages. To take the extreme, assume that these age-linked patterns were constant over time, then we would observe at any given point differences between age groups, but they would be a function of unchanging age-linked dispositions. Under such conditions, each birth cohort has the same cultural practices at a given age as those born earlier or later. The age differences observed at a snapshot in time would be purely a function of the stage in the life cycle. Thus, the cultural patterns of person who are 25 would be exactly the same as the experiences twenty years earlier by those who are presently 45 years old. This is one extreme, an age-linked pattern of cultural dispositions which is simply part of a very stable life cycle. The goal under these circumstances would be to understand the set of forces leading to these shifts by age.

A stable life-cycle for cultural practices would immediately raise the question of why age-groups differ in their cultural practices. In answering this, we inevitably obtain a greater understanding of the factors which drive the cultural practices. The commonplace association between age and many practices should not keep us from asking *why* and, in turn, using these associations as clues to un-

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Intimations of Postmodernity*. NY: Routledge. Tracing the development of postmodernity, Bauman illustrates the use of the concept without falling into the snares of introspective nihilism or mindless euphoria.

Aronowitz, Stanley. *The Politics of Identity: Class, Culture, Social Movements*. NY: Routledge. In this mix of new and previously published essays Aronowitz shows that super-structure is base since culture is constitutive of class.

Calhoun, Craig, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT. A distinguished and diverse set of authors detail a lost public sphere and grapple with the problem of recreating -- or is it, as Michael Schudson suggests, reimagining -- a public sphere. Jürgen Habermas contributes a set of concluding reflections on the subject.

Calhoun, Craig, ed. *Religious Institutions: Comparative Social Research*, vol. 13. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press. Following theoretical articles by Pierre Bourdieu and Samuel N. Eisenstadt, the authors show the process of institution-building in a wide range of church organizations.

Chandler, Marilyn R. *Dwelling in the Text: Houses in American Fiction*. Berkeley: University of California. Explores through interpretive essays two salient aspects of the house as metaphor in US fiction: the house as mirror of "the psychological structure of the main character or the social structures in which he or she is entrapped," and the use of architectural metaphors to describe the writer's craft.

Hayes, Tom. *The Birth of Popular Culture: Ben Johnson, Maid Marian and Robin Hood*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University. Hayes deconstructs the author as he appears in Ben Johnson's texts to show that the creation of authorial persona coincided with the spread of print and popular literacy. Johnson is seen as the prototype of the modern artist/intellectual who appropriates elements of popular culture to revitalize dominant culture.

Baughman, James L. *The Republic of Mass Culture: Journalism, Filmmaking, and Broadcasting in America since 1941*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins. In revealing detail, Baughman shows how the press, radio, and film industries adapted to the ever more pervasive television. These developments are seen as a set of choices and reactions that fragment the mass audience rather than as the inevitable march of technology.

Neuman, W. Russell. *The Future of the Mass Audience*. NY: Cambridge. Neuman's work, based on detailed study of media decision-makers, can be seen as a projection from the historical base-line provided by Baughman. He suggests that the new individualizing electronic media coming on line will not result in further fragmentation. Rather, further specialization will be

modest and the common political culture will remain robust — that's what he calls it.

Orren, Karen. *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. NY: Cambridge. Orren suggests that feudalism is not past and gone but here and now in the United States. It was seeded here in the archaic English Common law rights and obligations linking master and servant. She thus sees U.S. labor action not as propounding socialism but as championing liberal government.

Mamiya, Christin J. *Pop Art and Consumer Culture: American Supermarket*. Austin: University of Texas. Pop art rapidly became successful in the 1960s despite scathing critical condemnation, Mamiya proposes, as part of a wider societal embrace of consumerism which was reaching its peak at the same time.

McKibben, Bill. *The Age of Missing Information*. NY: Random House. One day in May 1990 McKibben and some friends taped the entire output of the Fairfax, VA cable TV channels -- 1,700 hours of programming. He reports not only what was available but also what was missing and concludes that we are not better informed than any earlier generation.

Bauman, Richard. *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainment: A Communications-Centered Handbook*. NY: Oxford. The thirty-seven entries in this compact work are drawn from the Oxford International Encyclopedia of Communications. The cross-referencing is detailed and elaborate.

