Culture

Section of the American Sociological Association

Volume 8, No. 1 (Winter 1994)

Sociology of the Arts in Comparative Perspective Judith Huggins Balfe CUNY: College of Staten Island & Graduate Center

(This is a shorter version of a paper presented at last summer's ASA meeting.)

Comparative analysis of arts institutions must start with a question that scarcely arises in consideration of other spheres of autonomous cultural institutions in contemporary society: why art at all? What do the arts do? Why do they exist as social *institutions*, with what consequences? Science, religion, and law have no comparable problematic at the core of their social functioning or consequences: no society—whether tribal, traditional, modern or "post modern"—could exist without them in some form. However, the modern argument of "art for art's sake" insists upon so much autonomy that the arts' social groundedness has often been ignored or even denied; alternately, they have been seen only as epiphenomena, as decor or public relations for the serious businesses of religion, law and science upon which culture and social structure really depend.

Psychological or anthropological explanations for the arts—respectively individualistic or universalistic—are, for

(continued on page 2)

Approaching Religion as Culture Rhys H. Williams, Yale University & Southern Illinois University (Carbondale) and Fred Kniss, Loyola University of Chicago

For several years now the sociology of culture has been expanding. This is often documented in the pages of this newsletter and we find no reason to dissent. Part of this expansion, of course, has been due to the ambiguity with which the sociology of culture is being defined. It is no longer just the sociology of Culture, focused on literature, art, and music. The sociology of culture is becoming an analytic perspective from which to tackle many different questions, as well as a collection of substantive areas. Beyond that boundary, however, the sociology of culture is also expanding well past institutional areas traditionally thought of as "culture," such as religion or education. Many areas not commonly thought of as cultural, such as politics or organizations, are experiencing a surge in studies informed by culturalist perspectives.

These developments offer opportunities for synthetic research that draws ideas from what have been different sociological specialties. And it offers important opportunities to transcend the culture-structure and structure-agency dualisms that too often digress from useful analytic

(continued on page 5)

From the Chair: Paul DiMaggio

You may recall that in my column in the fall newsletter, I predicted that our section would reach the magic 800 membership mark in 1993, thus entering the tiny circle of ASA sections with five sessions at the annual meetings. Well, that prediction turned out to a triumph of social forecasting. We broke 800 shortly after the fall issue went to press.

Many people contributed to this achievement, but special appreciation is due John Ryan, whose imaginative and untiring service over the past several years has guided the Section's growth to this level. Especially encouraging is the fact that we have a young membership, with many graduate students and assistant professors, suggesting that the Section will remain one of the ASA's largest—and more significantly, that teaching and scholarship in the sociology of culture will remain vigorous and dynamic—into the foreseeable future.

To the Section's new members, welcome! I am confident that you will enjoy the section newsletter, use its news, and find its features stimulating. Come to the ASA meeting in Los Angeles if you can, and participate in the intellectual feast that chair-elect Michèle Lamont and her program committee have prepared. And, most important, recognize that this is your section. Contact newsletter editor Steve Hart with your ideas for articles, features, or news. Let me know what you think the Section should be doing.

(continued on page 8)

Elsewhere in this Issue . . . Books of Note, Page 12 • News and Announcements: Of the Section (prizes, nominations, etc.), Page 9; Beyond the Section, Page 11 • Section Leaders and Committees, Page 15 • From the Editor and About the Newsletter (information for contributors, etc.), Page 16

Balfe on the Arts

(continued from page 1)

sociologists, either insufficient or too broad. The former tend to ignore institutions altogether, and the latter tend to focus only on the primary institutions of culture, those which provide consistent socialization through the family and language, rather than on the secondary institutions of the separate spheres of culture to which we pay attention.

While early sociological inquiries into the arts largely followed the psychological or structural models we now find deficient, today these have been superseded by more phenomenological examinations of various artworlds. Rather than seeing culture or social structure as all-determining, sociologists focusing on the arts have conclusively demonstrated that reality-be it structure or culture-is indeed socially constructed through art-making, and analogously, through the deliberate making of other aspects of culture. Thus today, we build upon 20 years or so of ethnographies, case studies and institutional analyses, united loosely by a common theoretical framework (especially that of the production of culture perspective [Peterson 1994]), and further united by the rapid growth of the Culture Section within the ASA. Where are we today, with what implications for future research?

Current Standards of Methodology

We now know that the sociology of the arts is inherently interdisciplinary, even as it must be good sociology first and foremost. One important connection is to the humanities: many questions begging for sociological analysis arise from the nature of the art to be explored; thus some degree of aesthetic awareness and the history of the arts goes with the territory (or, at least, results from closer acquaintance with it). Without some aesthetic sensitivity appropriate to the art in question, it is unlikely that a sociologist will have enough verstehen even to ask the right questions, let alone find a methodology appropriate to answer them. While Weber and, more recently, Becker (1982) have insisted that sociological and aesthetic analyses operate in different and incommensurate spheres, Becker has also been heard to say that "you know when it swings." Other sociologists, less concerned with the apparent violation of Weberian precedent, have worked toward understanding what institutions contribute to that "swing," and what inhibit it: if you can recognize that swing, and I can do so as well, then it must be taken into account, sociologically, and not just bracketed as outside our methodology (Adler 1979; Arian 1971; Ennis 1993; Gilmore 1988; Greenfeld 1989). When we are willing to make qualitative judgements about works in sociology (e.g. Culture Section awards for books, articles, and student papers), it is because we recognize distinction in form as well as in substance: scientific "elegance" is inherently aesthetic. Acknowledging this allows us to approach a sociology of the arts with more assurance, as we take them on their own disciplinary terms.

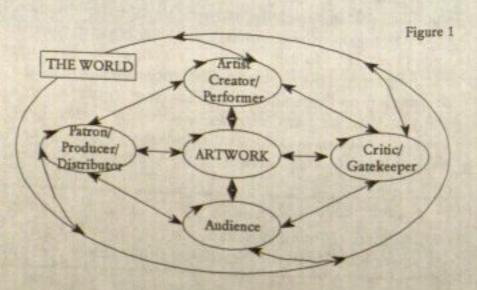
What the arts mean sociologically depends (at least in part) on what they are; the institutions that produce them are determined accordingly (Balfe 1981; Crane 1992, 1987; Rosenblum 1978; Zolberg 1980). At the same time, they must (and do) become autonomous from their constructing institutions if they are to survive "reconstruction" across cultures and generations, as conveyors of both collective memory and contemporary meaning. One crucial ingredient in their autonomy and survival is their aesthetic—their formal—qualities: without consideration of these qualities, we cannot account for their perpetuation outside the social context of their original production.

In my view, Weberian value freedom should mean that one has to take seriously, and test, the hypothesis that like religion, art can be inspired by—or convey—some "divine" truth; that it may be more than the sum of its parts and the institutions that temporarily enshrine it. Thus one opts to engage the humanities as fellow disciplines, and starts by hypothesizing that indeed, when it "swings," the gods can be heard to speak through the arts. Then one goes on to ask who hears them (and who does not) and what socio-

logical difference that hearing may make (Balfe 1987). Another direction of interdisciplinary work, toward cultural economics and policy studies, takes us toward fields where questions of artistic quality have seldom had a major place. Rather, here the focus is on the processes that determine the distribution of power, be it economic or political, and the use of-or the results for-the arts, accordingly (Mulcahy 1982; Wyszomirski 1982; Wyszomirski et al. 1991.) Models of comparative cultural policies or economic impact analyses have been proposed by Cummings and Katz (1987) and Hendon et al. (1984). Here too, interdisciplinary work and an exchange of perspectives has increased, especially through the annual conferences on Social Theory, Politics and the Arts. Economic and policy analysis show us that money and power are indeed at stake; we demonstrate the sociological grounds upon which such games are played.

Current Standards of Substantive Content

Institutions involved in the production of the arts have long been analyzed as part of a broader configuration. Here I adapt a model developed by Philip Ennis (1993) (Figure 1). Regardless of the specific empirical focus all roles in



the model must be taken into account; each has both individual and institutional forms.

This model situates all roles as recruited from, responsive to, and acting back upon the world, however it is contextualized. Each role set can be somewhat self-perpetuating (the circular arrows go around), even as each requires the others to exist (the straight arrows connect). The relative distance of each role set from the others varies in individual cases, as the distinct roles may sometimes be played by the same people. For example, a mother who tacks her child's work on the refrigerator door serves simultaneously as patron, critic and audience. In each instance, the specific form and quality of the art contributes to the resultant institutional structure, as well as the reverse.

