Most of us are well into Summer by now, and hopefully enjoying the changed rhythms that brings. For me, the end of Summer and the transition back to Fall rhythms is almost always marked by the ASA Annual Meetings. The ASA meetings are a great chance to catch up with old friends, meet new people, talk with editors, and preview the present and future of cultural sociology.

If you are coming to the conference please try to attend our business meeting, which takes place on Monday, August 13 at 11:30 am. Our section reception is later that day, beginning at 6:30 pm. Full details for all the Culture Section sessions are provided in this newsletter, and they are also posted in the Culture Section’s website.

Omar Lizardo has organized a wonderful program for the section, spread over two days on Monday, August 13 and Tuesday, August 14. The program schedule begins with the roundtable sessions, which are always a good way to sample the diverse research interests, perspectives, and latest developments in cultural sociology. Gemma Mangione and Ande Reisman have organized a very interesting graduate student workshop, with four panelists discussing how to bring cultural sociology to the general public. The remaining sessions highlight cutting-edge techniques and issues in cultural analysis. There is a panel on
computational methods and cultural sociology; a panel on the relationship between culture, preference, and choice; a panel on moral judgment; a panel on culture and cognition; and a panel exploring different perspectives for thinking about culture and meaning.

This is my last “Letter From The Chair”, as I will hand over leadership of the section to Omar Lizardo at the conclusion of the business meeting. I would like to congratulate the winners of our recent election: Allison Pugh (Chair-Elect), Victoria Reyes and Gabriel Abend (Council Members), and Joanna Pepin (Graduate Student Representative). I would also like to thank all the current members of the Section Council, as well as our Newsletter and Website Editors, for all of their help. It has been an honor to serve the section for the past year. I look forward to seeing many of you at the meetings in Philadelphia this year, and at other meetings sites in the future.

Ron Jacobs,
Univ. at Albany, SUNY

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**Culture Section Council**

Elizabeth A. Armstrong,
Univ. of Michigan 2019

Aneesh Aneesh,
Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee 2019

Francesco Duina,
Bates College & Univ. of British Columbia 2018

Shyon S. Baumann,
Univ. of Toronto 2017

Terence E. McDonnell,
Univ. of Notre Dame 2018

Lauren Rivera,
Northwestern Univ. 2017

Kelly Balistreri,
Bowling Green State Univ. 2018

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**Four Questions For Diane Vaughan**

Dustin Stoltz (Univ. of Notre Dame) interviews Diane Vaughan (Columbia University) on the past, present, and future of cultural analysis and sociology.

**Dustin Stoltz:** How did you become interested in sociology and the study of culture?

**Diane Vaughan:** I had started as a freshman at Ohio State spring quarter, 1970, when the Kent State shootings happened. The National Guard was soon on our campus, armed with gas masks, facing down protesting students and throwing tear gas. I remember being in a history class, taking my first midterm with tear gas coming in from the Oval. I was transformed by these events. I didn’t have a major, but gravitated to a course in Social Change taught by Eva Sebo, a Columbia ABD writing a dissertation about Simmel. She was so influential. She was Hungarian, urbane, and my first woman professor. We read four major theories. We read Blau, Power and Exchange in Social Life, Blumer’s Symbolic Interaction, Coser on The Social Functions of Conflict, and the last was Simmel, On Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations. She had us write four papers that applied each theory to a reading in a Social Problems book. I learned how to think sociologically and how to theorize with empirical data. It was an incredible class. I was raising children so had not really thought about graduate school, but once I discovered sociology, other things happened. After Attica, I took a penology class that visited all the prisons in Ohio, then I worked that summer at the Ohio Reformatory for Women and kept a diary about it. My professor read it and encouraged me to go to grad school. Once there, I saw the relevance of the organizations literature to prisons and to Simmel. But if not for Eva Sebo, my future might have been different. I used my notes from her class to prepare for my master’s exams and my generals. Every class I teach I have students apply theories to data. And Simmel on social forms I have been using...
ever since, in what I call analogical theorizing, looking for similarities and differences across examples of similar events or outcomes in organizational forms that vary in size, complexity and function. Simmel wrote about culture and social forms, but I only discovered culture later, as I developed analogical theorizing across cases and saw how culture affected individual decision making. A long answer to your question, but I guess you could say that my data drove me to it.

DS: What work does culture do in your thinking, and what do you see as the benefits and limitations of your approach as compared to alternatives?

DV: It worked the other way, that my approach has let me discover how culture works in other people’s thinking. I started looking at how things go wrong in organizational forms of different size, complexity and function, and only when I got to the point of analyzing complex organizational systems did I have the data that let me see how culture affected individual interpretation, meaning, and choice. The analogies are that both Challenger and Dead Reckoning join institutional theory, cultural beliefs, and cognition in the explanation. Both show occupational habitus in practical action. And both show the development and transmission of culture over time. But each book shows culture working in different ways. It’s complicated, but in Challenger, there’s the production of a cultural belief in acceptable risk at the micro-level, pushed forward by the culture of production at the macro-level, as well as the culture of professional engineering acquired in their training that led them to make a fatal mistake. The central concept is the normalization of deviance.

Challenger was a retrospective analysis based on archival data and interview transcripts from the official investigation, and my interviews. Dead Reckoning is field work in four facilities. I forgot to say that this book is not about how things go wrong in organizations. In the cross-case comparison, I chose this as the fourth and negative case, about how they get things mostly right. My main questions are what makes air traffic control so safe, and what do controllers do that technology can’t replace, so from the outset cognition was central to the analysis. Culture works differently on cognition in every chapter. Because the airspace is different for each facility, the architecture, technology, and task vary, so produce a different culture at each place. The institutional logics of the system become embodied during their training, so cultural understandings affect distributed cognition. It’s not all top down, though. Controllers create cultural understandings that mediate the difficulties of working in this system. Risk and stress, for one, but also they construct symbolic boundaries that mediate the inequalities of the formal stratification system and set the moral boundaries of their work. Boundaries and boundary work are central concepts. So again a long answer, but I think one benefit of my approach is in having organizational forms as the units of analysis and being able to compare across cases. Each case produces different kinds of data, often at different levels of analysis, so lends itself to theory development within and across cases. Also, thinking analogically, the patterns and differences found can be compared with results from cultural analysis in other organizational
forms, so you could use cross-case comparison to understand, say, the emergence or change of culture of a gang in a neighborhood, or the culture of Catalonia in Spain. The obvious limitation is that there are many approaches to understanding culture and depending on the problem, level of analysis, and the research method that the researcher prefers, something else could work better.

**DS: How does your approach to culture shape your choice of research topics, settings, and methods?**

**DV:** I have learned a lot from this work. From *Challenger* I learned how the organizations we inhabit inhabit us. *Dead Reckoning* has reinforced that, but also shows how people create cultures that help them mediate system effects, including inequalities. Next I would like to know more about this. A single case. Something small, not a decade of work. *Dead Reckoning* is the comparison.

**DS: What most excites you about the future of cultural theory and analysis in sociology?**

**DV:** I love that over the course of my career, the work has become so sophisticated and gone in so many directions. We have progressed from culture as a fuzzy general concept to having theories and concepts that travel from one social situation to another, using everything from visual sociology, historical analysis, narrative, ethnography and interviews to John Mohr’s innovative “Measuring Meaning Structures” and now on to computational methods. In particular, I am excited about how culture is shaping organizational analysis and new work on culture and cognition. It's integrated into field theory, for example. At a Berkeley conference last spring on “Fields, Logics, Frames, and Cognition,” we had common readings and small group and collective discussions about progress and challenges. It was inspiring.

**Diane Vaughan** is a Professor of Sociology and International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. She completed her doctorate at Ohio State (’79) under the direction of Simon Dinitz. Her dissertation applied theories of deviance to organizations, resulting in her first book, *Controlling Unlawful Organizational Behavior* (Chicago, 1983), followed by her second book, *Uncoupling* (Oxford, 1986). The *Challenger Launch Decision*—which went on to garner numerous awards and publicity including a nomination for a Pulitzer—contributed to the general theme of her previous work in analyzing how things go wrong in organizations by exploring the 1986 *Challenger* Space Shuttle disaster. Many years later, after the explosion of the *Columbia* Space Shuttle upon re-entry in 2003, Vaughan was invited to join the Columbia Accident Investigation Board, demonstrating NASA had not learned from the previous accident as the normalization of deviance also lead to the 2003 incident. As a result of her extensive work as a public intellectual, she won the 2006 Public Understanding of Sociology Award from the ASA. Her fourth book, *Dead Reckoning: System Effects, Boundary Work, and Risk in Air Traffic Control* (currently in review), is a negative case: an organization where things mostly do not go wrong. Her theoretical approach, influenced by Simmel’s formal sociology, has lead to several theoretical articles on the use of analogy, and her next work will be a book length discussion: *Theorizing: Analogy, Cases, and Comparative Social Organization.*
During his long life, W.E.B Du Bois was rarely acknowledged for his potent and pioneering contribution to the founding of U.S. sociology. Over the past several years, works like Reiland Rabaka’s *Against Epistemic Apartheid* and Aldon Morris’ *The Scholar Denied*, among others, have forcefully repositioned Du Bois’ legacy. This scholarship reveals that Du Bois not only laid the contours of the sociology of race, but also those of several other major subfields, including, but not limited to, historical sociology, the sociology of religion, political sociology, and microsociology. In this issue of the newsletter, we have assembled a variety of essays—authored by cultural sociologists at different career stages and with different substantive concerns—to stimulate discussion on Du Bois and cultural sociology. Although not generally thought of as a cultural sociologist, this section begins to explore and establish Du Bois as a cultural sociologist and sociologist of knowledge. Faculty contributors include José Itzigsohn and Karida Brown’s essay on DuBoisan cultural sociology as a necessarily critical enterprise and Jennifer Mueller’s meditation on Du Bois, white ignorance, and limits of the sociology of knowledge. Graduate student contributors—Syeda Masood and Uriel Serrano—respectively address the theoretical and methodological value of Du Bois for cultural sociology and sociological research more generally. In addition, the section also includes a description of Marcus Hunter and Zandria Robinson’s new book, *Chocolate Cities* and Brandon Alston’s account of the inaugural event of the Du Bois Scholars Network. Together, these contributors demonstrate that Du Bois’ thought, approach to social analysis, and normative commitments to social justice offer much to contemporary cultural sociologists.

**A Du Boisian Cultural Sociology**

*José Itzigsohn  
Brown University*

*Karida Brown  
UC, Los Angeles*

Is Du Bois’ work relevant for cultural sociology? Our answer is: Sure, it could be. However, to do so would require building a critical cultural sociology—one that addresses social exclusions, social reproduction, and social change—drawing from his work. To do so, we need to read the corpus of Du Bois’s work, and to see him not only as a sociologist of race or an urban studies, but as a social theorist who developed an original sociological approach that centered racism and colonialism as structuring forces of modernity. In this short essay, we can only point to some ideas that emerge from Du Bois’ work and some places to look for them. The task of constructing a Du Bois’ based cultural sociology remains one that we hope young sociologists will soon undertake.
What would a Du Bois’ based cultural sociology focus on? It would focus on the analysis of two phenomena: the first is how racism and coloniality construct our categories of classification and understanding. A model for a Du Boisian cultural analysis would be his book *Dusk of Dawn*. Here Du Bois reflects upon his own lived experience and reconstructs the evolving meaning of the concept of race in his lifetime. Du Bois makes clear that turning his analysis inward on his own biography is important not because of its details, but because, as he says in the introductory apology, his life was significant “because it was part of a Problem; but that problem was, as I continue to think, the central problem of the greatest of the world’s democracies and so the Problem of the future world.” In that book, Du Bois, anticipating C. Wright Mills, puts his biography in relation to history and social structure, and the result is a critique of the given cultural world. *Dusk of Dawn* is also a methodological guide that shows us how to analyze the cultural categories that shape our world through a reflection on our own experiences.

A second element of a Du Boisian cultural analysis would be an analysis of the construction of subjectivity. This is what Du Bois starts doing in *Souls of Black Folk*. In that book, he initiates an analysis of the phenomenology of racialized experience by establishing the constituent elements of racialized subjectivity in the theory of double consciousness: the veil, twoness, and second sight. Du Bois’s phenomenology of racialized subjectivity precedes the sociological phenomenology of Schutz, Berger, and Luckmann. Moreover, differently than them, it analyzes subjectivity in relationship to the structures of power, oppression, and exclusion, something that is absent from the work of most phenomenologists. The analysis of Black subjectivity is developed in *Souls* and expanded in *Dusk of Dawn*.

Du Bois also initiates the analysis of White subjectivity, what we now know as whiteness studies. He does so first in *John Brown* (his biography of the famous abolitionist), and he continues this analysis in his essay *The Souls of White Folk* (included in *Darkwater*), in *Black Reconstruction*, and in *Dusk of Dawn*. *Black Reconstruction* is particularly important because there Du Bois introduces the idea of the “psychological wages of whiteness.” That is, the idea that the social deference and recognition afforded to whites by the dominant white world (or white culture) transforms the white poor and working class in defenders of the racial status quo. In other words, the cultural exclusions of race trumps [no pun intended] the economic interests of class.

In *The World and Africa*, Du Bois expands this analysis to include the subjectivity of the colonizer. He points out that colonialism and coloniality are maintained through the willful ignorance of the population of the colonial metropolis towards the cruelty involved in the production of their everyday world—much like the racist social order is maintained through the willful ignorance of the
white population towards the humanity of people of color. In The World and Africa, he also presents a critique of the racist character of the social and historical sciences, how the structures of scientific knowledge reproduce and maintain an unjust social order. This book anticipates the contemporary postcolonial and decolonial critiques of culture and knowledge.

A cultural sociology based on Du Bois’ work would bring to the center of this subfield the analysis of the cultural reproduction of categories of racial and colonial exclusions and the analysis of the subjectivities that those exclusions generate. It would do it in a way that addresses the experience of racialized and colonized subjects and it would start the analysis from these experiences. At the same time, Du Bois always emphasized the possibility of agency. The focus on the possibility of agency—what Du Bois referred as Chance—is in part a result of Du Bois roots in pragmatism and its emphasis in the human ability to shape the social world. Du Bois articulates the ability of the racialized and the colonized to imagine change in his analysis of second sight, an element of double consciousness that allows the racialized and the colonized to see beyond their dehumanizing present. This emphasis on the ability to see beyond the established order, however, derives from Du Bois roots in the Black Radical Tradition and its emphasis in the struggle to assert humanity and dignity in everyday life, even when major scale change looks impossible.