McLaurin, Melton and Richard A. Peterson, eds. *You Wrote My Life: Lyrical Themes in Country Music*. NY: Gordon and Breach Publishers. Articles focus on gender, the South, death and God, class consciousness, work, and the oeuvre of Johnny Cash who has sung it all. Fine, but what about Mama, jail, trains and pick-up trucks?

Emery, Ralph with Tom Carter. *Memories: The Autobiography of Ralph Emery*. NY: Macmillan. This sorry tome has been on the *NYT* Best Seller list for weeks now! Has Macmillan bought the listing or do country music fans actually read books? Ralph Emery, long-time DJ and country music celebrity show host, is the Dick Clark of the genre. He knows worlds about the development of country music but this poorly edited book is packed with mean-spirited and trivial anecdotes about country celebrities. Only in the section on his youth does the book reveal the roots of Emery's abiding insecurities.

Nelson, Susie. *Heart Worn Memories: A Daughter's Personal Biography of Willie Nelson*. NY: Pocket Books. Ms. Nelson, the second daughter of Willie Nelson's first marriage, shows that country music autobiographies do not have to be like Emery's. Her solo-authored book is chock full of stories that do not spare her fall-down-

drunk Dad but talk of him, country music, and America with tenderness and insight.

Cusic, Don. *Randy Travis: The King of the New Country Traditionalists*. NY: St. Martins. This fan bio has the dirt-poor, abusive father, wild-youth-to-riches stuff but also includes much on the way the country music world works today.

Five from Sage

Kolb, Deborah M. and Jean M. Bartunek, eds. *Hidden Conflict in Organizations: Uncovering Behind-the-Scenes Disputes*. Throughout the sub-text is women's culture which leads to mending-mediating-facilitating by objectifying the subjective.

Ellis, Carolyn and Michael G. Flaherty, eds. *Investigating Subjectivity: Research on Lived Experience*. From Ingmar Bergman films and exotic dancers to abortion choices and mushroom hunters, a rich harvest. The prior book notwithstanding, half the authors are men.

Lull, James, ed. *Popular Music and Communication*. A surprisingly diverse set of offerings revolving around pop music politics, the politics of the words, the industry, East German liberation (for Western name groups), technology, dance, and Vietnamese refugees in San Jose.

Robinson, Deanna Campbell, Elizabeth B. Buck, Marlene Cuthbert (and a supporting cast of 23 researcher-commentators). *Music at the Margins: Popular Music and Global Cultural Diversity*. The data is from South Korea, Turkey, Nigeria, Jamaica, and Canada, but the phrase "at the Margins" is central. The problems are set by Anglo-U.S. academics.

Berger, Arthur Asa. *Media Research Techniques*. Written in Berger's well-honed light style, nine research techniques are introduced and illustrated. Following these, forty pages are devoted to writing and thinking clearly about research. VERY useful for undergraduate courses.

Six from the University of Chicago Press

Iyengar, Shanto. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. The vacuousness of news reporting leads viewers away from significant questions.

Spigel, Lynn. *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America*. This book shows the impact on family desires and expectations as television moved into the American home.

Melion, Walter S. *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel Van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*. Melion shows how this seventeenth century work shaped the efforts of Dutch painters and critics for two centuries and thus continues to remain "authoritative" today.

BOOKS OF NOTE   RICHARD A. PETERSON

Jeffery, Peter. *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant.* The application of the ethnomusicological perspective and methods is shown to shed new light on medieval church music.

McCarthy, Kathleen D. *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930.* McCarthy shows the wide-ranging role of women in the support of fine art from the Jacksonian period to the emergence of Modernism in this century.

Sato, Ikuya. *Kamikaze Biker: Parody and Anomy in Affluent Japan.* Sato details the extravagant culture-ways of today's affluent urban Japanese youth gangs. Rather than reading this culture as a mirror of Japanese malaise, he sees it as expressing generic youthful cravings. As James Dean showed, testosterone takes its toll.

Four from Westview

Mowlana, Hamid, George Gerbner, and Herbert I. Schiller, eds. *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf — A Global Perspective.* Thirty five authors looking at the reports of the Gulf War from 18 nations show the triumph of image over reality and ideology over reason.

Kellner, Douglas. *The Persian Gulf TV War.* The author provides a fascinating chronological examination of the role of the mass media in the Gulf war, and maintains that the media manufactured consent for the war policies of the Bush administration and the Pentagon rather than fulfilling its mission of informing the public in a way that would lead to free and open debate.