The focus of analysis can vary: the humanities have traditionally considered only the upper two-thirds of the vertical axis (artist and artwork), while economics and policy studies have focused on the outer two-thirds of the horizontal one (patron, producer, distributor and critic/gatekeeper). Both sets of disciplines have tended to give little attention to the least understood—and potentially, least stable—of all the roles: the audience, upon which the balance of the model rests as it is from audiences that participants in the other roles are both recruited and legitimated. In any event, as an analytic discipline, only sociology—particularly when using the production of culture perspective—is prepared to incorporate the whole model, in a fully contextualized "world."

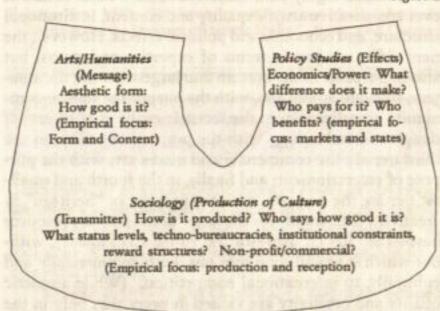
Consider, for example, our frequent attention not just to the institutions of artistic production but also to the resultant categorization and status ranking of their products as High, Popular (Mass, Commercial), or Folk culture, and to the related status ranking of their patrons and audiences (Bourdieu 1984; Crane 1992; Gans 1985). Indeed, in most modern Western societies, their funding has differed on these same dimensions (free-lance professionals or non-profit institutions with corporate, foundation or state support; for-profit organizations totally dependent upon "box office"; and self-supporting amateurs). The funding sources tend to have status rankings comparable to the art forms they support. ("Going commercial," for fine artists, is likely to be seen as "selling out.") Inherently "unquantifiable," regardless of status level the arts see themselves as merit goods, to be loved rather than to be merely bought and sold. It is this characteristic that makes the arts so useful in status assertion, both between ranks (Bourdieu 1984; DiMaggio 1982), and among different sectors of the same rank.

However, while the arts have been used like other cultural forms to determine exclusionary status rankings, they differ in that they are autonomous enough to establish their own competitive hierarchies. They are—as they must be—inclusive enough to incorporate parvenu talent. Furthermore, the arts have their own power: when it "swings," that "swing" is real and has important effects. Thus efforts are made by both supporters and detractors of the prevailing hierarchies to use it for their own purposes. Accord-

ingly, we need to be much more explicit in our inquiries into "cultural capital" and the institutions that determine its production than we have been: culture must be created before it can be capitalized upon, so even our narrowest of empirical case studies of artists take on new dimensions. For example, how would one analyze the emergence of the cultural capital—as distinct from the corporate profits—of rap music? Who "invested" in it from outset, with what expected return of "interest"?

However we use this model (or similar ones), comparative sociological analysis of arts institutions links readily to the humanities and policy studies. Thus we have an interdisciplinary model (Figure 2), compatible with the model described above in terms of the core questions and the empirical focus of each perspective. It follows as well the traditional model of the media, divided into message, transmitter, and effects.

Figure 2



This figure can also be understood metaphorically as a horseshoe magnet, with sociology serving as middle ground connecting the humanities and policy studies. Even as it links them, it grounds the tensions that are sparked between the two poles when they are in too close and direct contact: indeed, one could explain recent controversies over public arts funding precisely by the fact that the sociological perspective of institutional analysis was ignored by the most active participants (Balfe & Wyszomirski 1986; Dubin 1992; Wyszomirski 1982).

Comparative Institutional Analysis Within the Field: Arts Institutions and Arts Industries

The work of a cultural economist, Harry Chartrand (1992), is particularly useful in forwarding interdisciplinary perspectives, as well as in formulating the relationship of the supposedly High, Popular, and Folk arts. (Crane [1992] presents a similar, if less unified, model; see also the work of two other economists: Heilbrun and Gray [1993].) Chartrand shows how single arts institutions are related to their fellows, both through isomorphism and by

(continued on page 4)

finding unique and competitive niches, through which all together become a full-scale industry. While his perspective is perhaps yet little known among sociologists of culture (but see DiMaggio 1987; DiMaggio and Powell 1983 for related models), it has already been incorporated into the NEA's 1992 Annual Report to the President and the Congress on the State of the Arts in America (p. V1-10). Chartrand demonstrates in standard economic terms how all the diverse participants in the arts, whether individuals or institutions, are part of a single—and huge—industry. Using 1989 figures, in the United States it employed 2.7% of the total workforce (the defense industry employed 3%); its total output of \$3 14.5 billion was fully 6% of the GNP.

Chartrand describes the arts industry as composed of four tiers of increasing complexity, expertise and status, and decreasing proportionate numbers. To be sure, every tier includes highly-paid individuals, as well as concerns over comparative artistic quality and content, institutional structure, and economic and political effects. However, the tiers differ not just in terms of expertise and status, but also in purpose. In the bottom and largest tier are the amateur, folk and ethnic arts, with the purpose of self- or community actualization; in the second are the applied arts of design and technology, with the purpose of utility; in the third tier are the commercial and media arts with the purpose of entertainment; and finally, in the fourth and smallest tier are the fine arts, with the purpose of "heritage" or creativity. Chartrand sees the latter as the primary resource base-the "R&D" arm-of the entire arts industry, without which it would soon lose out, both commercially and culturally, to international competition. (While aesthetic quality and creativity are valued in every tier, only in the fine arts is this the major source of legitimation.) Artworks, artists, and institutions (including all the support personnel) may stay primarily in one of these tiers, out of mutual disinterest or genuine antagonism based on status competition and boundary marking (Lamont and Fournier 1992). However, others cross readily from one tier to another.

One factor contributing to this transversal within the tiers is that both top and bottom tiers share the manifest purpose of "life-enhancement" and thus intrinsic "merit"; more latent is their "utility" in status enhancement or economic returns. Their funding structure is equally comparable, as essentially non-profit. But while the middle two tiers are manifestly commercial and utilitarian, with their producing institutions seeking to operate for profit, they have latent "merit" characteristics that determine their own rules of competition and survival. Put differently, one might say that for the fine and folk arts, the institutional structure exists to support the "swing"; for the arts of design and entertainment, the "swing" is to support the institutions.

All of this helps us to make valid comparisons among institutions involved in producing the arts, of whatever form and quality and with whatever degree of complexity of organization, and relate them to their specific audiences.

Who finds any particular artwork meaningful and who does not, with what social, economic, and political consequences? Accordingly, what artworks live and what ones die—of disease, neglect, or murder?

Comparative Institutional Analysis Across Fields of Culture

There are implications here for other spheres of the sociology of culture. How might we compare the arts industry with the culture spheres of science, law, religion? There are many possible analogies. For instance, what are the institutions whereby peer review occurs to judge the "rightness" or the "elegance" of any work? (How are NSF and NIH, the courts, the National Council of Churches and College of Cardinals like—or unlike—NEA and NEH?) Who is the intended wider audience for these judgements, with what degree of control and feedback?

In turn, how and when are culture industries in synch with or similar to each other, structurally or otherwise (DiMaggio and Powell 1983)—and when are they not? Religion and law historically have been far more involved in "official" social control than have the arts and science, whom they have either co-opted or censored to that end. At the same time, the increasing techno-bureaucratization of all secondary institutions in the production of culture has led to comparable professionalization of personnel across fields, thereby increasing the isomorphism of the institutions. Thus even the organizations concerned with the fine and amateur arts are now largely administered by people with MBAs in arts management, offered by some 27 universities, rather than by artists—themselves largely credentialed with MFAs. Such administrators are likely to have more in common with their fellow MBAs running the commercial and design tiers of the industry than they have with their client artists. Comparative analysis of the effects of this "New Class" of cultural administrators may lead to greater insight into how a cultural hegemony comes into being than do any outmoded models of "core vs provincial" (Balfe 1989; Blau 1990; Crane 1992; Kellner and Heuberger 1992). They might also help us understand the current "culture wars" (Hunter 1991) better than we do.

Comparisons of culture industries could help us examine both conjunctions and disjunctions. For example, status competition among potential patrons and audiences appears to enhance certain forms of artistic production (Balfe 1993): does it enhance science, religion, and law as well?

Comparative institutional analysis across spheres will surely help us to raise and answer more profound questions about cultural hegemony, assimilation, contestation, extinction, and multiplicity. More readily than elsewhere in the Sociology of Culture, in the arts we can see these processes at work, almost as Simmelian "play forms" whereby highly individualized units can be analyzed as unique works before they are understood as—or become—institutions and thereupon industries. Why, when, and how do they do so—or not, as the case may be—with what con-

sequences, for whom? As we work together, we may help each other to answer questions that presently elude us when we work separately. If we are to answer my first question, "what does art do?", we may find it useful to explore more fully the spheres of religion, law, and science-and vice versa. Let us get on with the game.

REFERENCES

Adler, Judith. 1979. Artists in Offices. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction. Arian, Edward. 1971. Bach, Beethoven and Bureaucracy: the Case of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra. University of Alabama Press.

Balfe, Judith Huggins, ed. 1993. Paying the Piper: Causes and Consequences of Art Patronage. Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press.

