

SECTION CULTURE



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Word from the Chair: On the NEA

Jennifer C. Lena, Columbia University



The editors have produced a special double issue, packed with information and original essays. We introduce you to our newly elected section officers, and to the exciting program of events that incumbent Section Chair Ron Jacobs has organized for Montréal. This issue also includes an interview with past Chair Geneviève Zubrzycki (p. 10), a profile of Karida Brown (p. 13), a description of the superb program in the study of art and culture at Northwestern (p. 14), and two special feature on the Sociology of Culture in Québec (by Marcel Fournier, p. 16) and at the Canadian Sociological Association (by Alysson Stokes and John McLevey, p. 20). It also contains two fascinating and timely essays: Dorit Geva writes about Marine Le Pen and the gender of French populism (p. 22) and Jeffrey Alexander tells us about Steve Bannon and the anti-Enlightenment ideology of the Trump presidency (p. 24). As always, we close with announcements and laud the new publications of our members.

Unfortunately, my “Word from the Chair” column has suffered from the speed of our current news cycle. When I put the finishing touches on it in March, the attack on humanities and science research funding was an urgent policy issue for sociologists of culture. Although Congress has since released the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2017, which promises to fund the NEA (the focus of my attention, below) at the proposed FY17 level of almost \$150 million, that budget is by no means assured.¹ A reasonable person among us may have since replaced those concerns with others—of attacks on civil discourse in the academy, threats to Title IX, potential changes to the health care system, to say nothing of the state actions against universities in Turkey and Russia, and the students and faculty that people them. These news cycles teach us something important about the disjuncture between the speed of world events, and of academic publishing, even in a newsletter.

I’ve chosen to keep the text that follows unmodified, but I

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hope you will forgive its relative untimeliness. I think it still serves us to think of the ways in which our work as cultural sociologists is shaped by, and shapes, public policy in the arts.

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In March 2017, the Trump administration released a budget proposal (“America First: A Budget Blueprint to Make America Great Again”) that included the elimination of federal funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.ⁱⁱ I am mindful that our large section contains members with varied opinions about the budget proposal and the work of the NEA. Given the expertise and interests of our section membership, I strongly believe that those opinions should be influential in the public debate now unfolding. And before I proceed further, it is worth noting that eliminating the NEA will require an actual act of Congress, not just a ratification of the president’s budget.

The budget for the NEA in 2016 was \$147.9 million.ⁱⁱⁱ That constitutes approximately .004% of the total federal budget, and amounts to a per capita cost of about 46 cents. In truth, grants from the NEA provide a relatively minor portion of the funding that American arts organizations require. Only 1.2% of arts organizations’ funding comes from the federal government.^{iv} Our system is demonstrably different from most of our peer nations’ in that we have a “third-party,” decentralized system of arts funding. In fact, the most significant federal recipients of arts funding are the Smithsonian (\$840 million) and the Department of Defense (\$437 million for military bands alone).^v It is still the case that the largest form of federal support for the arts comes in the form of tax expenditures (i.e., most fine arts organizations enjoy 501(c)3 tax exempt status, which is implicitly a 1:3 or 1:2 federal matching grant that is framed as a tax deduction, depending on what marginal tax rate you assume).^{vi}

The majority of the NEA’s budget is spent on grantmaking—more than 80%.^{vii} Those grantmaking funds are divided between two simple categories: awards to state and regional arts agencies (40% of the grant dollars) and awards to organizations and individuals that apply through the agency’s funding categories (60%). The awards to arts agencies are significant in two respects: first, they provide direct funding in every congressional district in the country.^{viii} Federal (and state) agencies tend to give money to communities where other funders don’t go, including small towns and rural areas. The vast majority of foundations and individual donors concentrate their giving in their immediate geographic area (rural areas receive only 5.5% of all philanthropic dollars), which means that the areas with the most wealth (most

are big cities on the coasts) are also the ones that receive the most philanthropic funding.^{ix} As a result, resources are few and far between for arts organizations and public radio and television stations alike in rural America.^x Second, the NEA requires that a portion of every state and regional partnership grant be allocated to underserved communities.^{xi} More than half of NEA-funded art events take place in locations where the median household income is less than \$50,000, and 40% of NEA-supported activities take place in high-poverty neighborhoods.^{xii}

NEA individual awards are perhaps the most misunderstood work done by the agency. In the past they have been the focus of attempts to eliminate the NEA (e.g., in 1981, 1989, 1995). As a result of successful challenges from political conservatives, individual grants have been eliminated excluding those in literature (predominantly for translating works to English), and the lifetime achievement awards in jazz, folk, and traditional arts. Grants to arts organizations, the NEA’s Grants for Arts Projects, are split into four categories: Art Works, Challenge America Fast-Track, Our Town, and Research: Art Works. The Art Works grants effectively replace individual grants, providing awards to organizations in one of sixteen disciplines (e.g., dance, theater) via a peer review panel. Fast-Track grants are given to organizations that facilitate the presentation of the arts to underserved populations. Our Town grants are given to non-profit organizations that partner with local government to support creative placemaking projects. Research grants support analyses of data on the impact and value of the arts in this country. All recipients of this award are required to author at least one paper that is shared with the public, and the list of findings include many of us as authors.^{xiii}

But perhaps the most critical resource that the NEA provides to sociologists is the Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA). The NEA Research Division, currently helmed by Sunil Iyengar, provides this resource, the single largest cross-sectional survey of arts participation trends in the history of this country. Almost 100,000 Americans have completed the survey, and it has become the most useful and valuable source of nationally-representative, publically-accessible data on Americans’ engagement with culture. As such, it has been a key source for many of us who seek to understand patterns in cultural preferences, attitudes, and behaviors. A Google Scholar search reveals there are over 1,000 manuscripts that mention the “survey of public participation in the arts.” These articles and books focus on questions of significant public value, including the relationship between arts engagement and healthy living,

the association of broad tastes with non-discriminatory attitudes, and the relationship of gender and race to arts access. Being able to attach the SPPA module to Federal surveys like the Census encourages participation and enhances the reliability of these data. The Research Division staff routinely requests survey feedback from social scientists, including many of us, to enhance the validity of its questions.

Some have argued that we should abandon federal funding for the arts and instead create a private foundation with the same mission. Just to maintain current funding levels, which are well below the agency's inflation-adjusted peak from 1992, one would have to raise an endowment of approximately \$3 billion, which would rank among the nation's largest private foundations.^{xiv} Kansas tried to do something like this several years ago—Governor Sam Brownback terminated the Kansas Arts Commission with the plan of setting up a new private entity, the Kansas Arts Foundation.^{xv} The plan never got off the ground due to poor fundraising results, and the next year the arts council was brought back to life under a new name.^{xvi} George Will is among those who have argued that because the arts that are funded by the NEA are disproportionately enjoyed by those of higher income and education levels it, in Paul D. Ryan's opinion (R-Wisc.), amounts to a "wealth transfer from poorer to wealthier."^{xvii} But this is a complaint about the operation of the NEA's panels and not an argument for their elimination.

As a government agency, the NEA possesses the ability to help set agendas in an otherwise leaderless ecosystem. The national scope of the NEA means that they can and are attentive to funding gaps in ways that private funders find impossible. Some argue that, as a federal agency, the NEA is uniquely positioned to create inter-agency cooperation (e.g., with Veteran's Affairs), conduct and publish research on the nation's arts engagement and production, and provide "risk capital" that allows organizations to launch and field test innovations. Examples include the Department of Defense partnering with the NEA on Creative Forces: NEA Military Healing Arts Network while the Department of Housing and Urban Development is involved with the NEA's arts-based community development activities.

I appreciate your attention to this issue, and encourage you to investigate it in your classes and with your students and colleagues. I'll include some links to additional resources, below.

Jennifer C. Lena

New York City
July 18, 2017

Additional Arguments Against Federal Arts Funding

- Jarvik, Laurence. April 29, 1997. "Ten Good Reasons to Eliminate Funding for the National Endowment of the Arts." *The Heritage Foundation*. <http://www.heritage.org/report/ten-good-reasons-eliminate-funding-the-national-endowment-orthe-arts>

General Information About the Arts Sector

- The [Arts Advocacy Day Handbook](#) is created by Americans for the Arts each year in preparation for the March event in D.C. It was developed and approved by a network of 89 national arts service organizations. It is loaded with policy and advocacy statements on a bevy of key issues, congressional voting records, key congressional committee members, research 1-pagers, and more. <http://www.americansforthearts.org/by-program/reports-and-data/legislation-policy/legislative-issue-center/congressional-arts-handbook>
- If you want to find NEA-funded projects in your area, this is a great resource: <https://apps.nea.gov/grantsearch>.
- The [Arts Mobilization Center](#) is another source for the latest news and policy statements, facts and figures, and includes a digest list of key media articles and op-eds.
- Randy Cohen from Americans for the Arts offers his "10 Reasons to Support the Arts:" <http://blog.americansforthearts.org/2017/02/14/top-10-reasons-to-support-the-arts-in-2017>
- The Topos Partnership offers some advice on how to craft a defense of the NEA: <http://www.topospartnership.com/nea/>

Footnotes

ⁱ <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-nea-stopgap-budget-20170501-story.html>

ⁱⁱ https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/omb/budget/fy2018/2018_blueprint.pdf

ⁱⁱⁱ <https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/nea-quick-facts.pdf>

^{iv} <https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/how-the-us-funds-the-arts.pdf>

^v https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/02/us/military-bands-budget.html?_r=0

^{vi} Cowen, Tyler. 2010. *Good and Plenty: The Creative Successes of American Arts Funding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

vii <https://www.arts.gov/publications/how-united-states-funds-arts>

viii <https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/nea-quick-facts.pdf>

ix <https://www.ers.usda.gov/amber-waves/2015/august/foundation-giving-to-rural-areas-in-the-united-states-is-disproportionately-low/>

x On arts organizations: <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/03/what-eliminating-the-arts-and-humanities-endowments-would-really-mean/519774/>. On public radio: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/03/15/trumps-budget-will-likely-slash-public-media-but-the-biggest-losers-wont-be-pbs-and-npr/?utm_term=.59a4784f69de

xi <https://www.arts.gov/publications/how-united-states-funds-arts>

xii <https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/NEA-FAQ-March2017-rev.pdf>

xiii <https://www.arts.gov/artistic-fields/research-analysis/research-art-works-study-findings>

xiv http://www.americansforthearts.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2014/by_program/research_studies_and_publications/one_pagers/4_NEA_Discretionary_Spending_Updated_o.pdf

xv <http://createquity.com/2011/06/reactions-to-the-demise-of-the-kansas-arts-commission/>

xvi <http://createquity.com/2012/06/brownback-caves-kansas-gets-its-arts-funding-back/>

xvii https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/abolish-the-national-endowment-for-the-arts/2017/03/15/ob6ca778-08db-11e7-a15f-a58-d4a988474_story.html?utm_term=.c99d7c-c36758

NEW SECTION OFFICERS SPRING 2017 ELECTION

Chair-Elect: Omar Lizardo,
Univ. of Notre Dame 2017 (1-year term)

Chief Operating Officer:
Ruth Braunstein,
Univ. of Connecticut 2017 (3-year term)

Council Member: Ming-Cheng Lo,
UC Davis 2017 (3-year term)

Council Member: Patricia A. Banks,
Mount Holyoke College 2017 (3-year term)

Student Representative:
Ande Reisman,
Univ. of Washington 2017 (2-year term)

CULTURE SECTION AWARDS 2017

Mary Douglas Prize for Best Book

Co-Winners:

Michaela DeSoucey, *Contested Tastes. Foie Gras and the Politics of Food.* (2017, Princeton University Press)

-and-

Nicole Gonzalez van Cleve, *Crook County. Racism and Injustice in America's Largest Criminal Court.* (2016, Stanford University Press)

Clifford Geertz Award for Best Article

Winner:

Daniel Winchester, "A Hunger for God: Embodied Metaphor as Cultural Cognition in Action." (2016, in *Social Forces* 95(2): 585-606)

Honorable mention:

Chana Teeger, "'Both Sides of the Story': History Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa." (2015, in *American Sociological Review* 80(6): 1175-1200)

