The topic of political culture is particularly compelling at this time, and the Editors of *Culture* have engaged some eminent scholars to map promising avenues for empirical research. Having discussed issues related to politics and culture in the January newsletter, I would now like to consider one aspect of political culture—that of voice, or participation. Although this issue has interesting epistemological ramifications because of its relationship to the social construction of knowledge, not to mention significant consequences in the realm of collective action, it surfaced for me in relation to pedagogy, so I will begin my story there.

This spring, I have been teaching a new course entitled “The Good Society.” Last spring, that time slot was occupied by a course on the “Foundations of the Social Sciences”, which I team taught with four other colleagues from our division; but at the end of the semester the other woman in the course, an anthropologist, and I resigned from the team. We left because of intractable problems in the curriculum design and interpersonal relations of the course. The problems revolved around definitions of “the canon” of social thought, and the intersection of that historically-cast debate (which often boiled down to who to teach and why) with conflicts about theory and methods in the contemporary social sciences. Put less abstractly, colleagues representing the other departments in our division were not only inhospitable to comparative, cultural, critical, historical, or interpretive approaches to knowledge—except as artifacts of earlier and less perfect ways of doing social science—but were also dismissive of us, both as women and as “carriers” of a minority view of social thought.

It was a painful but instructive experience. Three things, in particular, will always stay with me from that year. First, especially when dealing with gender and poststructuralism, I have written and taught about dichotomous categorical schemas that both naturalize and privilege certain identities, traits, and ways of being in the world, but I have rarely watched those dichotomies applied in a situation where I expected so much in the way of self-reflective collegial discourse. Throughout the year, the two of us and our viewpoints were consistently and unconsciously referred to in ways implying that we represented irrationality, subjectivity, emotion, ignorance, and the voice of marginal or anomalous social groups as opposed to modes of thinking that accounted for universal social experiences and embodied reason, objectivity, and certain knowledge. Ironically, the “great thinkers” themselves were subjected to the same processes: lectures portrayed the true heroes of social thought as standing outside history and the body. Our team leader in particular mentioned family, historical context, and (most amusingly) sex life and neurosis only when discussing thinkers who were “really wrong.” These dichotomous frames were the major conceptual mechanisms by which my colleague and I, and some social theorists, were denied legitimacy, our ideas excluded or suppressed.

Second, it was remarkable how little “reason” figured in the process. As a sociologist, I should have expected this, but as an academic I hoped for, if not the “ideal speech situation,” then some gesture towards it. But the majority of the team somehow could not even encounter our ideas. They lost the books and articles we requested them to examine or could not read them past the first
few pages; they interrupted us at meetings so we were literally silenced; they protested that the students in their sections could not learn “our” material or were deeply disturbed by it; they found our lectures too simple or too complex; and when one or the other of us gave a lecture that did help them out of their confusion, they had forgotten it by the time of our next team meeting. Aside from marvelling at the unintentional creativity of these ploys, I was struck by the role of power and preconceptions in structuring the very field of available alternatives from which questions and issues for reasoned discussion emerge. This has implications for both knowledge and social action in settings far from the one I was experiencing, but it was fascinating to see the processes of exclusion at work in this interactional microcosm.

Third, the majority of the team appeared to me to be generating a rather impoverished notion of the social sciences. In their view, social scientific knowledge should be stripped of historical or cultural specificity, of any account of human motivation more complex than a modified behaviorism or rational choice theory, of critical or hermeneutic reflexivity, and—perhaps most significantly—of moral or ethical concerns, except those of professional honesty and respect for the rights of research subjects. The latter lacuna was particularly striking in light of the renewed discussion of moral philosophy that has informed such recent works in our field as Wolfe’s *Whose Keeper?*, and Bellah, et al.’s *The Good Society*.

Our resignation, then, left me not only with a hole in my teaching schedule, but also with a desire to develop a new course that could embody a different understanding of the social sciences. Taking up Bellah’s nomenclature, I framed the course to encompass what many regard as sociology’s interrelated tasks of analyzing specific social problems, of formulating critical appraisals of the existing social order, and of envisioning both abstractly and more programatically how to move towards “The Good Society.” The course examined those linked projects of analysis, critique, and renewal in relation to concrete social issues (specifically the family, inequality, and the environment) as well as more generally.

As we worked through a set of texts that was relatively new to me as well as the students, I gradually realized that many of them gave short shrift to the very issue that had led to the creation of the course. Some addressed it, but usually abstractly or as a marginal concern. Even books that isolated lack of grassroots participation and voice as a significant social problem were at a loss how to deal with it except in relatively thin ways. It is clearly easier to discuss both problems or programs (whether ongoing or proposed) than to imagine or indicate examples of a process that could involve ordinary people in the same moves towards social renewal that sociologists are attempting to initiate by their textual interventions.

Indeed, the prospects for revitalizing participatory democracy are daunting. And sociologists have already accomplished valuable work in isolating inhibiting factors, some of which have important cultural components, such as impoverished discursive traditions, the encroachment of market and welfare-state ideologies on civil society, or the structure of social scientific expertise. But rather than review the discussion that has been developing within the field, I want to supplement it with the views of some Texas activists who served as informal consultants and guest speakers for the last sessions of the course. They raised three interrelated issues.

One was the bureaucratic “crowding” of the environment for social activism. In the late 20th century, there is a plethora of organizations, initiatives, and programs that makes a dense undergrowth of both barriers and resources for activists to deal with. This organizational density and fragmentation calls
for translation, brokering, and integration both on the part of the activist and on the part of constituencies becoming empowered.

Second, the fragmentation and hierarchical nature of this organizational environment has made communication a particularly vexing issue. Activists not only discussed the difficulties of outreach into traditionally passive constituencies and of “bottom up” communication, but also that of communicating between grassroots groups. The technologies that have served the present administration so well for initiating the “permanent campaign presidency” and for bypassing the established national media may have worked well for some activist groups (perhaps especially single issue groups with deep coffers), but other groups still need to be brought into effective communication networks.

Further, activists mentioned a significant bifurcation between the realm of social, cultural, and moral issues that people find compelling and that of formal politics, which still remains structured along the lines of welfare-state interest group realpolitik. Both conceptually and procedurally, this puts a cap on collective action that is especially frustrating at a time when holistic and morally charged issues are at the forefront of collective concern.

The activists’ perspectives are valuable because they emerge from a different experience than that of most academics. All offer prospects for empirical research into the intersection of politics and culture that might bear fruit both theoretically and in practice, by enabling more effective participatory initiatives. In yet another way, they also raise the issue that pervaded the “Foundations” course: that of who frames the questions.

As sociologists, we might benefit by directly addressing the research implications of this issue. Taking the example of how to move towards “the good society,” a first step might be to discuss problem definition and program or policy evaluation with different constituencies. This would open the process of research and program design significantly. Funding agencies, political interest groups, and publishers already have some de facto powers in this direction, but it would be important to include, in Mabel Berezin’s definition of the term, “political communicators,” and also necessary to include those people who are most affected by existing political programs or policies.

This discussion should be, insofar as possible, genuinely dialogic. Feminist scholars, fieldworkers, and some of the new cultural anthropologists have analyzed the difficulties inherent in such dialogue, such as differences in power, language, and cultural preconceptions. But by now there is also an impressive array of texts embodying different aspects of the dialogic ideal, which gives scholars both techniques and examples to emulate and critique. I am not suggesting that sociologists become some sort of unmediated “voice of the people,” that would be irresponsible to our own scholarly ideals and traditions. This is simply a suggestion that broad participation is an important precondition for a vital political culture, and that sociologists can help engender it if we broaden participation in the social construction of knowledge about politics, society, and culture by sharing the power to define its scope and direction.

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**Dissertation Abstract:**

**The Social Construction of Rock Musician Identity, Aesthetics, and Performance**

Jill Stein
University of California, Los Angeles

The rock music culture industry is the source of some of the 20th century’s most significant and popular postmodern art. This study seeks to enter the social world of rock and roll through the professional musician, and to examine how processes of interaction shape and are reflected in the production of music, and play an integral role in the career and culture of the artist. The successful working musician who records and performs with popular artists at the national level is the empirical focal point. A large portion of the data was gathered through in-depth interviews with numerous professional musicians, and during participant observation in a number of their work and informal settings. Further support was drawn from the scholarly and popular press. Some of the major themes discussed include: the collaborative actions and distinctive organization of the rock art world; the contingencies and practices of producing sound and playing music; the experience of live concert performance for the artist; the lived and used meaning of group culture and the locating of personal and professional identity within it. This study looks at a variety of situations in which rock musicians are involved with organizing and creating popular music, and explores some of the practices and patterns of these central actors in an important contemporary art world.
FROM THE EDITORS
Cheryl Zollars and Muriel G. Cantor

The American University and its Dept. of Sociology have provided institutional support to the Culture newsletter during our editorship, and we would like to officially thank them here. We are pleased to present a speech by The American University President Joseph Duffey. His remarks will be of interest to our readers not only for the topic—multiculturalism and the relation of American culture to global culture—but also for its policy salience: Duffey is the incoming Director of the U.S. Information Agency.

Multiculturalism is one of the thematic topics of the Culture Section’s Program Day at the 1993 ASA annual meetings, and DiMaggio discusses both in the update prefacing his presentation of the Culture Section Program in this issue. DiMaggio joins several other authors—Long, Gans, and Berezin—writing here on topics pertinent to political-cultural interactions in arguing the urgency of cultural sociology's relevance to numerous continuing and emergent state-society issues worldwide. As part of sociologists' engagement in these processes, Long and Berezin point to a need for academics to reexamine the epistemological preconceptions of their own perspectives in relation to the social construction of political knowledge, identity and participation. Long, Gans, Berezin and DiMaggio each identify various tasks of timely research. Gans and Berezin both highlight 'symbolic politics' as a topical area in which sociologists of culture need to reassert their disciplinary expertise and research attention.

