SECTIONCULTURE

Word from the Chair

Geneviève Zubrzycki, University of Michigan

Fellow Cultural Sociologists,

The ASA is upon us, and we have a fabulous program spread over two full days on Saturday, August 20 and Sunday, August 21, with several other co-sponsored or culture-related sessions on Monday and Tuesday. Don't miss our business meeting on Saturday at 5:30, which will be followed by our section reception. You'll find all the info on relevant sessions, roundtables and professional development workshops in a special section of the Newsletter. Special thanks to Jennifer Lena for her amazing work on programming!

For the third year in a row, we're holding a Graduate Student Professionalization Panel. Organized by Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer and Hannah Wohl, this year's theme is "Navigating the Faculty/Post-Doc Job Market as a Cultural Sociologist." Student members of the section will also have the opportunity to meet with faculty mentors at this year's ASA, within the framework of a mentoring pilot program we set up this winter. Thanks to all of you who volunteered and we count on your post-ASA feedback so we can develop the program.

Now on to non ASA-meeting matters: The centerpiece of this Newsletter is an illuminating exchange on creativity and innovation between Pierre-Michel Menger from the Collège de France in Paris and Andrew Abbott. The dialogue is an extension of the one they had at the conference "Inventing the New: Innovation in Creative Enterprises,"organized by Claudio Benzecry at Northwestern University last April. Hannah Wohl provides a useful report on other panels of that conference.

We're also lucky to share with our members a very useful "Field Guide to Materiality for Cultural Sociologists" prepared by Terry McDonnell and Gemma Mangione. The guide provides short summaries of key texts in the field, authored by advanced graduate students and faculty, as well as links to an extensive bibliography and Terry's graduate seminar syllabus on "Cultural Objects and Materiality."

To close this brief note, I'd like to introduce and congratulate the newly elected section officers: Ron Jacobs (chair-elect), Elizabeth Armstrong (council), Aneesh Aneesh (council) and Gemma Mangione (student representative). This is my last "Word from the Chair," as I will pass on the baton to Jennifer Lena at our business meeting. It was an honor and a true pleasure to serve the section for the past year, and I want to thank you for your active membership, suggestions, and all of the service many of you do for the section. I look forward to seeing you in Seattle for another great ASA meeting!

Geneviève

Culture Section News

NEWLY ELECTED SECTION OFFICERS & COUNCIL MEMBERS

Ronald Jacobs, SUNY Albany (chair elect)

Gemma Mangione, Northwestern University (student representative)

Elizabeth Armstrong, University of Michigan (council member)

Aneesh Aneesh, University of Wisconsin (council member)

ANNOUNCEMENT:

10TH JUNIOR THEORISTS SYMPOSIUM

August 19, 2016

Seattle University Wyckoff Auditorium (Engineering 200)

Full program on the ASA Theory Section web page: http://www.asatheory.org/newsletter/2016-junior-theorists-symposium

SECTION AWARDS 2016

Mary Douglas Prize for Best Book

Winner:
Lauren A. Rivera (Northwestern University), for *Pedigree: How Elite Students Get Elite Jobs* (Princeton University Press, 2015)

Honorable Mentions:
Ellen Berrey (University of Denver) for *The Enigma of Diversity: The Language of Race and the Limits of Racial Justice* (University of Chicago Press, 2015)
Christina Simko (Williams College) for *The Politics of Consolation: Memory and the Meaning of September 11* (Oxford University Press, 2015)

Committee: Lyn Spillman, Notre Dame (chair); Virag Molnar, New School; Ronald Jacobs, SUNY Albany.

Clifford Geertz Award for Best Article

Co-Winners:
Paul Lichterman (Univ. of Southern California) **and Nina Eliasoph** (Univ. of Southern California) for "Civic Action," *American Journal of Sociology*, 120(3): 798-863.

Ruth Braunstein (University of Connecticut)**, Brad R. Fulton** (Duke University)**, and Richard L. Wood** (University of New Mexico) for "The Role of Bridging Cultural Practices in Racially and Socioeconomically Diverse Civic Organizations," *American Sociological Review*, 79(4): 705–725.

Committee: Matthew Norton, University of Oregon (chair); Rhys Williams, Loyola University; Ming-Chen Lo, UC Davis.

Richard A. Peterson Award for Best Student Paper

Co-Winners:
Holly Campeau (University of Toronto) for "'The Right Way, the Wrong Way, and the Blueville Way': How Cultural Match Matters for Standardization in the Police Organization."

Hannah Wohl (Northwestern University) for "Community Sense: The Cohesive Power of Aesthetic Judgment"

Committee: Terence McDonnell, Notre Dame (chair); Ruth Braunstein, University of Connecticut; Monica C. Bell, Harvard.