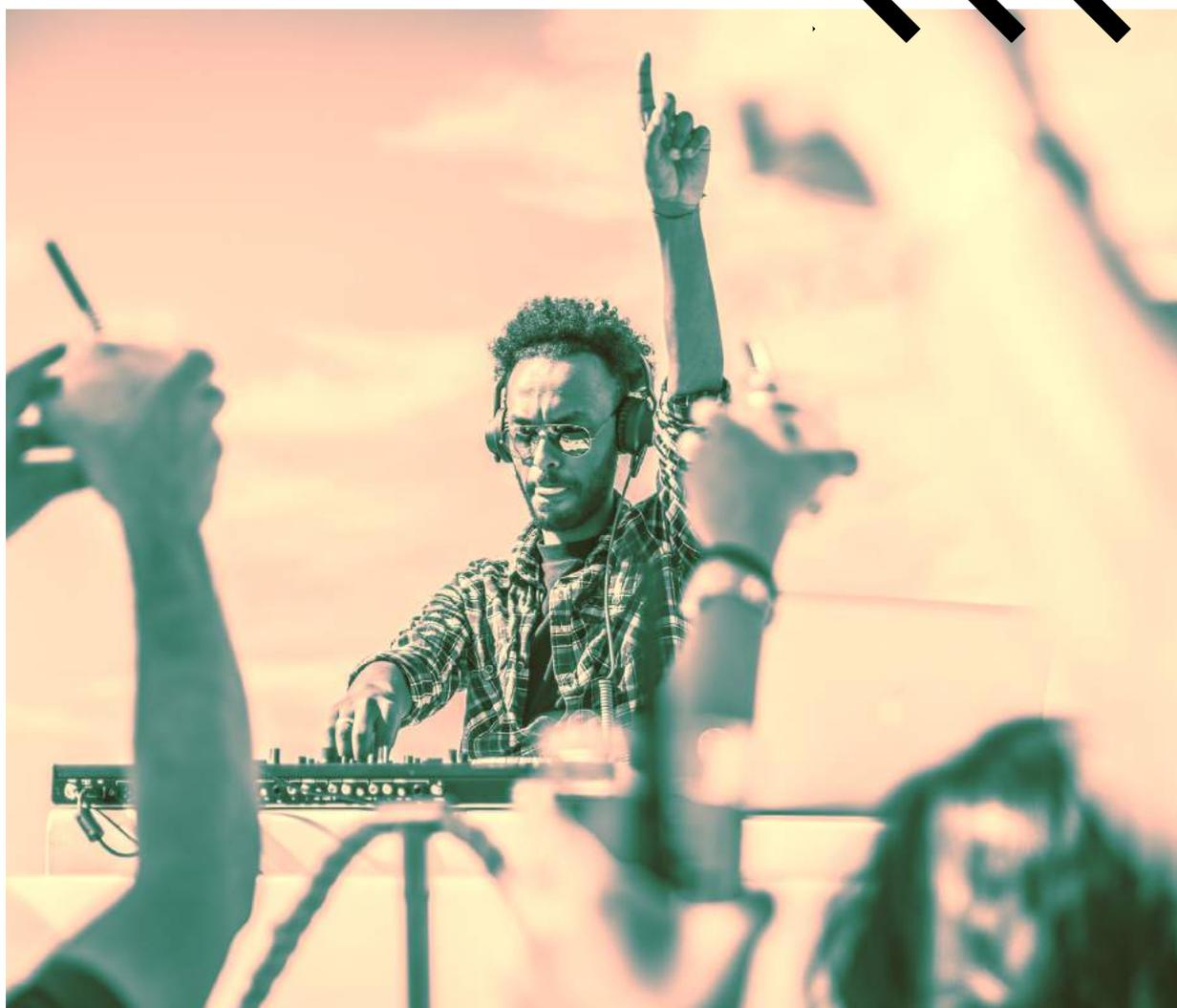
Richard A. Peterson Award for Best Student Paper

Winner:

Matthew Clair (Harvard University), "Resources, Navigation, and Punishment in the Criminal Courts"

Honorable mention:

Mary Beth Fallin Hunzaker (Duke University), "Cultural Sentiments and Schema-Consistency Bias in Information Transmission"



ASA 2017

ANNUAL MEETING

MONTRÉAL, AUGUST 11-15

CULTURE SECTION EVENTS

SUNDAY, AUGUST 13

8:30-10:10 AM

HISTORY IN CULTURAL EXPLANATION

Organizer and Presider: **Lyn Spillman**, University of Notre Dame
 Neoliberal Discourse and Racial Imaginaries: Two Temporalities. **Chandra Mukerji**,
 University of California, San Diego * How Authors' Practices Shaped Their Ideas:
 Literature and Philosophy in Germany versus Britain, 1740- 1820. **Richard Biernacki**,
 University of California-San Diego * The rise of the idea of model in policy-making:
 The case of British Parliament, 1803-2005. **Pertti Alasuutari**, University of Tampere;
 Marjaana Rautalin, University of Tampere; **Jukka Tyrkkö**, Linnaeus University
 * Taking the Long View: Cultural Continuity and Change in American Vegetarianism.
Laura J. Miller, Brandeis University; **Emilie Hardman**, Harvard University * The
 wicked people of gangster's village: Historical continuity and the incorporation of
 Latino immigrants. **Pepper Glass**, Weber State University.

10:30AM-12:10 PM

CULTURE SECTION REFEREED ROUNDTABLE SESSION

15 amazing roundtables organized by **Brian McKernan** (The Sage Colleges) and
Hannah Wohl (Northwestern University), **Details on Session 224 here.**

2:30-4:10 PM

CULTURE AND THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Organizer and Presider: **Ronald N. Jacobs**, University at Albany
 Why Evangelicals Voted for Trump: A Critical Cultural Sociology. **Philip S. Gorski**,
 Yale University * On the Construction Sites of History: Where Did Donald Trump
 Come From? **Mabel Berezin**, Cornell University * Politics as a Vacation. **Robin E.**
Wagner-Pacifici, The New School for Social Research; **Iddo Tavory**, NYU * Deep
 Stories, Nostalgia Narratives, and Fake News: Storytelling in the Trump Era.
Francesca Polletta, University of California, Irvine; **Jessica Callahan**, University of
 California, Irvine.

MONDAY AUGUST 14

8:30-10:10 AM

GENDER, CULTURE, MEDIA

Organizer and Presider: **Andrea Press**, University of Virginia
 Incorporating the Erotic: Redrawing the Boundaries of Sexuality and New Media in
 Romance Genre Fiction. **Anna Michelson**, Northwestern University * Non-notable?
 Deletion as Devaluation on Wikipedia. **Francesca Tripodi**, University of Virginia
 Reading as a man, reading as a woman: gendered uses of science-fiction and
 fantasy. **Elodie Hommel**, ENS de Lyon / Centre Max Weber * "Both
 Underrepresented and Misrepresented": Feminist Media Activism in the National
 Organization for Women. **Christine Slaughter**, Yale University * "Mother Courage":
 Sociology of a Semantic Slippage. **Lorenzo Sabetta**, Sapienza - University of Rome.

MONDAY AUGUST 14

10:30 AM - 12:10

PM

PUBLIC CULTURAL SOCIOLOGY

Organizer and Presider: **David A. Smilde**, Tulane University.

Panelists: **Orlando Patterson**, Harvard University; **Abigail C. Saguy**, UCLA; **David A. Smilde**, Tulane University; **Mary Blair-Loy**, Univ. California-San Diego; **Craig Calhoun**, Berggruen Institute.

2:30-4:10 PM.

THE MEDIATION OF CULTURAL CONFLICT

Session Organizer: **Matthias Revers**, University of Frankfurt

From the "Sioux Massacres" to the "Dakota Genocide": Transitional (In)Justice and Collective Memory in Minnesota (1862-2012). **Alejandro Baer**, **Joseph**

Eggers, **Nicholas James Siguru Wahutu**, **Brian Marie Watters**, University of Minnesota * Comprehending the contentious public sphere in the authoritarian context. **Haoyue Li**, SUNY, Albany * What is Right and Wrong about Russia and the United States: Mapping a Moral Field. **John Sonnett**, University of Mississippi * How Media Ownership Matters: Political Instrumentalism by Ownership Type in Sweden, France, and the U.S. **Timothy Nerf**, New York University; **Mattias Hesserus**, Uppsala University.

Discussant: Lisa McCormick, University of Edinburgh

4:30-6:10 PM

CULTURAL (RE)IMAGININGS OF THE WORLD

COSPONSORED WITH SECTION ON GLOBAL AND TRANSNATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Organizers and Presiders: **Peggy Levitt**, Wellesley College; **Ronald N. Jacobs**, SUNY Albany

Panelists: **Gianpaolo Baiocchi**, NYU; Wendy Griswold, Northwestern University; **Fuyuki Kurasawa**, York University; **Yasemin Soysal**, University of Essex.

Discussant: **John A. Hall**, McGill University.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15

12:30-2:10 PM

IS RELIGION REALLY JUST CULTURE? IS CULTURE REALLY JUST RELIGION?

COSPONSORED WITH SECTION ON SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

Organizer and Presider: Jeffrey Guhin, University of California, Los Angeles

Panelists: **Tia Noelle Pratt**, St. Joseph's University; **Penny Edgell**, University of Minnesota; **Jen'nan G. Read**, Duke University; **Stephen Vaisey**, Duke University

Other Culture Section Events

SUNDAY, AUGUST 13

12:30-1:30 PM

GRADUATE STUDENT PROFESSIONAL WORKSHOP. FROM DISSERTATION TO BOOK: ON THE PUBLISHING PROCESS

Session Organizers: **Gemma Mangione**, Columbia University Teachers College;
Hannah Linda Wohl, Northwestern University

Panelists: **Michaela DeSoucey**, North Carolina State University; **Jennifer C. Lena**,
Columbia University, Teachers College; **Terence Emmett McDonnell**, University of
Notre Dame; **Eric I Schwartz**, Columbia University.

1:30-2:10 AM

BUSINESS MEETING

7:30 PM

RECEPTION

Joint Reception with the Sections on the Sociology of Development and on Global and
Transnational Sociology

Other Culture-Related Sessions

Saturday, August 12

8:30-10:10 AM Thematic Session. Culture and Poverty from an Empirical Perspective

8:30-10:10 AM Regular Session. Popular Culture: Spaces, Places, and Scenes

8:30-10:10 AM Regular Session. The Cultural Politics of Narration

10:30 AM – 12:10 PM Thematic Session. Culture and Class

10:30 AM – 12:10 PM Thematic Session. Culture and Computational Social Science

2:30-4:10 PM Thematic Session. Apocalypse Now: The Rise and Resonance of Dystopic Imaginaries

2:30-4:10 PM Thematic Session. Cultural Categories, Political Power and Social Closure: Frontiers of
Theory and Research

2:30-4:10 PM Regular Session. Collective Memory: The Aesthetics and Materiality of Memory

4:30-6:10 PM Presidential Panel. Exclusion as an Unintended Consequence
 4:30-6:10 PM Thematic Session. Culture and Population Processes
 4:30-6:10 PM Regular Session. The Role of Categories and Classifications in Cultural Markets and Social Life

Culture-related events on Sunday, August 13

8:30-10:10 AM Thematic Session. (New) Stigmatization and Discrimination
 8:30-10:10 AM Regular Session. Considering the Material in Social Theory
 10:30 AM – 12:10 PM. Thematic Session. Global Work, Culture and Inequality
 10:30 AM – 12:10 PM Special Session. Culture and Embodied Cognition: Readjusting Boundaries between Mind, Brain, and Body
 10:30AM-12:10-PM The “Culture” of Immigration: Understanding Migration Through (Non-Essentialist) Cultural Analysis
 12:30-2:10 PM Presidential Panel. Cultural Processes Compared
 12:30-2:10 PM Thematic Session. Field-Based Approaches to the Study of Political Discourse
 2:30-4:10 PM Thematic Session. The Globalization of Contemporary Art: Markets, (De-)Coloniality and (De-)Commodification
 2:30-4:10 PM Regular Session. Culture, Identity and Belonging

Culture-related Events on Monday, August 14

2:30-4:10 PM Thematic Session. Post-Bourdieuian Theoretical Agendas
 2:30-4:10 PM Policy and Research Workshop. New Tools for Measuring Culture
 4:30-6:10 PM Thematic Session. Changing the Cultural Narrative
 4:30-6:10 PM Thematic Session. New Perspectives on Culture In, Around, and Through Social Networks

Culture-Related Events for Tuesday, August 15

8:30-10:10 AM Regular Session. Political Culture and the 2016 Election
 8:30-10:10 AM Section on Political Sociology. The Cultural Contexts of Political Action
 8:30-10:10 AM Regular Session. Political Cultures in Unlikely Places
 12:30-2:10 PM Thematic Session. How Media Shape Group Boundaries
 12:30-2:10 PM Section on Comparative-Historical Sociology. Pierre Bourdieu and Historical Sociology

ASA program information online:

<http://www.asanet.org/annual-meeting-2017/program-information>

Questions of Culture for Geneviève Zubrzycki, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor



Section Culture: Last August you handed the *skeptron*, as Bourdieu would call it, of the Chair of the Culture Section over to Jenn Lena. Before we speak about your work can you tell us a bit about your experience heading the section?