In the last issue we posted a brief announcement of the death of a long-time section member and colleague in the study of culture: Fred Davis. Here Gladys Engels Lang and Kurt Lang have generously taken the time to reflect, based on a long friendship, upon Fred Davis’s life and contributions to sociology.

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The term for the 1992-93 Editorship of Culture, The Newsletter of the Sociology of Culture Section of the American Sociological Association — yes, the thing you are reading — expires with this combined Spring-Summer 1993 issue. Anyone interested in applying to be the 1993-94 editor should contact 1992-93 Chair Elizabeth Long as soon as possible.

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(1) Abstracts of section members’ dissertations or other research in progress, (2) queries about article proposals, and (3) letters of comment on earlier articles are welcome. All are needed in advance of the relevant issue deadline, the latter to give the original authors reasonable time to respond. The tentative deadline (see above) for the Fall 1993 issue is 15 September. All submissions should be made either by e-mail or by diskette in either [IBM] WordPerfect or ASCII — 3.5 low density diskettes preferred but not required. ASR citation format also preferred. Hardcopies are not acceptable substitutes. Please scan your diskettes for computer viruses before submitting files.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON POLITICAL CULTURE

Herbert J. Gans
Columbia University

Although it would be tempting to discuss my topic in relation to the several definitions of culture presented in past issues of Culture, I will write only—well almost only—about political culture in terms of the two fundamental conceptions of culture that transcend all specific definitions. One is what I think of as the holistic or broad conception which anthropologists and sociologists use to describe the ways of life of the societies they study; the other is the narrower symbolic or aesthetic conception (for want of a better label), which has so far mostly concerned the ASA Section on Culture.

For a long time, political culture was basically treated as a subclass of the holistic conception, to describe the patterns of norms, practices, etc., of political institutions, and the political ways of entire societies. Now, however, as politicians seem to campaign all the time and constantly produce campaign materials, including some borrowed from the arts and the worlds of entertainment, symbolic political culture deserves to become a major field of study. It will also be the major topic of this article, after some observations on holistic political culture.

In its holistic form, political culture is widely used by political sociologists and others to describe the residual—and often the subtler—elements of politics not seen at first glance, what is left over after all the elements of institutional structures and processes have been analyzed. Indeed, some of the differences between the institutional structures and processes have been analyzed. Indeed, some of the differences between fairly similar democracies of “advanced” industrial nations—for example in the variety of rituals accompanying election campaigns—are often described as, and ascribed to, their diverse political cultures.

Nonetheless, the concept has faults, even when used for simple descriptive purposes. These reflect the faults of the broader concept of holistic culture itself. One is that empirical indicators for political culture are not easy to find, making the concept almost impossible to operationalize. In addition, (the holistic) political culture can reify current political practices that lack a social base and might disappear with a change in regimes. Political culture, like culture, assumes a degree of stability and consensus that does not often exist.

When it comes to explanation, these faults are magnified. Culture is basically an umbrella or summary concept that covers many things under one label, but labels are not explanatory concepts. In the tiny societies traditionally studied by anthropologists, the umbrella was very small, and it made sense, at times, to argue that the culture of the group was a major cause of the behavior or beliefs of its population.

However, in large diverse societies which lack a single and overriding culture, the concept is not usable for causal analyses. For one thing, once political norms, practices, etc. are identified, there is no independent empirical source of evidence for the existence of a culture that causes or even influences these norms and practices—just as no there is no independent empirical evidence for a culture of poverty that allegedly shapes the practices of the “undeserving” poor. The traditional functionalist argument, that the various aspects of a society’s norms and practices can be analyzed as a cultural system, is ultimately unpersuasive as well, since a logical system is not necessarily an empirically demonstrable one.

In addition, other, non-cultural, explanations are usually more accurate. For example, habits are frequently seen as expressions of culture, and it could be argued, for example, that in the U.S. middle income groups have habitually been opposed to tax reform. Habits come and go, however, and this one persists not because of political culture, but because middle income people know that whenever tax reforms take place their tax bills usually rise anyway. (The poor are nervous about housing improvement legislation for the same reason; they know it almost always means an increase in their rent.) And while habits become rigid, and may even be internalized by people, the rigidity develops when there is no reason or incentive for change. However, it is the lack of change, not the culture, that is responsible. At best, then, political culture can be invoked as a residual, or standby, explanation until empirically more viable explanations can be found.

The limits of holistic political culture contrast sharply with the nearly unlimited research possibilities in the concept of symbolic political culture. As I noted earlier, politicians must now campaign constantly between elections, for money even more than for voter support, and for this purpose they often produce, or have produced for them, items of symbolic political culture. Moreover, given the competitiveness of a virtually party-less American politics and the cost of campaigning on television, these items have a short shelf-life, and new ones must be produced all the time.

Consequently, empirical and theoretical research opportunities abound. A combination of Lasswellian and Petersonian approaches suggests questions of who produces what symbolic political culture for what constituencies (and audiences, who are not quite the same) and with what purposes. Another research area concerns the sources of that culture, for symbolic political culture is borrowed from literary and religious sources, and the arts, but particularly from popular culture. Popular music was already turned into campaign songs in the pre-television era, and today bestselling musicians are regularly put to work as political entertainers and fund raisers.

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GANS  
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In 1992 supposedly private musical taste became part of one candidate’s public persona, for President Clinton’s fondness for Elvis Presley was interpreted by pundits, and presumably by some voters, as appeals to particular age, regional and class groups in the electorate with a similar fondness.

Likewise, President Clinton’s consumption of junk food has been interpreted to show that this Rhodes scholar is also an ordinary guy, while President Bush’s positive feelings for “beef jerky” were used to counteract some of his other visibly upper class ways of life. Obviously, all of this is also fodder for students of symbolic political culture.

Another area of research is the patternning of political rhetoric. This is already a traditional part of political sociology, but it will be enriched as campaigns, and incumbents, use talk shows, call-in programs, MTV and other entertainment programs, as well as tabloid news, with their very different rhetorics, to expand or alter their messages and their personas. And if Ross Perot’s use of standup-comedian type political soundbites as campaign rhetoric pays off, other politicians will surely try it as well.

These forms of symbolic political culture can be studied not only in themselves, as texts, but also in the changes they undergo as they are borrowed from their original formats and sources. Along the same line, researchers can look at the processes by which creative people from the arts and entertainment are drawn into politicking, and the changes they and their work undergo in the process.

However, in some respects the most interesting research area is the effects, if any, these and other forms of symbolic political culture have, both on America’s commercial culture on the one hand, and on the country’s holistic political culture on the other hand. Campaign researchers will study their instrumental effects—and a computer-friendly version of the Lazarsfeld-Stanton audience analyzer is already being used by them—but academic researchers should be interested in seeing what the constantly changing symbolic political culture does to politics, to politician-constituency-audience relationships, and of course to the roles that the mass media play in politics.

Finally, there is the area that might be called politics in symbolic culture: the question to what extent political issues are raised and discussed in general symbolic culture, be it popular culture or high. Some scholars and schools take a simplified Marxist approach to claim that everything is political, but empirical researchers might want to begin by seeing what cultural producers deliberately insert what political issues into their products—including the reform agenda now regularly found on dramas like L.A. Law—and why. Audience researchers can ask whether and how audiences are sensitive to the insertion of these issues, and what effects these insertions have, either on sectors of the audience, or as indicators of institutional or political change even when the audience does not pay attention to them. For example, media researchers now track the political jokes used by mainstream television comedians, such as Jay Leno and his network competitors, not only as indicators of media sympathies but also as unobtrusive measures of more widespread political attitudes.

The same questions can be raised about political issues which can be found in symbolic culture even when they have not been deliberately inserted. Then one of the first empirical questions is to discover who perceives such issues and why, to what extent these perceptions are accepted or rejected—and by whom; and, again, what effects they have on the rest of symbolic culture and on other parts of society. Much can be done with the depictions—and trends in depictions—of male and female heroines, family structure, attitudes about current societal issues in television sitcoms, and the like, again as possible indicators of elite and popular feelings about these that might become explicit and enter into the political debate.

Obviously, the political issues involved here are not simply those of “partisan politics,” but of all the social, economic and of course moral issues on the public agenda. In fact, media and popular culture researchers in the humanities currently publish endless content analyses, systematic and otherwise, on how such issues are treated in the media. Sociologists of symbolic culture can therefore be most useful by studying everything else, notably how these issues are brought into the media, by whom, and why, as well as how they affect, not only the audience, but the influential institutions which also tune in on the media—including the White House, Congress, the big corporations, the mainstream churches, etc. At that point, the study of politics in the country’s symbolic culture connects directly to the general study of politics in America.

NEW NEWSLETTER EDITOR(S) NEEDED

The term for the 1992-93 Editorship of Culture, The Newsletter of the Sociology of Culture Section of the American Sociological Association expires with this issue.

Anyone interested in applying to be the 1993-94 editor should contact 1992-93 Chair Elizabeth Long as soon as possible.
CULTURE AND POLITICS: CHARTING A SOCIOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE
Mabel Berezin
University of Pennsylvania

When fellow academics ask me what I study, I invariably answer, "culture and politics"—I am currently writing a book on Italian fascism and symbolic politics. As recently as ten years ago, political sociologists viewed culture as a somewhat murky variable that bore little relation to political outcomes. The phrasing "culture and politics" evoked 1950s modernization theories and theories and methods of past political culture studies that were decidedly out of style in the 1970s and early 1980s. A renaissance of interest in culture and politics has occurred in the social sciences within the last ten years. Various theoretical paradigms and academic disciplines vie for space in this analytic arena. Rational choice models (Cohen 1974) that view culture as a political resource compete with approaches arguing the equal or greater reward of analyzing politics as reduced to images.