All along his life Du Bois rooted the struggle for the recognition of the humanity of people of color and for a more humane society in the cultural resilience and creativity of people of color. He does so early in his life in the final chapter of Souls of Black Folk where he links the assertion of Black humanity to the sorrow song, and late in his life in his 1958 communication with Kwame Nkrumah, described in his posthumously published Autobiography, where he argues that the newly independent African countries should build political and social orders based on African communitarian traditions rather than in Western modernity.

In its seamless linking of subjectivity and the structures of power, in its analysis of the subjectivities of the dominant and the dominated, in its critique of the structures of knowledge, and in its emphasis on the ability of the oppressed to see beyond the present and imagine change and assert their own humanity, Du Bois work would provide a base for a powerful critical cultural sociology that would allow us to understand both cultural reproduction and cultural change.

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**Du Bois Symposium, Cont.**

**Du Bois and the Sociology of Knowledge (Or, A Lesson in White Ignorance and Knowledge Resistance)**

Jennifer C. Mueller  
Skidmore College

Very little was demanded of me in graduate school with respect to demonstrating my knowledge of W. E. B. Du Bois – the man or his ideas; a testimony I suspect many of us would offer in honest moments. I was assigned only one of his books (though certainly not in a general theory course!). I read
many articles by authors who referenced Du Bois’ comments on the “problem of the color line” to contextualize their work – often vaguely and, as it turns out, apparently in error. On occasion, I heard Du Bois’ name invoked, usually in reference to some particular concept – ‘double consciousness,’ ‘psychological wage,’ and the like. And, thinking myself quite clever, I added a couple of his select essays to my prelims reading list. All this despite my expert training in the one area you might think it most impossible to avoid seriously engaging with Du Bois – ‘racial and ethnic relations’ (a title that, in truth, is as obscuring as it is revealing).

You could say mine is a testimony less about the elements of my training that were there, as it is about elements that could and (as a steady, if newly resurgent drumbeat of work demonstrates) should have been, but which in the end weren’t. It is a record of meaningful absences, distortions, and silences, in this case surrounding a particular voice and theoretically definitive sociological perspective implicitly ignored, negated, and made invisible. It is, in fact, a testimony about the social and cultural production of ignorance, now the focus of my own research. In a moment where black sociologists and their accomplices are re-committing to the work of recovering knowledge foreclosed by Du Bois’ elision from the discipline, it feels quite right to explore what his life and work reveal about ignorance and the racial politics behind ‘knowing’ (and ‘not’).

Like Du Bois, the study of ignorance has been largely sidestepped by social scientists. Some trace this oversight to Western intellectual preoccupation “with absolutely certain knowledge or, barring that, the nearest approximation to it” (Smithson 1989:1). To be sure, Du Bois himself was one of those post-Enlightenment thinkers engrossed by the promise of discovery, a true believer in the scientific method. Reflecting on his early studies, Du Bois writes how “thrilled” he was by the “triumphs of the scientific world,” so much so he became fixed on finding the laws that, “like those of the physical world,” would explain the world of human action ([1940] 1968:51). Du Bois was critical of the burgeoning sociology he aimed to join, however. Scholars’ work was perhaps fascinating, but amounted to little more than “word-twisting” and, in that regard, quite lacking in scientific accomplishment—a problem he was set on remedying. “I determined to put science into sociology,” writes Du Bois; his empirical inroads would be “the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research,” he would “work up to any valid generalization” he could, marrying his twin goals of “reform and uplift” with development of a rigorous social science ([1940] 1968:51).

In Du Bois’ mind, addressing black immiseration necessitated systematic empirical investigation. As he saw it, “[t]he world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation” ([1940] 1968:58). Indeed, he took it as “axiomatic that the world wanted to learn the truth and if the truth was

1 See katrina q. king, “Recentering U.S. Empire: A Structural Perspective on the Color Line” (Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 2018). DOI: 10.1177/2332649218761977
3 I review disciplinary (in)attention to ignorance in “Advancing a Sociology of Ignorance in the Study of Racism and Racial Non-Knowing (Sociology Compass, forthcoming).
sought with even approximate accuracy and painstaking devotion, the world would gladly support the effort” (p. 67-68). What he found, instead, was a shocking lack of demand for the kind of knowledge he produced; no absolute thirst for empirically driven answers to the social dynamics driving damning racial inequalities. Du Bois’ bitter recognition redirected both the course of his career and his take on the world of ideas and their relationship to white domination.

Adding insights unfolding by virtue of his engagement with Marxism, Du Bois came to think more concretely about how the material world and historical relations between racial groups interfered with knowledge and reason. Scientific assaults, no matter how brilliant, were no match for a color bar held in place by whites’ powerful economic motives toward racial exploitation – from which followed many “unconscious acts and irrational reactions, unpierced by reason” ([1940] 1968:6). As if naming a tacit litmus test for the motivated ignorance which surrounded him, Du Bois argued it would be “impossible for the clear-headed student of human action in the United States and in the world, to avoid facing the fact of a white world which is today dominating human culture and working for the continued subordination of the colored races” (p. 138). And yet, the “understandable determination” of white thinkers – “to minimize and deny the realities of racial difference” (p. 138) – meant avoidance was never hard to find. Some scholars today refer to this “rational racial stupidity” engendered by white supremacy more simply, as ‘white ignorance.’

Du Bois analyzed, too, the complex, institutionalized architecture of non-knowledge cultivated by white people, which extended a full array of cultural affordances for white ignorance – from the “extraordinary self-deception of white religion” ([1920] 2007:61); to the white-buffering “propaganda of history” and education ([1935] 1998:713); to the calm, cool, detachment of the scientist “while Negros were being lynched, murdered and starved” ([1940] 1968:66). These forces and more worked to functionally mask and evade people of color’s suffering and counter-discourse, not to mention their contributions and success, alongside the essential social fact of white domination. Indeed, Du Bois condemned the extraordinary hypocrisy of dominant knowledge cultures in the modern era: “When in other days the world lied, it was a world that expected lies and consciously defended them; when the world lies today it is to a world that pretends to love the truth” ([1940] 1968:151-152). Whites across the globe had “raised Propaganda to a capital ‘P’” in modern times, elaborating “an art, almost a science,” of how “to make the world believe what is not true, provided the untruth is a widely wished-for-thing”5 (p. 151). And, perhaps more than any other symbol, these matters were held in place culturally by “the discovery of personal whiteness,” which had turned ignorance toward religion. To paraphrase Du Bois, “all through the world this gospel is preaching; “[i]t has its literature, it has its priests, it has its secret propaganda and above all—it pays!” ([1920] 2007:68).

To be sure, Du Bois understood whites’ ignorance as much more than a weapon wielded self-consciously, to dominate others; their racial non-knowing reflected, instead, another type of “understandable determination” toward self-deception, hiding the facts of unjust impoverishment, unjust enrichment, and immorality from themselves. Indeed, Du Bois argued “the greatest and most immediate danger of

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4 See Mills 2007; see also Mueller 2017.

5 “...like the probable extermination of negroes, the failure of Japanese Imperialism, the incapacity of India for self-rule, collapse of the Russian Revolution” (1968 [1940]:151).
white culture, perhaps least sensed, is its fear of the Truth” ([1940] 1968:151); a fear which underwrites many acts of anti-black violence and immiseration. Du Bois spoke time and again of the ironic ways white people aimed to coerce ignorance among people of color (e.g., withholding formal education and distorting knowledge), only to then project ignorance onto marginalized races to reinforce white superiority and the right to dominate: “Darker peoples are dark in mind as well as in body … they have no feelings, aspirations, and loves; they are fools, illogical idiots, – ‘half-devil and half-child’” ([1920] 2007:65-66). And then, after using their “stolen political power to force as many black folk into these categories” as possible, “[white people cry] in contemptible hypocrisy: ‘They threaten us with degeneracy; they cannot be educated’” (as cited in Moon, 1972, p. 260).

Du Bois saw how these false projections ‘grew’ and ‘twisted’ themselves in the mouths of elite and ordinary white folks alike ([1920] 2007), matters elaborated more explicitly in his phenomenological work. Itzigsohn and Brown (2015) offer a compelling case that Du Bois is, in fact, an unrecognized (read ‘ignored’) theorist of self. Hailed classics – by Mead, Cooley, Shutz, all of whom succeeded Du Bois – at best nodded to the negative impact of lack of recognition on the formation of self, but missed the fundamental ways racialized modernity had shaped the depth of non-recognition experienced by people of color. Du Bois’s ([1903] 1989) theory of double consciousness captures more than the phenomenological standpoint (and unique clairvoyance) of the ‘unseen,’ however; it pinpoints the tacit ignorance of white people, who resist apprehending not just the talents, but very humanity of marginalized racial groups, perceiving instead racist fantasies they project onto a ‘veil’ erected between themselves and people of color. Indeed, white socialization necessitates internalizing cognitive habits that allow for an incredible level of self-deception; psychologically buffering, but ever in crisis. One must continually “clutch at rags of facts and fancies” to uphold the racial fantasies of whiteness, lest their naked ugliness be exposed ([1920] 2007:55).

What we are witnessing now – a resurgent and growing collective effort to re-cast Du Bois in sociology’s origin story – is a beautiful if overdue act of justice. It is also evidence of a history of white epistemic domination that should disturb not only those committed to racial justice, but those who claim pursuit of ‘true truths.’ Du Bois recovery both invites and forewarns, however. At one time, Du Bois charged that “true lovers of humanity can only hold higher the pure ideals of science, and continue to insist that if we would solve a problem we must study it, and there is but one coward on earth, and that is the coward that dare not know” ([1940] 1968:62-63). And yet, by virtue of his own formal and everyday exclusion, Du Bois learned how many such cowards exist within systems of white domination.

We can (and should) learn a great deal about white ignorance and knowledge resistance by reading Du Bois’ work and studying the history of exclusion in our discipline, which extends far beyond Du Bois. We can apply an epistemic lens, too, to examine the (often ignored and denied) racial economy of knowledge and non-knowledge that is no less with us today. But the truth remains – white supremacy is no more a ‘knowledge-problem’ now than it was during Du Bois’ day and age. As such, it would appear that “true lovers of humanity” must strategize around an insurgency that is far more than intellectual.

**References**


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**DU BOIS SYMPOSIUM, CONT.**

**INITIAL IDEAS ON DU BOIS AS A CULTURAL SOCIOLOGIST OF EMPIRE**

*Syeda Masood*
*Brown University*

W.E.B. Du Bois is widely considered to be a theorist of race. But he was also a sociologist of empire. For him, modern empire and racialization were deeply connected (Du Bois 1999; 2007). In this short essay, I want to share some initial reflections on how W.E.B Du Bois’ pioneering theories of the self, contribute to recent cultural sociological understandings of empire. I argue that his work should be major inspiration for critical theorists and scholars of the current American empire. I will do this by drawing on examples from my preliminary dissertation fieldwork in Kabul, Afghanistan. My research is an ethnographic study of U.S. empire in Afghanistan that
focuses on the cultural representation of Afghans in foreign books written after 9/11. Employing participant observation and interviews with book reading groups, book sellers, translators, and book printers, I look at how Afghans as well as Americans living in Afghanistan engage with foreign representations of a country that have been deemed racialized and imperial by current literature (Ho 2010; Nayak 2006; Osman 2014, Stabile and Kumar 2005). The specific examples I draw on below are from an interview I conducted with Mahvish, an Afghan college student and part time photojournalist in Kabul.

Du Bois’ ideas of the “veil” and “twoness” helped open my eyes to how my Afghan interlocutors discursively constructed self. One of Du Bois’ main insights was that if the self is developed through social interaction, in a racialized system, these social interactions are restricted and structured by power (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). In the United States, this is manifest in the segregated lifeworlds of black and white Americans. Being inspired by Du Bois’ work, in Afghanistan, I observed that there is also a veil between the American military, development and policy actors, and native Afghans. In Kabul, the veil is similar to what Fanon calls “reciprocal exclusivity” – two spacialities next to each other that never come into contact with each other except through violence (Fanon 2007, 39). And while Du Bois recognized that the veil was a “thought thing, tenuous, intangible,” (1999, 241) it was also, in Kabul and elsewhere, made of concrete and barbed wire.

While sipping tea in the courtyard of a café outside the area considered “safe” by the American government, Mahvish, discussed this veil with me. Mahvish: “…I think that people appreciate westerners who come to Afghanistan. They say, oh wow they are risking their life and being in a hole of danger like they think Afghanistan is a dragon and the people who are willing to put themselves in the mouth of a dragon, write there and work there… they appreciate that… but they don’t appreciate the people who live in Afghanistan every day without the ease foreigners have here. Like foreigners when they come to Afghanistan they have very good security… like always… they have a good place, they have better food.”

Me: “Compounds…”

Mahvish: “Yeah compounds and all those things…”

Here Mahvish describes the separation she experiences between Afghans and “westerners.” She describes the two worlds, one where she resides, without security detail and outside the compounds and another separate reality inhabited by foreign journalists who create the images the white world sees Afghanistan through. This material veil is then translated into the images these separated foreigners create about Afghanistan and which are then consumed by audiences in the west as a “thought thing” (Du Bois 1999, 241)—an intangible, but powerful veil through which Afghans are seen by people in the west.

Twoness also inspired me to observe multiple constructions of the self by my Afghan interlocutors. Twoness for Du Bois was: “…this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape
of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity” (Du Bois 2007, 8).

In the context of imperial hegemony in Afghanistan, young Afghan college students I spent time with regularly discussed themselves not just from the perspective of how they saw themselves but also how they thought “western foreigners” see and judge them. For example, in the same interview, Mahvish described her family’s history living under the Taliban. She mentioned that both her parents are educated and open minded but had to follow the laws promulgated by the Taliban during their rule like restricting their daughters from going to school as “they lost many friends and relatives for no reason.” Talking about the book The Bookseller of Kabul written by a Norwegian journalist about an Afghan family the journalist lived with, Mahvish said:

Mahvish: “She (the author of the book) should have put more, a clearer picture of how things were then but she wanted to focus the story more on Shah Mohammad/Sultan Khan (the protagonist of the book) so that people would curse him (laughs). If I was not living in Afghanistan, I would have said he is such a cruel man but if you live in Afghanistan you would know how people live here and what they bear…”

Later in the conversation, she connected her family’s experience with that of Shah Mohammad where she saw herself, her family and Shah Mohammad as part of the same group struggling to live by their principles in a difficult and violent situation but being judged by outsiders who cannot see them but through the veil.