CULTURE SCHEDULE
2016 American Sociological Association Meeting in Seattle, WA

Saturday, August 20th (all locations TBA)

7:00-8:15 am	**Council Meeting**	
8:30-10:10 am	**Recent Advances in the Sociology of Culture**	Organizer & Presider: Shamus Khan (Columbia University) • Raceing Culture, Culturing Race: Gangs, Grooming and Growing up in the United Kingdom, Claire Alexander (U of Manchester) • Towards a Cognitive Macro-Sociology of Culture, Andrei Boutyline (UC Berkeley) • Multilevel Systems, Interactive Mechanisms, and the Nature of Culture, Omar Lizardo (Notre Dame) • Symbols, Reifications, and Disciplinary Procedures: A Cultural Sociology of Inclusion and Exclusion, Andrea Voyer (Pace University)
10:30 am-12:10 pm	**Sociology of Culture Section Roundtables**	18 amazing roundtables organized by Francesco Duina (Bates College & University of British Columbia), Details on Session 78 here.
2:30-4:10 pm	**Grit, Luck, Warmth, and the Irrational: Frontiers for Theorizing Culture**	Organizer & Presider: Jennifer Lena (Columbia University)
4:30-5:30 pm	**Professional Development Workshop: Navigating the Faculty/Post Doc Job Market as a Cultural Sociologist**	Organized by Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer (Dickinson College) and Hannah Wohl (Northwestern)
5:30-6:10 pm	**Sociology of Culture Section Business Meeting**	
6:30-8:00 pm	**Sociology of Culture Reception with Political Sociology and Global and Transnational Sociology**	

Other culture-related events on Saturday:

8:30-10:10am: "Culture, Media, and Socialization" Roundtable (#15), Section on Crime, Law and Deviance

8:30-10:10am: "Worker Cultures, Identities, and Prospects for Resistance" Roundtable (#1), Section on Labor and Labor Movements

2:30-4:10pm: "Research in the Sociology of Culture Across Asia" Roundtable (#7), Section on Asia and Asian America

2:30-4:10pm: "Culture, Music, and Identity" Roundtable (#7), Section on Marxist Sociology

SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE SECTION ROUNDTABLES

Saturday, August 20th from 10:30 am-12:10 pm

Eighteen amazing roundtables organized by Francesco Duina (Bates College & University of British Columbia). See all the details on topics, presiders, and presenters in Session 78 in the preliminary program.

For a program of all culture-related events at the Seattle meeting, see page 34 of this newsletter.

Sunday, August 21st (all locations TBA)

8:30-10:10 am	**Cultural Capital in the 21st Century**	Organizer & Presider: Alexandra Kowalski (Central European University) • The Potlatch Revisited: Distinction and Destruction among the New Global Elite, Ashley Mears (Boston University) • Ubercapital in the 21st Century, Marion Fourcade (UC Berkeley) • Geographies of Valuation: Gabriel Orozco and the Construction of Cosmopolitan Capital, Larissa Buchholz (Harvard) Discussant: Jean-Louis Fabiani (Central European University)
10:30am-12:10 pm	**Cultural Production, Old and New**	Organizer and Presider: Angèle Christin (Data & Society Research Institute) • New Media Actors Old Claims to Authority, Ian Sheinheit (SUNY Albany) • Imagined Audiences and Cultural Ombudsmen: Cultural Entropy and HIV/AIDS Campaign Production, Terence McDonnell (Notre Dame) • Discourse on Contemporary Art, or: Bourdieu's World Reversed. When Heteronomy Becomes Autonomous, Henk Roose (Ghent), Willem Roose (Ghent)
12:30-2:10 pm	**Can Cultural Sociology be an Interscience?**	Presider & Organizer: Omar Lizardo (Notre Dame) • A Cognition-Based Approach to Understanding the Dynamic Processes of Cultural Transmission, Stability, and Change, M.B. Fallin Hunzaker (Duke) • In Defense of Weber, Corey Abramson (U of Arizona) • Is Cultural Content Sociologically Meaningful? A Distributive-probabilistic Approach for the Study of Culture, Amir Goldberg (Stanford) • The Two Cultures of Culture: Stuart Hall's missing legacy from American cultural sociology, Ben Carrington (University of Texas, Austin) • Theorizing Social Order from Belief Heterogeneity, Uncertainty, and Change, Kimberly Rogers (Dartmouth) • Turf Wars or Truly Understanding Culture? Moving Beyond Isolation and Importation to Genuine Cross-Disciplinary Engagement, Andrew Miles (Toronto, Mississauga) Discussants: Orlando Patterson (Harvard), Karin Knorr Cetina (U of Chicago)

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Other culture-related events on Sunday:

10:30-12:10 pm: How Political Culture Matters Panel, Section on Political Sociology

Culture-related events on Monday, August 22nd

8:30-10:10 am: Crossing Borders: People, Finance and Culture Roundtable (#2), Open Refereed Roundtables
8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, How Institutions and Culture Shape Identities
8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, Gender and Work: Structure, Culture, and Emotions
8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, Culture and Narrative
10:30-12:10pm: Regular Session, Sociology of Culture
10:30-12:10pm: Regular Session, Culture and Inequality
2:30-4:10pm: Culture and Organizations Roundtable (#2), Section on Organizations, Occupations and Work
2:30-4:10pm: Religion and the Politics of National Identity, Section on the Sociology of Religion
2:30-4:10pm: Culture, Language, and Nation Roundtable (#5), Section on Comparative-Historical Sociology
4:30-6:10pm: Regular Session, Taste and Cultural Reception in Popular Culture