The resurgence of interest within social science in culture, and the prevalence of the word "politics" in contemporary literary and aesthetic criticism, disciplines formerly beyond the mainstream purview of political analysis, suggest that it is useful to reflect upon where sensible boundaries for the domain of politics and culture might lie. Yet I do not perceive an a priori definition of politics and culture as a particularly useful entry to the inquiry [for one reason, scholars are unlikely to arrive at such a consensus now any more than they have done so in the past].

A more fruitful beginning might lie in reflecting upon the epistemological assumptions that govern current empirical studies. We are aiming to pin down an interaction when we attempt to define politics and culture, politics and economics, politics and whatever rather than offer a definition of politics and culture, I propose an analytic question. How would the study of politics differ if one chose to address it from a cultural point of view?

The empirical focus of politics would remain the same; the types of analytic questions that we pose would change. In general, we would ask how does meaning or culture—collectively held visions of social order—enhance our understanding of the areas that students of politics typically study: nation-states, policy, organizations including state bureaucracies and political parties, regime transitions, and collective action—ranging from voting behavior to full scale revolutions.

Although a literature review is not possible in this brief note, there are already rewarding approaches in theory and research to cultivating and exploring questions along these lines—if not always in the specific terms of the question I just posed. To explain how culture or meanings shape political outcomes, institutions and processes, scholars of politics and culture must continue to incorporate into traditional political analyses the vehicles that disseminate or impose meanings. Broadly conceptualized, these vehicles include cultural institutions, linguistic and symbolic practices, and cultural actors. Religion, education and the organs of the public sphere, such as mass media and voluntary associations, comprise the institutional level. The linguistic mode includes the presence or absence of national modes of communication, a shared idiom in which to articulate political ideas, as well as the discourses and repertoires of ritual practices that emerge around political ideals. Political communicators, intellectuals broadly defined to include artists and policy makers, are the agents of political persuasion and discourses about political values.

As some extant scholarly work has shown, bringing cultural analysis to bear upon political analysis involves more than a simple expansion of empirical focus. The wedding of culture and politics raises the question of how political meaning, or knowledge, is constituted and transforms the study of politics into an epistemologically self-conscious enterprise. The emphasis upon epistemological pre-suppositions places the study of politics and culture at the center of current debates about the construction of social knowledge and the constitution of the political subject—some interesting examples of this are found in the developing literatures on the "construction of the public sphere and civil society" and the (varied) topics and approaches currently subsumed under the rubric of "post-modernism" (Calhoun 1992, pp. 244-288; Alexander 1992, pp. 322-368; Hall 1990).

Epistemological fissures lie between scholars who privilege the possibility of explanation (and this does not necessarily imply a notion of causality) and those who privilege exegesis or interpretation. Whether political analysts address these issues directly, their formulation of research questions, methodological choices and empirical data reflects how they position themselves on the epistemological landscape. Without claiming to present an exhaustive typology, one way of apprehending this landscape is to view it in terms of four representative styles. Scholars who favor explanation tend to fall into two groups: those who pose their questions in comparative historical terms and emphasize the interactively-negotiated aspects of cultural and political processes (Wuthnow 1989; Greenfeld 1992; Zaret 1983; Brubaker 1992) and those who view power, or hegemonic process, as primary (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Laitin 1986). Interpretive approaches separate into a mode that focuses upon the thick description" of various forms of public politics (Geertz 1980; Mitchell 1988) 1991) and a cognitive approach that uses ethnography to discuss links between political values and social action (Bellah et. al. 1985; Rieder 1985; Klatch 1987).

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BEREZIN
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A striking feature of much work studying interactions of politics and culture is its multi-disciplinarity in the absence of inter-disciplinarity. That is, there does not tend to be a high degree of borrowing, or recognition of each other’s work among its practitioners. There are identifiable tendencies. In disciplinary rhetoric and often—not always—in practice, sociologists and political scientists tend to favor explanation while anthropologists and historians tend to interpretation. Comparative historical sociologists still look to Max Weber to formulate and theorize their questions. Historians and anthropologists, and to some extent political scientists and sociologists, engage in dialogue with Michel Foucault. Scholars across a wide range of disciplines acknowledge Clifford Geertz’s influence.

Based on past scholarship and current events, several themes suggest themselves as fruitful for the basis of continuing or renewed empirical study. Symbolic politics is not likely to depart from the political landscape and it warrants more sociological attention than it has received in the past. Social movements in the U.S. such as Act Up and Operation Rescue rely on symbolic actions. Recent neo-Nazi attacks in Europe have invoked symbols from the past. Studies that focus upon gender as a political category rather than as an exclusionary mechanism are laying the groundwork for forays into other types of identities. Hunt’s (1992) work on the family and revolution suggests new directions in the study of identity and political practice. The Bellah studies (1985; 1991) were a harbinger of an emerging interest in ethics and moral values. Alan Wolfe’s “Morality and Society” series at the University of Chicago Press suggests that we can expect more work in this mode.

Politics and culture becomes salient as an area of sociological interest in times of social upheaval. Its last renaissance was in the aftermath of World War II and the experience of Nazism and Stalinism. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the resurgence of ethnic particularism in the new multicultural Europe of 1992, movements toward and retreats from democratization in assorted cultural regions and political regimes, and the emergence of a new right in Europe and the United States provide grist for the empirical mill that fuels academic interests. Emerging political problems that standard notions of modernity and rationality cannot explain force a re-interest in culture and provide an opportunity that sociologists should not forego.

NOTE:
[1] Ways of studying the interaction of politics and culture have recently been in the forefront of my thought as I have considered material for the forthcoming volume which Diana Crane is editing, Sociology of Culture: Emerging Theoretical Perspectives.

REFERENCES


MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DIVERSITY
Joseph Duffey
President, The American University; Incoming Director, U.S. Information Agency

We find ourselves today in what former President Nixon calls "a one-superpower world." [1] And yet Americans seem to find that our triumph lacks savor. We find ourselves marking not the moral equivalent of a V-E Day but rather an anxious moment in our history. Suffering from a national economic recession, watching as corporate giants like United Technologies and General Motors announce massive layoffs, and fearing that our short-term problems reveal long-term weaknesses, we wonder if our own children will live as well as young people growing up in the new European Economic Community or in the industrial powerhouse of Japan.

At such a moment in history, it seems incongruous at best to contemplate the universalization of American popular culture. For what shall it profit us if Hollywood prospers while Detroit and New York and even the high-tech industries of California all are unable to bask in that reflected glory and glitter? We as a society cannot survive merely as a court-jester for the rest of the world, singing the songs, while someone else designs and builds and sells the compact disk player—and owns the company that sells the CD player and often owns the record store as well.

And yet—itis true—there is much in American culture that people throughout the world admire, enjoy, and emulate—and we had best consider that phenomenon soberly, in a spirit neither of self-congratulation nor self-flagellation.

Before we look ahead, let us first look back. Some years ago there were in fact national leaders who anticipated something like the world in which we live now—not "the end of history" but a moment when the Cold War has become history.

Recently, I had occasion to re-read the speech which President John Kennedy gave in 1963 at commencement ceremonies of The American University, the campus on which I presently abide with students from fifty states and more than one hundred and thirty nations, and a faculty nearly as diverse.

President Kennedy looked beyond the Berlin Crisis and the Cuban Missile Crisis, and ahead to a world where "the tide of time and events will often bring surprising changes in the relations between nations." And while he did not specifically envision "those surprising changes" would be, he did foresee a time when the Soviet Union and the United States would enjoy a relaxation of tensions, and when the peoples of the world would realize that more unites us than divides us. "For in the final analysis," President Kennedy said, "our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal."

What is worth recalling today, however, is that President Kennedy did not indulge himself in the rhetoric of American triumphalism. He specifically said that he did not envision "a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war." Nor did he even envision making the entire world "safe for democracy," to use the phrase made famous by President Wilson. Instead, President Kennedy offered a more modest objective, "to make the world safe for diversity."

That was years before "diversity" became a familiar watchword on our campuses, and throughout our culture. In fact, as is so often the case, the watchword has today too often become a "buzzword" and, to many, a red flag which incites passionate debate about new weapons in a domestic arms race, the "canons" of literature and the telling of history. Count me among those who worry most today about what someone has called the "fraying of America," in Arthur Schlesinger's phrase the "disuniting" and fracturing of our society. Certainly, contorted emphasis on diversity, excessive differentiation of media markets, and other recent trends that fragment our social and economic life pose the threat that in the end the center might not hold. However, the present sometimes exaggerated debate notwithstanding, the concept of "diversity," respect for diversity, the habit of boldly welcoming human diversity, is in fact the most natural part of the American vocabulary.

For America is indeed, as Ben Wattenberg reminded us in a spirited book last year, "the first universal nation." Our currency bears the slogan, "E pluribus unum," "Out of many, one"—and that motto applies not only to our states and localities, but to our ethnicities. Yes, we are the people of whom Herman Melville wrote: "You cannot spill a drop of American blood without spilling the blood of the whole world." And, certainly, one aspect of the attractiveness of American culture to the peoples of this planet is that they can see and hear themselves in it. From Luciano Pavarotti to Wynton Marsalis, from Olympia Dukakis to Paula Abdul, from Woody Allen to John Updike, from Gloria Estefan to Phil Donahue, and from Garrison Keillor to Yo Yo Ma, our American culture is bone and blood of the songs and sagas and dances and dramas of every people on earth. And, from our paperbacks to our videocassettes, we are bringing people around the world a distant but familiar echo of the music that was played at their great-grandparents' weddings and the stories that were handed down in their own homes from generation to generation.

These cultures have been melded and modified in the crucible of the American experience, an experience that includes most of the best, but some of the worst, of what the human spirit produces when it is set free from ancient traditions. There is much to be proud of, but some things to be concerned about, when the culture of the American campus—and the American shopping mall—becomes the common culture of this world.