. 1989. "The Baby Boom Generation: Lost Patrons, Lost Audience?" The Cost of Culture: Patterns and Prospects of Private Art Patronage, Margaret J. Wyszomirski and Pat Clubb, eds. New York: American Council for the Arts. 9-26.

1987. "Artworks as Symbols in International Politics." Politics,

Culture and Society 1:2. 195-217.

1981. "Social Mobility and Modern Art: Abstract Expression and Its Generative Audience." Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change #4, Louis Kriesberg, ed. Greenwich CT: JAI Press. 235-251.

Balfe, Judith Huggins and Margaret J. Wyszomirski. 1986. "Public Art and Public Policy: the Case of 'Tilted Arc'." Journal of Arts Management and Law 15:4. 5-29.

Becker, Howard. 1982. Art Worlds. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.

Bensman, Joseph and Robert Lilienfeld. 1991. Craft and Consciousness: Occupational Technique and the Development of World Images, 2nd ed. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Blau, Judith. 1989. The Shape of Culture. New York: Cambridge Univer-

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, Richard Nice, tr. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Chartrand, Harry Hillman. 1992. The American Arts Industry. Washington DC: Report to the National Endowment for the Arts.

Crane, Diana. 1992. The Production of Culture: Media and the Urban Arts. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications.

1987. The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: the New York Art World 1940-1985. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cummings, Milton C. and Richard S. Katz, eds. 1987. The Patron States Government and the Arts in Europe, North America and Japan. New York: Oxford University Press.

Di Maggio, Paul. 1982. "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century Boston." Media, Culture and Society 4. 33-50, 303-322.

1987. "Classification in Art." American Sociological Review 52: 440-455.

Di Maggio, Paul and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "Institutional Isomorphism." American Sociological Review 48: 147-160.

Dubin, Steven C. 1992. Arresting Images. New York: Routledge.

Ennis, Philip C. 1993. The Seventh Stream: the Emergence of Rocknroll in American Popular Music. Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Gans, Herbert. 1985. "American Popular Culture and High Culture in a Changing Class Structure." Art, Ideology and Politics, Judith Huggins Balfe and Margaret J. Wyszomirski, eds. New York: Praeger. 40-59.

Gilmore, Samuel. 1988. "Schools of Activity and Innovation." Sociological Quarterly 29. 202-219.

Greenfeld, Liah. 1989. Different Worlds: a Sociological Study of Taste, Choice and Success in Art. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Heilbrun, James and Charles M. Gray. 1993. The Economics of Art and Culture. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hendon, William S., Nancy K. Grant, and Douglas V. Shaw, eds. 1984. The Economics of Cultural Industries. Akron OH: Association for Cultural Economics.

Hunter, James Davison. 1991. Culture Wars: the Struggle to Define America. New York: Basic Books.

Kellner, Hansfried and Frank W. Heuberger. 1992. Hidden Technocrats: the New Class and Capitalism. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction.

Lamont, Michèle and Marcel Fournier, eds. 1992. Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality. Chicago: University

Mulcahy, Kevin. 1982. "The Rationale for Public Culture." Public Policy and the Arts, Kevin Mulcahy & Richard Swaim, eds. Boulder: Westview

National Endowment for the Arts. 1992. The Arts in America 1992: A Report to the President and to the Congress. Washington DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Passmore, John. 1991. Serious Art. LaSalle IL: Open Court.

Peterson, Richard A. 1994. "Culture Studies through the Production Perspective: Progress and Prospects," in The Sociology of Culture, Diana Crane, ed. Forthcoming.

Rosenblum, Barbara. 1978. Photographers at Work. New York: Holmes and Meyers.

Wyszomirski, Margaret. 1982. "Controversies in Arts Policy Making." Public Policy and the Arts, Kevin Mulcahy & Richard Swaim, eds. Boulder: Westview Press.

Wyszomirski, Margaret, Monnie Peters, and Kevin Mulcahy. 1991. "The Policy Utility of the NEA's State of the Arts Report." The Future of the Arts: Public Policy and Arts Research, David Pankratz and Valerie Morris, eds. New York: Praeger. 35-47.

Zolberg, Vera. 1980. "Displayed Art and Performed Music: Selective Innovation and the Structure of Artistic Media." Sociological Quarterly

Williams and Kniss on Religion (continued from page 1)

distinctions to misplaced reifications of empirical processes. We offer a short summary of a framework for the analysis of culture and then examine several recent books in the sociology of religion for their use of religion as culture in empirical analysis.

Wuthnow (1987) and Griswold (1987) offer perspectives on the analysis of culture that make several useful distinctions. While they differ in emphases, both authors suggest that the study of culture need not be limited to the "subjective;" that is, norms, value-orientations, moods, motivations and the like may be important dimensions of culture, but they do not exhaust the concept. The study of culture is not limited, in any given interaction, to A's intent in sending a message (or motivations for an action) and B's reception of that message (or interpretation of A's action). Combining Wuthnow's and Griswold's perspectives offers a well-rounded approach to cultural analysis; it is a strong case for understanding the interaction of context and con-

Beyond actors' intentions and interpretations, an important dimension to the study of culture is the structure of the cultural object itself, be it a sermon, film, or protest demonstration. Cultural objects have an internal logic of their own, capable of making some interpretations more likely and others less so (Wuthnow 1987). Without going as far as linguistics' "deep structures," it is possible to get important purchase on cultural objects by focusing on the objects themselves. For example, Marsha Witten (1993) has investigated a sample of Protestant sermons in just this way-she focuses on the internal formal properties of the

(continued on page 6)

discourse as a text. She then situates these sermons as objects within the religious culture in which they arise.

Grounding analyses of intention, reception, or formal structure are the contexts in which culture is created and consumed (Griswold 1987). One part of that context is the institutional setting in which cultural objects exist. Sites provide important clues, to both participants and observers, about what cultural objects mean and how action is to be oriented. Institutional contexts also matter in that they shape actors' abilities to use, produce, manipulate, and interpret objects. Differential access to varying resources, such as organizational power or traditional authority, shapes interactions. Institutional differentiation also affects actors' abilities to have their definitions of situations be the ones that "count." Location in institutions is an important resource for legitimacy in symbolic contests.

The context for the analysis of culture can also be thought of as the "cultural field." That is, cultural objects have their own internal structure and also exist in relation to other objects in the same category, setting, or interaction. Symbolic expressions are not isolated when they enter a cultural field. They follow some expressions and precede others; they use previous symbols as referents, and are referenced by others. Thus the field of cultural objects helps structure the possible readings of any given object.

As this framework makes clear, there is no need for the analysis of culture to be confined to subjective mental products, whether cognitive or affective. Neither is there a need to dissolve culture into reflective expressions of "deeper" social structural categories and processes. Culture is "symbolic-expressive" human action and that action can be approached on a number of levels. But it can only be "understood" by integrating mental processes and social behaviors, symbols and the settings in which they are used.

Several recent works in the sociology of religion approach culture in this multi-faceted way. They understand "religion as culture" but do not limit that to beliefs, commitments, and symbols. Rather, they view religion as a source of particular kinds of cultural objects, actions, and resources that are mobilized, interpreted, and manipulated in a variety of institutional settings for a variety of purposes. Religion as culture happens within institutions, organizations, and social networks, and is shaped by them as well as helps shape them.

The analytical use of "religion as culture" may be in both explicit and implicit terms. On one hand, religion is understood as a source of explicit symbols that are available to actors for manipulation. On the other hand, religion is implicit, forming an important part of the worldview that is the backdrop of action within any social setting. Assumptions and beliefs that are often not even recognized as "religious" nevertheless have their origins in religion as culture.

Our particular interests are in work that analyzes the interactions between religion and political culture. Reli-

gion acts as a "frame" for politics in both its explicit and implicit connotations. While frames are orienting devices that shape understanding, often without actors' conscious awareness, frames are also tools used by particular actors in particular situations. Political actors use different frames for different purposes, and political action is largely constituted by rival groups' attempts at gaining privileged status for their frames.

Robert Wuthnow's The Restructuring of American Religion (1988) contends that in the post-war era religious distinctions and conflicts that used to travel the social fault lines of denominational and faith differences (e.g. Protestant, Catholic, Jew) have diminished. In their place is an ideological divide that cross-cuts denomination, separating liberal and conservatives within any one group. Thus, for example, such old antagonists as conservative Baptists and Catholics have put away their mutual suspicions for their mutual interests on issues of abortion and sexuality. Along with the attenuation of denominational identity as a cultural indicator for political differences, denominational organizations have also become less important in public politics. "Special purpose" groups have arisen, usually organized around single issues and pulling together coalitions of actors that might have little else in common outside of the group's instrumental purpose.