Gordon, Robert J. *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass.* Gordon focuses on white images of the Bushmen as vermin, superhuman trackers, and the living embodiment of prehistory and on the consequences of these images for the people assumed to be Bushmen.

Schwichtenberg, Cathy, ed. *The Madonna Connection: Representational Politics, Subcultural Identities, and Cultural Theory.* Madonna as mirror. Here's looking at you Cathy *et al..*

Five from Aldine de Gruyter

Brown, Richard Harvey, ed. *Writing the Social Text: Poetics and Politics in Social Science.*

Taking a fresh approach in the sociology of knowledge, the authors see the image of "society" in the social sciences as a set of linguistic constructions. The authors focus on rhetoric and truth in social science, social science as political discourse, and reforming social science in the light of this perspective.

Manning, Peter K. *Organizational Communication.* Using examples drawn from nuclear regulatory policy making and police work, Manning examines communication in organizations through a semiotic lens.

Ryan, Bill. *Making Capital from Culture: The Corporate Form of Capitalist Cultural Production.* Drawing on a wide range of research, Ryan shows how creativity is routinized in the film, music, magazine, and advertising industries.

England, Paula. *Comparable Worth: Theories and Evidence.* A neat illustration of how "blind" economic forces are embedded in cultural assumptions. The "blind' is what the assumptions of classical economics have made us.

Smith, Michael R. *Power, Norms and Inflation: A Skeptical Treatment.* Two theories of the inflation of the 1970s are counterpoised. The one says that this inflation was a result of New Deal social policies and subsequent cynical federal manipulation. The other sees it as a consequence of class conflict. I thought it was the way we paid for the Viet Nam war.

Three from Falmer

Spindler, George, Louise Spindler, Henry T. Trueba, and Melvin D. Williams. *The American Cultural Dialogue and Its Transmission.* The dialogue centers on individuality, freedom, community, equality, and success.

Chang, Heewon. *Adolescent Life and Ethos: An Ethnography of a US High School.* The setting is largely rural, the themes are classic.

Agger, Ben. *The Decline of Discourse: Reading, Writing and Resistance in Postmodern Capitalism.* Agger traces the decline of writers who write challenging intelligent books for the general public to the current organization of literary production: writing-for-tenure and writing-for-profit. He suggests ways that writers can break through these barriers.

--ELECTRONIC 'MAILING LIST'

Kent D. Palmer has started an **electronic mail/discussion group for sociology:** sociology@world.std.com. To join the list, send the following message to palmer@world.std.com:

SOCIOLOGY YourFullName < UserID@internet.address >

According to Bob Weber, Don Ploch (PLOCH@utkvx.utk.edu) is attempting to interest the ASA in inquiring about starting sociology discussion groups on various computer networks.

CALL FOR PAPERS

--CONFERENCES

Conference on *East-European Cultures after Communism: Tradition, Modernity, Postmodernity*, 7-10 December 1992, Ojrzanow, Poland. papers are invited which bear on the basic theme: "What are 'post-communist' cultures like?" Possible topics include: convergence or divergence in Eastern Europe [EE] civilization; EE cultural systems in relation to global cultural logics; identity structure of individual and culture after the fall of Communist societies; impact of tradition on cultural changes; decentering of EE culture; high and popular culture in relation to emerging Post-Communist cultures; symbolic transformations; EE nationalism, ethnocentrism, regionalism vs. globalization; post-modern and/or reflexive approaches to the study of culture(s). Send paper abstracts w/ your name, address, phone (and fax) to: Culture Theory Unit, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Palac Staszica, Nowy Swiat 72, 00-330 Warsaw, Poland. [They will attempt to cover speakers' living expenses during the conference and to defray some travel costs.] Persons interested in presenting should **inquire immediately** since the invitation programme was supposed to be mailed in May 1992.