We can be proud when moviegoers throughout the world watch the individual aspiration of "Working Girl," the sacrificial heroism of "Glory," or the heartwarming comedy of "Moonstruck." But we take less pride in the aspects of our cinematic culture that celebrate greed, violence, or casual sex.

If, in Moscow, citizens wait long hours in long lines for chances to eat at McDonalds, is pride in American achievement the proper response? Yes, to the extent that American ingenuity has solved a problem that stumped the old Soviet Union: how to get basic foodstuffs, like meat and potatoes and bread, into the

(continued to page 10)
hands of the consumers, quickly and inexpensively. But must we not, at the same time be ashamed and chastened by the continuing persistence of childhood hunger in our nation? We can be proud that the best lessons our culture teaches and the best values it embodies—a respect for the individual and a celebration of diversity—are reaching people across the globe, including the countries of Eastern Europe and the old Soviet Union that are looking for models for free and diverse societies. But we should also hope that, in their eagerness to escape a past of regimentation and stagnation, they do not stumble into a future of unrestrained individualism.

Even as American culture or perhaps, more accurately, the culture of modernity spreads around the world overpowering regional and local cultures, we should be careful not to be easily misled by the popularity of things American. We have done so in the past to our peril. In this instance I think of the situation on our college and university campuses today. Our universities are still a magnet for thousands of men and women from around the globe who hope for a better future. The universities I have had the privilege of serving attract hundreds of students each year from China, Taiwan, Thailand, Korea, and other countries from Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa.

There must be aspects of our society, our culture, and our educational system that these students from abroad find attractive. Many have told me so in words that were moving and memorable. They refer often to the classically American virtues: respect for the individual, openness to new immigrants and new ideas, and the sense of a society that is constantly renewing, re-examining, and re-inventing itself.

Indeed, in some ways, these "foreign" students are more quintessentially American than many of our students who were born, raised, and educated in the United States. It used to be that we took pride in "American know-how"—or what used to be called "Yankee ingenuity." Now, many foreign students are majoring in subjects that American students seem to be avoiding—subjects that have to do with design, manufacturing and building, areas of expertise that are still essential for a successful economy.

Seeing a culture that values stockbrokers and corporate lawyers over people who design and build things, the foreign students may be less enamored of America as we are than of America as they had imagined us to be. They may come to see our society (and even its universities) more as resources still available for students such as themselves than as a positive model for their own country. As they immerse themselves in our culture, they may filter out what they do not like: the secularism, the extreme individualism, and the inability to think of something larger than ourselves and more long-term than tomorrow. So, perhaps, they see our society with, at best, a grudging respect for its relative material abundance—tempered with a view of relatively hollow values.

Whatever it is that draws these foreign students to our campus, we strive to provide it, understanding that all our students will benefit from the celebration of diversity that still is part of what brings people here from every continent, and almost every country, on the face of this earth.

In a sense, what we seek is what President Kennedy sought: to make the world safe, not for what has been called "coca-colonization," but for diversity. Ultimately, that respect for diversity, coupled with the hope of an emerging unity based upon human commonality, may be the best cultural export America offers the world: a repayment of the debt we owe to the countries and cultures whose peoples created the American experiment.

As Americans contemplate our current uncertain position in the world economy, we find ourselves abandoning our insularity and looking elsewhere for some models of successful policies. Just as we have much to offer the world, other cultures and traditions may bring salutary influences to the evolution of our own future identity as we seek to re-invent our nation, a re-invention that must take place in each generation in a society such as ours.

From the Canadian or German health systems, to the Scandinavian system of cooperative industrial relations, to the Japanese genius for long-term planning, there are lessons from other nations we can learn, although few would suggest that we can simply transplant other countries' ways of doing things into our own society.

A common denominator in the examples I have cited is a sense of national community—of the individual's acknowledgement of responsibilities to others. It is doubtless easier to sustain such a sense of community in countries that are not only smaller but less diverse than our own. But we must try to renew our own sense of nationhood, especially now that we can no longer define ourselves by our opposition to a foreign adversary such as the Soviet Union. While celebrating individual achievement, we have become in recent years increasingly mindful of the excesses of self-serving behavior, in the boardrooms of some savings-and-loan associations, in the offices of some prominent Wall Street firms, in a few corporate suites, and occasionally in the halls of legislatures, both state and national. But we have come as well to recognize that self-serving behavior is not unknown among professors, in political caucuses, right and left, and even in high-minded and idealistic civic associations.

One very unfortunate consequence of the decades of the Cold War was that it spawned both the extremes of excessive, chauvinistic, self-congratulatory patriotism and of reflexive, self-alienating anti-patriotism. Neither response was healthy. In the aftermath of the Cold War, we should seek forms of national pride and pride in national achievement that are not defensive or "touchy," but reflective without being remote and bloodless, self-critical without succumbing to cynicism. And perhaps above all we should avoid what the ancients referred to as the most dangerous sin of all—overweening pride, hubris—that distorts the judgment not only of great people but of great nations.

For I suspect President Kennedy would have advised us that our purpose as a nation is not to conquer the world with our weapons, nor even with our Big Macs and PCs, but to make the world safe for the diversity that we each discover and celebrate in ourselves.

MIAMI MEETINGS TO FOCUS
ON THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Paul DiMaggio
Princeton University

The Culture Section Program at the Miami ASA meetings will feature two major activities, both organized by Matthews Hamabata of Haverford College, that call attention to the contribution that sociology can make to discourse about multi-culturalism and cultural diversity. A session on “Multiculturalism: Contested Ground in Culture, Education and Politics,” will feature reports on ongoing research projects that address these issues. A roundtable on “Multi-culturalism: Social and Institutional Change” will bring sociologists together with professionals working on multi-cultural issues at cultural institutions, philanthropic foundations, and universities to discuss common concerns and research tasks that remain to be accomplished.

During the heyday of functionalism, many sociologists viewed political culture as something cohesive, integrated, and society-wide. Increasingly we have become skeptical of the notion that national cultures are unitary, and more likely to see national distinctiveness in patterns of consensus and cleavage, rather than in a consensual whole.

In other words, our concern with political culture has become attached, inextricably, to a concern with the politics of culture: the ways in which groups develop cultural and political identities, make claims on communities and organizations, or attempt to suppress the claims of other groups. To study “political culture” in the late 20th century, is to try to understand the evolution and clash of political cultures.

Few issues are as wrenchingly controversial in the contemporary U.S. — and in many other polities — as multiculturalism and cultural diversity. The search for common ground among ethnic and racial identity groups, and the politicization of value conflicts between right and left, moral conservatives and secular liberals, have dominated not only university debate, but book racks and newspaper columns.

Unfortunately, much of the public discourse has been dominated by commentators with little or no social-science training and a data base consisting largely of rumor and anecdote. The splenetic quality of much of this writing speaks to readers’ fears and stereotypes without shedding light on the character or prevalence, much less the origins, of various forms of identity formation and cultural conflict.

I am absolutely convinced that we sociologists have the research tools and substantive training to make a fundamental contribution to the debate, and that within sociology, sociologists of culture are particularly well equipped to intervene. That is why I asked Matthews Hamabata to organize a thematic session that would highlight new research on multi-culturalism and cultural diversity for Culture Section Day in Miami. Professor Hamabata has explored multiculturalism both as a scholar whose reflections on his multicultural field experiences as an American of Japanese descent studying elite families in Japan are reported in Crested Kimono (Cornell Univ. Press) and as a policy maker at Haverford College where he has served as Dean of Students.

Professor Hamabata reports that the session will highlight the work of scholars engaged in empirical research on issues of cultural diversity in a variety of settings. Paul Lichterman will analyze the troubled efforts of two organizations, one a predominantly Euro-American environmental group and the other an African-American faith community, to work together around environmental issues. Katherine McClelland will report early results from her ongoing comparative study of institutional cultures, organizational strategies and the effects on race relations at three U.S. colleges. Maria Shevtsova will describe how class and cultural politics intersected when the Turkish community of an Australian city participated in a local workers theatre. John Wills will discuss the politics of U.S. textbook reform, and its influence on student perceptions of intergroup relations. Discussant for the panel is Edgar Beckham, Director of the Ford Foundation’s Program on Race Relations and Diversity, who brings a national and international perspective to these issues.

An exciting by-product of conversations between Dr. Beckham and Professor Hamabata is a roundtable, as part of the Culture Section’s regular roundtable session, that will bring sociologists together with professionals struggling with issues of multiculturalism in a variety of settings. In addition to Drs. Beckham and Hamabata, roundtable participants will include Adam Bickford, a sociologist serving as Senior Social Science Analyst at the Smithsonian Institution; Jane Weiss, Director of the Kaelen Jamison Foundation; and Frank Wilson, Director of the Philadelphia Orchestra’s Cultural Diversity Initiative. It should provide a rare opportunity to discuss shared concerns and to begin to identify the kinds of research efforts through which sociologists can apply our knowledge and skills in the service of improving both discourse and practice.

I hope that the exciting program that Matt Hamabata has organized will prove to be the beginning of a broader initiative to increase the influence of the sociological perspective on these debates. Many sociologists have already written eloquently about cultural diversity and the politics of culture. In addition to the researchers whose work will be featured, Troy Duster on the cultural politics of genetic research, Steven Dubin on the politics of censorship, James Hunter on the “culture wars”...

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1993 CULTURE SECTION PROGRAM DAY:
Monday, August 16
ASA Annual Meetings, Miami Beach, Florida

REGULAR SESSIONS

8:30-10:20 a.m.
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS: SCIENCE, ART, RELIGION, LAW
Organizer, President: Richard A. Peterson, Vanderbilt U
The Institutional Construction of Scientific Knowledge. Karin Knorr-Cetina, U. of Bielefeld
The Institutional Construction of Legal Fact. Kim Scheppele, U. of Michigan
Toward a Sociological Construction of the Arts Industry in Comparative Perspective. Judith Huggins Balfé, College of Staten Island and CUNY Graduate Center
Discussant: Lois Wacquant, Harvard U.