James Davison Hunter (1991) used that basic conceptual scheme for understanding the entire range of recent developments in public politics. The United States has moved into "culture wars" in which the primary political struggle is over the ability to "define America." In this struggle, the two camps have sorted themselves out as "orthodox" and "progressive" based upon their understanding of the locus of moral authority. Culture is the political dividing line and the primary weapon of engagement. Further, the logic of the mass media exacerbates the divide, making reasoned debate impossible.

Several commentators (e.g. Brint 1992) have faulted Hunter for following the media's example too closely and over-dramatizing his case. Two critiques strike us as pertinent: first, the push toward cultural polarities is offset by institutional processes that pull back toward moderation; second, the cultural logics of the opposing groups are not mutually exclusive. Some recent empirical work illustrates these points.

Demerath and Williams (1992) analyze the course of three issues in the public politics of one city. Their account demonstrates the significant role now played by "special purpose" groups—the leading edge of activism is ecumenical religious groups organized for the purpose of challenging the city's established political arrangements on a limited set of issues. Each group used high-profile, attention-getting, extra-institutional tactics to do so. Over the course of the development of each issue, ideological polarities in public statements are countered by the negotiated character of compromise politics. The all-or-nothing character of the moralized discourse used by the challenger groups is countered with the reality of consensus politics

in a one-party city, and the consensus ideology of the city's "ideology of community."

In this regard, the politics at issue were neither the culture wars of Hunter's book, nor the power structure politics of political science tradition. Indeed, the "cultural resources" used by various sets of political actors in each of the issues were effective precisely because they reached across structural divides. For example, a largely Protestant African-American clergy group challenging the city's economic development policies found the American Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on the economy a valuable ideological frame because so much of the city's political establishment—and its populace—is Catholic. The clergy's religious framing bridged socio-cultural differences of race and class as well as religion, and reconfigured how the issue was contested. The ideological divide that "restructured" American religion has not completely supplanted old denominational loyalties, but rather made the social cleavages involved even more tangled.

But the structure and content of the cultural resources themselves also account for much of their efficacy. That is, within each ideological frame—whether the "justice" frame of the clergy challengers or the "community" frame of the establishment—were elements of the opposing frame. In order to be mutually intelligible the two sides had to share some meanings in common; each camp's message bounced off partially resonant dimensions of the opposing camp's symbolic repertoire. Thus the structure of the cultural objects themselves is a key to understanding the course of the issues, along with understanding the cultural and institutional contexts in which the political debate was

waged.

Kniss (1992) has also focused on how the structure and content of religious ideology interacts with institutional contexts to produce particular patterns of conflict. His analysis of religious conflict among American Mennonites uses a multidimensional conception of ideological structure and content to examine intraorganizational and cultural conflict. Far from supporting unidimensional, bipolar conceptions of America's ideological divides, Mennonite ideology combines elements of both the mainstream left and right. The cultural fields of American history and political culture produce particular internal strains for Mennonites that lead to unique patterns of religious and cultural conflict.

A more complex, multidimensional, mapping of ideological content can also provide insight on the strange bedfellows of American politics (Platt and Williams 1988; Kniss 1993). For example, why are groups who are "pro-life" with respect to abortion so often "pro-death" on capital punishment? And why the recent emergence of groups opposing both? Only attention to both the ideological content and the institutional context of these issues enables us to answer such questions. The focus on the interaction between content and context is, thus far, one of the most helpful products of the closer conversation between the sociology of religion and the sociology of culture—a product that has in turn built bridges to political and organizational sociology.

Thinking about ideas as tools in political debate is not unique to the sociology of religion, of course. But in many formulations, understanding cultural objects only as tools leads to a discounting of them. "Culture" becomes epiphenomenal to political and material interests; it becomes too thoroughly instrumental. However, some recent work on religious organizations demonstrates the extent to which ideology can be an "organizational" variable—something that is available to human agency, but in turn helps to shape the settings and possibilities that limit its use.

Gene Burns (1992) argues for this perspective in understanding ideological change in the Catholic church, particularly in the United States. His theoretical task is the linkage between agency and structure and the roles ideas play in each. In addressing this, Burns rejects any conception of ideology that leads to an idealism-driven explanation of social change or that embeds ideology so thoroughly in social structures that indeterminacy and autonomy evaporates. He notes a paradox; envisioning ideology as total, encompassing all factions in political struggle, risks ignoring any ideological change that is less than total. On the other hand, for ideology to matter divergent interpretations must be bounded by some degree of shared meanings. Thus the structure of the ideology itself, and the contexts in which it appears, both serve to make ideological conflict meaningful.

In a study of Latin American Catholicism, Christian Smith (1991) examines religion as ideology in social movement emergence. He develops the notion of "insurgent consciousness" as a way of understanding the cultural elements in social movements. Moving beyond the notion of "cognitive liberation" developed by "political process" social movement scholars, Smith notes the importance of harnessing religious fervor to an "injustice frame." Not only does this produce intense motivation in movement adherents, it problematizes the social order and has an independent and escalating effect on organizational strength. Religious ideology can help create political opportunities as well as give religiously-motivated groups the resources to take advantage of existing opportunities. Once again, the analysis merges cultural and structural factors in a processual account of socio-political action.

Demonstrating the interpretive agency with which people put together ideological elements is Stephen Hart's (1992) primary theoretical task. He is interested in how grassroots Christians relate their faith commitments to their understandings of economics and their attitudes toward economic justice. Through interviews Hart finds five "building block" principles upon which economic attitudes are built. The blocks "structure" much of the discourse Hart reports, and yet there is considerable interpretive efficacy as respondents make a variety of uses of the building blocks. Contrary to what is often believed, there are sig-

(continued on page 8)

nificant resources for progressive, communalist economic agendas among the faithful. Conservative religion is not necessarily related to conservative economic attitudes. Cultural and social structural cleavages—such as theology and denomination or race—do not align perfectly; neither do cultural objects such as religious ideas and economic attitudes make for neat analytic grids.

The pages of this newsletter have documented many changes in sociological approaches to culture. In particular, culture is not being forced to choose between undifferentiated roles as either vulgar Marxism's "ideology" or functionalism's integrative value-orientations. Similarly, the sociology of religion has been taking a "religion as culture" perspective seriously. Putting aside easy culture-structure distinctions, much recent work is using culturalist perspectives to understand the interactions between the contexts and the content of religious cultural objects. Religion is being rescued from dismissal as epiphenomenon on one hand, and removed from its functionalist pedestal on the other.

REFERENCES

- Burns, Gene. 1992. The Frontiers of Catholicism: The Politics of Ideology in a Liberal World. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brint, Steven. 1992. "What if They Gave a War . . . ?" Contemporary Sociology 21 (4): 438-440.
- Demerath, N.J. III and Rhys H. Williams. 1992. A Bridging of Faiths: Religion and Politics in a New England City. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Griswold, Wendy. 1987. "A Methodological Framework for the Sociology of Culture." Sociological Methodology 15: 1-35.
- Hart, Stephen. 1992. What Does the Lord Require? How American Christians Think About Economic Justice. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hunter, James Davison. 1991. Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America. New York: Basic Books.
- Kniss, Fred. 1992. Disquiet in the Land: Conflict Over Ideas and Symbols Among American Mennonites, 1870-1985. Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago.
- _____. 1993. "Culture Wars(?): Conceptualizing the Battleground." Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami Beach.
- Platt, Gerald M. and Rhys H. Williams. 1988. "Religion, Ideology, and Electoral Politics." Society 25 (5): 38-45.
- Smith, Christian. 1991. The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Witten, Marsha. 1993. All Is Forgiven: The Secular Message in American Protestantism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1987. Meaning and Moral Order. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 1988. The Restructuring of American Religion. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

From the Chair (continued from page 1)

Get in touch with the chairs (listed in this newsletter) of the Section's working groups on science and culture, education and the curriculum, law and culture, religion and culture, multiculturalism, and meaning and measurement to share your ideas and your energy. (And to the Section's old members, thanks for your good work, remember that a Culture Section membership is a great comps-passing gift for your favorite graduate students, and keep hustling: 1000 by 1995? 2000 by 2000?)

An update or two on some of this year's areas of special emphasis. (Others are addressed elsewhere in this newsletter.)

The Meaning and Measurement Working Group, chaired by Ann Swidler, has produced a special issue of the journal *Poetics*, to be published later this year, based on the session that Ann organized for the ASA's Miami conference. Those of us who were there will remember the intellectual electricity in the air, and will look forward to being able to read and share the presentations in their revised-for-publication form.

Incidentally, two new data sets of interest to the numerophiles amongst us are now up and running. The 1993 General Social Survey, including the special Module on Culture, contains data from a national sample of approximately 1600 Americans and includes questions tapping core values, attitudes towards desirable qualities of friends, participation in arts and leisure activities, taste in music, and attitudes towards cultural authority and cultural diversity. Outside the culture module per se, but also part of GSS 1993, are a fairly large number of questions on religion (membership, identification, and attitudes), science (attitudes towards it and beliefs about it), and political values. This valuable resource is available from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research / P.O. Box 440 / University of Connecticut / Storrs CT 06268.