Geneviève Zubrzycki: It was such a rewarding experience! Because of the way our section is structured, the Chair serves as a “hub” and is therefore at the center of everything that’s going on in the section and in the field more broadly. Since the role of the Chair is to facilitate discussions and exchange, I was very invested in consulting with section members when designing the program, hearing about graduate students’ work in meetings and sessions, and learning about our members’ research. I loved being involved in the many crucial steps of scholarship dissemination, from the moment people submit papers to the moment scholars receive and referendum buttons that I wish I still had! It would have been useful material for my new book... Québécois nationalism had a strong aesthetics, but it was utterly secular. When I first set foot in Poland in June 1989, two days before the first semi-democratic elections in the Eastern Bloc, what struck me most was how national aesthetics there were both similar and different than Quebec’s: while the flags, the political posters, and the euphoric crowds in full Durkheimian effervescence were familiar, the large number of priests and nuns in full habit, together with the mixing of national and Catholic symbols, and of political events with Catholic practices, was new to me. I therefore looked at Poland from Quebec’s perspective, and wondered if Poland would undergo a secularization of society and of national identity now that it had recovered an independent state. I initially wanted

“One of our most important goals, as a section, is to provide not only a venue to showcase our scholarship but also to participate in the intellectual and professional training of the next generation of cultural sociologists.”

Polish identity. I was fascinated by how these historical transformations could impact the definition of national identity, but also how cultural understandings were behind the transformations and shaping them as well.

In that sense you are a true cultural sociologist, in Jeff Alexander's sense of the distinction between sociology of culture and cultural sociology. And that came from an inter-cultural encounter, the Polish experience.

Yes. I am interested in the meaning of social processes and how culture motivates and permeates social action, justifies actions *post facto*, and provides a framework for, and a way of, seeing the world that infuses social political transformation. You are right to point out that this interest was rooted in an intercultural encounter. The “Polish encounter” came after growing up in Quebec in the 1970s and 80s, a society that had undergone a rapid secularization in the 1960s, severing ties with the Catholic Church and articulating a novel, secular, national identity. The late 70s and early 80s were animated with the prospect of Quebec’s independence, and I grew up attending large national celebrations, political rallies, and family reunions on election (and referendum) nights. I had an impressive collection of political campaign

and referendum buttons that I wish I still had! It would have been useful material for my new book... Québécois nationalism had a strong aesthetics, but it was utterly secular. When I first set foot in Poland in

June 1989, two days before the first semi-democratic elections in the Eastern Bloc, what struck me most was how national aesthetics there were both similar and different than Quebec’s: while the flags, the political posters, and the euphoric crowds in full Durkheimian effervescence were familiar, the large number of priests and nuns in full habit, together with the mixing of national and Catholic symbols, and of political events with Catholic practices, was new to me. I therefore looked at Poland from Quebec’s perspective, and wondered if Poland would undergo a secularization of society and of national identity now that it had recovered an independent state. I initially wanted

to write a comparative-historical thesis about Quebec and Poland, but then got engulfed in the on-going Polish transformations and focused entirely on that case. After the publication of the *Crosses of Auschwitz* (Chicago, 2006), I embarked on a study of French Canadian/Québécois nationalism, which resulted in *Beheading the Saint*; this time Poland was the lens through which I looked at Quebec. So my work is deeply comparative even if I write on single cases, because shadow comparisons guide the questions, the research, and the analysis.

Another aspect of my work that was shaped by the intercultural encounter, as you so aptly pointed out, is the attention to national mythology—how it is expressed and transmitted in symbols and rituals, embodied in practices and performances—and how this fosters emotions that generate attachment to the abstract notion of “the nation.” Culture, we know, not only reflects harder processes but also creates and produces structure. The aesthetics of national identity therefore preoccupied me long before I developed the concept of “national sensorium.” In fact, that interest shaped my decision to become a sociologist.

Intellectually, who were your first loves in sociology?

Weber and Durkheim, I’d say. Durkheim for his theory of religion and collective representations, as well as for his attention to the role of the sensory and emotional engagement of individuals in rituals that creates a powerful feeling of collective belonging—that was an important key to unlocking some of the perplexing aspects of national identity and nationalism. Weber for his interpretive, comparative-historical sociology. I’m an interpretivist; I am interested in the meaning of social action.

So you’re a cultural sociologist interested in symbols and meanings—that’s pretty clear when thinking about your work since your very first book, *The Crosses of Auschwitz*. Can one talk of a material turn in your more recent work, maybe around the time you started work on what would become *Beheading the Saint*, published a few months ago?

The role of materiality in fomenting nation(ist) emotions was present in *The Crosses of Auschwitz*, but it was not articulated as such. I was more concerned with historicizing material symbols (such as the cross) than I was interested in their actual material properties. I was working to offer a corrective to Turner’s material theory of symbols by historicizing them, by showing that symbols have historically constituted layers of meanings.

So on the one hand I was critical of Turner’s overdeterministic theory of materialism, and on the other I was arguing that the ways in which specific symbols and the narratives they carry, along with their arrangement in space and in relation to each other, foster emotions that facilitate—or not—social mobilization. I developed that argument and made materiality a more central aspect of my work subsequently—first through the concept of “national sensorium” in a Qualitative Sociology article, then with the concept of “aesthetic revolt” in a *Theory and Society* piece. In the first article, I was specifically looking at how symbols are sensorially encountered by actors. I showed how abstract national scripts articulated by elites are experienced, performed and assimilated by “ordinary people” on the ground. I articulated in that article a theory of nationalism grounded in narratives, materiality



and emotions.

While subjects are “nationed” through the national sensorium, they can actually revolt against the specific national narratives and ideologies carried in, and tran-

mitted by, that national sensorium. By reworking and/or rejecting the national they can create new identities. This is what I capture through my concept of aesthetic revolt, first in the TS article and now in *Beheading the Saint*. Most recently, I returned to the study of nationalism in Poland, examining how liberal secular social actors attempt to redefine and expand symbolic boundaries of Polishness away from Catholicism through their support of an ongoing Jewish revival in that society, and their creation of a Jewish sensorium. That’s what I explore in my empirical chapter in *National Matters: Materiality, Nationalism, and Culture*, a volume I edited and which just appeared with Stanford University Press. It has amazing chapters by many section members!!

What is it that materiality does, theoretically, to the theory of nationalism?

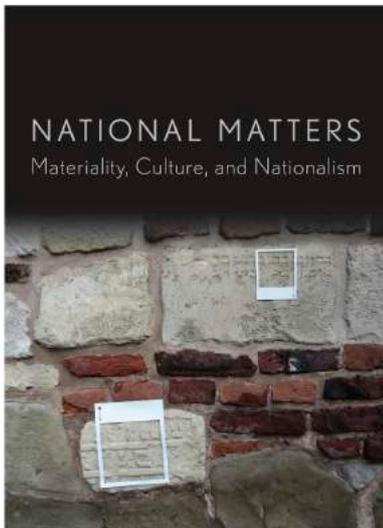
Materiality brings an *additional* element to the table. The “material turn” is important in sociology more broadly because it brings back an aspect in sociological inquiry that has been overlooked with the linguistic turn and its emphasis on discourse and narrative. It’s not that materiality trumps everything else, or is more consequential than anything.. What I propose is an approach to nationalism that pays equal attention to the ways in which the ideological and material are imbricated, and how together they become involved in

institutional arrangements and identity formation and transformation. As a cultural sociologist, I attend to chains of significations that link historical narratives, symbolic structures, and institutional and political arrangements, of which materiality is an integral component.

So it's about providing a better account of change also.

Absolutely.

Looking at the abundance of the materiality literature right now in sociology (see [Volume 28, Issue 3](#) of this [newsletter](#)), where, in your sense, does this focus come from? Because US sociology is a bit of a late comer to the “material culture” concept here. You mentioned Turner, so it seems to be from anthropology for you. Is there anyone else in anthropology or other disciplines that matter more particularly as a source of methodological and theoretical inspiration for us sociologists?



EDITED BY GENEVIÈVE ZUBRZYCKI

Sociology is indeed taking that material turn rather late. Chandra Mukerji was a pioneer and a “loner” for a long time in US sociology; we’re just now finally catching up to her. Her work on the state and political pedagogy has had a tremendous influence on mine. In anthropology, Turner, yes, has been

important in my thinking, but I’d say the theoretical writings of Webb Keane, my colleague here at the University of Michigan, and of Gell were key. Now, for sociologists the real challenge is to show what *we* have to add to what anthropologists and STS scholars have been doing very well for about 20 years.

So what does sociology do better than anthropology?

I’m not sure that’s the right question. What the recent sociological production around materiality contributes is a rich and diverse set of tools around concepts and theories such as iconicity, national sensorium, aesthetic revolt, or cultural entropy. I’d be careful and remain modest in our claims; we’re mostly building on an established field here. But that is not nothing!

You’re not a sociologist only, you’re also a specialist of Poland and Eastern Europe.

Now you’re heading the Weiser Center on Europe and Eurasia and the Copernicus Program in Polish Studies at the University of Michigan. What is good to think with and about concerning Poland that is of broader relevance sociologically to the global context?

I find Poland especially interesting because of it has no contested borders, no significant minorities, no potential irredentist lurking like in Hungary/Romania or Ukraine/Russia. It is also one of the most ethnoculturally homogeneous state in the world (it is about 95% Polish and Catholic). And yet, debates about what constitutes Polishness are pervasive. It’s a very interesting case to think about identity and symbolic boundaries.

The recent turn to the right in Poland and Hungary—the two success stories of the post-communist transition—is highlighting a very problematic social, generational and cultural polarization. The rise of populism in East Central Europe has similar roots to Brexit, or to the Trump phenomenon in the US. All those cases show the appeal of nationalism to mobilize dissatisfied voters. National myths and symbols are skillfully used to provide a filter through which social and economic problems, and even personal experiences, are interpreted. And so the solution appears to be to “make American great again,” or to “protect the Hungarian nation from refugees and other foreigners,” or to “keep Poland Polish (i.e. Catholic)”. But that right turn is also creating a significant backlash against those government, and counter-mobilization: massive crowds march every month in Poland; in Hungary, the popular support for CEU against the government’s plan to shut down the university, has mobilized tens (hundreds?) of thousands of Hungarians; the women’s march here, and the march for science, and important political events.

Are you looking forward to ASA 2017?

Yes! I will be on a presidential plenary Michèle Lamont organized on “The Pursuit of Inclusion through Law, Policies, and Narratives.” The global/international focus in Michèle’s theme is very relevant to my work and interests, so it will be a special ASA for me. And Montréal is almost home for me—I’m from Quebec City, 300 km away, but graduated from McGill (B.Sc) and got an MA at the Université de Montréal before moving to Chicago for the PhD. So Montréal is a special place, and at the center *Beheading the Saint*, so it’s exciting. I always like the Montréal ASAs because more Québec sociologists participate and they are connected to French and American sociology, in addition to having their own schools. I find they have a lot to bring to the sociological table.

Junior Scholar Profile: Karida Brown

Race and Migration through a Pragmatic Lens



Karida Brown defended her dissertation in Fall 2016 at Brown University. Entitled *Before they were Diamonds: The Intergenerational Migration of Kentucky's Coal Camp Blacks*, the thesis has received this year's ASA best dissertation award. The study looks at the transformations of African American subjectivity through two generations of migration from Alabama plantations to the mining towns of Appalachia, between 1910 and the present. Karida explored cultural transition and change through displacement, focusing specifically on the shifts of African American consciousness at the height of the Great Migration, as well as through the Civil Rights era and its aftermath.

The impact of Karida Brown's dissertation exceeds even its by now well-established empirical and theoretical findings, since it jump-started a major archival project, the Eastern Kentucky African American Migration Project. While collecting interviews and other materials, the idea emerged of conserving and making public the large trove of Karida's respondents' donations—documents, photos, and other everyday objects used to support their oral testimonies. The outcome is now a large-scale, ongoing project: a participatory, community-driven archive built around family and family-curated collections for the purpose of collecting, conserving, and sharing the community's collective memory. The archive

has been hosted at UNC Chapel Hill since 2015 as part of the library's Southern Historical Collection and keeps growing thanks to major support from the Mellon Foundation since 2017. Two exhibitions were already organized at UNC Chapel Hill (2015) and one at Brown University (2016). A third one, in the works, will be geared toward a broader public and will be traveling throughout the country starting in 2019 in St. Louis, Missouri.