10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.
NEW RESEARCH ON MULTI-CULTURALISM: CONTESTED GROUND IN CULTURE, EDUCATION AND POLITICS
Organizer, President: Matthews M. Hamabata, Haverford College
Building Community: Race and Ethnic Relations on Three College Campuses. Katherine McClelland, Franklin and Marshall College
Lost between Ideology and Practice: Multiculturalism and Community Building in USA Grassroots Environmentalism. Paul Lichterma, U. of Wisconsin, Madison
Challenges Theatrical and Political: The Melbourne Workers Theatre and the Turkish Community. Maria Shevtsova, U. of Sidney
Discussant: Edgar F. Beckham, Ford Foundation

2:30-4:20 p.m.
MEANING AND MEASUREMENT IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE
Organizer, President: Ann Swidler, U. of Calif. Berkeley
Conceptualizing and Measuring Culture in Surveys. Peter V. Marsden and Joseph F. Swingle, Harvard U.
Extracting Culture through Textual Analysis. Kathleen Carley, Carnegie Mellon U.

4:30-6:20 p.m.
OPEN SESSION
Organizers: Jon Cruz, Connie McNeely, John Mohr, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara
Presider: John Mohr, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara
World Culture and International Nongovernmental Organization. George M. Thomas, Arizona State U., and Young Kim, Stanford U.
Redefining Political Power: How to Understand the Cycle of Political Evaporation in the American Public Sphere. Nina Eliaoph, U. of Wisconsin
Philanthropy and Status Among the Elite. Francie Ostrower, Harvard U.

REFEREEED ROUNDTABLES
12:30-1:20 p.m.
Organizer: David Swartz, Yale U.
1. What the Sociology of Religion Can Offer to the Sociology of Culture. Rhys Williams, Yale U.
2. Youth Culture.
   Jonathon S. Epstein, Kent State U.

   Vera Zolberg, New School for Social Research

4. The Culture of Critical Discourse.
   Richard A. Colignon, Duquesne U., and Larry R. Irons, U. of Missouri, St. Louis

   Edgar F. Beckham, Ford Foundation

   Peter Whalley, Loyola U., and Chandra Mukerji, U. of Calif. San Diego

7. LAW AND CULTURE
   President: Robert Rosen, U. of Miami Law School
   Pamela Brandwein, Northwestern U.

8. INTERPRETING MEMOIRS
   Condemned to Ashes: Memoirs of Auschwitz.
   Mary Lagerwey-Voorman and Gerald E. Markle, Western Michigan U.

9. THE PRODUCTION OF POPULAR MUSIC
   Scott Barretta, Lund U. Sweden
   Timothy John Dowd, Princeton U.

10. TV CONSUMPTION
    The Cost of Watching Television: A Longitudinal Assessment of the Effect of Heavy Viewing on Earnings.
    Steven Gortmaker, Harvard School of Public Health, and William T. Biely, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara
    Do-It-Yourself: Race, Class and Television Decoding.
    Darnell M. Hunt, U. of Calif. Los Angeles
    Recognizing Formula: A Case of Television Viewing as Practical Knowledge and Its Implications for the Study of Audiences.
    Ron Lembo, Amherst College

11. THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL ISSUES
    Reflections on Addiction as Metaphor and as Paradigm.
    Joe Corbett, U. of Calif. Irvine
    Social Problems as Cultural Products.
    Paul Kooistra, Furman U.

12. MASS MEDIA AND GENDER
    Kathryn Wald Hausbeck and Kristen V. Luschen, SUNY Buffalo
    Everything New is Old Again: Family Angst in Mass Culture.
    Margaret J. Heide, New School for Social Research

13. THE PRODUCTION OF STYLISTIC DIFFERENCES: ANALYZING CULTURAL CRITICS
    Culinary Aesthetics: Habitus, Stylization, and Distinction Among Food Writers.
    Mary F. Rogers, U. of West Florida

14. POSTMODERN CULTURAL FORMS
    Space Invaders: Site Specific and Open Space Art in Postmodern Culture.
    James Dickinson, Rider College

15. CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN THE POSTMODERN WORLD
    Todd Hechman, U. of Calif. Santa Barbara

16. THE PRODUCTION OF TV CULTURE
    Cultural Cash: Unbudgeted Income as “Special Money” on Television Sitcoms.
    Lewis Freeman, Columbia U.

17. cancelled

18. IDEOLOGY AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA
    Videology: Video Games as Sites of Ideological Reproduction.
    Simon Gottschalk, U. of Nevada, Las Vegas

19. ARTISTIC CAREERS
    Career and Identity in Mexican American Conjunto Musicians.
    Avelardo Valdez and Jeffrey A. Halley, U. of Texas, San Antonio

20. RITUAL AND CEREMONY
    The Ritual Celebration of Everyday Life.
    Joseph C. Hermanowicz and Harriet P. Morgan, U. of Chicago

CULTURE SECTION BUSINESS MEETING

1:30 - 2:20 p.m.
between religious conservatives and secular liberals, and Kristen Luker on the politics of motherhood and abortion, are just a few scholars on a much longer list.

Yet there is much more to do. More work is necessary to provide evidence that bears conclusively on allegations of conservative humanists and political journalists like Bloom and deSouza about the relative influence of left and right on U.S. campuses, or about the extent to which "political correctness" chills campus debate. (Perhaps others who, like me, suspect that the Blooms and deSouzas are wrong also feel frustrated by the unavailability of survey or other data that could be used to evaluate many of the most influential allegations.) And if such allegations do turn out to lack empirical support, more work will be required to better understand why they have such resonance in many quarters.

(For example, do members of dominant groups experience status offenses as more salient and weight them more heavily in their recollections than members of dominated groups? Do the networks of organizations that sponsor and promote different views in the debate differ in reach and capacity?) And still more research is needed to help organizations that value diversity create contexts in which its benefits can be broadly experienced: McClelland's work is of this kind; so are ongoing studies of the institutional and disciplinary politics of ethnic studies programs and feminism, like those of Eve Charfauros, Joyce Neilson and Jeana Abromeit.

The health of our polity and our collective capacity to deal equitably with change can only be enhanced if debates are more deeply informed by, and subject to the discipline of, research that sociologists of culture are particularly well equipped to carry out. I hope that the Culture Section will be at the center of efforts to make this happen.

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**LETTER TO THE EDITORS**

In the Winter 1993 "Books of Note", Richard Peterson presented a brief note on my book, Globalization: Social Theory and Global Change (Sage 1992) which was inaccurate. I do not talk about "the development of an ever more nearly global common culture." In fact, I am very critical of the term "culture" as indicating "commonality" and I speak of the contested nature of global culture. Professor Peterson says that I fail to give attention to such countervailing trends as nationalism, fundamentalism, and contemporary colonialism," when in fact nationalism and fundamentalism are major foci of several chapters. While I do not devote attention specifically to what he calls "contemporary colonialism," matters relevant to that theme are certainly not ignored.

I would like to think that Peterson did not really mean to say that I ignore nationalism and fundamentalism, but rather that I do not deal with these as necessarily "counter-vailing" with respect to globalization. Indeed I do not consider all forms of nationalism or fundamentalism to be counter-global. This is precisely the kind of argument that I seek at some length to refute. I do not equate globalization with homogenization. Rather I view globalization as a complex interplay of universalizing and particularizing, or homogenizing and heterogenizing, tendencies. Moreover, I consider the essentialism that characterizes much of what is often called fundamentalism as a product of global-cultural dynamics; and I view nationalism as in large part an aspect of globalization.

Roland Robertson, University of Pittsburgh, 1 April 1993

**AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIC REFLECTIONS ON WRITING A TEXTBOOK**

Writing a textbook on the sociology of culture (Culture: Sociological Perspectives, Prentice Hall 1993) was a challenging experience. Neither of us had written a text before, and since no one had yet done a comprehensive text on culture no set of conventions existed about what should be covered. We faced many decisions about what to include and how to shape the book. Initially, we planned to write a short text (we talked of it as a "primer"); nonetheless, in the writing we yielded to temptations from the exciting work being produced. The most pleasurable times of writing were our Friday afternoon meetings in 1988-89, when we met weekly to brainstorm. A series of outlines records traces of those afternoons' work. A November 1988 outline has twelve chapters, not the published eleven. Although the outline is spare, at places elaboration blooms: topic A under the chapter at that time called "Cultural Distribution, Effects, and Audience Meaning" reads "cultural displays: wondercabinets, art, galleries, and museums." (The corresponding chapter in the final version has little to say about these sorts of cultural displays.) A handwritten note on the November outline reminds us to weave considerations of class, race and gender throughout the book.

Sometimes issues about what to include in each chapter and what argument to take could only be resolved in the writing. We agreed on the need for a chapter about culture in preindustrial societies, but disagreed about how to conceptualize it. In the outlines it is called "folk culture as an archetype" whereas in the final form it is called "deconstructing folk culture." Discussing actual drafts resolved our question of whether archetype was the right word by shifting the text from emphasizing (continued to page 15)
preindustrial culture as a kind of measurement benchmark for cultural analysis to looking at how social scientists had conceptualized "folk" culture. Choices reflected our own intellectual identities, tastes, empirical research, and teaching experiences.

We sought to strike a balance between offering a core of sociological theory and taking into account the work being done in cultural studies. As we wrote, we tried to think about sociological perspectives on culture in relation to three distinct audiences—the sociology of culture, sociology more generally, and interdisciplinary cultural studies. Other choices reflect changes in the focus in the discipline: what had begun as an appendix on postmodernism became a chapter.