In The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois describes African Americans as “a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world.” (2007, 8). But, as Du Bois well understood, the “American World” is a world made by empire. However, with important exceptions like Go (2016), much of the current sociological work on Du Bois has confined the relevance of his thought to the United States. But Du Bois offers, as I have begun to see in my fieldwork, insights relevant not only to people of color living within the U.S. but also racialized colonial subjects beyond it, such as those experiencing American militarism in the Muslim world.

REFERENCES


THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO: W.E.B. DU BOIS AND COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH

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[I]t is an important study that deserves to be read by students of sociology and others interested in the development of the discipline in particular or in American intellectual history in general. W.E.B. DuBois is a founding father of American sociology, but, unfortunately, neither this masterpiece nor much of DuBois’s other work has been given proper recognition; in fact, it is possible to advance through a graduate program in sociology in this country without ever hearing about DuBois. (ix)

In the context of a revived interest in Du Bois’s significance for sociological theory and cultural sociology, here, I present Du Bois, and specifically The Philadelphia Negro, as offering a pioneering methodological model for community-based research. Du Bois’ innovative methods in American sociology’s first large-scale empirical study—a fifteen-month project that included demographic, statistical, historical, and qualitative approaches—offers methodological insight into the study of the “color line” that suggests that instructors should consider including Du Bois in methods as well as theory courses.7

W.E.B. DU BOIS AND COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH

At its most basic, community-based research is a collaborative process between a community and researcher(s). By involving members of the community at multiple levels, and incorporating and validating multiple sources of knowledge, sociologists and other researchers have argued that a central goal of this method is to understand and support the specific community’s needs and foster social change accordingly.8 According to Strand and colleagues, three tenets guide community-based research: (1) a collaborative process between professors, students, and community members; (2) the utilization of multiple

7 The color line, discussed by Du Bois in The Souls of Black Folk (1903), refers to the role of race and racism in history and society.

6 Uriel Serrano is a PhD Student at UC, Santa Cruz
methodological approaches within research practices and the dissemination of knowledge; and
(3) an emphasis on social justice, including the implementation of practices which serve to
promote positive and sustainable social change.

Today, community-based research is commonly used in social psychology, social work, and
education, as well as sociology departments. Though not often used by cultural sociologists, it
offers a research model of public sociology, and a method well suited for community ethnographies
and studies of organizational or neighborhood culture. An example of a community-based research
project from my own institution, UC Santa Cruz, is a project called No Place Like Home, led by sociologists Miriam Greenberg and
Steven McKay, that documents the housing crisis in Santa Cruz, CA. As opposed to more traditional
sociological research, No Place Like Home conducts multi-method research in collaboration with community partners to capture renters’
experiences and produce reports that can help promote the need for affordable housing in the city.

Other variations of this approach include participatory action research, community engaged
research, and youth participatory action research. Despite differing names and, at times, focus, at the
core is a desire for social justice.

Originally published in 1899, Du Bois’s The Philadelphia Negro was a study of the conditions
of over forty thousand Black residents living in the seventh ward of Philadelphia at the end of the
nineteenth century. As Du Bois writes, “This inquiry extended over a period of fifteen months

9 The No Place Like Home Project is a community and student engaged project that draws on survey, historical and policy analysis, interviews, audio documentaries, audio documentation, and creative non-fiction for data collection. Their findings have been shared through data visualization, and interactive website in English and Spanish, and various community events. To learn more about No Place Like Home, visit: http://noplacelikehome.ucsc.edu/en/

10 By applying sociological theory, conducting surveys, and engaging in demographic, quantitative, qualitative, and historical research, Du Bois demonstrated that the condition of the Black community was “a symptom, not a cause…a long historic development and not a transient occurrence” of institutionalized racism. Challenging popular eugenic theories of the time, Du Bois explained that the social conditions of the Philadelphia Black community, such as high poverty rates and spatial segregation, were due not to the particular traits of this racial group, but produced by historical, cultural, and structural circumstances.

11 Though not offering a completely community-based model, The Philadelphia Negro does offer insights into the methodological practices that facilitate community-based research and the institutional conditions that may prevent it. The first tenet of community-based research—collaboration between professors, students, and community—is not discernible in The Philadelphia Negro. This is perhaps due to the fact that Du Bois did not have a supportive environment at the Univ. of Pennsylvania, with which he was affiliated at the time of the study. As Du Bois writes in Dusk of Dawn (2017 [1940])—an autobiographical essay that could be coupled with The Philadelphia Negro for a classroom discussion on research positionality—at the Univ. of Pennsylvania he was “an ‘assistant instructor’ and even at that, that [his] name never actually got

into the catalogue” (58). Yet, it is apparent that Du Bois explicitly aimed to use sociological research to challenge the deficit of theoretical analysis of the Black community in Philadelphia:

The fact was that the city of Philadelphia at that time had a theory; and that theory was that this great, rich, and famous municipality was going to the dogs because of the crime and venality of its Negro citizens…Of this theory back of the plan, I neither knew nor cared. I saw only here a chance to study an historical group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community.

Here, like community-based researchers of today, Du Bois centered his scholarship as political and rooted in changing the conditions of The Seventh Ward.

Moreover, to capture the complexity in the experiences and conditions of a community, Du Bois understood that multiple methodological and representational approaches were necessary. In data collection, Du Bois used combination of participant observation, surveys, census data, canvassing, interviews, and historical research to provide an in-depth account of the Black experience in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Negro is also a model of the dissemination of knowledge beyond academic writing. To represent his findings, Du Bois created maps, survey designs, and countless other gems that are similar to the tools community-based researchers employ to disseminate findings to audiences outside of academia today. Du Bois used color coded hand-drawn infographics and maps to represent demographic patterns. This is a practice Du Bois and his students maintained as he continued to visualize data on the state of Black life in his various projects, including The Georgia Negro: A

Social Study.13 These images have become cultural artifacts in their own right, and contemporary community-based researchers have done the same with GIS technology not available to Du Bois.14

Lastly, community-based research emphasizes the production of research for the purpose of promoting social justice and facilitation of social change. The Philadelphia Negro not only led to an understanding of social problems of the time (which remain present today), but was also animated by Du Bois’s yearning for social transformation. When discussing the credibility of his findings in The Philadelphia Negro, Du Bois argued that: “We must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve; and the utmost that the world can demand is, not lack of human interest and moral conviction, but rather the heart-quality of fairness, and an earnest desire for the truth despite its possible unpleasantness” (3). Thus,

13 The Library of Congress current houses a collection of DuBois’ infographics and other images available at: https://www.loc.gov/search/?fa=contributor:du+bois,+ w.+e.+%28william+edward+burghardt%29

14 For an example of interactive mapping used to disseminate findings in Spanish and English, visit the No Place Like Home website: http://noplacelikehome.ucsc.edu/es/la-encuesta/
following the publication of *The Philadelphia Negro*, Du Bois continued his personal commitment to social justice by co-founding National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 and serving as editor of the NAACP’s journal, *The Crisis*.

**Du Bois’s Relevance Today**

It is encouraging that Du Bois is now appearing with greater frequency on reading lists in Sociological Theory and Introduction to Sociology courses. But the book might also be treated as methodological text, and with its discussions of music and entertainment, intra-group distinctions, and daily life in The Seventh Ward, *The Philadelphia Negro* could be taught in sociology of culture, urban sociology, race, and methods courses. My first in-depth readings of Du Bois were in courses taught by Dr. Sidney Lemelle (Pomona College) and Dr. Veronica Terriquez (UCSC). For example, in her course, Sociological Methods, Dr. Terriquez included *The Philadelphia Negro* as required reading in a section titled “Sample Selection, Survey Design, and Constructing Original Quantitative Data Sets.” We read *The Philadelphia Negro* as a study that advanced statistical methods in sociology in the late 19th century, and discussed his use of mixed-methods research as a tool for addressing inequality. In his discussion on the health statistics of the Black community in Philadelphia, Du Bois wrote the following:

> We seek first to know their absolute condition, rather than their relative status; we want to ‘know what their death rate is, how it has varied and is varying and what its tendencies seem to be; with these facts fixed we must then ask, What is the meaning of a death rate like that of the Negroes of Philadelphia?…we must endeavor also to eliminate, so far as possible, from the problem disturbing elements which would make a difference in health among people of the same social advancement. Only in this way can we intelligently interpret statistics of Negro health… Here, too, we have to remember that the collection of statistics, even in Philadelphia, is by no means perfect” (148).

Here, as he does throughout the book, Du Bois provides an astute reflection on the need for statistical research and its limitations.

In engaging with Du Bois’s arguments and the magnitude of his empirical venture in Philadelphia, it was apparent, as Tukufu Zuberi describes, that “Du Bois not only suggested a course of research; he demanded that this research lead to social action…his insurgent intellectual activities still challenge us to make our social science relevant to social transformation.”15 As such, readers can find relevant questions as they embark in social justice oriented community-based research. For example, in his chapter titled “The Problem,” Du Bois poses questions and reflections that I center in my own work with Black and Latino youth organizers in South Los Angeles: “What is the real condition of this group of human beings?….What sort of individuals are being considered?...The student must clearly recognize that a complete study must not confine itself to the group, but must specially notice the environment; the physical environment of city, sections and houses, the far mightier social environment—the surrounding world of custom, wish, whim, and thought which envelops this group and powerfully influences its social development” (5).

**Conclusion**

*The Philadelphia Negro* provides cultural sociologists, as well as their colleagues in other

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subfields, inspiration to carry out community-based and community-engaged research. As Du Bois demonstrates in The Philadelphia Negro, community-based research brings to the forefront the struggles of the people for whom we write with and provides means to challenge inequality. Following this Du Boisian tradition offers an opportunity to give depth to our scholarship and set forth future directions for our students, theory, and sociology as a whole. Including Du Bois in undergraduate and graduate curricula also has the potential to encourage discussions and self-reflections on research positionality. As Du Bois came to find out when conducting his study, his commitment to social justice and being a Black sociologist did not erase the perception that he was an outsider in The Seventh Ward. Thus, The Philadelphia Negro offers more than just theoretical insight; it offers opportunities to reflect and learn from Du Bois’s commitment to social justice, the tensions doing justice-oriented work from within the academy produces, and the value of multi-method approaches. I invite you to sit with The Philadelphia Negro and the development of W.E.B. Du Bois’s research agenda that followed this groundbreaking study.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:** I wish to thank Hillary Angelo and Theresa Marie Johnson for their comments and suggestions.

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**Du Bois Symposium, Cont.**

**Chocolate Cities: The Black Map of American Life**

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“Stop talking about the South,” Malcolm X chided audiences in his “Ballot or Bullet” speech, which he delivered in cities across the Midwest and Northeast in the months before Freedom Summer. “If you black, you were born in jail, in the North as well as the South. As long as you South of the Canadian border, you South.” Always followed by laughter and loud affirmations, this latter declaration runs contrary to dominant geographies of black life.

Customarily the North and South are physical and culturally distinct regions of the U.S. map. On the accepted map of black life in the U.S., the Mason-Dixon Line is a mythical and actual barrier between freedom and enslavement, North and South, progressive race relations and Old South mores, and the Great Migration is the pathway from one part of the map to the other. Yet, following Malcolm X’s assertion and building on a range of data, *Chocolate Cities: The Black Map of American Life* destabilizes the Mason-Dixon line and reimagines the cultural, socio-economic, and political geography of black America as constitutive of multiple Souths, all below the Canadian border.
As a region, the South has always operated as scapegoat and cover in narratives about American racial progress. Rather than being seen as national atrocities, slavery, black codes, Jim Crow, and racial oppression are often cast as unique features of a “backwards” South “stuck in the past.” Conventional wisdom and scholarship indicate and often emphasize a linear geography of black American movement post-slavery reinforces this idea, as African Americans left the repression of the South for the relative freedom of the Midwest, Northeast, and West. Still, the particular atrocities of the South notwithstanding, other regions did not provide uniform protection from racial violence and structural inequality, particularly for the poorest African Americans. Since the Great Migration, and despite return migration to the South, the South has represented a world of impossible oppression and the North has been the site of opportunity, a place to realize freedom dreams.

Recent events make this a critical moment to trouble notions of where and how black people can be free, “as long as [they] are South of the Canadian border.” First, the removal of the Confederate flag in South Carolina and other southern states, prompted by the murders of nine African Americans in a church in Charleston by a white man with a clear affinity for the flag, has both shone a spotlight on the South but also compelled Americans to think about these murders as a national, rather than a southern, atrocity. In tandem, the unabated and highly publicized murders of African Americans, made visible by social media and activists in the Black Lives Matter movement, confound the easy geographical logic of bad South/good or better North.

Chocolate Cities is built on a simple premise: our current maps of black life are wrong. The deferred dreams of the Great Migration, including expanding poverty, hyper-incarceration, extrajudicial and police violence, and the diminishing opportunities urban black Americans found within and outside of the geographic South serve as undeniable structural evidence of this premise. To elucidate our argument, we demonstrate two social facts. Chocolate Cities offers a new cartography of the U.S. using what we call ‘The Black Map’—a geography that more accurately reflects the lived experiences and the future of black life in America, and thus of the nation. We draw on both cultural sources (film, music, fiction, playwrights) and more traditional academic sources (US decennial Census Data (1900-2010), oral histories, multi-year ethnography, photographs, national-state-local
health and wealth data/reports, archives) to map black life in America’s chocolate cities—cities, towns, neighborhoods, streets, and communities in which black life and culture were concentrated, maintained, created, and defended. We also align these links and data by incorporating a number of autobiographies and biographies of black Americans. From the Seattle that begot Jimi Hendrix, to the Dallas that shaped Erykah Badu, to the Birmingham from which Martin Luther King, Jr. penned his most famous missive, the black map of the U.S. is consequentially different from our current geographical understandings of race and place in urban America. As the country moves more definitively to a majority-minority nation, this new urban geography will be increasingly important to our understanding of and approach to inequality, economic growth, and demographic change.