Culture-related events on Tuesday, August 23rd

8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, Sociology of Culture 2
8:30-10:10am: Culture and Achievement among the Children of Immigrants, Section on International Migration
12:30-2:10pm: Regular Session, Political Culture
12:30-2:10pm: Regular Session, Success, Quality, and Legitimacy in Popular Culture
12:30-2:10pm: Race, Space, and Culture Roundtable, Theory Section
2:30-4:10pm: Algorithmic Culture Roundtable, Section on Communication, Information Technologies, and Media Sociology

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PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP:

NAVIGATING THE FACULTY/POST-DOC JOB MARKET AS A CULTURAL SOCIOLOGIST

Saturday, August 20th from 4:30-5:30pm, immediately preceding the Culture Section Business Meeting (location TBD)

The workshop features a panel of cultural sociologists, this open session is geared primarily toward graduate students and others interested in learning specifically about how cultural sociologists have navigated the transition from graduate school to post-doctoral and faculty positions.

Organizers Hannah Wohl and Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer would like to thank the Culture Section for graciously making meeting time available for this event, and for making it free and open to all as part of the ASA meeting program. We would also like to thank our panelists for volunteering their time and experiences. We encourage everyone to come and to spread the word!

Panelists:
Patricia A. Banks (Mount Holyoke)
Claudio Benzecry (Northwestern)
Clayton Childress (University of Toronto)
Fiona Rose-Greenland (University of Chicago)
Discussant: Hannah Wohl (Northwestern)
Chair: Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

Sociology and Creative Work: A Critical Debate

In the following exchange, Andrew Abbott from the University of Chicago responds to Pierre-Michel Menger's summary of his sociology of innovation and creativity in artistic professions. Pierre-Michel Menger is a Professor at the Collège de France in Paris, where he has been holding the Chair of Sociology of Creative Work since 2013. He is also a Professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, where he started in 1994. His work on music, art, value, and work has appeared in all major sociology and economics journals in France, as well as in the *American Review of Sociology* and *Poetics*. The debate we publish here is an edited version of an exchange that took place at the conference "Inventing the New: Innovation in Creative Enterprises" (Northwestern, April 2016 — report on page 24).

The Work Process in Creative Undertakings
By Pierre-Michel Menger, Collège de France, Paris

Sociology has much to offer with regard to work, employment, careers, occupations, organizations in the arts, and the social processes linking up the professionals who must cooperate to make art producible, collectible, and available. Many issues have been more or less successfully addressed: attitudes toward occupational risk; the simultaneous growth of employment and unemployment; the valuation of work correlated with its uncertain course and outcome; the surprising tolerance of inequality in creative industries (Menger, 2014). Assured-ly, the success factors seem more indeterminate than for many comparable occupations. Yet this is exactly why the puzzle of creative production is analytically attractive, as the combination of factors provides sufficient variability to be explored methodically.

But what does sociology have to offer about works of art, the end result of creative undertakings? Data on the careers of artists and their works and performances are plentiful, due to the properties of work organization (bilateral contracts, project organization, variable architecture of teams, durability of works) (Caves, 2000; Stinchcombe, 1968). I contend, however, that sociology has much to gain by focusing on the work process itself—with its sequences, bifurcations, revisions and negotiations—and on its outcomes.

How might we forge the analytical apparatus needed to perform such case studies? The key notions I'll invoke are variability and selection. Consider these two forces, which in combination are usually described as the drivers of creativity. Invention exploits variability, by tearing exploration away from the base of known and tested realities and allowing for processes of trial and error. And selection and optimization occur by means of a patient and permanent monitoring in the course of invention.

Experience, variety and uncertainty
How do we relate the body of knowledge accumulated on work, occupations, and income distribution in the arts to the factors of variability and selection that shape the work process in creative undertakings?

First, cross-sectional data show a very strong monetary penalty for young artists and a poor fit of wage equations: initial training has little explanatory power. This is why, for artists, the learning content of work itself and the accumulation of experience through on-the-job learning count much more than initial training. The rate of accumulation of experience and its value depend on how an artist's career unfolds. Due to the basic properties of creative work—project-based organization of work, changing team composition and originality-based competition—artists' work experiences can be unusually variable. Variability is two-sided. One the one hand, it

is constraining, in that it specifies how things should be done differently. People learn these constraints very early in their acquisition of expertise. Every time an individual learns a new skill, they learn not only domain-specific skills but also how differently they can apply them.

On the other hand, as project-based organization of work increases work's variable learning content, variability has to be turned into a resource to exploit optimally. Early feedback that rewards originality or novelty is crucial for maintaining the challenging content of work with its high learned variability levels. If the task is too easy, the individual won't see the need to try many things to solve the problem. If the task is challenging, however, the individual tries different ways of solving the problem. This process is incremental: receiving praise for creative problem solving motivates artists and other creative workers to sustain this endeavor.