Creating a textbook was an enterprise of defining the coherence of a field without concretizing that field's topical content or its place in a wider intellectual universe. Culture itself is a notoriously difficult term to define, and the scope of the sociology of culture is the subject of contentious debate. Moreover, when we looked at what sociologists of culture actually do, we found that practices are extremely diverse. Some want to construct a political economy of the mass media, others are interested in the social stratification of taste, still others in the production of culture, or in its reception and use. Then there are the various media and status distinctions that give rise to a diverse array of cultural spheres. In short, the sociology of culture considered as a subdiscipline is more like a flea market or country auction (where one can find almost everything), than an art auction for impressionist paintings (where the proprietors closely control what will be on the block).

However, we came to think that the very success of these diverse cultural approaches in sociology suggests a change underway. Whereas the sociology of culture was once a somewhat marginalized subdiscipline, it now offers, in embryonic form, new perspectives that are gradually taking hold in other fields and subdisciplines. Culture has become a watchword in the study of organizations, social movements, work, political economy, the world system, not to mention crime, migration, families and stratification. To the degree that this occurs, the sociology of culture loses its status as a subdisciplinary field, and sociology itself becomes cultural.

John R. Hall, University of California Davis, and Mary Jo Neitz, University of Missouri

CONSTRUCTING CULTURAL STUDIES AT GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Across an entire range of disciplines, scholars are embracing new conceptions of culture and new methods for its study. Yet most centers for the study of culture are primarily situated within either the humanities or the social sciences. The term "Cultural Studies" tends, in some circles, to connote a type of postmodernist literary criticism. The new interdisciplinary doctoral program in Cultural Studies at George Mason University is cultural studies with a twist. The program aims to span the social sciences and the humanities, paying special attention to issues of explanatory and interpretive method in analyzing cultural materials.

The program, which will admit its first students for the fall of 1994, grows out of a long-standing collaboration among literary critics, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers, and others who began to meet together regularly to discuss the converging trends in their respective disciplines. In sociology, history, political science, and economics, scholars are bringing culture into their analyses, and seizing the "interpretive turn," in doing so; literary critics and art historians recognize the intersubjective nature of cultural processes, turning to the social sciences to help explain them. Social science explicitly draws on literary criticism in its concern with narrativity, while literary criticism draws on social science in its concern with the embeddedness of texts in economic, political, and social practices. Despite the significant difference between ethnographic "thick description" and literary criticism—the one focused on social interaction, the other focused on texts, as Michael Baxandall notes—both involve constructing and then analyzing detailed, descriptive representations of cultural objects.

George Mason's program is open to the examination of all forms of culture, past and present. We aim to create a program that is ideologically heterodox and intellectually open. In addition to a set of core courses (in theory, methods, research, and a faculty/student colloquium), students will choose one of five "thematic" concentrations (Arts and Society, The Culture of Politics, The Social Construction of Identities, Theories of Culture, or Culture and Information Technology), as well as either a traditional disciplinary concentration or an interdisciplinary area/period concentration. This mixture of types of concentrations represents a concern to provide students with the disciplinary grounding necessary for interdisciplinary work, as well as a concern for the marketability of those students who may seek employment in traditional academic departments.

Mark D. Jacobs, Director
Doctoral Program in Cultural Studies
George Mason University

NEW CULTURE EDITOR(S) NEEDED

The term for the 1992-93 Editorship of Culture, The Newsletter of the Sociology of Culture Section of the American Sociological Association expires with this issue. Anyone interested in applying to be the 1993-94 editor should contact 1992-93 Chair Elizabeth Long as soon as possible.
BOOKS OF NOTE

Aronowitz, Stanley. *Roll Over Beethoven: The Return of Cultural Strife*. Hanover, N.H: U. Press of New England. In a wide-ranging study Aronowitz shows how "the culture question" emerged as the central issue in 20th century intellectual history in guises ranging from "Americanization," "the end of ideology" and the mid-century attack on and defense of "high culture" to debates over "multiculturalism," "political correctness," and "deconstruction." He stresses the revolutionary potential of conflict over symbols that makes the culture struggle the heir to the class struggle and puts cultural studies at the center of the fight.

Kemper, Bram. *Painting, Power and Patronage: The Rise of the Professional Artist in Renaissance Italy*. N.Y.: Viking. Kemper has written a richly researched study of the emergence of the art world in which painting and painters as artists came to the fore. It will stand on that short shelf of first-rate studies in the production of culture.

Watson, Peter. *From Manet to Manhattan: The Rise of the Modern Art Market*. N.Y.: Random House. Watson has written a fact-filled gossip piece that uses the same set of questions as Kemper to illuminate the current visual art market.

Harlow, Barbara. *Barred: Women, Writing, and Political Detainment*. Hanover, N.H: U. Press of New England. Drawing on material from Egypt, Northern Ireland, South Africa, the U.S., El Salvador, and Israel, Harlow surveys a wide variety of texts by and about women political prisoners. She describes the movements these women support and the ways that prison life forces them to recast their gender roles.

Siouli, Georges E. *For an American Autohistory: An Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s U. "Autohistory" is history written by those whose history it is, but in this "post-deconstructionist" age it isn’t "all history revealed as autohistory—self-serving, if useful, fiction?" Here Siouli presents guidelines for studying North American autohistory from an American point of view. He contrasts Euroamerican ethnocentrism and feelings of racial superiority with American beliefs in the "Great Circle of Life" in which there is room for all living things. I suppose every group has its universalistic Christ and its particularistic butchers.

Pal, Leslie A. *Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism, and Feminism in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s U. Since 1972 the Canadian government has supported special interest groups concerned with political issues. Pal focuses on the support given to groups interested in feminism, multiculturalism, and the official languages. In practice, she finds, support was given to a relatively narrow band of organizations and many survived only because of the government sinecure.

Kunda, Gideon. *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-Tech Corporation*. Philadelphia: Temple U. Focusing on the engineering division of a major U.S. corporation, Kunda shows the tension and frustration that resulted when management deliberately engineered an organizational culture which stressed the informal and flexible work environment while masking an elaborate system of normative control.


Fong-Torres, Ben. *Hickory Wind: The Life and Times of Gram Parsons*. Pocket Books. Gram Parsons is one of the most intriguing figures in the history of country music. Fong-Torres tells the story of his life in a way that is as much about the music of the period as the man himself. Parsons left behind a legacy of music that continues to influence musicians today.

Dodge, Consuelo. *The Everly Brothers: Ladies Love Outlaws*. Storke, FL: CIN-DAV, Inc. This is a useful fan-oriented book about a group whose music was based on tight harmonies directly influenced the Beach Boys and the Beatles, and can still be heard in the recordings of Naomi and Wynonna Judd.

Eng, Steve. *A Satisfied Mind: The Country Music Life of Porter Wagoner*. Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill. One of the most researched and written about of the early country music biographies. Eng shows that Porter Wagoner, the knowing businessman inside the glittering Nudie suit, has for decades known how to package and sell sincerity without ever revealing anything of himself. Eng sees him as unarmored even by the titanic legal battles with his former prodigy, Dolly Parton.

Whitten, Dorothy S. and Norman E. Whitten, Jr., eds. *Imagery and Creativity: Ethnoaesthetics and Art Worlds in the Americas*. Tucson: U. Arizona. In the articles the authors show how symbols are used and manipulated to create definitions of situations and status groups. The illustrations range from the fabrications of symbolic meanings in ancient Peru to the arrangement of works in a gallery of contemporary ethnic arts.


*University of Chicago Press*

Price, Sally. *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*. Drawing on high fashion ads, films, comic strips, and museum exhibitions, Price explores the cultural arrogance implicit in Westerners' appropriations of non-Western cultural expressions.

Neumann, W. Russell, Marion R. Just, and Anna N. Crigler. *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Surveying 1600 respondents and conducting numerous in-depth interviews, the authors track respondents' reactions to television presentations of information on five major issues. They show the ways that viewers actively process and interpret what they receive in terms of their own experience.

Barker-Plenfield, G.J. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Referring to the work of many contemporary writers, Barker-Plenfield documents the 18th century emergence of ideas of individualism and civil gender relations.


Keesing, Roger M. *Custom and Confrontation: The Kwaio Struggle for Cultural Autonomy*. The 2000 Kwaio of the Solomon Islands resist assimilation by appropriating the symbols and practices of colonial rule in defense of their sovereignty and ancestral culture.

Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. The widely-read 1885 account of child prostitution in London galvanized a wide-ranging reordering in the catalogue of "social problems" "socially" implicitly attacking the privileges of the elite males of London.

Waterman, Christopher Alan. *Juta: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music*. Waterman traces the emergence of the music in the 1930s clubs of Lagos and its subsequent changes and renewal in the face of independence, the oil boom, and emergent Yoruba nationalism.

Five music books from the University of Illinois Press

Peretti, Burton. *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America*. Using newspaper accounts and oral histories of more than 70 prominent artists, Peretti shows how the racial and cultural dynamics of American cities formed the crucible in which jazz developed over the years between 1890 and 1940.

Hodes, Art and Chadwick Hansen. *Hot Man: The Life of Art Hodes*. A surprisingly candid accounting of the creative life of a masterful jazz pianist in the Chicago of the 20s and N.Y. of the 40s.

MacLeod, Bruce A. *Clam Date Musicians: Playing the New York Party Circuit*. This is a detailed ethnographic study of the world of the hundreds of nameless musicians who produce "live" music for private parties and believe their audience sees them as part of the wallpaper. Theirs is a blend of proletarian cynicism and craftsperson pride.
Loza, Steven. Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles. Loza demonstrates the music’s role in forming the identity of the East Los Angeles barrio.


Sage Publishers

Beck, Ulrich. The Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity. Getting beyond the numerous characterizations of contemporary life as postthis or that, Ulrich posits the centrality of the political economy of knowledge that turns into probabilistic risks all matters once left to fate or the will of God.