How does it feel to see one's own dissertation converted into such an important work of public knowledge and community building? "It's certainly one of the most fulfilling and rewarding parts of the research," says Karida. Brown names W. E. DuBois and his pragmatism as the intellectual source of her work's tight articulation of theory and practice. As a follower and a

specialist of DuBois, himself once a student of philosopher William James and a contemporary of James' disciples such as G. H. Mead, Karida Brown embraces the kind of cultural sociology enabled by these founders' pragmatic approach because, she says "it is acrobatic, generative, flexible, capacious, in-situ, in-community.... All this is important for me because I am intere-

sted not just in meaning-making and the making of social worlds but in the interiority of the self."

What does pragmatism bring to the study of race specifically, then? "Many race scholars are pragmatists whether they know it or not" answers Brown. "As a racialized or Black person, one constantly has to problem-solve in a way that's particular, often risky and life-threatening. Social contexts have to be read as problems". As a result, she argues, knowledge is co-constitutive with publics, "which allows for a different type of engagement [on the part of researchers]." Having used pragmatism as a scholar-in-training, Brown is now re-investing in the paradigm in more theoretically engaged ways through papers and publications. Her work is thus part of the school's recent revival in the discipline.

Events such as Neil Gross, Isaac Reed, and Christopher Winship's "Pragmatism and sociology" workshop (Radcliffe Insti-

tute for Advanced Studies, Harvard University, June 2017) will leave on her work an "indelible mark", she says.

Karida Brown will pursue her promising work at UNC Chapel Hill in 2017-18, before returning to her Assistant Professor position at UCLA a year from now.

I am interested not just in meaning-making and the making of social worlds but in the interiority of the self.
Karida Brown

The Past, Present, and Future of Culture at Northwestern



By Gary Alan Fine, Wendy Griswold, and Hannah Wohl at Northwestern University

Contributions by Robin Bartram, Claudio Benzecry, Michaela DeSoucey, Jun Fang, Stacy Lom, Gemma Mangione, and Rahardhika Utama.

Conception is not always intended, and the birth of Northwestern's strength in cultural sociology was an unplanned-but-blessed event. From the 1960s onward, Northwestern was home to two of the discipline's influential sociologists of art, **Bernard Beck** and **Howard Becker**. Culture was part of the department's DNA (Don't Neglect Art!). Evanston was the origin of *Art Worlds*, and together Beck and Becker mentored a string of students who shaped the discipline, including **Rosana Hertz**, **Mitchell Stevens**, **Amy Binder**, and many others.

By the mid-nineties the Sociology Department contained a number of faculty who did something-and-culture: **Nicola Beisel** did gender and culture, **Wendy Espeland** did theory-and culture, **Al Hunter** did urban-and-culture, and Bernie Beck provided a linkage to the Chicago theatre scene with an emphasis on social relations. Given this promising foundation, when the department recruited senior scholars **Gary Alan Fine** and **Wendy Griswold**, the latter remarked, "Oh, so you're making a play for cultural sociology." "Why, no," she was told, "We're thinking of Gary as a social psychologist and you as a comparativist-Africanist." Bemused and intrigued by the pos-

sibilities, both decamped to Northwestern to accept and extend these proffered identities. Over the next twenty years, the department continued to draw faculty with strong cultural interests – **Mary Pattillo** on urban and African American culture, **Carolyn Chen** on religion, **Hector Carrillo** on sexuality, **Charles Camic** and **Steve Epstein** on science, knowledge, and culture. Aspiring doctoral students (who were quicker to recognize the connections than the original recruiters) began flocking to Northwestern. As a result, current students can approach culture through a combination of perspectives. As alumna **Michaela DeSoucey** described, "It makes a real difference to have more than one 'culture' perspective on the faculty – it made me very sensitive to the peculiar characteristics of culture as a valued and multi-dimensional object of study, as a tool of meaning-making, as well as its social influence on other domains."

The nuts-and-bolts of our program are similar to many others: some platform courses taught almost every year (e.g., Cultural Sociology, Field Methods), some specialized courses taught most years (e.g., Collective Memory, Methods for Cultural Analysis), a workshop in ethnography, and another workshop for advanced students in cultural sociology. Alumna **Stacy Lom** stated, "When I think of 'culture at Northwestern,' the first thing that comes to mind is Culture Workshop, which is one of the things I miss most about being at Northwestern." **Robin Bartram**, last year's student

facilitator of the Culture Workshop, explained that the diverse projects discussed in this workshop were “a consistent reminder about the extent to which questions about meaning and interpretation are the backbone of such a variety of topics and research endeavors.” While common to many programs, students find these courses and workshops to be foundational. What is distinctive comes from the institutional characteristics of the Northwestern Department, and two are key.

First, we have a famously intense sense of community, a collegial atmosphere shared by faculty and students where innovative thinking flourishes and dissertations develop that are creative and unconventional: Why do Americans and the French think differently about goose liver (Michaela DeSoucey)? Why do HIV/AIDS billboards advising the practice of safe sex sometimes convey the opposite message, or no message at all (**Terry McDonnell**)? How do you sell life insurance in China if the Chinese culture abjures talking about death (**Cheris Chan**)? Why is an evangelical church’s proselytizing different in Miami and Madrid (**Diego de los Rios**)? How do plastic surgeons reproduce ethnic stereotypes (**Alka Menon**)? What is the border between nature and the city, and what does race have to do with it (**Kevin Loughran**)? How do people construct museum-going as “good” for our health (**Gemma Mansion**)? How do artists balance creativity with standardization in Chinese art test prep schools (**Jun Fang**)? What is the occupational culture of building inspectors (**Robin Bartram**)? How do contemporary artists develop signature styles and how do these styles constrain them (**Hannah Wohl**)? How do African artists use or reject their ethnicity as a trading chip (**Sakhile Matlhare**)? This represent only a few of the projects through which our students have trained us to be better and broader scholars.

Second, our department is both de-centered and strongly centered. Most faculty and students have a foot outside of the Sociology Department, in Communications, Humanities, Political Science, Law, Global Studies, Theatre and Drama, Gender and Sexualities, Science and Human Culture, Program for African Studies, and other departments. We require students to take three courses outside the department, and dissertation committees with faculty from other departments are common. This commitment to interdisciplinary, to which we hold, is especially important for budding cultural sociologists whose research invariably depends on

external expertise. Alumna **Gemma Mangione** wrote, “I valued that faculty who trained graduate students in the sociological study of culture encouraged us to speak to scholars across disciplines, as they also did in their own work.” Especially unusual is the number of cultural sociologists housed in other departments, particularly in the Department of Communication Studies, home to **Claudio Benzecry** and **Larissa Buchholz**, and the Kellogg School of Management Studies, home to **Lauren Rivera**, **Klaus Weber**, **Brayden King**, and **Paul Hirsch**. These sociologists regularly attend workshops and serve on dissertation committees of sociology students. They expand and enrich our conversations about what culture is and what it does.

The department has also benefited from the strong connections with other universities across the globe. In addition to our joint Ph.D. program with Sciences Po in Paris, we regularly

The culture tradition at Northwestern is not a thing of the past; it will be alive for many years to come.

Claudio Benzecry

host students from China through international exchange programs. The department also participates in the Arryman Program, which supports exceptionally talented Indonesian students to pursue doctoral work at Northwestern. For example, **Rahardhika Utama**, an Arryman Scholar, has taken courses at Northwestern in the sociology of culture, attending the Culture Workshop and collaborated with faculty members. Building upon his foundation in the sociology of culture, he is researching the cultural dimensions of local politics in Indonesia, specifically how politicians utilize color to augment their symbolic power. Such programs and exchanges allow Northwestern students to benefit from both interdisciplinary and international perspectives.

In some departments, such decentering risks having a hollowed-out center. At Northwestern, all sociologists gather each week (physical co-presence producing emotional energy, Randall Collins would say) in our longstanding Thursday colloquium series. We hear each other in action, button-hole each other about a new idea on the way in (and, more often, on the way out), and celebrate our collective values. The result of these two factors and this combination of faculty and resources attracts a special kind of student and produces a distinctive kind of multi-faceted research. As Claudio Benzecry stated, “The culture tradition at Northwestern is not a thing of the past; it will be alive for many years to come.”

SPECIAL FEATURE: SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE IN CANADA

The Sociology of Art and Culture in Contemporary Quebec: An Historical Overview

By Marcel Fournier, Full Professor, Université de Montréal¹

Sociology is at once a witness, a critic, and an actor of/in society. In Québec perhaps more than anywhere else the relationship between the sociology of art and culture on the one hand and Québécois society on the other has been a complex one--too complex to permit more than a superficial overview here. Concerns with art and culture have been central in the history of a minority that was always economically dominated, looked down upon, "born for a bread roll", dispersed across a vast territory, under-schooled for a long time, and whose language, French, has seemed perpetually threatened with assimilation or marginalization. Language, cultural heritage and the arts have been a crucial part of Québec's imagined identity.

Let us consider different periods of Québec's contemporary history, each with its own political challenges and institutions, each with its distinct research priorities and key publications.

1. From the end of the 19th century to World War II (the Confederation [1867] gives Canada the status of a nation-state, and Québec the status of a province with autonomy in educational matters).

The role of cultural policies was to conserve an admired but divided collective heritage through new museums and national parks. Anthropologists and sociologists focused on two communities, unintentionally



contributing to their "folklorisation": First Nations Aborigines, and French Canadians. Pioneers of this anthropology of Canada were two French Canadians, **Léon Gérin** and **Marius Barbeau**. Gérin, a student of disciples of French sociologist F. Le Play, produced monographs of rural French Canadian families. Barbeau, a former student of Marrett's at Oxford, was a member of the new National Museum of Canada (Ottawa) and studied *potlatch* on Canada's West Coast, later turning to the folklore (legends, songs) of Québécois farmers.

In the 1920s and 1930s, a conservative nationalist movement formed in Québec. Its leader was an abbey, Lionel Groulx, its journal was *L'Action nationale*. The Government of Québec adopted nationalist policies, including the motto *Je me souviens*, the Fleur-de-Lys flag, and a museum, the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Québec.

These two decades saw the founding of new academic institutions: in 1920 the Department of social, economic and political

sciences at the University of Montréal (with Édouard Montpetit, a law professor, as its first Dean in 1926) and the Sociology Department at McGill University, where W. Dawson and Everett C. Hughes taught; and in 1936 the École des sciences sociales of University Laval in Québec (father G.-H. Lévesque, o.p., as its first Dean).

Two American students from the University of Chicago, fascinated by the "archaic" French Canadian community, conducted ethnographic studies of these communities. **Horace M. Miner** (1936) observed the life of rural Saint-Denis. **Everett C. Hughes** (1943) focused on the semi-urban community of Cantonville (Drummondville), studying the "encounter between two worlds", the modernization process, and the transition from "agrarian" to "urban" society.

2. From the post-war era through the 1960s.

The federal government pursued more active social (Keynesian) and cultural policies, resulting in particular in public funding for the arts and culture (Arts Council of Canada) and a national broadcasting company (Radio Canada). A strong critique of "traditional" Québec appeared in Québec through the work of **Marcel Rioux** and **Pierre-Elliott Trudeau**. Rioux, Barbeau's son in law and a researcher at the National Museum, studied what appeared to be the end of traditional French Canadian society. In his *Description de la culture de l'Île Verte* he explored "the culture of Québec as an ethnic entity", stressing from the onset the "archaic

nature, the insularity and the structural simplicity of this community of fishermen." He focused on techniques (agriculture, fishing, building), customs (kinship, language, leisure), food (coarse but healthy), domestic decor (religious engravings, calendar) and (rather conventional) clothing. Among appendixes features a text on board games; a list and the texts of songs; and the results of a Rorschach test of respondents' answers allegedly demonstrating introversion, emotional dependence, and other signs of "infantility" (Rioux, 1954). The tradition of Québec monographs and community studies persisted for decades (see e.g. **Colette Moreux'** beautiful 1982 study, *Douceville en Québec*).

The 1960s in Québec were the years of the Quiet Revolution, during which neo-nationalist ideology developed, with "Maître chez nous" (Masters in our own house) as a motto and plans to modernize the (provincial) state, democratize education and culture, and support the cultural industries (TV, cinema, music). Québec was no longer defined as an ethnic community but as a "global society", a notion developed by the sociologist Fernand Dumont, sociology professor at Laval University. A global society is a society that produces means for its own integration. For sociology this meant more departments and more students and professors, new journals, and new publications.