Second, among the characteristics that explain job satisfaction, high autonomy and the variety of tasks performed (i.e., a low level of routine) play a major role. According to the compensating differentials argument (Rosen, 1986), high-skilled, low-routine occupations provide more satisfaction. We know that in creative occupations, rewards come in two forms: monetary income, and non-monetary, or so-called psychic, income (Menger 1999). Strikingly enough, while the distribution of monetary rewards is highly skewed toward a few successful artists, psychic income is normally distributed: the latter is part of the self-protective equipment one needs to enter the risky game of creative work, whose expressive, intrinsically rewarding content comes at the price of great competitive pressure and a high failure rate.

Together, the quest for autonomy at work and an extended margin of control over one's work require that creative workers diversify their job portfolio to manage occupational risk. Surveys show how artists, as long as they are in demand, learn to differently balance monetary and non-monetary rewards from one project to the other, and alternate undertakings with various learning potential and more or less stimulating teamwork. Thus diversity in creative undertakings amounts to finding and maintaining the right balance between the exploration of new avenues, which is rewarding and uncertain, and the exploitation of known paths and promising options, which is a 'management of uncertainty' device allowing artists to shield themselves against renewed exacting challenges. Again, variability induced by the project-based organization of work is helpful to alternate exploration with exploitation. Note that project-based work also typically triggers the cumulative (dis)advantage scheme and amplifies the resulting inequalities in work opportunity and income.

Work, Process, Choice and Outcome
How to track down the imprint of those features within the creative process itself?

Let's first assume quite simply that creative work is an intentional and purposeful action. This implies a series of choices to be made, according to one or several guiding purposes—solving a problem, condensing and conveying human experience, playing with the rules of an art form, or executing a specific commission—not to mention more mundane goals such as making a living, being challenged, etc.

The issue is the following. In creative undertakings, the course of action faces an initial set of countless possible configurations to explore and paths to choose. How to cut down that set of infinite possibilities? Various means usually help to restrict the space of choice (Becker, 1982)—such as external constraints, the reuse of past solutions, or a desire for gradual improvement. Yet, quite the opposite direction can also be taken with projects oriented towards radical experimentation.

For the sake of analytical clarity, let us consider five typical situations that project-based work allows to intertwine.

The first one is the narrowly constrained work, designed according to a market concept, or fully specified from the outset, with the artist's freedom restricted in terms of any attempts to evade a stylistic canon imposing limits on formal invention. In such a case, we are dealing with a creative process that entails a detailed, comprehensive, and craftsmanlike blueprint of the work to be realized.

In the second typical situation, things get a bit more complex because the initial impulse is not a blueprint, but a concept or a problem (Caves, 2000). How many attempts does the artist need to come close to her conceptual target? Marginal benefit is derived here from the chance that the next try will yield an improvement over the hitherto best state achieved by the artwork. For one of his most famous and at the time most controversial sculptures, his *Balzac* (1891-1893; see Le Normand-Romain, 1998), Rodin began with a naturalist postulate, then departed from that blueprint to envision a more "conceptual" *Balzac*: the process generated about ninety different versions until the definitive version finally emerged.

In a third typical situation, artists attempt to challenge

themselves through extremely ambitious projects, in order to make a breakthrough and to enter a sphere of unlimited constraints. Risk-taking is then much greater, but the sense of self-actualization is much greater too: it is the artist's desire, in fact, that from the outset the creative work be highly exacting. It can take years, result in eventual failure or be abandoned unfinished, or it can function as a matrix out of which specific works stem in the course of that overarching challenge. Famous examples of such highly ambitious and unfinished major works include Musil (*Man without Qualities*), Rodin (*The Gates of Hell*), Scriabine (*Mysterium*) or Ives *(Universe Symphony)*, Mallarmé (*Le Livre*), Capote (*Answered Prayers*). In some cases, these works act as matrices, and allow the artists to draw on them for a long series of new pieces.

The fourth typical instance is experimentation that tries to be purely random, such as automatic writing, algorithmic composition, or "dripping" without the work of editing.

A fifth, more borderline case, is that of the truly fragmentary work, whose progress obeys no preconceived formula and which does not strive for coherence. We might include in this category a collection of correspondence or a private diary whose chronological thread takes the place of an ordering principle, and which is not governed by any macro-level decision-making.

This typology should not be interpreted in static terms; as already said, artists act in variable ways. Variable challenges may allow them to spread risk and increase productivity. In the context of a purposeful yet highly variable inventive activity, one very common way of managing the proliferation of ideas and projects is to order them wi-

thin the frame of an enduring group of related activities aimed at producing a series of linked products. Indeed, according to the evolutionary theory of creative undertakings (Campbell 1960, Gruber, 1989), in a given period of time, creative activity is quite often devoted to several strands of work whose interrelations have to be steadily orchestrated.

Case studies reveal regulatory mechanisms such as an artist's 'network of enterprise' (Gruber, 1989), that is a purposeful undertaking managed by the individual to coordinate his projects and to keep his commitment to work alive.