The great virtue of the GSS is its extensivity—the number of areas it covers, the quality and breadth of the demographic information collected from respondents, and the vast number of covariates that one can investigate. A second newly available data set—from the National Endowment for the Arts' (NEA) 1992 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA)—has the virtue of intensivity. Its focus is almost entirely on participation in the arts broadly defined. It asks about participation—at live performances and exhibitions, through electronic media, at various kinds of leisure activities, in arts education activities, and in making art or performing in public—in detail and has an N of more than 12,000. It is also a replication of surveys conducted in 1982 and 1985, thus permitting trend analy-

Sociologist John Robinson of the University of Maryland prepared the first published report tracking change over the 1980s (available from the NEA Research Division 055

do

as Research Division Report #27 or, in summary form, as Research Note #50). To obtain the SPPA data set, which is available in several forms, contact the NEA Research Division at (202) 682-5432, or write Mr. Thomas Bradshaw, Director / Research Division / National Endowment for the Arts / Nancy Hanks Center / 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. / Washington DC 20506.

I've found the GSS data on attitudes towards cultural authority and multiculturalism of particular interest. The marginals and patterns of correlation suggest to me that, if there is a culture war in the U.S., most of the public has not yet enlisted. There is little polarization evident in responses to most of the items, and many attitudes that we intellectuals might consider part of a broader or ideological orientation are weakly or even insignificantly associated. (For example, lots of respondents seem to want more attention to the classics and support including works by women and people of color in school curricula.) One especially striking finding, to me at least, is that not one college educated respondent would "strongly disagree" with the proposition that popular and folk culture can have as much aesthetic merit as the fine arts.

Such issues are grist for the mill of the Section's Working Group on Research on Cultural Diversity, headed by Matthews Hamabata. Since last August, when that group formed, I have had a number of experiences that have further impressed upon me the timeliness of sociological work in this area. In my research area of the arts, the most influential practitioners-often with institutional funders leading the way-have recognized that their worlds are changing. After many years of arguing about the significance of cultural diversity or the appropriateness of multi-cultural programming, followed by a period of paying lip service to multiculturalism, many arts institutions are trying to change, and, in so doing, are learning important lessons about the diversity within minority communities, the need to change organizations from the inside out, the difference between race and class, and so on. As their change efforts evolve, these organizations and their funders become painfully aware of how much they have to learn, and are beginning to look to social scientists, especially sociologists, for research that can answer the questions they are formulat-

Learning to reap the benefits of cultural diversity is not only crucial to America's future, it is an issue of global significance. The Rockefeller Foundation has recently announced a 3-year fellowship program (including both full-year and 3-month research fellowships) through the University of Chicago Humanities Institute in Public Spheres and the Globalization of Media. In 1994-95, the program focuses upon "Mass Media and the Politics of the Public Sphere." In the succeeding years, the themes will be "Globalized Production of Local Identities" and "Democratization and Global Mass Mediation." For more information, contact Rockefeller Program / Chicago Humanities Institute / 1100 East 57th Street / Chicago IL 60637.

Several working groups are addressing the boundaries between the various regions of institutionalized culture, including art, religion, science, and law. Judith Balfe discusses these boundaries in her essay in this issue, and Rhys Williams reports on the Section's Religion and Culture working group in his.

An exciting, late-breaking development from the Science and Culture Working Group Chair, Chandra Mukerii: Chandra is organizing an e-mail conference on the relationship between culture, science and technology, to take place in early May of this year. Themes include, but are not restricted to, the relationship between culture and science, parallels between science and other forms of cultural production, the relationship between science and other kinds of knowledge, and research agendas for sociologists of culture interested in science and technology. Conferees will communicate via a name list prepared by Chandra and her colleagues at UC-San Diego, so that each participant can contact all the others simultaneously. Three days will be devoted to initial statements (some solicited, others spontaneous) and briefer messages in which conferees introduce themselves and describe their interests. Then the following week will be devoted to comments and replies. To participate in this e-mail conference, contact Chandra Mukerji at one of the following two e-mail addresses: cultofsci-request@ucsd.edu or bjones@ucsd.edu.

Finally, congratulations to newsletter editor Stephen Hart on the completion of this, his first newsletter. Steve has taken to the task with tremendous energy and enthusiasm, and overcome blizzards and foot-dragging contributors (well, at least one . . .), to produce a newsletter that maintains the quality that has made the Culture Section's newsletter the standard-setter for the ASA. He deserves our collective hearty thanks.

Culture Section News and Announcements

---Prizes & Awards----

Never won your state lottery? Try some better odds: the Culture Section prizes. The odds just improved even more, as the Section voted at its business meeting in Miami Beach to expand to three prizes annually. Don't be bashful—submit your own work or that of worthy friends.

The following schedule and guidelines apply to all the awards: the deadline for submissions or nominations is April 1; the winner will be informed of her/his good fortune by June 1; the award will be made at the ASA meetings in August; work in the area of culture, broadly understood, published (or in the case of the graduate student award,

(continued on page 10)

completed) in 1991 or subsequently is eligible; authors do not need to be section or even ASA members; self-nominations are welcome.

Book Award

This award is given to the best book in the area of culture. To nominate a book, simply send a letter indicating the author(s), title, year, and publisher to the committee; it will obtain copies from the publisher. Since publishers are often slow in sending copies, nominate as early as possible. Committee chair: Judith R. Blau, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill (e-mail jrblau@uncmvs.oit.unc.edu); other committee members: Priscilla Ferguson (Columbia); David Snow (Arizona).

1994 Prize for Best Recent Article

This prize is for the best recent article published in a scholarly journal or edited volume. The nomination letter should describe the distinctive merits of the article, and it should be sent, along with three copies of the paper, to: Tom Gieryn, Department of Sociology, Ballantine Hall 744, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405. For further information, contact Tom at (812) 855-2950 or gieryn@ucs.indiana.edu. Committee members include Bonnie H. Erickson and Steve Dubin.

Graduate Student Paper Award

This award is for unpublished papers related to culture; applicants should send a copy of their paper directly to each member of the committee at the addresses below. If they would like confirmation that their papers have been received, a stamped, self-addressed postcard should also be sent to each committee member. Also included should be a cover letter including the applicant's address, institutional affiliation, e-mail address if available, and phone number. Committee members: Francie Ostrower (chair; e-mail flo@isr.harvard.edu), Department of Sociology, William James Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138; Jane Salk, Fuqua School of Business, Duke University, Durham, NC 27707; and Mark Schneider, Department of Sociology, 3012 LS&A Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109.

——Call for Nominations—

Well, if you aren't winning any prizes you could go for something almost as good: becoming a section officer or council member. The nominations committee is soliciting nominations from members of the Culture Section. This year we will elect two council members and a Chair-elect. Council terms are three years and responsibilities include advising the Chair, attending the annual council meeting and the section business meeting at the ASA, and taking a particular interest in some aspect of section business. The Chair's term lasts one year but her or his obligations extend to three, the chairship preceded by a year as Chair-elect and followed by a year as past-Chair. During the first

year, the Chair-elect's main responsibility is to organize sessions at the annual meetings. The following year, the Chair appoints committees and oversees their work, pursues such special initiatives as she or he (with council approval) chooses to launch, and presides over the section's annual council and business meetings. During the final year, the past-Chair serves on the section council. Please help fill these important positions by sending in your nominations (including self-nominations) no later than March 1 to any of the members of the Nominations Committee. Committee members: Wendy Espeland (chair, phone 708/ 467-1252), Sociology, Northwestern Univ., 1810 Chicago Ave., Evanston IL 60608-1330; Jeffrey A. Halley, Div. of Social and Policy Science, Univ. of Texas, San Antonio TX 78249-0655; Paul Lichterman, Sociology, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1180 Observatory Drive, Madison WI 53706; Bernice Pescosolido, Sociology, Indiana Univ., Bloomington IN 47405; George Thomas, Sociology, Arizona State Univ., Tempe AZ 85287-2101.

—Call for Syllabi—

The Teaching and Education Committee (chaired by Magali Sarfatti Larson of Temple, and also including Mabel Berezin and Diana Crane of Penn) urges you to send syllabi that you have used in teaching either sociology of culture proper, or in seminars and courses in which culture plays a large part. We are particularly interested in attempts to articulate the wide and almost impossibly diverse domain of "Culture" around other subjects than the accepted ones of sociology of art and popular culture. We are eager to see how our colleagues approach the structural and institutional aspects of culture in domains that have intimate connections with established bodies of research. The transmission of culture (obviously connected to official transmission in the school system and to sociology of education), political culture (posing the question of our relationships with political sociology), the organization of leisure (with its links to the sociology of work), are just a few examples, as are, of course, race and gender. Please send your syllabi, notes, and comments to Magali Sarfatti Larson at Department of Sociology, Temple Univ. (025-23), Philadelphia PA 19104. We will distribute them, examine them, and ultimately publish them in a coherent form. Thank you in advance for your efforts, and long live the Sociology of Culture!