In 1964, the journal *Recherches sociographiques* published a special issue on French-Canadian literature and society. It featured an article by **Jean-Charles Falardeau**, one of Hughes' former students and the first Chair of the Sociology Department at Laval University, on "Les milieux sociaux dans le roman canadien-français contemporain" ("Social class in contem-

porary French-Canadian novels"--ndlr), and a theoretical essay by **Fernand Dumont**. A few years later, Falardeau converted his paper into a major book, *Notre Roman et sa société* ("Our Novels and their Society") and Dumont's theoretical piece became a brilliant essay entitled *Le lieu de l'homme. La Culture comme distance et mémoire*. ("The Place of the Human. Culture as distance and as memory")

Two sociologists were particularly involved in the democratization of education and culture: **Guy Rocher** and **Marcel Rioux**, both professors at Université de Montréal. As a member of the Commission Royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec (known as *Rapport Parent*, 1963-1964, 4 Vol.) Rocher proposed important reforms: the creation of a Ministry of Education, of CEGEPs (general and vocational colleges), and universal access to the university. With Rioux as president, the Commission on the Teaching of Art in Quebec (1967-1968) proposed to convert the humanities-based definition of culture into an open one, giving to art a critical and innovative function. For Rioux, who endorsed a critical, Frankfurt-style position inspired by Marcuse, artistic creativity was the source of all creativity. Therefore, he felt, the real objective of cultural policies should not only be to democratize access to culture, but also to build a cultural democracy. As a public intellectual, Rioux denounced the cultural industries and warned against the Americanization of Québécois culture. He edited two special issues of the review *Sociologie et Sociétés*, one titled « Critique sociale et création culturelle » ("Social critique and cultural creation," 1979); the other « Sociologie critique et création artistique » ("Critical

sociology and artistic creation," 1985).

During the 1970s, French sociologists influential in the field of arts and culture taught at the University of Montréal: **Lucien Goldmann**, **Joffre Dumazedier**, and **Edgar Morin**. A former student of Goldmann's and a professor and Chair of the Department of sociology, **Pierre Brûlé**, published one of the first sociological analysis of Québécois cinema: *Pierre Perrault ou: Un cinéma national* (1974). Also inspired by Goldmann's perspective, **Gilbert Tarrab**, a professor in social work interested in new artistic forms (happenings) and in the new relationship between artists and their publics wrote "Essai de sociologie du théâtre: *La Cantatrice chauve* et *Les Chaises* de Ionesco" ("Essay in the Sociology of Theater: Ionesco's *Bold Soprano* and *The Chairs*," 1967) and a sociological essay, "Théâtre du nouveau langage" ("Theater of the new language," 1974).

3. In 1976, the Québécois Party came to power under the lead of René Lévesque. Language, education and culture became political priorities.

The *Charte de la langue française* ("Charter on French Language" or Law 101) made French the official language of Québec. A large Ministry for Cultural Development was created with a new policy, *La politique québécoise du développement culturel* (1978), involving regular surveys about Québécois' cultural practices. The Québécois Institute for Research on Culture and its journal *Questions de Culture* launched a vast research program on popular culture, identities, cultural industries, cultural policy, urban and rural cultures, literature, visual arts, artistic

professions, regional histories, etc. **Fernand Dumont** was the founder and first president of the Institute.

A former student of Marcel Rioux' (M.Sc., University of Montréal) and of Pierre Bourdieu's (Ph.D. in sociology, École Pratique des Hautes Études-Sorbonne), I was personally involved in the movement as an associate researcher at IQRC, starting in 1982 with a research project on art education and artistic milieu. (**Fournier, with Bernier and Perrault**, 1986 ; **Fournier** 1986a) I published *L'entrée dans la Modernité*, a book on art, science and culture in Québec (1986b) with a chapter on the painter Paul-Émile Borduas, leader of the Automatist mouvement in art with its manifesto *Refus global* (1948).

As a professor in the department of sociology I trained a new generation of sociologists of art and culture, introducing several of them to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: **Guy Bellavance, Jane Marontate, Veronique Rodriguez, Anne Robineau, Anne Julien, Miriam Misdrahi, San Annotate**. Bourdieu visited Québec twice and published two articles in *Sociologie et Société*, one on the scientific field, and one on Marcel Mauss.

During the 1980s, the sociology of art became an important subfield within sociology, an interdisciplinary one with links to history of art and literature especially. A former student of French sociologist **Raymonde Moulin, Francine Couture**, wrote her PhD dissertation on the market of chromolithographs (*Le marché des chromos à Montréal et dans la région métropolitaine*, 1981) and began researching the contemporary history of the arts in Québec (*Les arts visuels au Québec dans les années 1960* [Couture 1993, 1997]). In 1983, sociologists

André Belleau, Manon Brunet and Greg Neilsen edited a special issue of the journal *Études littéraires* on the theme "the sociology of literature".

At a theoretical level, **Pierre Bourdieu's** influence remained strong throughout the period, not only in sociology but also in art history and literature (see, for example, accounts by **Beaudet** [1991] and **Saint-Jacques and Viala** [1994]). Also notable is the impact of the Marxist perspective which has generally been central in sociology departments, especially at the Université du Québec at Montréal (UQAM) where it inspired a large body of research on the cultural industries (**Lacroix**, 1986; **Tremblay**, 1990).

4. Since the mid-1980s, the culture field has been changing.

The Party Québécois lost its first referendum in 1981. The more conservative Liberal Party of Québec came back to power, moving away from the project of political independence and defending instead a kind of cultural sovereignty within the Canadian confederation. The PQ won elections again later on but lost a second referendum in 1995.

As exemplified by the success of Cirque du Soleil, culture and the arts in Québec have become more intensively commodified, even as they sometimes remain unique and creative. The arts are now taught and researched in marketing departments and schools of management. The select business school HEC, for example, recently created an Arts Management Chair, currently held by **François Colbert**, author of *The Marketing of Art and Culture* (2000).

As elsewhere, public museums are becoming quasi-corporate entities. Public-private partnerships embed corpora-

tions and the state ever more closely together in cultural production. Information technologies and online platforms have created a new reality and a new concept : "digital culture," or *culture numérique*. This has brought together culture and communication in academic departments and research programs. At UQAM, **Jean-François Côté** studies the metropolis as a cultural, postmodern product; at the University of Montréal, **Claude Martin** and **Line Grenier** study new cultural practices and the music industry; at McGill University, **Will Straw** explores the social forms and types of sociability in cities. A professor at UQAM and editor of the journal *Sociétés*, **Michel Freitag** introduced a postmodern perspective and published extensively on "the paradoxical condition of art in postmodern society." (see e.g. Freitag 1996) Meanwhile, the influence of Marxism has declined, especially in English-language and comparative literature departments, and left in its place an interdisciplinary field of "cultural studies," as illustrated at the University of Concordia by the work of **John Jackson** on radio broadcasting, or of **Greg Nielsen**, a specialist of Bakhtine.

During the 1990s, two events at the institutional level deserve mentioning: 1) the integration of IQRC into INRS (National Institute of Scientific Research) in 1994, and the creation of L/ASS/T around Guy Bellavance (1991, 2000); and 2) the creation of the Observatory of Culture and Communication in 2000 as part of the Institute of Statistics of Québec—a governmental research center that brings together a core research group focusing on statistical and demographic issues. I am myself associated with both institutions.

Meanwhile the IQRC keeps

focusing on regional cultures, both from a history and a cultural sociology perspective. (**Harvey and Fortin**, 1995; **Fortin**, 2000) The Institute published a large and ambitious collective book: *Traité de la Culture* (Lemieux, 2002).

Unfortunately, this essay can't exhaustively list current works. I will only mention, since I know them well, that an increasing number of partnerships between universities and cultural institutions, especially museums, result in valuable publications and catalogues related to exhibitions. I have personally collaborated on several of them, including with the Museum of Civilization in Québec City, the Museum of Contemporary Art of Montréal, and the Canadian Center for Architecture.

Conclusion

Québécois sociologists have produced a large body of empirical research and published numerous books on Québécois identity, an identity that they have shown to be both local and global, with influence from Europe and the US. But research in Québec has also dealt with all major aspects of the sociology of art and culture, especially: 1) professions and careers of artists, writers, and other professionals (**Bellavance**); professional organizations and the work place (**Rodriguez**); 2) cultural and artistic institutions, for example publishing (**Michon**); 3) the democratization and the publics of art and culture (**Bailargeon, Ollivier**); 4) the market and the cultural industries (**Couture, Lacroix, Tremblay**); and 5) cultural policy in the diverse fields of literature, cinema, theater, arts, dance, music (**Saint-Pierre, Misdrahi, Laberge, Poirier**).

Cultural scholarship in Québec has been consistent, regular, and incredibly rich. It has been fed through solid literacy in

work produced abroad, open to the big contemporary theoretical debates, and informed by critical perspectives. There is no better place to discuss these questions than Montréal, the large, Francophone, cultural metropolis, with its "hundred bell towers" of churches, synagogues, and mosques, its numerous cultural and ethnic communities, its new entertainment district, and its many festivals. This summer in particular several festivals and excellent exhibitions will be held, which I especially recommend to visiting fellow sociologists: "Révolution" (on the 1960s); commemorations of *Expo 67* at [Museum of Fine Arts](#) and at the [Museum of Contemporary Art](#); Olafur Eliason at the [Museum of Contemporary Art](#); as well as "Besides History" and "Educating Architects" at the [Centre Canadien d'architecture](#).

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The Cultural Sociology Research Cluster in the Canadian Sociological Association and the CSA 2017 Annual Meeting



By **Allyson Stokes** and **John McLevey**,
University of Waterloo

In 2013, the [Canadian Sociological Association \(CSA\)](#) started facilitating the creation and operation of official “research clusters.” Unlike ASA sections – which have been around far longer – the research clusters are managed very informally. Most do not have elected positions or subcommittees, and only a few offer scholarly awards or recognitions. The [Sociology of Culture / Cultural Sociology Research Cluster](#) is one of the largest and most active of the 28 clusters currently operating.

For the last five years, the cluster’s organizing committee has been comprised of four volunteers: **Allyson Stokes** (University of Waterloo), **Kim de Laat** (University of Toronto), **Benjamin Woo** (Carleton University), and **Diana Miller** (University of Toronto). In addition to doing organizational work in advance of the annual Canadian meetings, they have started a culture cluster blog and listserv, where members communicate about new and exciting research, share details about upcoming conferences, networking events, job postings, media inquiries, and other relevant news.

Since its inception in 2013, the cluster has organized sessions at every annual CSA meeting. There are recurring sessions in **core areas** of culture research, including: **Culture and Inequality**, **Theorizing Culture**, **Cultural Production and Creative Industries**, and **Culture and Everyday Life**. The cluster also hosts sessions proposed by individual members, which vary in topic from year to year, along with annual business meetings and networking events.

In 2017, the CSA meetings were held at [Ryerson](#)

[University in Toronto](#), Canada. For the first time, the cluster branched out from standard sessions and organized three successful and well-attended panels. The first was an author-meets-critic with **Daniel Silver** (University of Toronto) and **Terry Clark** (University of Chicago), authors of the book [Scenescapes: How Qualities of Place Shape Social Life](#). Panelists included **Benjamin Woo** (Carleton University), **Will Straw** (McGill University), and **Miranda Campbell** (Ryerson University), with **Diana Miller** (University of Toronto) moderating. Silver and Clark’s book draws on a wide-range of qualitative and quantitative data to examine how local “scenes” influence our experiences, skills, and communities. They explore core dimensions of scenes, including theatricality, legitimacy, and authenticity, showing how the culture of a place is connected to economic development, political action, and residential patterns. Panelists asked insightful questions about inequality within and between particular scenes, how to make sense of permanent, semi-permanent, and temporary or recurring scenes, and about the broad theoretical contributions of the concept of scenescapes. The panel generated a lot of excitement and engaged discussion, despite being held in the last time slot of the last day of the conference!

A lot of exciting work is happening, and the cluster is looking to keep up the momentum by growing membership, connecting with more international scholars of culture, and continuing to promote exciting and important research on culture and cultural processes.

Another panel – “**Assessing Bourdieu’s legacy**” – was motivated by the central role that Bourdieu’s work plays in sociological research globally, and of course within the Canadian context. **Kim de Laat** (University of Toronto) moderated the panel, which consisted of **Bonnie Erickson** (University of Toronto), **John McLevey** (University of Waterloo), **Mervyn Horgan** (University of Guelph), and **Vanina Leschziner** (University of Toronto). Each panelist initially spoke about their general assessments of Bourdieu’s legacy in cultural sociology, and offered their views on important but relatively neglected ways of engaging with Bourdieu. To that end, **Ericson** spoke primarily about extending Bourdieu’s analysis of social inequality beyond class

and culture, and placed a particular emphasis on aging and generations. **Leschziner** spoke about Bourdieu's contributions to our understanding of the cognitive dimensions of action and the organization of cultural fields. **McLevey** spoke about embracing Bourdieu's vision of sociology as a thoroughly *relational* social science, and argued that relational theories have been adopted much more frequently than relational methodologies. In particular, he argued that recent methodological developments in social network analysis provide researchers with powerful tools for understanding the evolution and structure of cultural fields, and the acquisition and transmission of cultural capital. **Horgan** also spoke about being inspired by Bourdieu broadly, especially by Bourdieu's legacy as a public intellectual towards the end of his career. Horgan placed a particular emphasis on the contemporary importance of Bourdieu's work on social suffering, for example in the co-authored book *The Weight of the World*.