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**Du Bois Symposium, Cont.**

**Du Boisian Sociology: Epistemologies, Mentoring, and Activism as a Pathway to an Emancipatory Sociology**

*Brandon Alston*<sup>16</sup>

*Northwestern University*

On May 18-19 2018, the newly formed Du Bois Scholars Network held its first national convening at Northwestern University. The convening was inspired by the Pan-African Congress meetings initiated by W.E.B. Du Bois and Ida Gibbs Hunt in the 20th century. The convening helped to assemble scholars committed to the critical tradition of a Du Boisian sociology by providing an intellectual space to conceptualize the importance of Du Bois’ theories and methods for contemporary sociology. The free convening was generously supported with funding provided by Northwestern University, Brown University, the Univ. of Chicago, and the Univ. of California Los Angeles. During the convening, organizers facilitated several discussions around pre-selected topics, including: the epistemics of a Du Boisian Sociology, mentorship for the next generation of Du Boisian scholars, and using a Du Boisian sociology to enact social change. Like the Pan-African Congresses, an important aim of the convening was to identify, discuss, and adopt resolutions to address issues within sociological classrooms, curricula and the canon. The more than 100 scholars that assembled for the two-day convening fit into a number of efforts to ensure that Du Bois’ legacy is both recognized and respected. Recent publications from sociologists Aldon Morris, Earl Wright II, Marcus Hunter, Karida Brown, and José Itzigsohn have helped to reaffirm the significance of Du Boisian sociology and the cadre of scholars who collaborated with Du Bois to form the Clark Atlanta School as a founding institution of American sociology. These scholars and others collectively provided critical

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provocations to further examine the epistemic, mentoring, and social change resources situated within a Du Boisian sociology.

**Abigail Sewell**, Emory University sociologist, presented the first of several stimulating provocations. Sewell suggested that Du Boisian sociology can help to emphasize the racist social structures that organize social differences: “I’m not interested in centering race and statuses. I’m interested in centering causal mechanisms that are driving the differences between black and white Philadelphians. We must shift from studying race to studying racism.” Indeed, Sewell’s allusion to Du Bois’ sophisticated, multifaceted, and capacious analysis in the *Philadelphia Negro* helps to reveal the utility of using mixed-methods to understand how social structures shape the formation of racially disparate social worlds. While this is overtly applicable to qualitative sociologists, Sewell also elucidated how a Du Boisian sociology was useful for quantitative sociologists as well. Drawing on Du Bois, Sewell said, “when you have mastered numbers, you will in fact no longer be reading numbers, any more than you read words when reading books; you will be reading meanings.”

Other scholars provided robust provocations about Du Bois’ importance as a sociological theorist of racialized modernity. **Karida Brown**, UCLA sociologist, provided a revision and refinement of Du Bois’ foundational description of the color line as the problem of the 20th century. Brown explained, “In the 21st century, the color line is on fleek” to clarify that racial disparities continue to penetrate and puncture the social world. In addition, **Earl Wright II**, Univ. of Cincinnati sociologist, advocated to contest sociology’s confinement of Du Bois as a scholar of race: “We cannot ghettoize Du Bois. He theorized race, but his work extends beyond race.” **José Itzigsohn**,
Brown University sociologist, also described Du Bois’ relevance as a sociological theorist who acknowledged “a history of a system that is racial and colonial capitalism...rooted in historical context...opposed to mainstream sociology that looks for abstract patterns regardless of historical context.

Cultivating the next generation of critical scholars of Du Bois through mentorship, epistemologies, and enacting social change served as the three major aims of the convening. In describing the importance of mentorship, Barbara Harris Combs, Clark Atlanta University sociologist, posed a valuable question and call-to-action to the group: “What are you going to do to challenge the status quo? We have to bring up all scholars, not just the elite ones.” In the subsequent sessions on epistemologies and social change, graduate students took center stage to highlight the ways in which Du Bois’ conceptualization in *Black Reconstruction* linked people of color as “black, brown, and yellow laborers” and how this linkage might serve as a strategy for generating an emancipatory sociology.

In reflecting on the convening via social media, Ashley Crooks-Allen, a graduate student at Univ. of Georgia, wrote, “The point wasn’t to just discuss Du Bois the man, but to imagine a field that engages a Du Boisian Sociology. For the first time in a long time I was reminded that there is space for me in the academy to do the work that uplifts my people.” The Du Boisian Scholars Network represents scholars and activists working in the critical tradition of Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells and others. These cadre of scholars believe emancipatory sociology is possible when subaltern standpoints, epistemics, mentoring, and activist tools are both acknowledged and applied to the process of sociological knowledge production. As Aldon Morris stated, “When you are doing radical and insurgent intellectual work, you are doing activism.”

For more information on the Du Bois Scholars Network, visit [www.duboisiannetwork.com](http://www.duboisiannetwork.com)

Contact us with suggestions for essays, book reviews, symposia, reports on conference panels, profiles of departments or research centers, etc.— or just themes or topics you’d like to see covered in the newsletter. Graduate students are especially welcome to be involved!

Contact us at dgraizbord@uga.edu
MARY DOUGLAS PRIZES FOR BEST BOOK
Committee: Michaela DeSoucey (co-chair), Nicole Gonzalez Van Cleve (co-chair), Jonathan Wynn (co-chair), Ming-Cheng Lo, Andrea Voyer

Co-Winner:
Clayton Childress
Under the Cover: The Creation, Production, and Reception of a Novel.
(Princeton, 2017)

Co-Winner:
Bin Xu
(Stanford, 2017)
Interview with Dustin Stoltz

The Newsletter editors interview the graduate assistant to the editors and the newsletter typesetter Dustin Stoltz (PhD Candidate, Notre Dame)

What first brought you to sociology?

Montana raised me. My parents worked in heavy highway construction for most of my childhood, and we hopped around the state. The long stretches of daydreaming spurred by riding around in semi-trucks all day certainly played some role in my path to academia! We finally settled down in a tiny town in Ravalli County where I finished high school. As its claim to fame, Jared Diamond picked this county as the opening example of how culture contributes to societal failure in Collapse (my Social Problems class debated his chapter last fall, finding it a rather weak cultural argument). My family had a small plot of land and started raising animals—chickens, geese, cows, pigs—for food and extra income. The hog operation quickly ballooned into several hundred head per year. I'm not sure why I left our little farm to attend college. My original intention, I suppose, was to study business and then continue working with livestock (and I did take almost enough business courses to double major). During orientation, however, there...
was something so alluring about the short blurb introducing sociology in the course book. I declared right there.

**What is your current research?**

The general concern of my research is ideas — right now, ideas about the economy, business, labor, and management. I focus on the people and work involved in keeping certain ideas in circulation. I call this *imaginative labor*: conceiving of times, places, processes, and audiences that one is not experiencing (and often cannot), and using these ideas to justify actions or advise others to act. A lot of jobs entail imaginative labor, but some people’s imaginative labor is valued more than others, and understanding why and with what consequences is the core of my dissertation (*The Sociology of Elite Advisors*). In short, I explore how ideas about the economy live and die through the imaginative labor of professional services firms.

Tightly coupled to this are questions about the future of work more broadly. The organizational fields of professional services firms maintain a highly bifurcated prestige hierarchy. Those at the top have considerable influence over powerful actors—C. Wright Mills called them the “captains of [the power elite’s] higher thought and decision.” If there are aspects of imaginative labor which can be automated, however, are these elite advisors vulnerable to losing status and along with it the influence and premiums it affords? Or, will automation shore up this division, causing a starker distribution?

**How did you first become interested in these topics?**

Toward the end of my undergraduate career, a mentor suggested consulting would be a good way of fusing my interest in business, organizations, and sociology. I’d never heard of consulting, and as I learned more, I was both suspicious of, and intrigued by, the field. Telling *Fortune* 500 firms what they ought to do is a far cry from raising hogs in rural Montana. To make a long story short, I decided to go into a different kind of advising as a Peace Corps Volunteer. Encouraged by my advisor *Steve Swinford* (to whom I owe so much) to continue academia, I discovered that a single university offered a master’s degree in sociology along with my service at the Stevenson Center for Community and Economic Development. Two of my undergraduate professors, *Susanne Monahan* and *Wade Cole*—both student’s of John Meyer—introduced me to neoinstitutional theory. Specifically, I remember reading Sue’s (and Beth Quinn’s) “Toward a Neo-institutional Explanation of Organizational Deviance,” and in Wade’s political sociology class I read his “Human Rights as Myth and Ceremony.” I was struck with how organizational models were sometimes very consequential and other times ceremonial. Ever the ethnomethodologist at heart, I intended to study international development workers as diffusers of these models on the ground. My master’s thesis ended up being about something different, but through the exceptional mentorship of Aaron Pitluck and Frank Beck I really learned what doing sociological research was all about and I loved it. After the Peace Corps a year or so with a corporate bank in Japan, I decided it was time to pursue this study of professional service firms and the global production and distribution of ideas that I’d been thinking about for almost half a decade.

**How do you see your work connecting to or contributing to cultural sociology?**

For me, culture as a concept is triangular, tying together three substantive traditions: the production of culture perspective, culture as patterns (in thought, talk, text, objects, and actions), and culture as embodied. Ever since I read *Jennifer Lena* and *Richard Peterson’s* “Classification as Culture” — in my very first print copy of *ASR* — I’ve been fascinated by the production of culture perspective. It is through this lens that I conceive of professional services firms as a field of cultural production. In the place of paintings or music, advisors produce ideas about the economy, realized in PowerPoint “decks,” spreadsheets, websites, and white papers.

It was also in Wade’s political sociology class that I first read Karen Cerulo’s “Symbols and the World System.” This paper planted the seed of thinking of cultural models in formal terms but it
wasn’t until a few years ago that I began to conceive of the ideas espoused by professional services firms in terms of formalized patterns. I took Omar Lizardo’s “Culture and Cognition” course, where I discovered (among other things) embodied cognition and Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and shortly thereafter was fortunate enough to audit John Levi Martin and Terry Clark’s “Sociology of Culture” course, where I re-encountered Durkheim, Evans-Pritchard, Lévi-Strauss, and Douglas (among others), reading them now through the lens of embodiment and conceptual metaphors. It is at this intersection of the patterned and embodied approaches to culture that several of my colleagues at Notre Dame and elsewhere are working—(see the newest entry in the sociological blog circuit: Culturecog.blog). Specifically for me, as part of my dissertation, I target the relationship between language and embodiment (rather than language as disembodied symbol systems) as well as the imagination and embodiment (in contrast to imagination as free space, unconstrained by culture and social interaction).

**How has the Notre Dame sociological community contributed to your development as a cultural sociologist?**

Prior to Notre Dame, I felt I had a good handle on economic sociology, political sociology, and organizations, but many of the questions confronting me while conducting my master’s fieldwork in Azerbaijan were cultural and I felt ill-equipped to answer them. I distinctly recall, on a hot train ride from Baku to my field site, reading Viviana Zelizer’s excellent *Economic Lives*, which was my pathway to (among other things) relational sociology and eventually to Ann Mische and Omar’s work. Add the excellent teaching, research, and mentorship of Terry McDonnell and Lyn Spillman and we have covered a wide swath of specialities in cultural sociology. Perhaps the single best thing I can say about the Notre Dame community: I was treated like a colleague by students and professors from day one. This congeniality and willingness to entertain new ideas has lead to numerous collaborative projects. For example, Erin McDonnell approached Marshall Taylor and me in the hallway after our Culture Workshop about survey data she had collected. That turned into a much longer conversation about a new methodological technique and eventually a paper under review now, and more that are in the works.

**What are your plans for future and what are you most excited about now?**

I will be dipping my toe into the job market this fall, and that is both exciting and intimidating. In the near term, as my dissertation uses natural language processing and network analysis along with semi-structured interviews, I’m encouraged by the debate surrounding the place of computational methods within sociology (in my case, in collaboration with qualitative methods like interviews) as well as the place of sociology within the computational social sciences. Thinking much more long term, my general interest in the ways ideas are produced, patterned, and embodied is a framework easily adapted to studying fields other than professional services firms. For just one example, Mike Wood (PhD Candidate at Notre Dame) and I have been sketching out a research design to study self-help—from fitness, health, and personal relationship gurus to pick-up artists, prosperity preachers, techno-utopians, and transhumanists—as a field of cultural production. In particular, the historical emergence of the modern industry, the institutional processes leading to self-help markets (both producers and consumers), and how this intersects with patterns of privilege and disenfranchisement. We are also interested in whether there are a limited number of cultural models of self-help, and if so, how do they repeat themselves over time, and how does the diffusion of certain models impact populations more broadly.
Marriageable Us, Undesirable Them: Reproducing Social Inequalities through Marital Boundary-Making

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Previous efforts applying a one-identity-at-work model suggest that upward mobility serves as an engine for marital assimilation. This model allows for the identification of immigrant conditions for integration. However, it does not fully explain the racial and gender asymmetry associated with intermarriage. I apply a multiple identities approach to addressing issues concerning when, how and which group differences affect construction of marriageability, defined as marital boundaries based on us/them distinctions. Drawing from interviews with 67 highly achieving, Chinese-speaking immigrants residing in the San Diego area, I found that although the immigrants from Taiwan are very similar to Chinese ones in terms of appearance and socioeconomic status, the development of Taiwan-first hyphenated identity has led the former to view the latter as unmarriageable them. Yet, both groups show similar patterns in terms of redrawing their marital boundaries along race, class, and gender lines. In general, white supremacy makes the immigrants embrace white people regardless of their class-based difference but disapprove darker skin ones. However, achieved status can make undesirable racial and ethnic difference less visible. More important, the immigrants’ essentialist approach to care manifested by their evaluations of their in-law’s performance has sufficient power to undo marital boundaries, suggesting that gender trumps race and class on the family level. Finally, I found that morality serves as a source of legitimacy for marital preferences. I identify dynamic movement between marital and moral boundaries by showing an arbitrary relationship between perceived moral traits and group difference perceptions.

Keywords: Intermarriage, Immigration, Intersectionality, Marital Boundary

Tactics and Transcendence: The Struggle to Create Common Understandings about Religion and its Relationship to Women’s Human Rights within the United Nations

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How do intergovernmental human rights regulatory institutions actually help to shape cultural understandings about the meaning of religion, including its relationship to women’s human rights and the types of actions governments must take to protect them? How, if at all, do United Nations (UN) and state elites matter in the effort to develop shared ways of understanding and talking about religion, women’s rights, and their relationship in these settings? Answering these questions requires examination and understanding of the cultural dynamics and processes that take place within these institutions themselves. Yet, sociological investigation within these spaces has been largely neglected or limited to analysis of civil society organizations and people affiliated with them. In this dissertation, I help to correct this problem and answer these questions by looking at dynamics that take place at the
micro-interactive level within one of the most important intergovernmental institutions at work in the world to address and resolve differences around human rights, gender, and religion. This is the monitoring procedure of the UN’s main convention on women’s rights—the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). I examine how UN treaty body members and state representatives involved in CEDAW monitoring procedures talk with one another about religion and its relationship to women’s rights within this setting, as well as how they think about this relationship and work out how to approach it. To do this, I analyze and triangulate interviews, ethnographic fieldnotes based on UN meetings, and documents produced as part of CEDAW monitoring procedures. My findings have implications for several areas of scholarship but are especially relevant for global society scholarship and secularism studies scholarship. They provide new knowledge about how intergovernmental institutions and people who work within them interactively shape how religion and its relationship to women’s rights are talked about, understood, and pushed forward. Using these findings, I illustrate and explain an underlying conflict that makes differences in this area difficult to resolve. Finally, I demonstrate inadequacies in central binaries that have undermined the accuracy of dominant social scientific scholarship in this area and show ways to overcome them.