Hecht, Michael L., Mary Jane Collier, and Sidney A. Ribeau. African American Communication. Newbury Park: Sage. This work brings together a very large number of social psychological studies concerning the verbal behavior, attitudes, and identity of (primarily school-age) African Americans. No systematic attention is given to the communicative or identity-forming roles of expressive symbols of music, rapping, sports, or the mass media.

Hage, Jerold and Charles H. Powers. Post-Industrial Lives: Roles and Relationships in the 21st Century. Based in a blending of symbolic interactionist theory and decades of research in organizations, the authors show that human relationships, once conceived as dyadic links between roles, are now better conceptualized as systems of more fluid interpersonal relationships.

Thomas, Jim. Doing Critical Ethnography. Thomas proposes the guidelines for reflexive ethnographic research.

Josselson, Ruthellen and Amia Lieblich. The Narrative Study of Lives. The contemporary tools of textual analysis are appropriated for the study of peoples’ accounts of their own lives.

Atkinson, Paul. Understanding Ethnographic Text. Using the insights of postmodernism, Atkinson shows how to read and to write ethnographic accounts.

Ball, Michael and Gregory W.H. Smith. Analyzing Visual Data. The authors show how to systematically use still photographs as tools of social analysis. Illustrations range from Native American masks to perfume advertisements.

Stivers, Camilla. Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State. Stivers discusses the dilemmas still faced by women in higher administrative positions.

Genovese, Michael A., ed. Women as National Leaders: The Political Performance of Women as Heads of Government. The authors focus on seven women ranging from Benazir Bhutto to Margaret Thatcher who have led their nations. The results of this analysis allow us to better understand their paths to power and use of it in office.

Tasty morsels from Aldine de Gruyter

Deutscher, Irwin, Fred P. Pestello and H. Frances G. Pestello. Sentiments and Acts. Irwin Deutscher returns to a theme that he first took up decades ago, the finding that people’s expressed attitudes do not correspond with their behavior. Exhaustively showing that it is usually not through dishonesty, ignorance, or deceit, he and his colleagues develop a situationalist explanation.

Hechter, Michael, Lynn Nadel and Richard E. Michod, eds. The Origin of Values. A wide range of biological, social scientific and psychological theories redolent of rational choice theory are employed by the authors of these sixteen chapters in seeking the origin and operation of values, motivations, and rewards.

Parsons, Talcott; Uta Gerhardt, ed. Talcott Parsons on National Socialism. Between the publication of The Structure of Social Action in 1937 and the writing of The Social System over a decade later, most of Parsons’ time was devoted to the defeat of Nazism and post-war re-organization of Germany through the Office of Strategic Services. The set of reports and essays from that period assembled by Gerhardt shows how Parsons used (and ignored) his own theories in addressing questions of the Nazi state, totalitarianism, anti-Semitism, and the creation of a demilitarized German society.

Mestrovic, Stjepan G. Durkheim and Postmodern Culture. Drawing from his earlier book centering on a reading of Durkheim that fits our times, Mestrovic uses the ideas of Veblen, Henry Adams, Jung, and Adorno, in addition to those of Durkheim, to get beyond contemporary nihilistic discourse.

Manning, Peter K. Organizational Communication. Seeing the organization as a system of communication, Manning shows the uses of rhetorical, dramatic and, phenomenological methods in the study of formal organizations.

Alvesson, Mats and Per Olof Berg. Corporate Culture and Organizational Symbolism: An Overview. This text by two business school researchers provides an overview and history of developments in the study of corporate culture. The focus is on the manipulation of culture as a tool of management control.

Shlapentokh, Dmitry and Vladimir Shlapentokh. Soviet Cinema: A Biography, 1918–1991. The authors show the role played by official ideology on the shaping of Soviet films through the entire history of the Soviet Union. It was changing but ever heavy.

Kirk, Stuart A. and Herb Kutchins. The Selling of DSM: The Rhetoric of Science in Psychiatry. The authors find that the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Medical Disorders, e.3, used the rhetoric of science, rather than scientific data, to promote the dominant position of psychiatry within the medical profession and through them to society at large.

Jenkins, Philip. Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain. Waves of reports of the ritual abuse of children swept Great Britain in the 1980s. Jenkins shows how these “panics” were fanned by interest groups ranging from conservatives interested in the moral decay inherent in “permissiveness,” to feminists seeking to establish a moral agenda of their own.

Four from Westview

Jhally, Sut and Justin Lewis. Enlightened Racism: The Cosby Show, Audiences, and the Myth of the American Dream. Sorry Bill, but apparently it’s “darned if you do and damned if you don’t.”

Engbersen, Godfried, Kees Schuyt, Jaap Timmer, and Frans Van Waarden. Cultures of Unemployment. The “culture of poverty” is revived here by locating its origins and structure in the workings of the capitalist system and welfare state. Examples are provided by a comparative analysis of the U.S. and Netherlands welfare systems.

Assiter, Alison and Avedon Carol, eds. Bad Girls and Dirty Pictures: The Challenge to Reclaim Feminism. The authors in this anthology attack cultural feminists and the new radical right who have united in their opposition to sexual autonomy and true liberation.

McClue, Greg. Dark Knights: The New Comics in Context. McClue sets the task of elevating the lowly and morally unworthy comic to the aesthetic status of “graphic novel.”

Three clinical pieces from Open Court


Esterson, Allen. Seductive Mirage: An Exploration of the Work of Sigmund Freud. Esterson shows that there is no substantiation in anything from the factual record to support the conclusions that Freud draws from many of the clinical cases most crucial to his theories. This is hardly surprising when much of the data is drawn from the unconscious, a “memory” that patients can’t remember. Beyond this, Esterson shows that there is considerable evidence that Freud deliberately manipulated or simply invented some data.

Schneider, Kirk J. Horror and the Holy: Wisdom Teachings of the Monster Tale. Schneider finds a search for the sacred in the fascination with the monstrous and macabre.
Dissertation Abstract:

Thai Modernity: A Study in the Sociology of Culture

Douglas H. Pressman
Brown University

As exemplified in the common concerns of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, sociology fundamentally originated in an attempt to define modern, industrial society as a phenomenon qualitatively different than its predecessors. The dichotomy of "modernity" versus "tradition" was likewise decisive in demarcating the original intellectual boundaries of the social sciences, so that non-European societies became a residual empirical object under anthropology, which deployed a specialist interpretive paradigm centered around the concept of culture. In sociology, by contrast, culture increasingly came to be regarded as an epiphenomenal matter which "modern" society ostensibly both transcends and homogenizes. However, the rise of religious "fundamentalism" on a global scale, the recrudescence of European ethnic rivalries, and the unpredicted industrial vitality of Asia's "little tiger" nations are all contemporary developments hinting at the basic unsatisfactoriness of sociology's understanding of culture.

Against the erstwhile unthinkable backdrop of Buddhist economic dynamism -- Thailand boasts one of the world's fastest growing economies -- this dissertation takes up as a case study in empirical cultural analysis whether Thai culture has been as vulnerable to and incompatible with industrial modernity as Western social scientific critics hypothesized a generation ago. Replicating mid-century ethnographic interview research, the present study establishes striking (and sociologically significant) continuities between the way today's Thai understand themselves and world-views documented half a century ago by Ruth Benedict and other noted anthropologists. These continuities, it is proposed, call into essential question how both culture and industrial modernity have been heretofore co-theorized in the social sciences. In the concluding analysis, directed towards sociology's neonate "sociology of culture" subfield, it is argued that these findings simultaneously substantiate the heuristic power of Max Weber's studies of the world religions, a cultural-analytical precedent whose underlying promise has been obscured by its association with the critique of Oriental backwardness in which it originated.

Call For Submissions

Papers are invited for an edited volume which examines the sociology of American culture in Europe. Articles may deal with any aspect of culture and will not be restricted by any specific theoretical, methodological or political perspective. Of particular interest are articles which examine: the diffusion of American culture into Europe; European uses of and/or attitudes toward American culture; the interaction of American and European culture; the politics and/or political economy of American culture in Europe. Of special interest are new empirical and theoretical studies which explore aspects of American culture in East and Central Europe and the European areas of the former Soviet Union, including Russia. Send queries, abstracts, and articles to: Thomas Cushman, Sociology, Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02181. Phone 617-283-2142. Bitnet: tcushman@lucy.wellesley.edu

The editors of Sociological Inquiry, the official journal of Alpha Kappa Delta, the international Sociology honor society, invite papers (continued to page 19)
CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS
(continued from page 18)

which reflect established and also emerging themes and trends in the discipline. *Sociological Inquiry* is one of the oldest general sociology journals in the U.S., and the editors are committed to publishing the very best papers available regardless of substantive area, theoretical perspective, or methodological approach*. Submit articles to: Joane Nagel or William G. Staples, Editors, *Sociological Inquiry*, Sociology, U. Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045. Email: socinq@ukanvm

*International Sociological Association [Research Committee on the Sociology of the Arts], World Congress of Sociology, 18-23 July 1994, Bielefeld, Germany. [WCS Conference Theme: Contested Boundaries and Shifting Definitions ]*; President: Vera L. Zolberg, New School for Social Research, Dept. of Sociology, 65 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003

*Send inquiries or papers (abstracts) to the organizers of sessions, as listed below. Deadline for most sessions is September 1, 1993.*


17. Joint Session with Research Committee on Communication, Knowledge & Culture: “Reading Culture and Media-Ecology”. Sergey N. Plotnikov, Russian Rubaking Reading Foundation, Chernyakhovskogo 82-92, Moscow, 125319, Russia, tel. (095) 253-93-90; Rolf (continued to page 20)
CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS
(continued from page 19)

Zitzlsperger. Stiftung Lesen. Fischterplatz 23, D 6500 Mainz 1, Germany tel. (06131) 230 888.