The Bourdieu panel evolved into a lively discussion on the merits of different ways of engaging with Bourdieu's corpus. On the one hand, panelists agreed that Bourdieu's ideas are often misunderstood or applied superficially, and that there is much to be gained from careful and deliberate readings of his work. Still, some argued that a less loyal and holistic approach – i.e. freely taking ideas and applying them to new contexts without adopting Bourdieu's entire conceptual framework – can inspire many promising research agendas. Finally, the panelists discussed potential missed opportunities and blind spots in Bourdieu-inspired cultural sociology. This resulted in a conversation about inequalities such as gender, age, and

sexuality, and the potential contributions of some of Bourdieu's critics – primarily Boltanski and Thévenot – to contemporary cultural sociology and social theory.

The final panel centered around the question: **“Is There Such a Thing as Canadian Cultural Sociology?”** Panelists included **Philipa Chong** (McMaster University), **Benjamin Woo** (Carleton University), and **Neil McLaughlin** (McMaster University). This well-attended panel sparked a lively discussion about whether there is something distinctive or nationally-specific about the cultural sociology being done in Canada (in other words, is there something methodological or theoretically distinct about Canadian cultural sociology, or is it cultural sociology about Canadian cases and issues), and more broadly the benefits and drawbacks of such an explicit national lens. This led to a broader discussion between panels and the attendees about doing cultural scholarship in the context of both nationalism and globalization.

Like the other CSA research clusters, the culture cluster is still very new. A lot of exciting work is happening, and the cluster is looking to keep up the momentum by growing membership, connecting with more international scholars of culture (the 2017 CSA sessions were well-attended by scholars from other countries), and continuing to promote exciting and important research on culture and cultural processes. The cluster is excited about the theme of this year's ASA's in Montreal (Culture, Inequalities, and inclusion Across the Globe). Many of the cluster's members will be in attendance and look forward to connecting with culture scholars from the US!

JOB OPENING

The Department of Sociology (<http://dornsife.usc.edu/soci/>) in the Dana and David Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences at the University of Southern California (Los Angeles, CA) will be making two tenure-track appointments at the rank of Assistant Professor, with an anticipated start date of Fall 2018. The positions are open with regard to specialization. We are seeking candidates who have demonstrated exceptional promise in research and teaching. The Ph.D. is required by time of appointment. In order to be considered for this position, applicants are required to submit an electronic USC application; follow this job link or paste in a browser: <https://usccareers.usc.edu/job/los-angeles/assistant-professor-of-sociology/1209/5113437> . The applicant should upload a letter of interest that addresses research and teaching, a CV, representative scholarly papers or chapters, and the names of three referees who can be contacted by USC for a letter of reference. Screening of applicants will begin October 1st and continue until the position is filled. Inquiries may be sent to socisearch@dornsife.usc.edu or to Nina Eliasoph at eliasoph@usc.edu.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS: CULTURAL SOCIOLOGY OF EXTREME POLITICS

A Rose by This Name

Populism, Gender, and Nationalist Ideology in the French National Front



By Dorit Geva, Central European University

On April 23, the first day of presidential voting in France, I attended a party in the Lyon area for National Front activists who gathered to watch the first round of the presidential election results come in. FN activists were admiring the Marine Le Pen presidential campaign posters hanging on the walls. One couple paused in front of a poster and commented, “she is beautiful in this one.” As at so many other events I have attended during four years of fieldwork on the radical right *Front National* (FN) party, members expressed appreciation for their beloved leader’s physical attributes.

Marine Le Pen has been leader of the FN since 2012, after her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, stepped-down as longstanding party leader. Her leadership of the FN has sent shockwaves through France, transforming the party from a pugilistic protest party to a populist party determined to become a significant presence in government. Her strategy has reaped results in municipal and European parliament elections since 2014, and in the current 2017 presidential elections. Perhaps most pivotally, the FN will become a significant presence in the French

National Assembly following this June’s legislative elections. Currently the FN holds two seats in parliament, whereas some polls predict that as of June they could hold as many as sixty.

Under Jean-Marie Le Pen’s leadership, the FN was a macho, and more classically radical-right, organization. It was associated with post-war fascist leagues which had coalesced under Jean-Marie Le Pen’s charismatic leadership in the early 1970s. Since Marine Le Pen’s election as party president, she has not only softened and sanitized the party’s image, but has furthermore transformed the party into a *populist* party. She is one of several female figures in Europe, and globally, who is representing the new face of the populist radical right. Like Germany’s Frauke Petry, Denmark’s Pia Kjaersgaard, and the United States’ Sarah Palin, Marine Le Pen is actualizing certain features elemental to populism, but which can take new form through female populist leaders. To understand how this is so, it is vital to first arrive at a precise understanding of populism, and to highlight its gendered dimensions.

Populism and Gender

Broadly, I understand populism as a political style. Drawing from recent scholarship by Benjamin Moffitt and Simon Tormey (2014), I see populism as encompassing six closely related features. These include: 1) employing anti-elitist discourse; 2) a highly personalized leadership style, 3) identifying with “the people”; 4) “going low,” i.e. deliberately employing “bad manners” to show that they are of the people; 5) constantly evoking

historic crisis; and 6) efficaciously producing a sense of deeply personal relations between themselves and their followers, who take on a strident political subjectivity as populist followers.

Moffitt and Tormey contextualize contemporary populism within Guy Debord’s concept of the “society of the spectacle” (1995), referring to the intense mediatization of everyday life, including in politics. Political figures can be rewarded electorally for outlandish behavior and statements, and new media technologies have become platforms for routinizing a sense of emotionally laden relations with political figures.

Although Moffitt and Tormey say nothing about gender, gendered imagery clearly boosts contemporary populism, for both male and female populists. Within right-wing populism, “the people” is equated with an ethno-national body. As scholars have long argued, women’s bodies and feminine imagery occupy a principle place in modern nationalism. Historian Joan B. Landes argues, for example, that French Revolutionary political culture was permeated with visual imagery equating the French nation with an eroticized, nubile, female body (2003). The figure of Marianne, symbol of the French Republic, continues to be mobilized as a representation of “secular France,” evoked in arguments against French Muslim women’s headscarves (Mukherjee 2015). A female populist can benefit from a deep resonance between her embodiment of nationalist ideals and a populist discourse of embodying

the people's will.

Figures such as Marine Le Pen, or the United States' Sarah Palin, turn to familial, often maternal, imagery to signal their identification with the people, and even to play the role of the mother of the nation. Rather than "going low" through bad manners -- a repertoire more available to male populists -- women populists "go high" to go low. They proclaim their personal moral authority and invoke an ethic of care as mothers, daughters, wives, or widows to distinguish themselves from established political elites, and to connect to the people. This strategy is effective in conjuring a nationalist sentiment of kinship, and in creating a strong sense of a personal bond between a populist leader and her supporters. As one FN Youth leader plainly stated, "Marine Le Pen could be our mother." Older FN adherents, by contrast, speak of Marine Le Pen as if she was their own daughter.

Modern nationalism also emphasizes particular masculine virtues. Historian George Mosse traced how national conscript armies in Europe, formed in the nineteenth century, became schools of "heroic virility," merging militaristic ethics of virile masculinity with nationalist projects (1996). Military virility became embedded in ideals of formation of masculine character and citizenship. Male populist leaders, on both left and right, frequently emphasize militaristic virility and authority in distinguishing themselves from effeminate, or feminine, elites, and in connecting to the people. Yet, it is not only male populists who can embody these ideals. A figure such as Marine Le Pen can be seen as a virile, authoritative woman. One young woman FN activist admiringly explained, "There are few women who display, I dare say, as virile a force as her."

A Rose by This Name

Marine Le Pen is a gifted politician. Her critics insist that the party remains, at its core, a radical right racist organization. Nonetheless, the party's electoral gains since 2012 undoubtedly illustrate the effectiveness of Marine Le Pen's strategy. This strategy has entailed producing gendered imagery, employing multiple masculine and feminine tropes. Interviews show how supporters assimilate and personalize this repertoire, giving them a means of articulating why they support, even love Marine Le Pen, and a means of identifying their political foes. I have found that she is referred to as a mother, daughter, modern divorced woman, feminist, seductress, working girl, captain, and warrior, and is compared to iconic historic figures such as Joan of Arc, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Charles de Gaulle.

As he handed it to me he eagerly explained why he believed it had been dyed blue: "So that you know that the impossible is possible!"

This powerful symbolic multivalence offers the means by which Marine Le Pen appeals to "the people," criticizes elites, claims to be an answer to profound crisis, and personalizes her leadership. Furthermore, all these elements create a sense of deeply personalized political relations between FN adherents and their leader.

At the April 23 FN soirée I recently attended, I was reminded yet again of the intimate relationality conjured between the National Front leadership and party adherents. After the election results had come in and champagne bottles had been cracked open to celebrate Marine Le Pen's advancement to the presidential runoff, dyed-blue

roses were distributed to all the women at the party. The blue rose is Marine Le Pen's 2017 campaign symbol. It signals an obvious feminization and softening of the party's image, but also makes a gesture to the red rose of the social democrats, references the French royal blue and its association with Joan of Arc, and pays homage to military blue.

The men at the election soirée enjoyed gallantly handing blue roses to the women in the room. The women, in turn, were delighted to be taking home a long-stemmed blue rose, the same kind of blue rose Marine Le Pen has been offered at the end of each of her major presidential campaign speeches. I watched one man from a small town near the Swiss border bring a rose to his wife. Earlier in the evening he had been telling me about the transformations of the town where he had been born and lived his whole life, a place famous within France for its local cheese. He claimed it was now full of immigrants because of the Socialist mayor who had offered them housing, and said that he could "not recognize anyone anymore." After bringing a rose to his wife he realized that I had remained empty-handed. He dashed and found one remaining rose. As he handed it to me he eagerly explained why he believed it had been dyed blue: "So that you know that the impossible is possible!"

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Raging Against the Enlightenment: The Ideology of Steven Bannon



By Jeffrey C. Alexander, Yale University

A version of this contribution was delivered as a lecture to the Yale Political Union, April 13, 2017.

S t e v e n K . Bannon has been

called “Trump’s brain,” the man identified by David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, as the “individual who’s basically creating the ideological aspect of where we’re going.” And as Duke helpfully reminds us, “ideology is ultimately the most important aspect of any government.”

Let’s get beyond the sound bites and photos of Bannon in unbuttoned Barbour and rumpled cords. Let’s look under the hood of Bannon’s mind. What is the ideology of Steven K. Bannon actually like?

One thing for sure: It is pretty much antithetical to the ideas and the spirit of democracy.

When he references big thinkers – he’s a brilliant intellectual and voracious reader, his admirers claim -- Bannon gestures admiringly to fascists, bigots, dictators, and theocrats.

Charles Maurras, for example: The rabidly anti-Semitic French Catholic political intellectual; fan of Mussolini and Franco; leader of the “anti-Dreyfusards” who persecuted the Jewish Army Captain falsely accused of treason; decades long-agitator against the democratic and secular Third Republic; sentenced to life imprisonment after World War II for collaborating with the Nazi occupation.

Or Julius Evola: Italian professor at the weird but aptly named “School of Fascist Mysticism”; ferociously anti-Semitic; intellectual and spiritual advisor to Mussolini; god father of the Racial Laws that sent thousands of Italian Jews to their deaths in the late 1930s.

Alongside admiring allusions to such heinously reactionary intellectuals, one finds nary a reference, amidst Bannon’s many words, to icons of American democracy, such as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Theodore or Teddy Roosevelt, John Dewey, or even Ayn Rand.

Bannon sees himself as an outsider, just like the political heroes he has cinematized, such as Reagan, Palin, and Trump. And just like all the mythical “lost men” whom candidate and then President Trump, under Bannon’s direction, has ostensibly dedicated himself to resurrecting. Bannon is Irish-Catholic; raised blue collar; matriculated at Virginia Tech; worked at Goldman Sachs but didn’t get to be partner; and hung around Hollywood for years without ever making it. In 2004, Bannon turned his hand to writing, directing, and producing his own crudely bombastic right wing pseudo-documentaries. They proved catnip for the base, but made nary a ripple in the wider world of Indie or pop.