**KEYWORDS: HUMAN RIGHTS, GLOBAL CULTURE, RELIGION, GENDER, INTERGOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS**

**Redoing Gender:**

**How Non-Binary People Navigate the Gender Binary System**

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Gender scholars have begun to adjust gender theory to account for the experiences of transmen and transwomen; however, these adjustments fail to account for the experiences of those who reject the gender binary altogether, such as non-binary/genderqueer people. This oversight is unfortunate, given that those who defy binary gender classification are uniquely well-positioned to illuminate a new angle of the sex/gender/sexuality nexus. Redoing Gender: how non-binary people navigate the gender binary system advances gender scholarship by exploring how 47 non-binary people from around the world experience and navigate the gender binary system—or the institutionalized belief in two and only two genders (man and woman). A preliminary virtual ethnography and this series of interviews illuminate the regulatory impact of the gender binary system, as well as the affect that this ideology has upon people’s gender identity, gender expression, relationships with their bodies, relationships with others, and interactions with institutions. More broadly, this research contributes to sociological efforts to understand the social mechanisms that enable—and inhibit—social change.

**KEYWORDS: TRANSGENDER, NON-BINARY, GENDER**
**LAWFULLY ENTRAPPED: THE CREATION OF RISK IN THE ‘WAR ON TERROR’**

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How do terrorism sting cases with numerous indicators of entrapment prevail in federal court despite case law designed to prevent these very policing practices? That is the question at the heart of my dissertation project. To answer it, I analyze legal narratives from thousands of pages of trial transcripts from three such cases, as well as an original database composed of hundreds of legal documents and official press releases from all 261 defendants indicted on terrorism charges in cases that involved both stings and confidential informants between September 12, 2001 and April 12, 2017. In so doing, I reveal the specific combinations of case law, policy, policing practices, and subjective decision making at work in cases that are otherwise largely shielded from public scrutiny, using case details to help find larger patterns among the total set. But I also uncover a broader penal logic at work with troubling legal and social consequences. Developing the analytic concept of criminal biographies, or longstanding narratives of wrongdoing, I show how these terrorism “entrapment” cases are largely based on speculation about the significance of constitutionally protected behaviors rather than proof—or even probability—of actual criminal intent. This speculation, in turn, justifies subsequent actions that induce criminal behavior and create the very risks that federal law enforcement seeks to prevent. Criminal biographies therefore show how justification of these actions is not beholden to probabilities of harm, but is instead derived from affective notions of threat. Ultimately, my dissertation shows how powerful legal narratives not only impede the judicial branch’s ability to intervene in dubious counterterrorism policing methods, but actively hasten the erosion of fundamental constitutional rights, substantially widening the net of what constitutes acceptable forms of evidence and providing legal justification for fear of Muslim men of color.

**KEYWORDS: LAW, TERRORISM, SURVEILLANCE, POLICING, CULTURE**

**LATINX FEMINIST THOUGHT: VISIONS OF REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE, ANTI-COLONIZATION, AND UTOPIAS**

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Building from her dissertation, Rocío’s current book project under contract with Routledge Press, “Latinx Feminist Thought: Visions of Reproductive Justice, Anti-Colonization, and Utopias,” explores the common and divergent ideas and experiences of Indigenous, Afro-Latinx, Central American, Caribbean, gender-nonconforming, and Mexican-origin feminists not only to reimagine what we think we know about Latinx, but also how we come to know it. This research is based on a three-year ethnography with California Latinas for Reproductive Justice, texts authored by Latinx feminists in the humanities and social sciences from 1960 to the present, Latinx feminist podcasts, everyday conversations with non-academic Latinx women and queer people, and the voices of Latinx feminist
singers and poets. Over six empirical and theoretical chapters, García shows that Latinx feminists have created a transformative body of knowledge about their lives and visions of liberation that remains either unknown or undervalued. She builds on existing theories of the self and agency, namely Collins’ standpoint theory (1990), Mead’s (1964) contributions to symbolic interactionism, Du Bois’ (1903) theory of double consciousness, and Anzaldúa’s (1987) theory of mestiza consciousness, to offer a theory of what she terms the collective “intersectional self” through the mapping of a Latinx feminist consciousness. Rocío’s research reveals: (1) ongoing, systemic processes of physical, political, and academic disappearance of Latinx feminist bodies and ideas across time and space; (2) a collective consciousness of utopian dreaming that does not simply resist disappearance, but does the ideological work of imagining alternative social worlds in the here and now; (3) the further integration of sociological and humanities methodologies to understand Latinx feminist subjectivity and social justice movements.

**Keywords:** Race, Gender, Culture, and Knowledge, Specializing in Latinx Feminist Theories, Reproduction, and Social Movements

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**The Right to have Rights: Race-making and Struggles over Humanity in the British West Indies**

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My dissertation studies the interlinkages of liberal democracy and racialization in Britain. Throughout the history of rights formation, the British colonial state administered a policy of difference that excluded colonial subjects from modern politics. While historical sociology has analytically bifurcated social and political processes of the metropole and the colonies, I document how and why these processes must be understood in one unified analytical framework. Drawing on the sociological thought of W.E.B. Du Bois and Stuart Hall, I trace how the state constructed the political subject in colonial Jamaica amidst three larger cultural shifts: First, I show how the development of property rights was used at the same time as a discourse for rights in the metropole and as a justification for slavery in the West Indies and how these discourses were mapped onto the body of the enslaved person. Second, I document how the rise of scientific race discourses influenced colonial governance after the abolition of slavery and how these race discourses were used to differentiate who has access to rights within the political sphere of the empire. Third, I trace the construction of the civically educated subject amidst liberal democratic debates over voting rights and how it excluded the racialized colonial subject. I draw from colonial state archives, colonial officials’ lectures, public debates and newspaper articles to show how rights and race have interacted historically. This project makes three major contributions to Sociology: First, it shows liberalism’s embeddedness and investment in racialization and colonial difference. Second, it moves beyond the conventional methodological nationalism of citizenship studies to show how citizenship is premised on the recognition of one’s humanity. Third, it builds on a nascent postcolonial sociology that integrates colonial struggles into metropolitan histories and analyses these political developments in one relational frame.

**Keywords:** Cultural Sociology, Global and Transnational Sociology, Historical Sociology, Race & Ethnicity, Colonialism & Postcolonialism, Theory
Crisis, legitimation and contention: Chinese environmental health and safety

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China exemplifies a country with a rapidly developing economy and severe environmental problems. My project is about how concerned key publics, in their respective public sphere, talk about Chinese crises in environmental health and food safety, and will explore the crucial questions of how the authoritarian official public sphere have shaped environmental discussions in face of crises; how civil society actors have sought to create a relatively autonomous voice during crises; and how the concerned international publics have interpreted China’s environmental health crises over time. Existing research has highlighted that environmental and public health issues are key to the crisis of state legitimacy and the rise of rightful resistance in authoritarian China. Drawing on this insight, my project will systematically examine the cultural dynamics of (a) how the Party state struggles for political legitimacy in the face of environmental and public health contention, (b) how Chinese civil society actors take advantage of environmental and public health controversies to practice media resistance against the state hegemony under authoritarian constraints, and (c) how the concerned international publics have gone about setting agenda of Chinese environmental crises and interpreting Party state’s legitimacy in the crises. Answers to these questions are imperative for us to understand the complex relations of China’s state, civil society and international community with respect to the contention of its environmental health.

Keywords: Environmental Health crises; Public spheres; Comparative Media Study; China

From “Street Car Suburb” to “Student Ghetto”: Allston and Urban Change

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Allston, Boston’s student neighborhood, is a “hybrid neighborhood,” displaying durable trends of both ascent and decline. In this context, residents and neighborhood actors utilize an “Allston as young” cultural narrative to orient Allston’s history and future. At times, this narrative is framed as a decline from Allston’s history as a working class, ethnic neighborhood; at other times, embraces Allston’s hip music and restaurant scene; and yet at other times, refers to Allston’s student and young professional population. Based on ethnographic observations for two years and interviews with over 60 residents, students, business owners, and real estate agents in Allston, this study extends literature on culture and urban change by demonstrating Allston’s understudied hybridity, as well as locals’ use of cultural narratives to navigate this context. The perception of Allston as a disinvested student neighborhood facilitated the existence of two distinct cohorts that see themselves as early stage gentrifiers. Neighborhood actors perpetuate narratives that embrace Allston’s gritty nature as the root of Allston’s legitimacy. Specifically, former students have transitioned from framing their “student behaviors” as part
of the milieu that attracted them to Allston to understanding these same behaviors as problematic, as a means of legitimizing their own continued tenancy as they move through the life course. Tensions between two groups of residents are apparent at neighborhood meetings, as an imagined past informs each group’s distinct orientation to Allston’s future. Real estate agents and students perpetuate Allston’s young-as-student narrative by engaging in ritual interactions related to the September 1st moving day. Combined with Allston’s gritty nature, rituals and interactions perpetuate an exploitative housing market characterized by poor housing conditions. This study advances the concept of hybrid neighborhoods, demonstrates how neighborhood actors utilize cultural understandings to make sense of their surroundings, and explicates how narratives reify existing conditions and perpetuate neighborhood inequality.

**Keywords:** Culture; Narratives; Neighborhoods; Gentrification; Housing Markets

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**Geopolitics of Race and Contours of Whiteness: Census Categories and Racialization of People from the Middle East and North Africa in the United States**

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In my Ph.D. dissertation project, titled “Geopolitics of Race and Contours of Whiteness: Census Categories and Racialization of People from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) in the United States,” I draw on historical documents, ethnographic research, and qualitative interviews to study why, despite their century-old fight for achieving “whiteness,” US citizens with Middle Eastern and North African backgrounds have shifted their identity campaign for a racial re-categorization to the MENA category on the U.S. Census. To achieve this goal, first, I study the naturalization cases, court rulings, and the larger context which resulted in the categorization of people from MENA as white. Then, by highlighting the role of imperial categories like whiteness and colonial constructs like the Middle East in minorities’ fight for recognition and justice, I show how theories of assimilation, which assume an intergenerational “irreversible” and “progressive” move towards the middle class white center, are incapable of explaining the MENA campaign as a move in the opposite direction. These theories leave whiteness unexamined, psychologize racial differences, and due to their neglect for the structural barriers, hold immigrants responsible for their lack of integration. I also argue that theories of assimilation which center their analysis on “objective gains,” ignore, subjective aspects of belonging which, according to my participants, are impacted by global geopolitics and historical relationship between the metropole, namely the US, and the periphery. I draw on theories of affect, home, and belonging to propose a theory of transnational immigration which studies transition of groups across borders and boundaries through a global decolonial perspective.
I study how the working-class reconstructs identity and place in the wake of economic crisis. My dissertation explores two questions: first, how the structural and cultural processes of historical industrialization shaped the contemporary vulnerability characterizing post-industrial communities in the United State, and second, the ways in which long-term residents make sense of their places’ meaning and future in the decades of de-industrialization. I use archival sources, interviews, and ethnography to analyze trajectories of economic history, cultural negotiation, landscape-scale change, and political economies of growth and decline. I make two claims. First, I contend that industrial corporations played an undervalued role in shaping contemporary structural and cultural precarity. These companies organized both the material stuff of everyday life and the symbolic identities for their workers. Such intensive and intentional integration of work and home deepened the crisis of company closure—closure meant not only lost jobs, but threatened identities. Second, I find that interviewees--both long-term residents and outmigrants—do narrative work to reconstruct their place identities. Interviewees try to make sense of the realities of persistent unemployment, infrastructural decline and cultural marginalization that has characterized their community since company closure decades earlier. At the same time, they hesitate to speak ill of the company and capitalist processes which once made their places thrive, blaming instead ineptitude in state or local governments, or more broadly, the invisible and impersonal forces of progress through capitalism. This project is part of my broader research agenda, which centers on how historical structures of capitalism—social, spatial, and economic—inform localized outcomes and lived experiences of home and community. I am interested in how people cope with the tenuous relationship between the mobility of capital and the relative stability of social life.

**Rightward in the Rustbelt: How Conservatives Remade the GOP, 1947-2012**

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This dissertation examines the Republican Party’s rightward shift through a comparative-historical analysis of right-to-work laws in three Industrial Midwestern states: Michigan, Indiana and Ohio. Legal statutes that prevent labor unions from collecting fees from all workers they legally represent, right-to-work laws once occupied the outskirts of Midwestern Republican politics. Using archive materials and stakeholder interviews, this dissertation demonstrates how transformations in political party infrastructures – the networks of non-party activists and organizations who support party operation – moved right-to-work laws to the center of Republican programs in Michigan and Indiana. Specifically, it shows how the construction of statewide business PAC networks and the establishment of conservative think tanks assembled the material and cultural resources necessary to render right-to-work laws not only politically plausible but desirable for Michigan and Indiana Republicans, who passed
right-to-work laws with majority caucus support in 2012. In Ohio, by contrast, comparatively weak business PAC and think tank networks vis-à-vis an organized labor movement with strong ties to senior Republicans prevented right-to-work from garnering as strong of support from GOP legislators and facilitated the defeat of Ohio’s proposed right-to-work law for public employees in November 2011. This analysis highlights the role of professionally-run civic organizations and think tanks in the GOP’s rightward shift, as well as the importance of local party infrastructures, organized interest groups, and political entrepreneurs in the process of legislative policy change.