—The Section Book Series Debuts— A report from Diana Crane

The first volume in an occasional series to be published by the section will appear in April from Basil Blackwell.

During my term as section chair (1991-92), I was struck by the diversity of interests of members of the section and the fragmentation of the field. One way to increase members' awareness of different theoretical perspectives and research was to make it possible for our chairs to edit vol-

osted

umes reflecting their interests and perspectives on the field.

The first volume, which I edited, is entitled Sociology of Culture: Emerging Theoretical Perspectives. It attempts to provide an overview of some currently active areas of research, including cultural integration (Michael Schudson), culturally-oriented historical sociology (Ewa Morawska and Willfried Spohn), political culture (Mabel Berezin), cultural models of organizations (Frank Dobbin), science studies (Chandra Mukerji), production of culture perspectives (Richard Peterson), cultural production from a European theoretical perspective (David Brain), reception theory (Andrea Press), methodological dilemmas in the sociology of art (Anne Bowler), and cultural conceptions of human motivation (Steve Derné). The paperback edition will sell for \$21.95

This book will be complemented by future volumes in the series—one is being planned by Elizabeth Long—highlighting different perspectives.

-----Activities of the Editors Emeritae----

Muriel Cantor and Cheryl Zollars, our last newsletter editors, un- or semi-officially pioneered the path of the new section book series, putting together a collection coming out of the newsletter and the life of the section. This book, Creators of Culture: Occupations and Professions in Culture Industries, is due out from JAI in late February as Volume 8 of its series, Current Research on Occupations and Professions. The introduction is by Muriel and Cheryl; the other authors—most of them section activists—are Gladys and Kurt Lang, Diana Crane, Judith Blau, Sarah Corse and Victoria Alexander, Connie L. McNeely, Denise D. and William T. Bielbly, John Ryan and Richard Peterson, Deena Weinstein, Alvelardo Valdez and Jeffrey Halley, Christopher Well and Samuel Gilmore.

Muriel, who is also a former section chair, has just been elected President-Elect of SWS. She deserves our warmest congratulations.

Cultural News and Announcements Beyond the Section

---Everything's Up to Date in Culture-

New Opportunity for Graduate Study

George Mason University is inviting applications for its first class of doctoral students in a new program in Cultural Studies, and asks culture section members to help spread word of this program. The director of the program, Mark Jacobs, is a sociologist and member of our section.

The Cultural Studies Program at George Mason University links the social sciences and the humanities, combining methods of interpretation and explanation to explore the dynamics of intention and reception in the production, distribution, and consumption of cultural objects in their social context. It involves faculty from ten different departments; the course of study includes interdisciplinary tracks such as Art, Artifacts and Institutions; The Social Construction of Identities; Culture and Information Technology; The Culture of Politics; and Theories of Culture.

Students may apply for either full-time or part-time status; fellowships and research/teaching assistantships may be available to qualified candidates. Those interested in applying for assistantships or financial aid should get in touch with the program director immediately.

For further information, contact Mark D. Jacobs, Director / Cultural Studies Program / MSN 3G5 / George Mason University / Fairfax, VA 22030-4444; phone (703) 993-1432; e-mail cultural@gmuvax.gmu.edu.

New Project on Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations

Steve Warner is director of this major new project, which will primarily use field methods, at UIC; it is supported by two foundation grants totalling over \$400,000. People with interests related to the project may want to keep in touch with Steve, who can be reached at Office for Social Science Research (M/C 307), University of Illinois—Chicago, Chicago IL 60607-7136; e-mail u61477@uicvm.cc.uic.edu; phone (312) 996-1801.

New Teaching Resource

Section council member Wendy Griswold is co-editor of a new series of books from Pine Forge Press (a new boutique publisher in sociology) designed for graduate or advanced undergraduate courses, all with a strong international focus. She herself has authored the first of these, Cultures and Societies in a Changing World, which will appear in February. Another volume on culture in this series will be one by Les Kurtz on religion, coming out next fall. Newsletter readers may also remember an article in the Spring/Summer 1993 issue about a new textbook in cultural sociology, by section members Mary Jo Neitz and John Hall.

——Upcoming Conferences—

Conference on Multiculturalism and Transnationalism

This will be an international and interdisciplinary conference, to be held October 15-17 at the University of Massachusetts-Lowell. Inquiries are welcome; proposals are due March 1. Contact Mohammed A. Bamyeh, Dept. of Sociology, University of Massachusetts, Lowell MA 01854; fax (508) 934-3023.

(continued on page 12)

Call for Papers: "Theorizing About the Arts: The Next Two Decades"—the 20th Annual Conference on Social Theory, Politics, and the Arts

The conference will take place this year from October 20-23 at LSU in Baton Rouge. It is a strongly interdisciplinary conference concerned with all aspects of the arts and their social processes and ramifications. Proposals should be made by April 15 (editor's note: perhaps for a paper on the culture of taxation?) to Kevin Mulcahy, Political Science, LSU, Baton Rouge LA 70803; phone (504) 388-2533; fax (504) 388-2540.

The Religionists Are Coming!

There are three key associations involving social scientists interested in religion: the Association for the Sociology of Religion (ASR), which meets just before the ASA in LA, and the Religious Research Association (RRA) and Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, which meet together November 4-6 in Albuquerque. Both meetings are open to submissions on any aspect of religion. The program chair for the ASR is Darren Sherkat, Sociology Dept., Vanderbilt, Nashville TN 37235; phone (615) 322-7505; e-mail sherkade@vuctrvax. The deadline is officially February 15, but the editor's experience is that there is usually

considerable flexibility. The RRA program chair is none other than your newsletter editor, Steve Hart, Sociology Dept., SUNY—Buffalo, Buffalo NY 14260-4140; e-mail sahart@ubvms.cc.buffalo.edu; deadline March 15.

"Practicing Theory" Conference

The ASA Theory Section is holding a conference immediately following the meetings this summer in LA, and is interested in proposals of all kinds; non-traditional sessions (poster sessions, even focus groups) and proposals are welcome. The deadline was January 24, but the organizers requested publicity in this issue so there may be some flexibility. Direct inquiries (5 copies of proposals are requested) to Mary Rogers, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, University of West Florida, Pensacola FL 32514.

-Prize Announcement-

The Sex and Gender Section has requested us to announce that they will give an award for the best paper based on a student's dissertation dealing with sex and gender issues. The dissertation must have been approved no earlier than January 1992 or still be in progress. The deadline is May 3; for information on the submission process (which is more complex and specific than for our prizes) contact Cynthia Truelove, 15 Owen Court, Irvine CA 92715.

Books of Note

Richard A. Peterson

White, Harrison C. Careers and Creativity: Social Forces in the Arts. Boulder, CO: Westview. A brilliant portrayal of the interlinks of social and cultural systems in careers of creativity and stylistic innovation ranging from the French impressionism to rock music. Clearly written with numerous examples, White's work will be as useful in the undergraduate classroom as in the scholar's study.

Conner, Walker. Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. This collection of essays by Conner written over the past three decades shows that scholars in their quest for modernity have systematically underestimated the passion and the power of ethnic identities.

Takaki, Ronald. A Different Mirror: A

Chitstory of Multicultural America. New
York: Little, Brown and Company.
Takaki traces the responses of Native
Americans, African slaves, Catholic and
eastern Europeans, Asian, and Mexican
immigrants to white Protestant domina-

tion and the American ideal of freedom and liberty for all.

Pankratz, David B. Multiculturalism and Public Arts Policy. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group. The arguments for multiculturalism in the arts are set in the context of threats to public arts funding and elitist pleas for artistic excellence.

Twitchell, James B. Carnival Culture: The Trashing of Taste in America. New York: Columbia University Press. Twitchell expresses an alternative perspective, that since World War II, American culture has been transformed so that now the vulgar, seen in Stephen King and Madonna, is the norm. Bring back Fatty Arbuckle and Betty Boop.

Franko, Mark. Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body. New York: Cambridge University Press. Studying Royal French court ballet librettos and performance techniques, Franko finds a reflection of the tenuous situation of the noble class. Harnoncourt, Nikolaus. Baroque Music Today: Music as Speech. Portland, OR: Amadeus Press. Harnoncourt argues that authenticity in rendering music comes from a close study of period performance practice which was to stimulate a conversation among players.

Leppard, Raymond. Authenticity in Music. Portland, OR: Amadeus Press. An accomplished conductor, Leppard reviews the debates over how to perform early concert music and proposes that authenticity comes not from using period instruments but from the clearest possible revelation of the music's intrinsic qualities.