By organizing the work into distinct enterprises it becomes possible to put tasks aside and then resume them without always starting from scratch. For instance, according to Ulrich Konrad's convincing demonstration (Konrad, 1992), Mozart created for himself a stock of musical material. A survey of the genres covered by the surviving manuscripts shows informal groupings, concentrating on chamber music, keyboard concertos, and masses, as well as time-specific interests, i.e., those developed during certain periods. So fragments can be understood as "fixing" departure points, to which Mozart could return if necessary, and from which he could strike out on the road to final completion of a work.

Creative work nested in a portfolio of ongoing projects looks like a skein of interruption and resumption. Several enterprises may be active at the same time, but there are also some that have fallen dormant. By resuming these dormant works, the artist does not begin from zero: notebooks, early studies or drafts and the present state of the unfinished work provide the material basis for the restart.

And certain psychological mechanisms provide the artist with an acute consciousness of what is at stake in the suspended work.

The completion issue
Another dimension of creative work is even less banal: How to stop working on a piece? According to Picasso's dictum, "the most difficult thing is to know when to stop".

The cue often comes from external constraints (a deadline for publication, an exhibition or performance on a particular date), and/or from the direct costs of prolonging the work— e.g., a delay in the release of a film can run up production costs, push back payment of personnel, and (less directly) adversely impact the image and reputation of the artist by preventing him from moving on to another film or to another job.

Yet a sort of optimization process is at stake, and one brushstroke more may result in overkill. Rational behavior means that 1) the effort and input devoted to bringing the work to full realization incurs a cost, and 2) that effort proceeds until marginal benefit equals marginal cost. So the calculus behind a series of choices is that the final units of value should not cost more than they are worth. Economists used to say that their most fundamental concept was "opportunity cost," i.e., whatever it is that we forego when we undertake some action. The last bit of time an artist devotes to a work could have been used in many ways: starting another work (that is perhaps more easy to complete than the one at hand), studying other artists' work for inspiration, and so on.

Thus to eschew thinking about choice is still make a choice, whether randomly or by default. Some well-known

idiosyncrasies of the artistic process act as self-protective devices against the time limit and the opportunity cost constraint, in order to preserve the intrinsically motivated dedication to invention. For example, the artist who resists making decisions at the margin and completing his work may derive satisfaction from the creative process itself. Then marginal cost turns into marginal benefit: the benefit does not diminish as the artist labors on, because the completion of the work forecloses possibilities that otherwise remain tantalizingly open. Taking advantage of the non-routine type of creative work can therefore ensure that the opportunity cost of time remains low enough. As Hirschman (1985) suggests, the less an activity is routine and utilitarian, the more uncertainty surrounding its accomplishment places the individual in an ambivalent situation. The tensions and difficulties inherent in a venture for which the chances of success are partially or wholly unpredictable are counterbalanced by the moments of elation that punctuate and sustain the activity: moments of anticipating pleasure in future accomplishment, and fleeting convictions of attaining success.

Work and Opportunity Costs of Time and Outcome
Concretely, how do we turn marginal cost into marginal benefit?

We can take advantage of the scraps of the working process and the overabundance of material produced. Picasso is known for his exceptionally prolific and versatile production: no "painter's cramp", no immobilizing perfectionism appears in his case. Yet one of the best known paintings by Picasso, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* underwent a completely different process of invention. For this painting, Pi-

casso made more than 400 studies, preparatory sketches, and drafts in various techniques (drawings, paintings). This is, according to William Rubin et al. (1995), is probably unique in art history: no painting has been subject to such an accumulation of preliminary trials and obsessive reworkings. Moreover, the final steps in the creative process led to an unexpected innovation that showed the influence of African art. Indeed, the painting consists of such an astonishing diversity of styles that Picasso's dealer Kahnweiler would consider the painting unfinished, a judgment Picasso readily endorsed.

Though extreme, that trial and error process is far from abnormal. Before the proliferation of research on creativity over the last forty years, many essays were written from the late 19th century on to provide a psychological characterization of creative imagination and of scientific inventive work. This research generally described the succession of conscious and infraconscious phases of creative work.

To mention Donald Campbell's influential model (1960), creative activities require the intensive accumulation of material, a mechanism generating variations in associations, combinations and recombinations of ideas, a selection process, and a mechanism to preserve and reproduce the variations selected. One can call "luck" the variability needed for this creative activity, and "intuition" the capacity to identify fruitful solutions. This is a way of pointing out, perhaps too conveniently, the unpredictable and emergent nature of the result. But this description resonates with researchers and artists' accounts, even if it results from introspections that are fairly difficult to verify. The French Nobel Prize biologist François Jacob spoke of "day science" and

"night science": infraconscious associative activity and intuition are the nocturnal side, while organized and rational work makes up the diurnal side.

What matters is the relationship and tension between the two forces, or between the two sides. Were it just a matter of accumulating material, the act of creation or invention would amount to the imitative recombination of existing solutions. But were creative work too closely associated with randomness, it would be out of the reach of any will or committed effort whatsoever: everything would happen by chance, as naïve understandings of genius or talent maintain.