**KEYWORDS:** American Conservatism, Political Parties, Right-to-Work, Think Tanks

**JUMPING THE LADDER: HOW LOW-INCOME AND FIRST-GENERATION STUDENTS NAVIGATE SOCIAL MOBILITY THROUGH COLLEGE**

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First-generation and low-income students in the U.S. are attending four-year colleges and universities at higher rates than ever before. This demographic shift comes, in some part, from recent initiatives adopted by many universities, such as grant-based scholarships instead of student loans, aimed at reducing structural barriers to college access. For social scientists and educational professionals – as well as the popular press – these improved educational opportunities for low-income students are among the most powerful (and taken for granted) methods for stimulating upward mobility and decreasing the negative impacts of poverty on individuals and society. Yet, as I show in my research, the traditional conceptualization of mobility in the social sciences that focuses narrowly on economic outcomes measured in statistical significance overlooks the ways in which “becoming” upwardly mobile is a social and interactional process – and one with many possible trajectories and outcomes. Drawing on in-depth interviews and participant observation with 150 students attending elite colleges and universities in four major US cities, I argue that first-generation and low-income students experience a consequential double bind in their college careers. Their ability to be a student in these elite settings demonstrates their dedication and commitment to social mobility – often motivated by their desire to be able to give back to their families and lower-resourced communities. Yet, as they progress in college, they must balance personal and social transformations that college can bring with their histories and ties to home. Unlike their classmates from more privileged backgrounds, these students must simultaneously “buy in” to the elite educational context without “selling out.” Navigating this double bind often disrupts student trajectories and negatively impacts outcomes, campus engagement, and ties to home communities. Paying attention to the power of social beliefs and relational ties reveals that upward mobility is best understood as an experiential and longitudinal social process – a process that must be considered alongside conventional notions of economic gain when approaching questions of social mobility.

**KEYWORDS:** Social Mobility, First-Generation, Education, Organizations
GENDER, RELIGION, AND POLITICS

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My dissertation examines gender and other group differences in religion and their impact on group differences in politics. I argue that the same types of social processes that make women and other structurally-disadvantaged groups more liberal also make them more religious, which then suppresses what would otherwise be much larger group differences in politics.

Keywords: Inequalities, Gender, Religion, Politics

RECONFIGURING THE DESERVING REFUGEE:
MORAL BOUNDARY WORK AND DECISION-MAKING IN US ASYLUM POLICY

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This dissertation seeks to investigate how social policy is made and implemented where established scripts and institutionalized schemas do not align with complex subjects and cases: how do policymakers classify subjects and cases when they cannot default to established categories, what are the implications of engagement in forms of evaluation that are not amenable to routine processing, and how do administrative and justice systems under strain attempt to regulate these spaces of ambiguity? The dissertation examines these questions through the study of US asylum policy in the post-Cold War period. Using multiple sources of data, including archival policy documents, case law, media sources, interviews and administrative data on asylum decisions, and applying mixed methods (historical/documentary analysis, ethnography and quantitative analysis), it investigates how asylum officials make policy and implement rules when they cannot default to preestablished categories and patterns of classification, why frontline actors operating under time constraints and limited resources decide to devote extra time and resources to cases for which they cannot readily supply known characterization, and to what extent does the ambiguity inherent to classificatory regimes provide structural opportunities for change? This research contributes to existing asylum scholarship by examining two central, albeit largely overlooked, aspects of the asylum determination process: the role of embedded distinctions of worth in the formation of asylum policy during periods of policy upheaval, and the conditions that enable asylum officers to engage in moral deliberation, and to devote time and resources in order to assist applicants whom they perceive as worthy of asylum but whose experiences of harm do not squarely fit within agency standards for determining asylum eligibility. The contributions of this thesis are not limited to asylum. The thesis offers a new conceptual framework for identifying the conditions that lead to shifts in frontline actors’ disposition from rule-bound bureaucrats to moral deliberators, and links institutional and moral dimensions of decision-making to delineate the process
through which embedded categories of worth influence implementation of policy when established patterns of practice are suspended and agents can no longer rely on institutionalized policy scripts.

**Keywords:** Asylum; Gender; Schemas, Moral Deliberation; Frontline Decision-Making; Evaluation and Institutionalization

**Changing Patterns of Cooperation in Occupational Communities:**
**A Multi-Level Analysis of Songwriter Career Strategies**

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How do individuals enact careers within our increasingly precarious economic system? Examining workers in artistic careers can bring insight into this question, given their history of precarity and non-traditional employment. As analyzing artistic careers in aggregate is more difficult than simply mapping a corporate chain of command, I developed a novel method, the “network-based sampling frame,” that uses social network data to account for structural biases in snowball sampling and to examine the ways individuals enact careers when opportunity is concentrated in social space rather than within a bureaucratic organization. My sampling frame facilitated the collection of novel quantitative data from 1197 songs written by 941 songwriters, social network data mapping the 2927 co-writing ties that created these songs, and 38 in-depth interviews with songwriters and recording artists who wrote these songs. I use this data to examine the re-patterning of cooperation between songwriters and recording artists from 2000-2015. I find strong evidence as to how political economic shifts in the music industry at the turn of the millennium led to the restructuring of songwriting careers, which ultimately led to reduced chances for success without being socially tied to other successful songwriters. The changing nature of collaboration between songwriters and recording artists contributed to decreased songwriter agency in the writing room and a more homogenous cultural product, as the influence of recording artists’ personal branding goals influenced the songwriting process. My study deeply engages with Becker’s theory of patterned cooperation, which, while cited thousands of times, generally is used to justify intra-occupational study into non-superstar occupations rather than examining inter-occupational patterns of cooperation within an art world. I call for more research into a “networked post-bureaucracy” that incorporates social networks as the structural basis for systematic analysis of careers that are increasingly temporary, part time, project-based, or otherwise casualized.

**Keywords:** Production of culture; social networks; work and employment; mixed methods
THE SOCIOLOGY OF ELITE ADVISORS

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Who advises the powerful? Absent from sociological scrutinizing of the dominant is a consideration of who C. Wright Mills called “captains of [the power elite’s] higher thought and decision.” In the contemporary global economy, professional services firms procure the ears of royalty, presidents, and executives, and yet we are only beginning to consider the extent and concentration of their influence. Viewing these firms as participating in a unique field of cultural production, I argue such firms produce and circulate ideas about the economy through imaginative labor, i.e. reducing overwhelmingly complex economic processes to simpler implementable suggestions. This labor, in turn, is the result of recruitment from particular delimited strata of social space, privileging certain social trajectories over others. Using innovative computational methods, combining network analysis and text analysis, along with a novel dataset, I measure the extent to which heterogeneity of individuals’ backgrounds in these firms impacts the heterogeneity in their thought. Along with semi-structured interviews and historical documents, I explore the content and consequences of this thought as it relates to imagining economies, inequality, and the future of work.

Keywords: Economic Sociology, Sociology of Culture, Sociology of Elites, Organizations & Work, Cognition & Imagination, Computational Methods, Interview Methods

BECOMING INTERESTING: CULTURAL CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT AMONG ELITE UNDERGRADUATES

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My dissertation examines how elite colleges facilitate students’ development of unacknowledged forms of cultural capital, reproducing inequality across several dimensions. Using interviews and ethnography at an elite college, I find that privileged students are active agents in their own creation of cultural capital, engaging in behaviors to trade up on their advantages—using one form of capital to facilitate growth of another. Through this process of exchange, students embed their advantages in themselves in a “deep” way—as habitus, personal history, and identity. By facilitating the exchange of capital, elite colleges help students launder privileges they enter college with into capital they can attribute to their own merit. Through the careful construction of self-narrative, students are then able to present and think of themselves as self-developed. Such narratives are of significant benefit after college while searching for employment, romance, friends, and fulfilling other life goals. I discuss three forms of cultural capital that colleges help students develop the most—ones that both aid students’ success after college and help them conceal the origins of their privilege: narrative, leadership, and cosmopolitan knowledge. I further examine how institutional and organizational arrangements at elite colleges facilitate the reproduction of inequality via cultural capital development.

Keywords: Higher Education, Cultural Capital, Identity, Narrative, Inequality
The Politics of Attention: The Case of White Nationalism in the U.S. South, 1980-2008

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I examine how white nationalist organizations in the U.S. South distributed their attention across grievances and other organizations in their field between 1980 and 2008. I ask two main research questions. First, why do organizations focus their attention on one set of grievances at the expense of others? I refer to this as grievance-based attention-focusing. Second, why are some organizations more likely to be taken as a point of reference by other organizations in their field? I refer to this as peer attention-getting. I use a combination of archival data, natural language processing, network analysis, and statistical modeling to address these questions. In the case of grievance-based attention-focusing, I put forth a theory outlining the conditions under a white nationalist organization is more likely to shift attention to immigration-related issues. I find that these organizations were more likely to shift attention to immigration when there was a high number of domestic non-right-wing terror events relative to the organization’s community size, but only when the organization was disposed toward a cognitive style that emphasized the importance of threat proximity. In the case of peer attention-getting, I posit that any given organization has a higher capacity for peer attention-getting when they also have leaders that are high status enough to warrant countermovement rival attention—but that the attention-getting capacity for these groups is positively moderated to the extent that the organization presents itself discursively with fearful language. I find support for this theory, and also find that attention-rich organizations are most inclined to divvy out attention to their peers that communicate with fearful language because of their own proclivity for using fear as an attention-getting mechanism. I conclude with implications for culture and cognition studies, computational social science, and broader discussions of organized racism in the contemporary United States.

Keywords: White Nationalism; Computational Social Science; Culture; Racism; American Politics; American South; Data Science

The Cultural Mediation of Home Buying in the United States

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Buying a home is the most significant purchase most people ever make. In addition to its cost, homeownership has implications for a range of important social and economic outcomes. This dissertation contributes to our knowledge of home buying and homeownership by revealing cultural processes that are often invisible or overlooked. Rather than investigating obstacles to homeownership or its consequences, I investigate the housing professionals who function as cultural intermediaries in the home buying process. Drawing on work in cultural sociology, consumption, architecture and housing, and studies of objects and materiality, this research explores how housing professionals shape the home buying process in the United States as they interpret and instantiate meanings of home in their material practices and discourse. I use a combination of content analysis, interviews and observations to
unpack the cultural work of home stagers, homebuilders, and realtors. Home stagers strategically arrange the material environments of houses in an attempt to construct an experience of belonging for potential buyers. Homebuilders participating in the country’s longest running show home program demonstrate how different meanings of home inspire and justify dramatically different material results. Realtors draw on popular property television shows as cultural resources to locate themselves and their clients in the home buying process, alternately embracing and rejecting the meanings these shows exhibit as they guide clients’ expectations and assert their expertise. By examining the work of housing professionals through the lens of cultural mediation, these findings reveal that housing professionals’ decisions determine who will experience a sense of belonging in a house, whose anticipated needs are addressed in a home’s construction, and how buyers and sellers navigate the buying process. I find that it is impossible to understand home buying in the US—with all its implications for inequality—without considering the cultural work of housing professionals.

**Keywords:** Cultural mediation; Materiality; Home buying; Consumers & Consumption

### THREE ESSAYS IN CULTURE AND COGNITION

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My dissertation consists of three essays on culture and cognition that feature a range of innovative theoretical and methodological approaches. My first essay features interview data with parents about child-rearing, which I use to identify the schematic structure of parental reasoning about age-appropriateness and investigate why certain schematic structures are more accessible to some parents more than others. The essay adds clarity to schema analysis and increases understanding of how culture shapes reasoning. In the second essay I use the same interviews to investigate efficiency in moral reasoning. When people evaluate objects according to a moral category, their accompanying reasoning may be concise, lengthy, or somewhere in between. In this essay I ask why some tasks of evaluative reasoning elicit brief responses while others elicit long, drawn-out justifications, and I use a novel mixed-method analysis to identify the cultural factors that affect this aspect of reasoning. The third essay revisits recent claims about the relation between talk and behavior by applying insights from Construal Level Theory (CLT) from psycholinguistics. According to CLT, people use more concrete language when discussing psychologically proximate topics and more abstract language when discussing psychologically distant topics. Using interview and survey data from the National Survey of Youth and Religion, I investigate whether the concreteness of adolescents’ language when discussing certain topics at one time point is predictive of their behavior related to that topic at a later time point. More generally, I hypothesize that even if the particular content of people’s speech is not be a reliable predictor of future behavior, the way that people talk might be because it is a form of “implicit” or “nondeclarative” culture that is more tightly coupled with action.

**Keywords:** Culture, Cognition, Schemas, Moral Reasoning, Age-Appropriateness, Parenting, Adolescents, Religion, Action, Text Analysis, Computational Sociology
BOOK REVIEW

2017 CULTURE SECTION BOOK AWARD
CO-WINNER
CROOK COUNTY: RACISM AND INJUSTICE IN AMERICA'S LARGEST CRIMINAL COURT (STANFORD, 2017)
by Nicole Gonzalez Van Cleve

Reviewed by:
Teresa Irene Gonzales, PhD
Univ. of Massachusetts, Lowell.

CROOK COUNTY, one of the winners of the section’s 2017 Mary Douglas Prize for Best Book, provides a deeply nuanced description and critique of the nation’s largest criminal court. Coupling rich and extensive ethnographic fieldwork, with observations by court watchers, and 104 interviews with public defenders, prosecutors, and judges, Gonzalez Van Cleve uncovers both the implicit and explicit racism and racial structures that frame and inform how the racialized poor are treated within the criminal justice system.

There are three central aspects to Gonzalez Van Cleve’s argument in CROOK COUNTY: her focus on professionals, her detailing of racial abuses, and her critical analysis of racism and racial injustice as embedded within court culture. Perhaps the most essential is her inverted lens on the court professionals. Rather than focusing on the impacts of an unjust criminal system on the Black and Brown individuals who pass through it, Gonzalez Van Cleve instead highlights the ways these injustices are carried out by the very professionals tasked with upholding and administering fair and just due process. In turning the lens on criminal justice professionals, Gonzalez Van Cleve articulates how systemic racism is managed, perpetuated, practiced, and understood by those “doing” colorblind racism, particularly in how they carry out unchecked racialized court abuses.

Though at times painful and difficult to read, CROOK COUNTY outlines how racial punishment is embedded within the criminal justice system from the moment one approaches the courthouse. Encompassing 96 acres of land between the predominantly Mexican-American and Mexican-immigrant communities of Pilsen and Little Village in Chicago, the Cook County Courthouse stands as an ominous presence of hopelessness, distrust, and fear to low-income communities of color. Gonzalez Van Cleve delicately visualizes this for her readers through her descriptions of the “breadline” of defendants, victims, family members, and visitors forced to stand in line for upwards of two hours, the stratified parking where mostly white professionals park for free, and the punitive sheriffs who police the lines.