The sense of being left behind, of being dissed and excluded by the establishment, has fueled in Bannon not just resentment but powerful anger, the kind of life-long, supercharged aggression that creates extremists, sociopaths, sometimes even assassins -- just overall really bad and dangerous stuff. His younger brother recounts that, even as a boy, Bannon (like Trump) couldn’t get enough of physical altercation. The adult Bannon as been described as a “screamer” for whom “everything has to be a fight. “He loves the idea of war,” recounts his long-time Hollywood collaborator. Bannon himself tells audiences: “You have to have the fighting spirit of a warrior!” And he described the ethos of his influential megaphone, *Breitbart News*, in this way:

Our big belief, one of our central organizing principles at the site, is that we’re at war ... It’s war. It’s war. Every day, we put up: America’s at war, America’s at war. We’re at war.

The sense of being left behind, of being dissed and excluded by the establishment, has fueled in Bannon not just resentment but powerful anger, the kind of life-long, supercharged aggression that creates extremists, sociopaths, sometimes even assassins -- just overall really bad and dangerous stuff.

This furious fighting-from-behind mentality certainly qualifies Bannon as an ideological leader of the contemporary American right. Since the days of such progressive reformers as Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, and more fervently and frantically since the 1960s, conservatives have

been flaying in frustration at what they see as the seemingly inexorable expansion of liberalism -- social, cultural, sexual, environmental, and political. Conservatives have reached the highest perches of political power, from state house to White House, from Congress to Supreme Court, from Nixon to Reagan, Bushes I and II, and Donald Trump. But even the full force of conservative state power seems to have failed to put a stop to the steady march of social incorporation, from industrial workers in the 1930s and Jews in the 1950s, to blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women, immigrants, and non-conforming sexualities in the long 20th century, from the 1960s until today.

It is impossible to underestimate how this failure, as extraordinary as rarely acknowledged, has infuriated America's cultural and political right. It has made them rabid with rage. And this anger has boiled over with the decades long decline of American global power; China's rise; stalemated military ventures; the glo-

balizing, post-industrial economy that rewards education and punishes unskilled; and with eight years of the high profile, unflap-

pable, deeply polarizing but also unusually effective reign of America's first African-American president (lest we forget the "Birther" movement that launched Trump's own bid for national power).

By the middle of Obama's second term, the American right was beside itself with frustration. Steven Bannon, Donald Trump, and the "alt-right" -- alternative right, *new* right -- are the result.

* * *

Bannon's ideology is constructed around binary codes and temporal narratives, the former deeply othering, the latter dangerously, frothingly apocalyptic.

At the core of Bannon-ideology is a series of extraordinarily simplistic contrasts between good and bad, sacred and profane. This series creates dangerous *others* whose continuing existence threatens the good folks who make up what Bannon describes as the "real America."

Bannon heaps scorn on non-white immigrants -- Hispanic, East Asian, South Asian -- and purifies the people he describes as "native Americans." This fantasy category most definitely does *not* include our nation's actual natives, America's indigenous "Indians," much less the most culturally "American" racial and ethnic groups of all, African-Americans.

What are some of the other simplistic binaries that animate Bannon-ideology?

* Nationalists are sacralized, globalists despoiled.

* Property is praised, poverty considered evidence of disqualification.

* Religion is given a god-smacking yes, secularism always disparagingly framed.

* Christianity is equated with Godliness and civilization and, while Bannon sometimes remembers to add the "Judeo" adjective, as in "Judeo-Christian" civilization, neither Jews as a people nor Judaism as a religion is part of Bannon's view of the national mainstream. As for non-Western world religions, most especially Islam, forget about it. Bannon dismisses them as un-Godly, barbarian enemies of Western civilization.

*And let's not forget our own national "elites." Vilified as rootless, cosmopolitan, selfish and self-enriching, Bannon contrasts them with "The People," that vague, mysterious, pious entity he and other populists so reverently evoke.

While one must resist argument ad homonym, in regard to this last binary we indulge ourselves to pause, for just one moment, to consider Bannon's blatant hypocrisy. After

Virginia Tech, Bannon went to Georgetown for an MA and Harvard Business School for his MBA. He has a personal fortune estimated between twelve and fifty million dollars, derived in some part from his work as a deal-maker at super-elite Goldman Sachs, in larger part from the partial rights to Seinfeld reruns from the sale of Castle Rock the helped broker in 1993. Who are more rootless, cosmopolitan, do-nothing, navel-gazing liberals than Jerry and his Jewish clan? Bannon's personal wealth is deeply implicated in the cosmopolitan, cultural and economic elite.

But I digress. Back to the binaries.

Us (pure)	Them (profane)
People	Elites
Real Americans	(Non-white) Immigrants
Nationalists	Globalists
Property	Poverty
Religious	Secular
Christian	Non-Christian
West	The Rest
Civilization	Barbarian

Bannon's ideology is constructed around binary codes and temporal narratives, the former deeply othering, the latter dangerously, frothingly apocalyptic.

Between the people and institutions arrayed on one side or the other, one can imagine relations of different kinds. They might view themselves as aggressive opponents, but not necessarily as enemies. In a democratic social order, the adversarial conflict between partisan opponents is *agonistic*, not *antagonistic*. Bannon sees it otherwise. There is no space for comity in his universe. Just as there is no room for supra-national governance, there is no space for constitutionally authorized third parties to mediate conflicts on the domestic scene.

If the opposing sides are, not frenemies but enemies, there can be no mutually binding rules of the game. We find ourselves in Nixon-land, a world of plumbers, spies, and liars, of fierce, extra-constitutional confrontations with congress, press, and courts. Clausewitz remarked that war is politics by another name. Bannon sees politics as *war* by another name. No wonder he has vowed that “every day, every day, it’s going to be a fight.”

* * *

Bannon weaves these tensely opposed binaries into an apocalyptic narrative that pits good against evil in a fateful, bloody, battle-to-the-death fight. Narratives are stories with a beginning, middle, and end. Such stories transubstantiate abstract moral binaries into flesh and blood characters, protagonists and antagonists. Stories plot the struggle between heroes and villains that ends in glorious triumph or nightmarish death.

In his 2004 documentary about Ronald Reagan, *In the Face of Evil*, Bannon condenses his long list of dangerous others into a meta-antagonist that, drawing from the Old Testament’s *Book of Daniel*, he metaphorically identifies as “the Beast.” Against a dark *mélange* of martial images and music, the film narrator recalls the blood lust killing and desperation of World War I, dramatically intoning, “from this fever swamp grows the Beast.” Ominously referencing the “dark side,” the voice over cites “Bolshevism, Fascism, Communism, Nazism, Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, Tojo [and] Stalin.” It’s clear that Bannon’s Beast really is not about history but the present day. Those who have occupied the dark side are bestial, his narrator explains, because they sought “control of the state,” not for the sake of value but “power as an end in itself.” They were the secularists and cosmopolitans of their day, their Nietzschean “will to power” creating what Bannon would later term “the Administrative State.” The Beast is Bannon’s “face of evil,” and it’s voracious. In the course of the 20th century, the Beast grew strong and stronger, it

feasted not only on the real America but on generations of weak-kneed liberals too cowardly, pathetic, materialistic and pleasure-seeking to stand up to the monster in righteous fight.

Only Ronald Reagan knew “how to confront the Beast.” A “radical with extreme views,” Reagan was “the only true outsider elected in the century.” Before Reagan, liberals “had been hoping that the wolf had passed by the door,” the narrator intones, but Reagan knew better. The Beast may have been quiet, but he was still there, lingering just outside. Against this monstrous presence, Reagan launched a vast military build-up, a saber-rattling foreign policy, and a domestic agenda foraged from the far right. Faithful Christian from the hinterlands, anti-communist, gutsy crusader for God and Country, Ronald Reagan won the Cold War and saved the day -- and not a second too soon, for Apocalypse was imminent.

Today, three decades after being saved by Reagan, Bannon’s America is back in the worst kind of trouble again. In *Generation Zero*, his 2010 documentary that cinematizes the pseudo-science of generational upheaval proposed by William Strauss and Neil Howe, Bannon’s narrator ominously warns, “History is

seasonal, and winter is coming.” First came “The Unravelling,” from 1982 to 2004, when money culture ruled, the work ethic dissolved, and “the self

Now we face the “Crisis,” the time of final reckoning. What we do now determines whether the America experiment fails or can be raised. If the right prevails, it will lead, in Howe’s words, to “a new founding moment in American history.” If the left wins out, America is finished. As one critic put it, *Generation Zero* presents a “hellishly bleak vision of past, present, and future, driven by magical belief in historical determinism.”

Violent times require violent tactics. In speech after speech, interview after interview, movie after movie, Bannon connects his prophecy of the coming “radical upheaval” with aggressive, often violent, apocalyptic confrontation. “I want to bring everything crashing down, destroying all of today’s establishment,” he declares, menacing not only the left but moderate forces on the right. Bannon characterizes himself as a Leninist, and he has winked at the Weathermen, the militant Maoists who tried to foment the violent overthrow of capitalism in the twilight of the sixties.

Bannon is not a conservative but a revolutio-

Clausewitz remarked that war is politics by another name. Bannon sees politics as war by another name. No wonder he has vowed that “every day, every day, it’s going to be a fight.”

nary. Philosophical conservatives, such as Edmund Burke and Michael Oakeshott, despise radical and apocalyptic thinking, championing common sense and incremental change. Enlightenment thinkers often felt the same way. Kant warned that, “from the crooked wood of man nothing straight can be built.” No master plan, but rather small steps for “man” adding up to one big step for humankind. Bannon is having none of this. Proclaiming, “darkness is good,” he likens himself to such pulverizing figures as Darth Vader, Dick Cheney and, I kid you not, to Satan himself.

A former *Breitbart* collaborator suggests, “Bannon has no hard and fast political philosophy, only an apocalyptic theory.” But this would recognize narrative form at the expense of the substantive binaries upon which it builds. For Bannon, victory in the climactic struggle will pave the way for reactionary policy and belief, about property, class, immigration, race, religion, nationalism, gender, and sexuality. Victory would turn back the clock to good old American time, when Americans really were God’s Chosen People.

In 1973, a Frenchman named Jean Raspail published a novel called *Camp of the Saints*. It painted a phantasmagorical story about brown and black immigrants destroying Western civilization - literally. An Indian demagogue called “the turd-eater” leads an “armada” of 800,000 impoverished dark skinned Indians from the subcontinent to Europe’s southern shores. Rampaging through the countryside, these “dark

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hoards” proceed northward, multiplying like bunnies, raping white women and killing white men. Finally, they take control of major cities, Paris, London, and eventually even New York. In 1975, Scribner published an English translation, splashing across its cover, in large capital letters above the book’s title: “A CHILLING NOVEL ABOUT THE END OF THE WHITE WORLD.” The English publication met with withering reviews, to wit this observation by *Kirkus*: “The publishers are presenting *The Camp of the Saints* as a major event, and it probably is, in much the same sense that *Mein Kampf* was a major event.”

The novel, which went quietly out of print, is flagrantly racist, as is its author, now 91 years old and living comfortably in the 17th arrondissement of Paris. “This Western world ... I am sorry to say, is white,” Jean Raspail recently told an interviewer; “there is no other Western world other than white. That’s how it is.”

Why do bring up an obscure book forty years after its failed publication? Because in 1983, *Camp of the Saints* was back in print, thanks to hefty subsidies from right-wing donors, and, republished two more times since, it has gained a cult following among the online alt-right. This is where Bannon comes in. Time and again, this alt-right ideologue has employed *Camp of the Saints* as a metaphor to frame immigration in our own times. “It’s been almost a Camp of the Saints-type invasion into Central and then Western and Northern Europe,” Bannon suggested in October 2015. “It’s not a migration. It’s an invasion. I call it the Camp of the Saints,” he explained in January 2016. “I mean, this is Camp of the Saints, isn’t it,” he rhetorically asked an interviewer in April, 2016, going on to suggest that the refugee crisis “didn’t just happen by happenstance. These are not war refugees. It’s something much more insidious going on.” A conspiracy, a dark skinned demagogue, an Armada, an invasion?

I’ve entitled this talk “Raging Against the Enlightenment.” Perhaps you are thinking this elevates Bannon a wee bit. Has he read Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot, perused the *Encyclopedia*, or been down with Kant and Tocqueville -- the big thinkers who champion science and humanity, freedom and equality, and the universal rights of man? Doubtful. Has he read Burke, Herder, or De

Maistre, Hegel, Nietzsche or Oakeshott -- the big thinkers whom Isaiah Berlin famously dubbed the “counter-Enlightenment”? While this, too, seems pretty unlikely, it is vital to see that Bannon-ideology is deeply imbedded in this counter-narrative, in the line of conservative thinking that has challenged the emancipatory humanism upon which democratic politics and a hopeful view of modernity are based. Bannon is the ideological heir of the intellectual backlash against modernity that has been unfolding from the Counter-Reformation right up to the present day. He is the foe of every idea, institution, and movement that idealize the universal and raise high the banner of truth, truth, liberty, and equality.