Trice, Harrison M. Occupational Subcultures in the Workplace. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press. Trice sees the development of strong occupational subcultures, expressed in language, ceremonies, and taboos, as developing to counter organizational rules and culture. 1

Baker, C. Edwin. Advertising and a Democratic Press. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Baker argues that the dependence on advertising creates a powerful corrupting influence on the print media and shows the shallowness of the journalistic ideology of "balance" and "objectivity." He also gives evidence that people would be willing to pay more for a paper with a more focused editorial perspective.

Dick, Bernard F. The Merchant Prince of Poverty Row: Harry Cohn of Columbia Pictures. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. Dick shows that Harry Cohn was more than a foul-mouthed egomaniac with one asset—the creative help of director Frank Capra. Dick details how, in the depths of the Depression, Cohn built Columbia from a minor company.

Nine from Blackwell

Crane, Diana, editor. Sociology of Culture: Emerging Themes and Perspectives. This is the first in a series of anthologies to be published in conjunction with the Culture Section of the ASA. Culture is linked to diverse topics including politics, identity, stratification, organization, the production perspective, feminist theory, reception theory, methodological dilemmas, science, art, and microsociology. In her introduction, Diana Crane poses the challenge of the sociology of culture to sociology as a discipline.

Bauman, Zygmunt. Postmodern Ethics. Going far beyond the simplistic reports of "the end of ethics," Bauman argues that the postmodern era has made possible a radically new socially-grounded understanding of the ethical.

Fentress, James and Chris Wickham, editors. Social Memory. The powerful workings of collective memory are seen in writings ranging from those of the brothers Grimm to Gregory of Tours, from accounts of the career of Charlemagne and the Icelandic Sagas to the uses of the past in sub-Saharan Africa and among the Sicilian Mafia.

Abu-Lughod, Janet. The End of the Urban Village: The Struggle for New York's Lower East Side. Abu-Lughod shows that the once-homogeneous urban village has become a turf contested by diverse groups that intermingle in physical space but peruse widely different lifestyles.

Kauffman, Linda S., editor. American Feminist Thought at Century's End. With contribution by Catherine MacKinnon, Cynthia Enloe, bell hooks, Angela Davis, Jean Elshtain and others, this reader shows the dynamic diversity in contemporary feminist thinking and research.

Wolfe, Susan J. and Julia Penelope, editors. Sexual Practice/Textual Theory. This anthology of cultural criticism marks the coming of age of lesbian criticism and theory as a vital force within textual analysis.

Landry, Donna and Gerald Maclean. Materialist Feminisms. The authors trace the important moments in the evolution of Anglo-American feminist theory from Marxism to cultural feminism to poststructuralist literary theory as they have confronted issues of class, race, sexuality, postcoloniality, and green politics.

Ingus, Fred. Cultural Studies. Ingus provides a straightforward introduction to the history and practice of [British] cultural studies.

Maltby, Richard and Ian Craven. Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction. This text provides an up-to-date and accessible introduction to American film-making.

Sixteen from University of Chicago Press

Calhoun, Craig, Edward LiPuma, and Moishe Postone, editors. Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives. Bourdieu's organizing concepts—field, capital, symbolic violence, habitus, reflexivity—are used and evaluated by a range of international proponents and skeptics. The anthology concludes with Bourdieu's own reflections on a sociogenetic understanding of intellectual works.

Mathy, Jean-Philippe. Extreme-Occident: French Intellectuals and America. Mathy shows how French intellectuals from Maurras to Duhamel, and from Sartre to Aron, have used America as myth and metaphor in a way that illuminates French intellectual and political struggles since the Revolution.

Guillory, John. Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon-Formation. Guillory repositions the fight over canon-formation from a question of which artists and works are included to the struggle over who gets to decide what is worthy of inclusion.

Halle, David. Inside Culture: Art and Class in the American Home. Halle shows how 160 upper, middle, and working class New York City families portray themselves through the paintings, posters, photographs, and art objects they select to display in their homes. By focusing on use, he adds a new dimension to our understanding of what art "means" to people.

Davis, Murray. What's So Funny? The Comic Conception of Culture and Society. Davis explores the cultural conventions of comedy and notes the relationships and institutions that have been the butt of jokes over the centuries.

Brodhead, Richard H. Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America. Brodhead depicts four distinct literary artworlds: the middle-class domestic culture of letters, mass-produced cheap reading, postemancipation Black education, and militantly elitist high culture and shows the links between them.

Baker, Houston A. Jr. Black Studies, Rap, and the Academy. Baker offers a commentary on the cultural importance of rap and presents a passionate argument for the responsibility of intellectuals to understand this newest form of urban expression.

Smith, Terry. Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America. Smith chronicles the modernist revolution in American art and design between the world wars. He argues that the new visual representations played an instrumental role in shaping the psychological, social, economic, and technical changes of the second industrial revolution.

Rydell, Robert W. World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions. The great interwar exhibitions, Rydell suggests, heralded an era of material abundance and equality for everyone that did not challenge the old foundations of inequality.

(continued on page 14)

autole

do

cont

Books of Note (from page 13)

Lutz, Catherine A. and Jane L. Collins. Reading National Geographic. In purporting to tell us about distant cultures, the National Geographic tells us as much about our own.

Fout, John C. and Maura Shaw Tantillo, editors. American Sexual Politics: Sex, Gender, and Race since the Civil War. In this collection of sixteen essays, the shiftrepression are seen in changing beliefs about gendered, racial, and gender-preference sexuality.

Banta, Martha. Taylored Lives: Narrative Productions in the Age of Taylor, Veblen, and Ford. Banta shows the influence of "scientific management" on the early twentieth-century view of the good home.

Loizos, Peter. Innovation in Ethnographic Film: From Innocence to Self-Consciousness, 1955 to 1985. Loizos analyses fifty of the best ethnographic movies made between 1955 and 1985 discussing their contributions to ethnographic documentation.

Biagioli, Mario. Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism. Biagioli argues that Galileo's courtly role was integral to his science in the questions he chose to examine, his methods, and even his conclusions.

Schneider, Mark A. Culture and Enchantment. Contrary to Weber, Schneider argues that modern life has not been disenchanted by science and rationality. Rather enchantment-the sense that we are confronted by inexplicable phenomena-has shifted from the natural to the cultural arena.

Fox, Richard Wightman and T. J. Jackson Lears, editors. The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History. The chapters range from early murder narratives and the class experience of mass consumption to the Beecher-Tilton affair and the "Tilted Arc."

Four from Wayne State

Herron, Jerry. AfterCulture: Detroit and the Humiliation of History. Using Detroit as the setting, Herron shows the errors of Henry Ford's brave promise that industrialism would create a plentitude so vast that America's history

of class, ethnic, and racial antagonisms would dissolve. Herron finds that this idealistic picture has congealed into a collective memory of what once actually existed putting the Detroit of today in a bad light and blinding us to the vibrancy of contemporary city life. Boom MS Wilson, John. Playing by the Rules: Sport, Society, and the State. Wilson shows the ways in which sports activities have become part of the national ing tensions between sexual reform and *project of state-building and how these processes have played-out differently in the liberal democratic US than they have n more centrally controlled countries.

> Marotti, Arthur, F., Renata R. Mautner Wasserman, Jo Dulan, and Suchitra Mathur, editors. Reading with a Difference: Gender, Race, and Cultural Identity. A Criticism Reader. Focusing on fiction from the seventeenth century to the present, the authors show how identities-particularly gender and race-are culturally constructed.

Swierenga, Robert P. The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora. Between 1800 and 1890 approximately 6,500 Dutch Jews immigrated to the U.S., and in losing much of their "Dutchness" and their Orthodoxy, many, including the Labor Leader, Samuel Gompers, became leaders in "German-American" reform Jewry.

Avebury's Four

Keating, Paul and Derry Desmond. Culture and Capitalism in Contemporary Ireland. The authors trace the ways that Irish cultural values and practices shape the economic development of Ireland. The focus is on the conflict between entrepreneurship and Irish Catholic-Nationalism.

Redhead, Steve, editor. Politics and Deviance in Contemporary Youth Culture. The authors focus on the links between the Manchester "acid house" or "rave" scene and rock music, drug use (especially Ecstacy), unemployment, alienation and the contemporary youth scene generally.

Redhead, Steve, editor. Football Fandom in the New Europe. While classical "football hooliganism" is still on the rise in Italy, Holland, and Germany, the open terraces of many stadiums are being replaced by all-seating arrangements.

Many more women now attend. Many fan organizations and fan magazines are being formed as following football becomes more respectable.

McAuley, James White. Protestant Working-Class Politics and Culture in Belfast. McAuley gives a detailed ethnographic look from a working-class Protestant perspective at the time of "troubles" in Northern Ireland.