Mistreatment against defendants flows from a moral belief regarding poverty; people are poor...
due to bad life decisions, laziness, and incompetence, and not due to structural inequities that bars them from living wages or the ability to build wealth over time. As Gonzalez Van Cleve uncovers, this is true for the Black, Latina/o, and White indigent defendants who find themselves in the C(r)ook County Courthouse. This is most evident in Chapter 2, “Of Mopes and Monsters.” Building upon Garfinkel, Gonzalez Van Cleve uses the framework of racial degradation ceremonies to demonstrate how racism operates as a cultural practice within the courts: by dehumanizing, infantilizing, and degrading defendants. “Mope” defendants are viewed as child-like individuals, who don’t subscribe to white, middle-class respectability politics of dress, speech, or comportment. Their crimes are generally minimal and eat up the important time and work of lawyers and judges. In this way, any person, including court professionals, seen as incompetent, lazy, or a time-waster can be labeled a “mope.” Meanwhile, “monsters,” as the name implies, are the real criminals whose cases warrant more time, energy, and expertise from the criminal justice professionals.

Although it could have easily fallen into a trope of racialized poverty porn, Crook County instead outlines how racism in the courts has evolved into one that is not relegated to a few “bad apples” but rather infiltrates and infects the culture of the place. This is something that Chicagans are all too familiar with; a fact echoed by the colloquial misnomer used by locals – Crook County – when referring to local politicians and the entire criminal justice system. Everyone from judges, to lawyers, to guards, to police officers, regardless of race, engage in racialized abuses in their everyday work. Yet, during interviews, many denied the existence of racism or viewed their actions as simply part of a larger system. Here is where Gonzalez Van Cleve’s ethnographic detail is key, as it provides a clear, detailed picture of the insidious and expansive nature of the racial abuses.

Van Cleve demonstrates how professionals of color, including herself at times, are also socialized into this culture. It is done primarily as a form of what she calls desensitized “emotional armor” and “street cred,” in order to access and maintain one’s high status with the in-group of professionals. One must distance herself from the labels of “mope,” “monster” or, more damningly, “mope-lover.” At the same time, it is also done to guard against the horrors and injustices of the place. And yet, Crook County also highlights how inequality – via racism and sexism – operates within the in-group. This is a culture that degrades anyone who falls outside of a white, middle-class, patriarchal allegiance, regardless of professional or criminal status.

Written for a broad audience with easy to understand explanations of social theory, Gonzalez Van Cleve’s accessible writing does not detract from the racial injustices meted out by court professionals. In fact, it underscores the severity and frequency of these offenses. This aspect of the book was the most difficult for me. As a native Chicagoan from the Pilsen neighborhood, as someone with family members and friends who have a relationship to the County Courthouse, and as someone who does work in low-income Black and Latina/o communities, I could only read small portions of Crook County at a time before setting the book down in anger. Not because Gonzalez Van Cleve did not capture the essence of the courthouse and the surrounding neighborhood in an accurate manner. Rather, because her descriptions highlighted the deep roots of the system. The author is commended for her rich descriptions and portrayals that offer disturbing, yet normalized impressions of racialized court and legal practices.

Gonzalez Van Cleve sums up the book eloquently, when she states: “This is a story about racism in action, culture in isolation, and the effects that both can have on an institution.”

While it may be easy to simply say this is an issue of white professionals not relating to the mostly Black and Latina/o poor defendants, Gonzalez
Some readers may at first deem foie gras—that French delicacy made of the liver of ducks or geese fattened by force-feeding—a trivial or frivolous cultural object that warrants no scholarly scrutiny: “Why should we care about foie gras? Why should we read a whole book about it?” Well, Michaela DeSoucey (NC State) will surely convince them, and even the least sanguine hipster, of foie gras’ significance for advancing several conversations in various subfields of our discipline.

DeSoucey’s book, Contested Tastes, one of the winners of the section’s 2017 Mary Douglas Prize for Best Book, is one of those that elegantly shows how insightful the sociological analysis of a seemingly marginal thing can be. Why foie gras? Because it lies at the epicenter of divisive moral and cultural debates that matter in and way beyond the world of food—debates about nationalism, the cultural politics of markets, ethical consumption, animal welfare, and cultural globalization. How did foie gras become an epicenter of contention for these issues? That’s what the gist of the book is about. DeSoucey uses a multi-method approach and a comparative research design to trace foie gras’ “social life,” from production to consumption, in France and the U.S., and to reconstruct its history. Her analysis refines and extends current knowledge in organizational theory—especially in regards to the roles of contention in markets, and to categorization and valuation processes—, economic sociology—particularly, pertaining the moral order of markets—, and the sociology of culture—in relation to symbolic boundaries, and the sociology of taste.

One of the book’s most illuminating conceptual contributions comes through the notion of gastropolitics, which the author defines as “conflicts over food that are located at the intersections of social movements, cultural markets, and state regulation” (p. xii). The concept of gastropolitics captures the multivocal character of a product’s cultural and moral politics—of foie gras in the case at stake. Depending on who you ask (and where), this duck...
or goose liver-based delicacy can be an emblematic expression of the French’s culinary primacy, the malign product of a torturous feeding technique called gavage (French for ‘force-feeding’), an authentic expression of traditional artisanship, a mass-produced commodity, the world’s most delicious thing (Anthony Bourdain dixit), or an immoral and vicious food. DeSoucey persuasively argues that these different cultural and moral valences of foie gras are relationally intertwined and at least partly co-constitutive. She finds, for instance, that foie gras emerged as a cardinal signifier of Frenchness partially because it became “ethically contentious and vilified elsewhere” (p. 65). In other words, as foie gras’ controversial production process gained relative prominence in the U.S. and other countries (amounting to “foiehibition” in places like Chicago—vividly reconstructed by DeSoucey in Chapter 4), within France its vigor as a key symbol of national culture grew notably. These findings show that contentiousness over a product’s moral standing may not just be a salient trait of markets’ initial or transitional moments (e.g. before or during the creation of a market), but that it can be a permanent component of a product’s identity as well.

DeSoucey also discovers that, as foie gras controversies spread, its consumption increased. And not only among French patrons, but even in cities where it had stirred polemic. The zealous animal rights activists seeking its prohibition unintendedly ended up igniting curiosity for foie gras in new consumers. In this spirit, beyond its manifest usefulness for describing the intricate dynamics of culinary products and practices, the prism of gastropolitics also illustrates the need to pay close attention to the economic dimensions that underlie all forms of moral crusade and struggle.

A particular variety of gastropolitics, named gastronationalism, centers around the ways in which foods convey and produce a collective sense of identity and nationalist sentiments. DeSoucey shows how gastronationalism can be manufactured and sponsored by state authorities and governmental organizations (Chapter 2), and how it is articulated in everyday rituals and interactions (Chapter 3). Through a rich ethnographic account of small-scale foie gras production in rural France, Chapter 3 portrays the micro-level dynamics by which the delicacy is (re)constructed as a symbol of French national heritage. The scripts and practices of artisanry and craftmanship play a key role, as they evoke “tradition” and “authenticity,” and hence foster a connection to history and the national past. Chapter 2, on the other hand, depicts the production of gastronationalism “from above.” It includes, in that sense, very telling snippets of French senators’ testimonies pertaining the National Assembly and the Senate’s codification of foie gras as part of France’s official cultural and gastronomic patrimony. As the testimonies suggest, the declaration was “preemptive and anticipated ‘any initiative from Brussels’ (the European Union’s headquarters) on the matter” (p. 62). DeSoucey thus delineates how states and their peoples respond to fears related to the alleged homogenizing force of globalism. They do so by protecting their nationalist symbols through bureaucratic measures and policies, and via everyday routines and practices that denote the symbols’ authenticity and traditional quality, thus bolstering their mythical appeal.

Finally, the book’s methodological approach is ingenious and stimulating: DeSoucey combines participant observation, interviews, and the analysis of documents of different sorts (newspapers, court transcripts, tourism guides, etc.) to follow foie gras through its circuits of
production and consumption. In that sense—along with Clayton Childress’ splendid book *Under the Cover* (Princeton; reviewed in this newsletter’s previous edition)—*Contested Tastes* breaks from sociologists of culture’s usual tradition of severing the analysis of production from that of consumption.

Because I found the book’s methodological recipe inspiring, I felt saddened that it did not include a methodological appendix. The methods are briefly outlined in the preface, and some more information is scattered throughout the chapters and in a few footnotes. But given the wealth of data the author amassed, I would have liked more detail about how the research was done and about the sources of information. An appendix would have provided the space for the author to describe, for instance, how she combined the data coming from the different sources she used, and to explain further the “ethnographic lens” that guided the fieldwork behind Chapter 3.

This issue notwithstanding, I think *Contested Tastes* is a remarkable feat. All readers, but especially those interested in organizations, economic sociology, consumption, sociology of culture, and food politics, will enjoy and learn much from this delicious book.

CULTURE SECTION SESSIONS AT ASA 2018

Download PDFs and view the Full Online ASA program (with locations) [here](#).

**All sessions are located in the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown unless otherwise noted**

**SATURDAY**

10:30am- 12:10pm

  - Acting in Disillusion: Morals and Powerlessness in Urban Planning Theory - Hillary Angelo, UC, Santa Cruz; Gianpaolo Baiocchi, New York University
  - Aesthetic Confidence: Reproducing Status by Investing in Taste - Hannah Wohl, Columbia University
  - Raising Middle-class Children in China: A Cultural Logic of Timely Adjustment - Lily Liang, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison
  - Social Class and Symbolic Pollution: Or the Discrete Harms of the Bourgeoisie - Philip Smith, Yale University
  - The Meaning(s) of a Maid: Understandings of Interpersonal Inequality among Western Employers of Domestic Workers - John O'Brien, New York University-Abu Dhabi

10:30am- 12:10pm

MONDAY

7:00- 8:15am
● 3084. Council Meeting, Salon H, Level 5

8:30- 10:10am
● 3184. Roundtable Session Salon H, Level 5, Session Organizers: Dustin S. Stoltz, Univ. of Notre Dame Marshall A. Taylor

10:30-11:30am
● 3266. Bringing Cultural Sociology to the Public Workshop, Franklin Hall 2, Level 4, Session Organizers: Gemma Mangione and Ande Reisman; Panelists:
  ○ Ellen Berrey
  ○ Jessi Streib
  ○ Daniel Hirschman
  ○ Greggor Mattson

11:30am-12:10pm
● 3266. Business Meeting, Franklin Hall 2, Level 4

2:30-4:10pm
● 3465. Computational Social Science, Culture, and Cultural Analysis, Franklin Hall 1, Level 4, Session Organizer: Lynette Shaw
  ○ A Field Experiment Designed to Disrupt Social Media Echo Chambers on Twitter, Christopher A. Bail, and M.B. Fallin Hunzaker, Marcus Mann, Friedolin Merhout, John Paul Bumpus, Jaemin Lee, Taylor Whitten Brown
  ○ Legitimating Big Business: Moral Discourse and the Construction of the Corporate Actor in the Press, Carly Knight
  ○ Mapping Cultural Schemas: From Theory to Method, M.B. Fallin Hunzaker
  ○ Measuring Meaning at Scale: Computational Methods for the Semantic Construction of Austerity in the UK, Devin J. Cornell, John W. Mohr

4:30-6:10pm
● 3565. Cultural Sociology and the Study of Beliefs, Preferences, and Choices, Franklin Hall 1, Level 4, Session Organizer: Stephen Vaisey, Panelists:
  ○ Vaccine Skepticism and the Persistence of Belief, Colin Bernatzky,
  ○ “I was there for the free food”: Accidental Religious and Cultural Conversions in College, Alanna Gillis, Laura Krull
  ○ Role Playing Social Structure, Nick Bloom
  ○ Narrative structure of educational choice, Dmitry Kurakin
  ○ How internal group networks affect consensus about cultural objects: Results from laboratory and field experiments, Dan Wang, Jackson Lu, Sheena Sethi Iyengar

6:30- 8:10pm
● 3614. In Celebration of Douglas Mitchell, Pennsylvania Convention Center, Level 100, 108A
6:30-8:10pm
● 3684. Section on Sociology of Culture **Reception**, Salon H, Level 5,

**TUESDAY**

8:30-10:10am
● 4174. **Culture in the Plural**, Franklin Hall 10, Level 4, Session Organizer: Iddo Tavory, NYU
  ○ Connecting the private self to the public sphere through life-coaching in neoliberal Israel, Ariel Yankellevich, BenGurion
  ○ Culture as Cooperation: Garfinkel’s Interactionism as the Missing Piece of Parsons’ Conception of Culture, Anne Warfield Rawls, Jason Turowetz
  ○ On Cultural Coherence, Paul J. DiMaggio, Sharon Cornelissen
  ○ Organs without bodies: Solid organ transplant recipients’ exposure and response to institutional discourse, Athena Engman
  ○ Discussant: Robin E. Wagner-Pacifici

● 4149. **How does Culture Work?** 404, Level 4, Session Organizer: Claudio Benzecry, Northwestern
  ○ Attention, Speed, and Culture: Patterned Perception and the Reproduction of Inequality - Erika Summers-Effler, Univ. of Notre Dame
  ○ Cultural Imaginaries and Institutional Identities - Chandra Mukerji, UC, San Diego
  ○ Durable Dispositions? Interaction and the Structural Emergence of Collective Meanings - Craig M. Rawlings, Northwestern; Clayton Childress, Univ. of Toronto
  ○ Working the Frame and Framing the Work: Performance Economies in the Culture Industries - Laura Grindstaff, UC, Davis; David Orzechowicz, UC, Davis
  ○ Discussant: Claudio Benzecry

10:30am-12:10pm
● 4276. **Emerging Economies of Moral Judgment**, Franklin Hall 12, Level 4, Session Organizers: Kieran Healy, Marion Fourcade
  ○ Erasing the Self, Projecting the Generic: Rating Systems and the Self in Ride-sharing Interactions, Mary Patrick
  ○ The moral economy of quantification devices: Factoring class inequality into school valuation in Chile, Gabriel Chouhy
  ○ The Moral Economy of the Algorithm: Personhood and the Politics of Classification, Greta R. Krippner
  ○ The Moral Limits of Predictive Practices: The Case of Credit Based Insurance Scores, Barbara Kiviat
  ○ Discussant: Kieran Healy

12:30-2:10pm
● 4376. **Meaning-Making through the Lens of Cultural Cognition**, Franklin Hall 12, Level 4, Session Organizer: Daniel A. Winchester
  ○ Binding Significance to Form: Cultural Objects, Cognition, and Cultural Change, Marshall A. Taylor, Dustin S. Stoltz, Terence Emmett McDonnell
  ○ Making Meaning from Numbers: Demographic Knowledge and Evaluations of Racial Diversity, Jiayi Janet Xu
Relational Evaluation and Cultural Anchoring in Everyday Evaluations of Food Cost, Caitlin Daniel
Signal Transmission, Signal Reception: Drawing on Goffman and the Dual Process Framework to Theorize Protest Events, Justin Van Ness
The Conditions and Significance of Emergent Rapport in Culturally Contested Social Settings, Ethan William Johnson, Penny Edgell, Kathleen E. Hull

**ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**Journal Articles & Book Chapters**


This study notes a rising number of female customers at heterosexual strip bars and explores the reasons for this change. Drawing methodologically on audio-taped interviews with strip club employees and 150 hours of observation in strip bars, we explore the dynamics of raunch culture—a hypersexualized climate—and andro-privilege, a new concept in feminist theory that we originate here. Patriarchal cultures condition members to preference practices associated with hegemonic masculinity, and uphold masculinism, the ideology that justifies male domination. Andro-privilege is a new Western cultural practice that cloaks masculinism in a discursive mantle of gender progress. That andro-privilege exists at all is a sign of growth. It demonstrates that progressive ideas about gender equality have affected people, and created, at least among some, a misalignment with unfairness. Andro-privilege resolves this discomfort by temporarily allowing some girls and women to be “one of the guys” while allowing no parallel for boys and men to benefit from being “one of the girls.” We argue that andro-privilege thrives in raunch culture because it permits a woman or girl to resist objectification and position herself as a subject—a lad or bro—rather than a sex doll.