Symposium on *Academic Knowledge and Political Power*, 20-22 November 1992, University of Maryland, College Park. Papers are invited for workshops focusing on the relationships between academic knowledge and political power. Topics include the linkages: between implicit ideologies and the academic production of 'facts'; between academic, external professional and political discourses; between academics and the general public regarding social policy formulation. Contact Richard Harvey Brown, Sociology, U. of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-1315. **Submission and Registration Deadline: 30 August 1992.** (SECOND NOTICE)

--PUBLICATIONS

Diana Crane, Sociology, U. of Pennsylvania, is editing a volume to be entitled *Emerging Theoretical Perspectives in the Sociology of Culture*. Prospective contributors are requested to send 1-2 page proposals for articles reviewing, analyzing, or testing a particular theoretical perspective. Please send them to Diana Crane by Air Mail or Fax to the following addresses: **Before August 15:** 13 rue Cassette, 75006 Paris, France. Fax: 011-33-1-42-22-08-24. **After August 15:** Dept. of Sociology, U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6299. Fax: 215-573-2081. **Deadline: 1 September 1992** (but don't wait: send it now if it's ready!).

ANNOUNCEMENTS

--CONFERENCES

Theory, Culture and Society 10th Anniversary Conference, [prior to the ASA annual meeting:] 16-19 August 1992, Seven Springs Mountain Resort, Champion, PA, near Pittsburgh. Within U.S., contact: Roland Robertston, U. of Pittsburgh, or Kate White, Center for International Studies, U. of Pittsburgh. Outside U.S., contact Mike Featherstone, Teesside Polytechnic, Middlesbrough, Cleveland TS1 3BA, England. Fax: 0642-342067. Phone. (0642) 218121, ext 2347. (SECOND NOTICE)

Social Theory, Politics and the Arts 18th Annual Conference, 9-11 October 1992, Annenberg School for Communication, U. Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Meeting for scholars, artists and arts administrators united by interest in the interdisciplinary study of the arts, society and politics. Papers expected to focus on: relations between popular and elite arts; economy of culture; the arts' role in 'multiculturalism' debates; structure and functioning of art worlds; emergence of transnational arts and culture; arts and politics, race, gender, nationalism, ethnicity, censorship. Contact: Larry Gross, The Annenberg School of Communication, U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Phone: (215) 898-5620. (SECOND NOTICE)

The 3rd World Congress of Theatre Sociology, 30 October-2 November 1992, Instituto Politechnico de Porto, Portugal. Topics planned: interactions between theater and: society, cultural anthropology, education, audiences and publics. Contact: Vera Zolberg, Sociology, New School for Social Research, New York, NY 10003. Phone: (212) 229-5767. (SECOND NOTICE)

--POSITION AVAILABLE

Social Science Analyst(s), Institutional Studies Office, Smithsonian Institution [SI], Washington, DC. Junior or Mid-level positions available immediately. The office focuses on scientific understanding of SI staff occupational dynamics; characteristics of museum/zoo visitors and participants in SI programs and services and what they gain from these experiences; the effectiveness of SI exhibitions, programs and museums in reflecting and promoting the SI mission to serve U.S. society. *Required:* Statistical and methodological training/experience and interests in social change, minority relations, cultural sociology. Training and experience in data processing (SAS, SPSS, etc), statistical analysis, survey design, sampling, questionnaire construction, and report writing. *Advanced degrees preferred but not essential. Salary determined on the basis of qualifications and experience.* Starting salary range of $21-$31,000. Relocation expenses not paid. Send resume or SF-171 to, or call: Institutional Studies Office, A&I 1271 Code 405, 900 Jefferson Drive, S.W., Washington, DC 20560. Phone: (202) 786-2289/2232. EO/AA Employer.

--ARCHIVE

Social Theory, Politics and the Arts (Annual Conference) Archives. Arts Resource Consortium Library. American Council for the Arts, 1285 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10019.

In Memorium

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

1903 - 1992

Helen passed away in May. Her earliest book was an important contribution to the developing sociology of news production: *News and the Human Interest Story* [U. Chicago, 1940; reprinted Greenwood, 1968]. Among Helen's other works were *Foreign Investment and Industrialization in Singapore* [Madison, 1969] and, co-authored with her husband E.C. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers* [Free Press, 1952].

From the preface to *News and the Human Interest Story*:

"Professor Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago gave me the conception of the newspaper as an object of inquiry and first made me aware of the distinctions elaborated in this book.... My husband, Everett Cherrington Hughes of the University of Chicago, in the course of his own research uncovered unconventional sources for mine. Although he did not help with the Index or reading the proof, this work may quite properly be described as the outcome of a sort of family ferment."

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