Invitation to Participate in Sociology of Emotions Roundtable, 1994 ASA Annual Meetings, Los Angeles, CA. The Emotions Section invites members of the Culture Section to participate in a major roundtable session with the theme, "Infusing Social Institutions with Emotions," which will take place at the 1994 ASA meetings in L.A. The topic stems from James Coleman's 1992 presidential address (ASR Feb. 1993) in which he proposed that new, rationally-constructed social institutions are needed to replace older, non-functioning social forms, and that sociologists should address how the new institutions can be built. In keeping with his theoretical bent, Coleman stressed the rational incentives that would make the new institutions effective. But the Emotions Section challenged Coleman (in a debate between him, and Sally Bould and Amitai Etzioni in the Feb. 1993 Emotions Section newsletter) on the ground that social institutions do not succeed on the basis of rational incentives alone. They must also induce suitable emotions—commitment, trust, liking, hope, respect, enthusiasm, loyalty, confidence, satisfaction, and the like—in their participants. Coleman agreed and urged members of the Emotions Section to provide understandings of how the important microfoundations of macro institutions can be created. The Emotions Section invites sociologists with interests in institutional structure and performance to contribute to this topic from the unique perspective of their institutional interest. Emotions Section Chair Theodore Kemper invites papers from the Culture Section "on how the organizations and institutions that come under the purview of [our] section might be structured to induce suitable emotions for effective institutional performance." Papers and ideas for discussion topics should be submitted to Viktor Gecas, Sociology, Washington State U., Pullman, WA 99164. Deadline: 31 December 1993.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

—CONFERENCES—

"Taking Stock in the Arts," Social Theory, Politics and The Arts, 19th Annual Conference, Sept. 30-Oct. 2, 1993, Northeastern U., Boston, MA. This year's theme is one of self-examination and critical assessment in the arts, and can be approached through a variety of issues: direction of arts funding and policy; the new administration and the arts; future of foundation support; the role of museums and the direction of museum education; diaspora arts; multiculturalism; African-American music; and the politics of change in the arts. Other issues will also be considered. Submit three copies of papers, detailed abstracts, or three-page panel proposals—including all addresses (summer, too) and phone numbers—to: Ann M. Galligan, Dept. of Cooperative Education, 202 Stearns, Northeastern U., 360 Huntington Ave., Boston, MA 02115. 617-437-3439; fax 617-437-3402. Deadline: 15 April 1993.

Conference on "Production of Fiction in Television", Universidad Internacional Menendez Pelayo, Valencia, Spain, 12-14 July 1993. The introduction and development of private television and the consolidation of the new autonomous channels in Spain has created the necessity of thinking about drama production in television. This seminar tries to analyze the context of production and programming that determines the creative process and the narrative possibility of television fiction. During these days will be reviewed the most important genres of narrative fiction (episodic series, sitcoms, serials) and its differences and points of contact with film creation. Contact: Jose Maria Villagrasa (Radiotelevision Valenciana); c/Alzira, 2B, pta. 31;46989 Terramelar—Valencia, Spain. Phone 34-6-1371606; fax 34-6-3869823

Conference on Popular Music: Style and Identity, International Association for the Study of Popular Music, Seventh International Conference, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California, July 11-July 15, 1993. For more information contact: IASP, Lifelong Learning, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California 95211. (209) 946-2424; Fax: (209) 946-2760.

NEW EDITORS

The U. Texas Press announces that the new editors of Sociological Inquiry are Joane Nagel and William G. Staples, U. of Kansas. They replace the current editor, Dennis L. Peck, U. Alabama at Tuscaloosa. [See call for papers.]
ONLINE NETWORK/JOURNAL

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---DATABASE---

The 1993 General Social Survey Special Topical Module on Culture. This 15-minute supplement to the GSS contains items on musical preferences, leisure time activities, TV viewing, desired attributes of friends, important areas of life, the meaning of life, basic values, collective memory, and college major/favorite high school course. James A. Davis, Harvard, and Tom W. Smith, U. Chicago/NORC are the principal investigators of the GSS. The committee designing the culture module was chaired by Peter Marsden, Harvard, and included Paul DiMaggio, Princeton, Judith Blau, U. of North Carolina, Richard Peterson, Vanderbilt, Ann Swidler, U. of California. Availability and Contact: The data should be available by August, 1993 and may be obtained from either the Roper Center, U. of Storrs or ICPSR, U. of Michigan.

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IN MEMORIAM
Fred Davis (1925-1993)

Fred Davis, an eminent sociologist and charter member of the Culture Section, died in San Diego on January 29. Nearly two weeks before he had suffered a massive stroke and never regained consciousness. His death came as a complete shock to his University of California colleagues and students and to his myriad of friends, acquaintances, and admirers all over the world.

How could one not be stunned by his death? Though an “emeritus” and in the category of “older Americans” much in the news these days, physically and intellectually he was still very much in his prime, giving every sign that for him the best of life was yet to be. He had committed himself to papers at several upcoming conferences on culture, and just a few months back the University of Chicago Press had published *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, a major work based on more than a decade of research and writing. He was eagerly anticipating what the reviewers might say. Meanwhile, he and his wife, Marcella, a professor of nursing science, had been planning yet another of their outdoor adventures, this time a biking trip in Tasmania on which they were soon to embark. Not only had they previously cycled through Ireland, Holland, and the San Juan Islands in Washington State but they had also gone on treks in Nepal and Switzerland, all in a show of stamina that few of us could have matched.

In writing this commemorative, we feel no need to recite the usual list of mentors, activities, professional activities and posts, honors bestowed, and so on that make up the greater part of most obituaries. Valuable as these data may be for future biographers, the readers of *Culture* will be getting them from publications like *Footnotes*. Here we mean only to convey our appreciation of Fred Davis as the highly original and idiosyncratic scholar and the rare human being we have known for more than forty years.

Fred was one of a remarkable cohort of students, predominantly veterans of World War II and mature-beyond-their-years, who flocked to the University of Chicago in the post-war period and went on to earn their graduate degrees in sociology (and other social sciences). He arrived after spending the years 1943 to 1946 in the U.S. Army, having sustained a shrapnel wound in his shoulder and—as we remember it—having been hospitalized for the infamous “trench foot,” a form of frostbite from which many infantry soldiers in Europe had suffered.

Perhaps it was these encounters with pain that sparked his interest in medical sociology, where his research focused on the victims of illness—both on the patients and on their families. His extraordinarily distinguished career as a medical sociologist spanned many years. The recent reprinting, as one of the Transaction “Classics of Sociology” series, of his very first book *Passage Through Crisis: Polio Victims and Their Families* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1963) is a tribute to his lasting achievement in that area.

Yet this is hardly the only one of Fred’s writings to have been widely reprinted. Several of his articles appear in compendium on symbolic interaction, where they have been read and appreciated anew by successive generations of sociologists. Among the most enduring has been the deliciously titled “The Cabdriver and His Fare: Facets of a Fleeting Relationship.” It initially appeared in *AJS* (September 1959) and was last reprinted in 1980 in *The Pleasures of Sociology* by Lewis Coser (New American Library). This article, like much of Fred’s other research, is
based on participant observation. While a student at Chicago, he had driven a taxi—not as a means of gathering the data for a research project but for the extra income it brought. Nevertheless, it yielded a sociological bonus.

Remembered with equal fondness is his love song to his adopted city—"The San Francisco Mystique"—published in Transaction (April 1970) and reprinted in Culture and Civility by Becker (Aldine 1971). Having been invited by Anselm Strauss to direct the nursing careers project at the University of California, neither he nor Marcy could thereafter imagine living anywhere else (that, at least, is the way we remember the gist of his praise for his adopted hometown, then the mecca of the hippies). Nevertheless, he could not resist the call from Joe Gusfield, another of the Chicago veterans, to move to La Jolla. There, from 1976 on, he was an active participant in a major sociology department, distinguished by its special friendliness to the kind of qualitative, interpretative research on offbeat topics that most interested Fred.

During this period, Fred produced two works likely to emerge as classics in the sociology of culture: the recently published book on fashion and his Yearning For Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia (Free Press 1979). They validate its author as a very “with it” modern man, one as attuned to the latest developments in film, music, art, politics, food and clothing fashions as to academia. At the same time, the elegant style in which the books are written reveal him to be a gifted essayist who, when free to employ this format, was at his best, breaking new ground with his numerous insights and suggestive hypotheses. As Herb Gans, a mutual friend, once put it, Davis employed a format so rarely used in our time that it evoked the very nostalgia he was studying.

Taken as a whole, the entire opus of Fred’s work signifies a continuing endeavor to understand and explicate the nuances of social relationships. Here his social pleasures and intellectual curiosity easily fused into one. He was the kind of lively conversationalist and dedicated amateur musician who would have been in demand in the literary salons of any century in any country. But he also had the gift of genuine friendship. The far flung network of friends of Fred comes close to rivaling the informal association of F.O.B.s surrounding the new president. Once a friend of Fred, always a friend of Fred. Remembering him, more than one old friend simply observed, “What a sweet guy.” Because he enjoyed people, forgave their foibles, and was intrigued by them, people enjoyed being with him.

Kurt and I met each other at the same time and in the same place that we each met Fred. That was at the beginning of 1950 when the three of us were research assistants on a project evaluating and comparing the track records of U.S. intelligence, social scientists, and journalists in predictions about a Germany facing defeat. Fortunately, none of us were deeply involved in the project, which left us time to chat about love, war, and other aspects of culture. We have continued these conversations, joined by Marcy and our families, whenever and wherever we have met over the years—in New York, in Berkeley, in London, on the meadow at Yosemite, in Seattle and—of course—at ASA and ISA meetings. It was Fred who kept us posted on changing fads, as to when “garlic” was in and which wines were “out.” Over the remaining years, like other “Friends of Fred” and Marcy—we shall be yearning for yesterday, mourning the tomorrows that never came.

Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang
University of Washington, Seattle