Attitudes toward homosexuality have liberalized considerably, but these positive public opinions conceal the persistence of prejudice at an interpersonal level. We use interviews with heterosexual residents of Chicago gayborhoods—urban districts that offer ample opportunities for contact and thus precisely the setting in which we would least expect bias to appear—to analyze this new form of inequality. Our findings show the mechanisms through which acceptance recrafts discrimination in subtler forms.

In May, the paper was discussed in the *Science Section of LeMonde*.


Fox, Nicole and Hollie Nyseth Brehm. Forthcoming. “‘I Decided to Save Them’: Factors that Shaped Participation in Rescue Efforts During the Genocide in Rwanda.” *Social Forces*.


Ghaziani and Stillwagon consider innovative forms of placemaking efforts in queer communities—pop-up events—that are redrawing the cultural landscape of urban nightlife.


While single-sex public schools face much criticism, many Black communities see in them a great promise: that they can remedy a crisis for their young men. *Black Boys Apart* reveals triumphs, hope, and heartbreak at two all-male schools, a public high school and a charter high school, drawing on Freeden Blume Oeur’s ethnographic work. While the two schools have distinctive histories and ultimately charted different paths, they were both shaped by the convergence of neoliberal ideologies and a politics of Black respectability. As Blume Oeur reveals, all-boys education is less a school reform initiative and instead joins a legacy of efforts to reform Black manhood during periods of stark racial inequality. Black male academies join long-standing attempts to achieve racial uplift in Black communities, but in ways that elevate exceptional young men and aggravate divisions within those communities. *Black Boys Apart* shows all-boys schools to be an odd mix of democratic empowerment and market imperatives, racial segregation and intentional sex separation, strict discipline and loving care. Challenging narratives that endorse these schools for nurturing individual resilience in young Black men, this perceptive and penetrating ethnography argues for a holistic approach in which Black communities and their allies promote a collective resilience. For more information, please visit the book’s website: [http://blackboysapart.com](http://blackboysapart.com).


Special issue with contributions by John Levi Martin, Monica Lee, Paul DiMaggio, Ramina Sotoudeh, Amir Goldberg, Hana Shepherd, Omar Lizardo, Frédéric C. Godart, Mark Anthony Hoffman, Jean-Philippe Cointet, Philipp Brandt, Newton Key, Peter Bearman, Ronald L. Breiger, Robin Wagner-Pacifici, John W. Mohr, Achim Edelmann, Stephen Vaisey, Lauren Valentino, and Jacob G. Foster.


*Death Makes the News* is the story of this controversial news practice: picturing the dead. Fishman uncovers the surprising editorial and political forces that structure news media coverage of death. The patterns are striking, and they overturn long-held assumptions, especially about the role of nationalism, race, and class. In the end, much of what we think we know about the news is wrong, which raises fundamental questions about the power of pictures.
In a look behind the curtain of newsrooms, Fishman observes editors and photojournalists from different types of organizations as they deliberate which images of death will make the cut. She also investigates over 30 years of photojournalism in the tabloid and patrician press to establish when the dead are shown and whose dead body is most newsworthy, illustrating her findings with high-profile news events, including recent mass shootings, plane crashes, earthquakes, hurricanes, war-time attacks, and political unrest.


This new book tells the story of a group of farmworkers in Florida’s tomato fields who long suffered a range of horrible abuses – toxic pesticide exposure, beatings, sexual assault, wage theft, and even modern-day slavery. They organized to form the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, that developed, fought for, and implemented the Fair Food Program, changing the lives of more than thirty thousand field workers. This group successfully transformed one of the worst agricultural situations in the U.S. into one of the best.

Marquis spoke to *The Nation* a couple months ago about the fast the CIW were doing in NYC this spring outside the office of Nelson Peltz, chair of Wendy’s Board of Directors, in protest of Wendy’s refusal to participate in the Fair Food Program. And a discussion that Marquis led at the *LA Times Festival of Books in April* was recorded and broadcast by C-SPAN’s *BookTV*.


The first chapter is fully available online. Section member Pearce’s chapter in the volume is: “The Cosmopolitan Performances of Istanbul Pride.” A book launch is planned in June of this year in Istanbul.


This book takes a postcolonial perspective on a classic sociological question: how do culture and economy interact? It introduces a theory of personhood as the basis of accepted knowledge. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, which included living with NGO staff and government officials in rural China, the book explains microfinance (a type of program where lenders aim to address global poverty by providing small loans for the purpose of profit-making) as an outgrowth of culture—specifically, concepts of personhood. By examining the lived realities of the borrowers, the book explains why microfinance’s “articles of faith”—as articulated by economists like Joseph Stiglitz and contained in the program stipulations—failed to comprehend the field site, where there was the influence of longstanding relationships and the component of morality. The book investigates the details of the social and hierarchical relationships between influential villagers, ordinary villagers, and officials, finding that these relationships are the key that explains the outcomes in rural China. People access money through their social networks, but they also do the opposite: cultivate their social relationships by moving money. The book challenges influential domains of social science, aiming for a kind of truly global sociology as it shows how culturally specific notions about personhood are the basis of global development policy.
Pursuing the dream of a musical vocation—particularly in rock music—is typically regarded as an adolescent pipedream. Music is marked as an appropriate leisure activity, but one that should be discarded upon entering adulthood. How then do many men and women aspire to forge careers in music upon entering adulthood?

In Destined for Greatness, sociologist Michael Ramirez examines the lives of forty-eight independent rock musicians who seek out such non-normative choices in a college town renowned for its music scene. He explores the rich life course trajectories of women and men to explore the extent to which pathways are structured to allow some, but not all, individuals to fashion careers in music worlds. Ramirez suggests a more nuanced understanding of factors that enable the pursuit of musical livelihoods well into adulthood.


Awards & Distinctions

Francesco Duina’s Broke and Patriotic: Why Poor Americans Love Their Country (Stanford University Press 2018) has won a 2018 Independent Publisher Book Award (Current Events category).

Professor Reuben A. Buford May was named a 2018 Minnie Stevens Piper Professor recipient. The Piper Professor Award recognizes professors for outstanding academic, scientific, and scholarly achievement and for dedication to the teaching profession. Ten awards are given throughout the state of Texas annually and presidents at each college and university within the state can nominate up to two professors.

Media Spotlight

Landon Schnabel and Sean Bock’s paper, “The Persistent and Exceptional Intensity of American Religion,” was examined in the Washington Post article, “Pence’s claim that ‘religion in America isn’t receding. It’s just the opposite.’”

Announcements

Class Cultures Caucus of the Working-Class Studies Association

Six members of the Working-Class Studies Association (WCSA) whose work focuses on comparing working-class and middle-class cultures have initiated a Class Cultures Caucus. Three of the founders are
sociologists, each applying Lamont's and Lareau's class culture concepts to different fields: Allison Hurst to higher education, Jessi Streib to families, and Betsy Leondar-Wright to social movement organizations. The Class Cultures Caucus held a special gathering of kindred spirits at ASA 2017, participated in the Eastern Sociological Society mini-conference on Class and Culture in February, and organized class-culture-themed panels at the June 2018 WCSA conference. The purpose of the Caucus is to network and support the work of scholars researching class cultures.

The WCSA is an international, interdisciplinary network of scholars and activists focused on social class.

Interested in hearing announcements about future Caucus events and publications? Email bleondar-wright [at] lasell [dot] edu to get on the listserv.

**Symposium: Towards a Vision of Diversity in Science and Society**

On April 26, 2018, the Department of Sociology at Texas State University hosted an interdisciplinary conversation to explore the reflexive relationship between sociology and the natural/biological sciences. The topic at hand was the relationship of these disciplines to understanding and enhancing diversity in the conduct of science and the recruitment, training and nurturing of scientists. We organized the symposium to compare and contrast organizational science approaches with social science/humanities approaches to understanding the everyday life of science and scientists. The morning session focused on the social organization of science. Dr. Kevin C. Wooten, Professor and Chair of Management at the Univ. of Houston-Clear Lake and the Director of the Team Science Initiative at the Univ. of Texas Medical Branch-Galveston, presented the keynote address on “The Science of Team Science: Solidifying and Integrating Diversity.” A panel consisting of scholars from electrical engineering, health communications, philosophy and sociology discussed the status and merits of the team science movement. The afternoon session focused on discovering, training and appreciating the contemporary scientist. Dr. Joseph A. Kotarba, professor of sociology at Texas State University and medical sociologist at the Institute for Translational Sciences at UTMB-Galveston, presented a plenary address on “The Culture of Science: Music and the Scientist’s Experience of Self.” A panel consisting of scholars from environmental studies, biology, physics, STEM, and sociology discussed the socio-cultural identities of scientists today and how we can work together to enhance diversity in all areas of discovery. The Science and Society initiative will continue to grow at Texas State University, given the great interdisciplinary interest generated by the symposium. To learn more about our project, please contact Joe Kotarba at jk54 [at] txstate [dot] edu.

**The Communication Review is now accepting original manuscripts**

As an interdisciplinary journal bridging the fields of communication, sociology, and media studies, we invite submissions from those employing critical theoretical and empirical approaches to those seeking to create new knowledge across conventional disciplinary boundaries:

- Communication and Culture, probing the questions of producing meaning and interpretation by way of analyzing culture through the visual and dramatic arts, literature, sociology, anthropology, and in the interdisciplinary tradition of cultural studies.
- Communication and Inequality, analyzing the rise and persistence of social inequalities in participatory media environments. We are particularly interested in feminist communication studies at this time.
Communication and New Media, examining media texts, audiences, and industries in the broader cultural, social, and economic contexts of digital convergence.

The Communication Review also functions as a review of current work and the editors are always open to proposals for special issues that interrogate and examine current controversies in the field. We also welcome non-traditionally constructed articles which critically examine and review current sub-fields of and controversies within communication and media studies. In addition, we welcome book reviews and extended review essays.

Please direct suggestions for special issues and queries to Sarah Johnson, Managing Editor, at srjohnson [at] virginia [dot] edu. For more information and submission guidelines, please see the journal’s website: http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/gcrv20/current

CALL FOR PAPERS: “POPULISM BEYOND THE WEST: DISSONANT DIVERSITIES AND FRAGMENTED POLITICS” SPECIAL ISSUE TO BE PUBLISHED IN NEW DIVERSITIES

Guest editors: Sinem Adar (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik) & Gülay Türkmen (Univ. of Goettingen)

Populism is one of the most contested topics of our times. Even though the phenomenon is anything but new, the increasing salience of populism and the rising power of populist actors around the globe have prompted a new wave of interest in the topic. Scholars have so far focused on a vast array of questions, such as the definition of populism, the difference between right-wing and left-wing populisms, and the role of social media in the rise of populist actors as well as in the dissemination of populist logics and discourses. The nature of the relationship between populism and democracy, populism and nationalism, and populism and authoritarianism have also been of interest to scholars.

While these analyses have a lot in common, they also greatly differ from each other because of the variety of the cases where populism is observed. Populists might apply different economic policies, they might be on the right or on the left, they might resort to nationalism or nativism, they might depart from democracy and turn into authoritarian actors or not. Despite this variety, however, existing accounts mostly adopt institutional and structural approaches focusing on factors like political parties and discourses. Surprisingly, the cultural component of populism has so far received scant attention. Questions such as how populist discourse influences and is influenced by social relations, how it transforms and is transformed by citizens’ meanings and understandings as to “the people” and to each other remain to a large extent unanswered. We still know very little about how existing social cleavages shape the way the “people” is conceptualized by actors who deploy populist repertoires, as well as how populist discourse shapes existing social cleavages.

Such an emphasis is especially important and necessary in understanding how populism operates beyond Western liberal democracies, especially in ethnically, religiously and linguistically diverse settings. Against this background, in this special issue, we welcome both empirically and theoretically oriented papers from sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists who focus on populism beyond Western Europe and North America. We particularly invite contributions that provide answers to the following questions:

- What is the relationship between populism and ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity?
● What is the role of cultural and social grievances in the emergence and spread of populist discourses?
● What role does memory politics play in the ascent of populist actors to power as well as in their staying in power?
● What differences, if any, are there between the form populism takes in historically diverse societies and the form it takes in societies where diversity is a fairly recent phenomenon related to immigration?
● How does populism relate to social, political and affective polarization in non-Western societies?

Please send a 500-word abstract and a short CV to the special issue editors (sinem.adar [at] gmail [dot] com; gulayt [at] gmail [dot] com) no later than September 1st, 2018. Authors will be notified of the decision by September 20th, 2018. Full papers, of up to 7000 words, will be due by January 31st, 2019, with a planned publication date of August 15th, 2019.

New Diversities (previously the International Journal on Multicultural Societies) is an international, peer-reviewed scholarly journal of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, committed to publishing interdisciplinary and policy-related social science research in the fields of diversity, migration, multicultural policies, and human rights.