The point to remember, in order to move the analysis to another level, is that a considerable disproportion exists between the quantity of what must be made available—accumulated knowledge, exploration time invested, trial and error, reviews, repetitions, rejections, starting again—and the selectiveness of the ultimate results of the process. Over-abundant trial and error in carrying out explorations with an uncertain outcome: such is the harsh economy and morality of endurance in creative pursuits.

My provisional conclusion at this point is: bringing to light the various scraps of the working process (sketches, proofs, unfinished works, failures, alternative takes and editings, etc.) has a crucial double role:

1) That of materializing the working process, even if only a tiny part of the whole range of the actual simulations and trials appears. By looking at the scraps we learn how the artist talks to himself, how intention works. "Intention" here is far from being a kind of efficient cause leading from a clearly viewed goal to a controlled process of creating the work by making the

decisions it requires. Intention might be better conceived as "a way to understand the thing done, of describing what happens" (Cavell, 1976:230).

2) Studies, drafts, sketches, outlines and other preparatory states of the most admired works are likely to give us access to versions of what could have been: they make available to us alternatives that enrich our knowledge and evaluation of what exists, and bring us closer to the creative act considered as a process incarnated in the structure of the work.

Completion *vs* unfinishedness

If we celebrate creativity through the work process and its potential failure, do we refer to creative impotence or do we pay homage to creative tension?

Non-completion has been long seen as a testimony of hardship and struggle in creative undertakings. The aesthetic potential of imperfect or defective creation was appreciated in the art of the Renaissance, where one could already find three ways of disarticulating and compromising the integrity of form: the "unfinished", the "fragment", the "hybrid" (Chastel, 1957). Yet the aesthetics of imperfection and the potential of defective creation was thematized and systematized in the course of the nineteenth century. As Gombrich writes somewhere, "the imperfection of perfection is a discovery of the 19th Century".

Baudelaire proposed to define artistic modernity through four criteria (Compagnon, 1989).

Unfinishedness: The unfinished is an anti-academic stance, a criticism of the polished character of academic painting. Recall that at the end of the eighteenth century, and more and more in the century to follow, sketches were re-evaluated: the sketch-like technique suppo-

sedly preserves the flow of spontaneity and inspiration and arouses a sense of unpredictable dialogue between reality and its representation.

Fragmentation is opposed to the enormous organic painting "machines" (history painting, and the like), where each detail had a minute functional location and a predictable signification.

Insignificance: this third criterion combines virtues of the first two. Baudelaire writes: "cut something into several pieces and each of them may well exist apart, attract interest and stand on its own". It is especially true for the noblest subject of classical painting, the human body, since the classical convention of harmonious composition was based on the human body's perfection as an organic whole.
Self-criticism: reflexivity and self-criticism are the new bases of the artist's behavior and world vision.

Taken together, these criteria help us to understand why modernism is so interested in the appraisal of the fragment, in the valuation of incompleteness; why modernist scholarship has been obsessed with reevaluating the early signs and manifestations of incompleteness; and also why modernism is also concerned with the positive appraisal of failure, considering trial and error as admirable signs of the artist's dedication to his painful work.

We might prefer to find a simple and unique generative principle for the creative activity faced with the impossibility of completion, or with the failure of the work to express its idea (of which it would only be a defective embodiment). So how can we think about the proliferation of works or attempted works without reducing them to the nothingness of creative impotence?

Our modernity can work both sides of the street here,

using both the absence and the abundance of the work to celebrate the artist's originality. In the modern era, the reality of the creative labor has been increasingly documented by artists, first in the visual arts, and then, especially since the nineteenth century, in literature and music, through the preservation and study of manuscripts, sketches, drafts, and revisions.

To describe the imperfect states it is necessary and sufficient to convert the movement toward the final state into so many evidences of creative tension. This is the diffusion or the halo effect of the value of originality.

The Business of Completion

Increasingly, experts and scholars, but also collectors, museum curators, and several types of cultural consumers have been interested in collecting the whole range of the greatest artists' creative material.

Sketch analysis, genetic criticism, scholarly controversies and studies on creativity in the arts and sciences focus exclusively on our cultural and scientific achievers. This gives to their failures and flawed productions a flavor of heroism and superhuman tenacity, since the end of the story is still that of their triumph. Previously, I mentioned that the optimization rule applying in the course of the working process might have a rather loose causal link with the value of the end result, as the evaluation of the result comes from outside (critics, experts, market, public opinion, and the like). Here the reappraisal of failure has the reverse characteristic: the reputation of the artist is a given, and an investigation wants to go deeper into the variability of the creative process, while still having the guarantee that this is real valuable stuff.

This can also be viewed as

attempt to overcome the 'scarcity limit'. In the visual arts, since museums and foundations have siphoned off more and more masterpieces from private collections and have "frozen" this artistic capital by drawing it off the market, scholars, curators and critics have been interested, each for their own reasons, and more often than not hand-in-hand with one another, in exploring what the storehouse of a great artist contained.