* * *

Why did the President of the most stable, effective, and long lived constitutional democracy in the history of the world choose such a figure as Steven Bannon as his Virgil, his Sancho Panza, his sidekick, his “Chief Strategist”? As the string of awkward blunders and downright failures marking Trump’s first six months demonstrates, one should not look for an explanation to Bannon’s political skills. Trump chose Bannon, rather, because Bannon’s velvet glove fits so snugly around Trump’s iron fist. Bannon-ideology is the water in which Trump swims, in which he has always swum, without knowing he was in the sea. Bannon crystallizes Trump’s inchoate but raging outsider feelings, completes his half-formed ideas, raises to college level his fifth-grade syntax.

Understanding Bannon-ideology allows us to comprehend, not Trump the person, but the political actor. To journalists and politicians, Trump’s performances appear impulsive, pragmatic, and banal. If we read these performances against the background of Bannon’s ideological scripting, they seem coherent; they have a compelling sense about them, in a radical, alt-right way. We see Trump acting and speaking, but it has, more often than not, been Bannon’s words we actually hear; it’s he who has set the scene. “As far as political reality goes,” a *Politico* critic observed in the weeks following Trump’s election, “it’s Bannon’s movie, we’re in it, and the opening credits have just started to roll.”

Bannon has been a performance-enhancing drug. The secret of his power over Trump, and over some large swath of the American people, has been his mythopoeic abilities, writing the script, setting the stage, finding the actors, and directing the mis-en-scene so effectively that anti-democratic ideas seem for many sensible and sometimes even inspiring, while democratic ideas appear irrational and profane. Bannon once called Trump a flawed vessel, but into that striving, overheated human container Bannon has poured a magical potion, a fearsome brew.

Bannon is a mythologist. He scripted and produced a new and pernicious political movie, which he continues to direct. Donald Trump plays the heroic protagonist, and Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, Democrats, and Enlightenment ideas play the dark Beast that the barking, bleached blond populist President has entered the arena to slay. Bannon once confided to *Variety* that he had a “kinetic editing style that seeks to overwhelm au-

diences.” In the months that led up to Trump’s election, the greater part of America’s citizen-audience were subdued and some offered Bannon’s production a standing ovation. In the months after the election, some of these same viewers have become restless in their seats, and some are getting up to leave. The left, meanwhile, is creating counter-performances, writing new plots and casting around for new heroes.

Democracy is sustained by a discourse that celebrates autonomy, rationality, and moral equality, and by independent institutions that encourage skepticism, participation, and free expression. Trump, as made visible by Bannon, wants to convince us that universalistic discourse is outmoded and independent institutions dysfunctional. He spouts Bannon’s othering binaries, and he attacks core democratic institutions: journalism is fake, public opinion polls fixed, courts biased, voting is not dispositive, office not binding. The aim of Trump and Bannon is deceptive, for they are participating in a political process that democracy has constructed. When we reconstruct Bannon-ideology, however, the truth comes out. They are participating in democracy in order to destroy it.

But nobody can predict performative success. The best funded shows, with accomplished actors, crash on opening night. Unknown plays, performed in obscure venues with untried actors, become dark horse hits.

“I am Thomas Cromwell in the court of the Tudors,” Bannon once remarked. Cromwell was a clever and far-sighted political man. Still, he ended up dead, hung out to dry, and die, by the very King he had so slyly and violently served. Three months ago, this was widely thought to be Bannon’s fate. “Dead strategist walking” is what *New York Times*’ Op-Ed writer Frank Bruni called him, in a column headlined “Steven Bannon Was Doomed.” But the announcements of Bannon’s death have been greatly exaggerated. The “cosmopolitan” team led by GQ-esque son-in-law Jared Kushner has fallen on hard times, performing in the failed Russian version of “Let’s Make a Deal.” Meanwhile, Trump’s withdrawal from the climate accord, his persistence with the Muslim ban, his “decline of Western civilization” Poland speech – these efforts promoting particularism over universalism, in the guise of protecting national sovereignty, have Bannon’s fingerprints all over them. Can Trump the Scarecrow afford to live without his brain?

Bannon once called Trump a flawed vessel, but into that striving, overheated human container Bannon has poured a magical potion, a fearsome brew.

MEMBER ANNOUNCEMENTS AND NEWS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

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- Kumar, Kristan. 2017. *Visions of Empire: How Five Imperial Regimes Shaped the World*. Princeton University Press.
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- Wagner-Pacifci, Robin. 2017. *What is an Event?* University of Chicago Press.
- Wariko, Natasha Kumar. 2017. *The Diversity Bargain: And Other Dilemmas of Race, Admissions, and Meritocracy at Elite Universities*. University of Chicago Press.
- Zelizer, Viviana. 2017. *The Social Meaning of Money with a preface by Nigel Dodd and a new afterword by the author*. Princeton University Press.
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DISSERTATION

Stacy Smith. *Dead and still grateful: Deriving mechanisms of social cohesion from deadhead culture* (Defended April 2017, Kansas State University)

NEW AND SPECIAL ISSUES

American Journal of Cultural Sociology double issue on Inequality – Vol 5, Issues 1-2

Rachel Sherman - Conflicted Cultivation: Parenting, Privilege, and Moral Worth in Wealthy New York Families * Stephen Ostertag and Lucas Diaz - A Critical Strong Program: Cultural Power and Racialized Civil Exclusion *Zawadi Rucks-Ahidiana - Cultural Implications of Historical Exclusion for the Racial Wealth Gap: How Ideal Financial Behavior Varies by Race * Chi Wang - Perceived Positions Along the Social Spectrum: The Subjective Social Status of Contemporary Chinese in A Coastal Metropolis * Jessi Streib - The Unbalanced Theoretical Toolkit: Problems and Partial Solutions to Studying Culture and Reproduction but Not Culture and Mobility* Julianne Smith - "I'm not gonna be another statistic": the imagined futures of former foster youth* Laura Stark - Action under many descriptions: How discourses of work and voluntarism create new organizational practices in postwar exchanges for "human subjects" * Michael Strand - Historicizing Social Inequality: An Archival Analysis of Moral Discourse in the American Political Field * David Harding, Cheyney Dobson, Jessica Wyse and Jeffrey Morenoff - Narrative Change, Narrative Stability and Structural Constraint: The Case of Prisoner Reentry Narratives

American Journal of Cultural Sociology Special Issue on the 2016 US Election edited by Jason Mast and Jeffrey Alexander. Preview articles as they become available online at <http://www.springer.com/social+sciences/journal/41290/PS2?detailsPage=press>

Introduction, by Jason Mast and Jeffrey Alexander* Politics as a vacation

Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Iddo Tavory * On the construction sites of history: Where did Donald Trump come from?, Mabel Berezin * Why evangelicals voted for Trump: A critical cultural sociology, Philip Gorski * Muslims as outsiders, enemies and others: The 2016 presidential election and the politics of religious exclusion, Ruth Braunstein * A period of "wild and fierce fanaticism": Populism, theo-political militarism, and the crisis of US hegemony, Julia Hell and George Steinmetz * Deep stories, nostalgia narratives, and fake news: Storytelling in the Trump era, Francesca Polletta and Jessica Callahan * Journalism after Trump, Ronald N. Jacobs * When voters are voting, what are they doing? Symbolic selection and the 2016 U.S. presidential election, Matthew Norton * The fragmenting of the civil sphere: How partisan identity shapes the moral evaluation of candidates and epistemology, Daniel Kreiss * Legitimacy troubles and the performance of power in the 2016 US presidential election, Jason L. Mast

AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS

Nachman Ben-Yehuda is the co-winner of the 2017 **Law and Society Association Award for significant contributions to the advancement of knowledge in the field of law and society**. The committee wrote that Ben-Yehuda's "numerous publications on morals, deviance and law-breaking have great impact on research in many countries. For example, his work on techniques of neutralization is taught to criminology students wherever they are. Nachman Ben-Yehuda bridges political science with criminology and brings both to the field of socio-legal studies, with a focus on social and political conflicts. His theorizing and research engage with the conflict in which his country finds itself, and he draws lessons for global perspectives."

Amin Ghaziani was appointed the **Canada Research Chair in Sexuality and Urban Studies** on December 2, 2016. The Research Chairs program, by the Government of Canada, invests approximately \$265 million per year to attract and retain the world's most accomplished and promising minds. It is part of a national strategy to make Canada one of the world's top countries in research excellence in the natural sciences, health sciences, humanities, and social sciences.

CALLS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND APPLICATIONS

The new editors of your Section Culture newsletter invite submissions for their Fall 2017 issue. We are particularly interested in reviews of ASA events, book reviews, short pieces about the institutional past and/or present of cultural sociology in the US and abroad, as well as posts about culture in the news. Students are also welcome to contact us with proposals and ideas. Contact Hillary Angelo (hangelo@ucsc.edu), Diane Graizbord (dgraizbord@uga.edu) and/or Michael Rodriguez (michael.rodriguez@northwestern.edu).

Elites, Culture, Power in Comparative Social Research. Abstracts due **September 15, 2017**
 The yearbook Comparative Social Research invites the submission of papers on the changing significance of elites, and tensions between elites and population groups, in a comparative perspective. The current rise of populism seem to shatter established relationships between elites and the population in both Western and non-Western parts of the world, and may represent a challenge to democracy. Reasons for these changes need to be scrutinized and more thoroughly understood. Increased tensions between people and elite groups may vary from one society to another, reflecting differences in national culture, organizational and political structure, as well as institutions producing social integration. Which groups are perceived as elites, and which groups hold power, may vary between countries and over time. Recent political developments, as well as research, suggest that the role of cultural and symbolic dimensions in the shaping of elite status is significant. Full call here: http://www.emeraldgroupublishing.com/products/books/news_story.htm?id=7205. For further information contact: Daniel Arnesen, assistant editor. daniel.arnesen@socialresearch.no; Trygve Gulbrandsen, volume co-editor. trygve.gulbrandsen@socialresearch.no; Mari Teigen, volume co-editor. mari.teigen@socialresearch.no; Marte Mangset, volume co-editor. marte.mangset@hioa.no; Fredrik Engelstad, series editor. fredrik.engelstad@sosgeo.uio.no

“Transnational Fields of Production and Consumption”

CFP for the ISA World Congress of Sociology, taking place in Toronto, Ontario, Canada from July 15-21 2018. Abstracts due by September 30, 2017. RC14 Sociology of Communication, Knowledge and Culture. More about conference here and abstract submission here.

Most empirical studies of cultural consumption still focus on nationally-based fields (Meulemen and Savage 2013) but a growing literature focuses on the transnational elements of cultural production and consumption. (Go 2008, Fligstein and McAdam 2012, Savage and Silva 2013, Kuipers 2011, Verboord, Kuipers, and Janssen 2015) This session is interested in studies of cultural production and/or consumption that highlight the transnational character of fields. How can transnational analyses of cultural production and/or cultural consumption enrich our understandings of fields? What are the advantages and/or disadvantages in transnational studies of production and/or consumption? Of particular interest are studies that focus on popular culture broadly defined (music, food, fashion, literature, etc.), although all empirical subject areas are welcome. Contact: Dr. Athena Elafros, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Keuka College (athenaelafros@gmail.com).

Global Tastes: The Transnational Spread of non-Anglo-American Culture. Special issue of Poetics. Full call here

Globalization’s cultural effects have gained significant attention in the sociology of culture. Research on ‘global’ tastes and new, transnational forms of cultural capital often remains limited to some cases of European high culture – like French literature – and to American and British popular culture. This Call for Papers encourages original, empirically-based contributions that explore the production and global spread of African, Asian, Australasian, Caribbean, Middle Eastern and Latin American cultural forms, and their consumption, mediation and evaluation in a variety of national, regional and local contexts.

Abstracts due **September 15, 2017**. Guest editors: Simone Varriale (University of Warwick, UK, s.varriale@warwick.ac.uk), Noa Lavie (The Academic College of Tel-Aviv Yaffo, Israel, lavie@mta.ac.il)

OTHER NEWS

New Managing Editor for the American Journal of Cultural Sociology. The editors are proud to welcome Anne Marie Champagne while expressing our gratitude to her predecessor Shai Dromi, who helped nurture the journal through its early years of development. Ms. Champagne is a PhD candidate in sociology at Yale University. Her research concerns issues of body, embodiment and the social dimensions of aesthetic power. Her dissertation looks at how aesthetics and materiality inform legal, medical, and social approaches to mastectomy and chest reconstruction in transmen and female-identified breast cancer survivors. She is a liaison for the Sociologists for Trans Justice Initiative, web manager for the ASA Section on Body and Embodiment, and ASA Theory Section student representative.