Harper's Five

Coontz, Stephanie. The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap. Organized around a series of myths and half-truths, the book sheds light on the mis-remembered past of parenting, gender relations, and sexual practices over the past two hundred

Rubin, Lillian. Families on the Fault Line: America's Working Class Speaks About the Family, the Economy, Race, and Ethnicity. In this sequel to her widely useful ethnographic view of American working-class families stressed by consumerism, Rubin explores the intersection of class, gender, race, and ethnicity and the costs to individuals and society of the radical changes taking place in the way the American working class lives today.

Stern, Jane and Michael Stern. Way Out West. The authors explore the development and evolution of the myth of the American West in the popular media.

Slotkin, Richard. Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America. Focusing in on the role of violence in the myth of the American "wild" West, Slotkin shows the influence of these ideas on American culture and politics.

George, Nelson. Buppies, B-Boys, Baps & Bohos: Notes on Post-Soul Black Culture. George explores the evolving media images of African-Americans from Michael Jackson to Jessie Jackson to Mike Tyson to Michael Jordan, and from soul, funk, and disco, to rap and New Jack Swing.

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln, editors. Handbook of Qualitative Research. Holding mechanically to no

single system for generating topics, the editors provide 36 chapters that touch diverse methods, perspectives, theories, and modes of analysis. Along the way we learn how to apply for money and how to write results. At under two dollars an article, this handbook is a bargain!

Mitchell, Richard G. Jr. Secrecy and Fieldwork. Extremely sensitive discussion of the issues that recognizes the secrecy and deception inherent in all social interaction.

Mumby, Dennis K., editor. Narrative and Social Control: Critical Perspectives. Nine chapters explore the power of narrative paradigms to shunt thinking in situations ranging from the culture of obedience in the workplace to the journalist's self-legitimation in stories of the death of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Ng, Sik Hung and James J. Bradac. Power in Language: Verbal Communication and Social Influence. The authors show how we all use language to gain influence and control. Really? NO!

Hecht, Michael L., Mary Jane Collier, and Sidney A. Ribeau. African American Communication: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Interpretation. There is no African-American pattern of communication. Rather there are a number of distinct patterns that vary systematically by

the gender, class, and age of the speaker as well as by the race of the person addressed.

Moores, Shaun. Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption. Moores charts the recent emergence of critically informed ethnographic studies of everyday consumer practices. He shows the creativity of audiences in interpreting the plethora of media messages.

Martin-Barbero, Jesus. Communication, Culture, and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations. Using Latin America, a perspective unique for a text book, Martin-Barbero traces the formation of "the mass" of commodity-driven popular culture and national identity out of folk culture via the stage of politically mobilized "masses."

Five from Westview

Hoynes, William. Public Television for Sale: Media, the Market, and the Public Sphere. While public TV is ostensibly uniquely positioned to contribute to a lively democratic discourse because its programming is not driven by the needs of profit or the state, it is increasingly shaped by the needs of a few large corporate funders and demands to increase market share.

Cruz, Jon D. and Justin Lewis, editors. Viewing, Reading, Listening: Audiences and Cultural Reception. The articles in this anthology illustrate the empirical power of the increasingly accepted perspective which views audiences as active interpreters of media programming rather than as passive receivers of messages.

Foran, John. Fragile Resistance: Social Transformation in Iran from 1500 to the Revolution. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Foran sees the 1979 Islamic Revolution as the latest in a long series of "populist" resistance movements reacting against both domestic and foreign exploitation.

Lederman, Jim. Battle Lines: The American Media and the Intifada. Drawing on his detailed knowledge of Israel and long experience in journalism, Lederman shows how the American electronic and print media react and "cover" a crisis situation far from their home turf.

Ramet, Sabrina Petra, editor. Rocking the State: Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia. Bringing together some of the leading authorities on rock music under communism, this anthology shows how rock expressed dissident viewpoints more effectively than other cultural expressions. Then what of rock in this post-communist world?

Section Leaders and Committees

Unless otherwise noted, all receive mail at the Department of Sociology of the institution listed; for committees, the chair is listed first.

Officers Chair: Paul DiMaggio (Princeton; dimaggio@pucc.princeton.edu) · Chair elect: Michèle Lamont (Princeton; mlamont@pucc.princeton.edu) · Past Chair: Elizabeth Long (Rice) · Secretary-Treasurer: Karen Cerulo (Rutgers)

Council Nicola Beisel (Northwestern; nbeisel@casbah.anc.nwu.edu), Wendy Griswold (Chicago; wendyg@spc.uchicago.edu), David Halle (SUNY-Stony Brook), Arlie Hochschild (UC-Berkeley), Chandra Mukerji (Communication, UC-San Diego; cmuker@ucsd.edu), Michael Schudson (UC-San Diego)

Nominations Wendy Espeland (Northwestern), Jeff Halley (Texas-San Antonio), Paul Lichterman (UW-Madison), Bernice Pescosolido (Indiana-Bloomington), George Thomas (Arizona State)

Program Michèle Lamont (Princeton; mlamont@pucc.princeton.edu), Karen Cerulo (Rutgers), Sarah Corse (Virginia), Wendy Griswold (Chicago), John Hall (California-Davis), Mark Schneider (Michigan)

Other Chairs Book Award: Judith Blau (UNC-Chapel Hill; jrblau@uncmvs.oit.unc.edu) · Article Award: Thomas Gieryn (Indiana-Bloomington; gieryn@ucs.indiana.edu) · Graduate Student Prize: Francie Ostrower (Harvard; flo@isr.harvard.edu) · Membership: John Ryan (Clemson) · Publications: Richard Peterson (Vanderbilt; petersra@vuctrvax) · Teaching and Curriculum: Magali Sarfatti Larson (Temple) · Culture and Religion: Rhys Williams (Non-Profit Organizations, Yale) · Culture and Law: Kim Scheppele (School of Law, Michigan; kimscheppele@umichum) · Culture and Science: Chandra Mukerji (Communication, UC-San Diego; cmuker@ucsd.edu) · Meaning and Measurement: Ann Swidler (UC-Berkeley) · Cultural Diversity: Matthew Hamabata (Fielding Institute, Santa Barbara, CA)

well

From the Editor: Stephen Hart

Like Tonya Harding, this issue has some rough edges but hopes to avoid indictment. Muriel Cantor, Cheryl Zollars, and Marolyn Caldwell (the graphics designer) are a hard act to follow in terms of both the appearance and content of the newsletter. I ask your patience while I try to master their skills and chart a path for the future of the newsletter. I am also very interested in hearing your suggestions: issues you would like to address yourself and also ones you would like your cultural sociology colleagues to address for your benefit. And I would like to thank the section leaders I have worked with, particularly Paul DiMaggio, Michèle Lamont, Elizabeth Long, Richard Peterson, and Muriel and Cheryl, for their support and assistance in getting this issue out; the new ideas I've encountered and people I've gotten to know have made the job of preparing the newsletter well worth the effort.

The organization and format of the newsletter is slightly different from what you may be used to. Information for contributors is found on this page. Listings of section officers and committees have been separated from the masthead and displaced from the front page; these are found on page 15. Announcements are all grouped into two "stories," one for section business, official or at least semi-official, and the other for "external" events (including things our members are up to as individuals rather than through the section); these start on pages 9 and 11, respectively. "Books of Note," always the first thing I read in the newsletter, is bigger and better than ever, and will be found beginning on page 12 of this issue.

About the Newsletter

Culture is the official newsletter for the Sociology of Culture Section of the American Sociological Association. "Books of Note" is copyrighted by Richard A. Peterson, all other material by the American Sociological Association.

Deadline for Spring 1994 issue; April 1.

Unsolicited contributions are welcome in all content categories (articles, announcements, section news, dissertation abstracts, comments on previous articles, letters to the editor). They should be sent to the editor by e-mail or on disk. Any size or density DOS disk is acceptable, as is any standard word-processor file format; disks should be scanned for viruses and will not be returned. Preliminary inquiries prior to formal submission are welcome, and can be made by phone, fax, mail, or e-mail. Keep in mind that this is a newsletter, not a journal. Aim for a length of 1,500 to 2,500 words. The editor reserves the right to edit all submissions.

Getting a book (such as your own) covered in "Books of Note": send material describing it to: Richard A. Peterson / Box 1635, Station B / Vanderbilt University / Nashville, TN 37235.

Address all other inquiries to the editor:

Stephen Hart
Sociology Department
Park Hall
SUNY-Buffalo
Buffalo, NY 14260-4140
e-mail: SAHart@ubvms.cc.buffalo.edu
phone and fax: (716) 886-5592

American Sociological Association 1722 N Street NW Washington, DC 20036 NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
WASHINGTON, DC
PERMIT NO. 504

W0000016740 02/15/94 S26 LYN SPILLMAN DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME NOTRE DAME, IN 46556