The envelopment of the artwork in the possible, but not realized, courses of its production and completion is connected with a probabilistic qualification of the creative act, and might be inscribed in an ontology of possible art worlds to which counterfactual investigations seem to provide access. To generate possible worlds in which a given work was more or less different, is one of the favorite and fascinating games we may play with the genetic material left by the artists and also with some quite intriguing unfinished works. The seductiveness of the ontology of possible art worlds must not be underestimated. The artist's intervention can be the object of an employment, because it acquires the dynamic properties of a shift into a space of choices and constraints, of decisions and revisions, whose detail cannot, *stricto sensu*, be represented, but whose contours and some of whose contents are visible and attest to a permanent mechanism of action and intervention.

One substantial class of questions in addressing sketches, drafts and earlier versions are those about the artists' criticisms of their own work and about the paths not taken. Another one is about the "significant others" implicated in the completion process: fellow artists, editors, publishers, collectors visiting an artist in his studio, critics elaborating on the artist' possible new creative directions, etc. And the post-completion process draws still many more "significant others" into the game: curators, restoration experts, scholars, and lay audiences. Take the case of Dickens' famous unfinished novel *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, that became a Broadway musical show in which incompleteness has been turned into a box-office draw, with the audience being invited to help choose an appropriate ending (Winter, 1991).

The increased value placed on creative work elicits a demand and a market. The seductiveness of projecting an artwork into an ontology of possible worlds has long been attested by the multiplication of exhibitions in which the presentation of artworks is accompanied by drafts, preliminary or unfinished versions, sketches, studies, revelations of pentimenti, and reworkings. Take as a most recent example the inaugural exhibition *Unfinished: Thoughts Left Visible* at the New MET Breuer Museum in Manhattan this year, which displays various states of unfinishedness and incompleteness.

My second example is quite fresh news. Technology now beats forgers and allows for sophisticated if not perfect extension of a major artist's œuvre. A new Rembrandt painting was unveiled April 5, 2016, in Amsterdam, not one made by the Dutch master and recently rediscovered or authenticated, but a Rembrandt-like painting created with 3D printers by a team of data analysts, developers, and art historians.

The Business of Completion in Music

In the classical music world, the repertoire phenomenon has tended to disadvantage contemporary music which, in turn, has been more and more radical and esoteric, nurtured by an avantgarde spirit that wished to break with an overadmired and overconsumed past. But once the musical sphere began to be dominated by performers who programmed the same masterpieces over and over again, a new game surfaced: performers began competing to establish new standards of interpretation, by bringing performance in line with artistic and cultural truth and fidelity to a great composer's historical situation, intentions, meanings, and the means at his disposal.

An enormous industry of musicological research and editorial production has been set in motion in order to go back to *Urtexts*, to historical authenticity, to genuine styles of interpretation, to period instruments and so on. Indeed, in the case of baroque compositions, we are left with scores amazingly bereft of interpretative instructions, so that innovative performers have felt entitled to claim an increasing co-creative expertise, by providing an infinite number of hypotheses for the reinterpretation of artworks and the reevaluation of their degree of stability.

Or take the case of operatic production and famous instances of versioning and unfinished works (operas by Verdi, Moussorgski, Puccini, Berg). In a study published in 2010, I showed that textual instability has been a powerful functional requirement of the performance process and its varying conditions, before receding as composers and editors gained control over the market distribution of their works (see Gossett, 2006; Parker, 2006). I then explored cases where famous works produced in different authorial versions due to deliberate revisions have given rise to numerous reshufflings, as stage directors, editors, conductors, performers and

musicologists felt increasingly entitled to refresh canonical works. Finally, I analysed the completion business in relation to famous unfinished works: this business gains legitimacy if it successfully turns the story of incomplete creative undertakings into an ongoing puzzle that remains to be solved over and over again.

Methodological Considerations

Two caveats must be mentioned regarding the obstacles and biases in the study of the artistic working process.

As for most historical studies on all kinds of highly competitive activities, the probability of knowing the work of the winners is much higher than knowing in detail the work of the less famous. Therefore, documentation is biased: "genetic" material stemming from the work process (drafts, sketches, etc.) has been primarily gathered, preserved and exploited for renowned artists. It is likely that a Pareto distribution applies here as elsewhere: 80% of working-process archives may concentrate on 20% or fewer of artists, namely those most celebrated.

That bias means that one essential part of the problem—the link between the work process and the value of the result—cannot be directly investigated. Maybe different types of work processes affect the value of results in rather complex ways that require unusual documentation to compare successful and unsuccessful artists; and perhaps one should not restrict the comparison only to the achievements versus failures of the geniuses, since a genius's failure is likely to be changed retroactively into a heroic success story.

Second, documentation of the creative process is often sparse and never sufficient to meet the ultimate dream of deciphering the machinery of creative invention. Picasso expected the following: "It would be very interesting to record photographically not the stages of a painting, but its metamorphoses. One would see perhaps by what course a mind finds its way toward the crystallization of its dream...". Will cognition scientists grant Picasso's request? The hope of deciphering the ultimate secret of invention and success in creative undertakings belongs to the kind of everlasting dreams whose fulfillment is self-contradictory.

A short conclusion

Does the study of creative work provide a marginal or significant contribution to the sociology of labor, work and employment? My answer is: Creative work is a more credible object and domain of investigation today. Yet there are countless far-fetched extrapolations to the future of work stemming from the 'creativity buzz'. A safer argument is, therefore, that creative undertakings have much to tell us about the multiple meanings of work.

The micro-macro link surfaces when one relates the introduction of my paper with the investigation of the creative process. The issue at hand is that of oversupply of work and workers with respect to the highly skewed distribution of visibility, of success and valued originality, and that of overabundance of material generated by the trial and error process in creative work. From the creative process and its inner workings to the unbalanced demographics of creative occupations, excess is pervading creativity (on the problem of excess, see Abbott, 2016). At least, this connection may suggest that excess is a functional device to face uncertainty.

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Comments on Pierre-Michel Menger's Paper
By Andrew Abbott, University of Chicago

To the reader: Space constraints have required that I cut this comment by 50%. Moreover, the original text was designed to be heard rather than read, and its breezy style was rooted in my long-standing personal friendship with Professor Menger. I have therefore written here a shortened exposition, making the same points without the bravura tone. Those who wish to read the original can find it on my website.

Professor Menger's empirical work is familiar to all those who study elite culture, and the present paper summarizes and extends important parts of that work. Nonetheless, as commenter it is my duty to raise questions. In actuality, one crucial question will occupy my attention: is there, in fact, any difference of kind between what Professor Menger is calling "creative" work and other kinds of symbolic work?

The text assumes throughout that there is such a difference. To use phrases like "creative undertakings" and "artistic work" is to mark such work as different: creative rather than routine, artistic rather than mundane. But symbolic products that we would today call "artistic" or "creative" have been produced by many societies that did not or do not have the category of creativity as it is deployed in this paper. The notion that "creative" work (as opposed to "routine" or "mundane" work) involves special modes of thought and experience, is a notion more or less invented in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There are of course precursor versions, but in the main this idea is created in the 18th and solidified in the 19th centuries.

Examples are familiar enough. Thus, we know that Mozart's widow made a living in part by selling manuscripts and assiduously cultivating the idea of a noble genius struck down in the prime of life. This image was of course already available in Goethe's *Sorrows of the Young Werther*, and this romantic image of Mozart would be used by writers like E. T. A. Hoffman to further the cult of the romantic, the special, the intensely emotional nature of artistic work. But Mozart himself did not think of his works as the masterpieces of a genius. He was a busy working musician, teaching students when he could get them, conducting performances, developing pieces, and often modifying existing pieces to deal with problematic situations. As for Mozart's supposed transcendent skills, many of the qualities of "genius" for which Mozart became well known in the nineteenth century were common skills of working musicians in the 18th century: memorizing music at a single hearing, writing whole pieces in their heads, and so on. Most of these men had been professional musicians since the age of seven or eight, first as singers, then later (when their voices changed) as keyboardists. It is little surprising that the best of them had what seem to us to be miraculous talents. But 18th century musicians did not think of themselves as special, as set apart, as "creative," in some sense. That idea was rather the creation of the nineteenth century and the edgy continuations of romanticism into modernism - via Carlyle, Hoffman, Baudelaire, and company - who retrospectively tried to make craft musicians like Mozart into the geniuses they imagined and wished themselves to be.

This nineteenth century idea of heroic creativity resurfaces from time to time throughout the paper. The list of great researchers into creativity is a list of nineteenth century figures. Valery's valorization of refusals and rejections is also nineteenth century ideology, encapsulated in his novel about an autonomous intellectual who after long silence and immense effort solves all the great problems of the spirit by hard solitary work, by pure reflection, by deep asceticism. A character further from the worldly Mozart or Handel cannot be imagined. Similarly, the focus on sketches and outlines in "creative undertakings" is also ideology. Artists have always done such things. But they have not venerated them. Veneration of sketches and of "the creative process" is more nineteenth century myth-making. The "perfect work" must involve agony, refusal to compromise, willingness to face hardship and poverty, etc. But in fact, as Harrison White and many others have shown, many painters of the 19th century "genius" period churned out canvases, just as Handel and his Baroque contemporaries had churned out music. Again, this is a matter of hard trained craft and obsessional work, not of genius.

The culmination of this 19th century view is the Gombrich quote: "The imperfection of perfection is a discovery of the 19th century." In fact this statement is precisely backwards. It was perfection that was the discovery - really the delusion - of the 19th century, and it was quite unsurprisingly followed by the banal discovery that the "perfect" works were actually imperfect. Of course they were. Before romanticism, everybody knew there was no such thing as the perfect artwork. Mozart knew quite well that his works were not perfect, in the modern sense of unalterable or unchangeable. He wrote new arias for various singers, lowered keys, and made other performance modifications, as did most of his contemporaries.

This idea of the perfect artwork was then anachronistically applied to earlier works. Leonardo's La Gioconda, Bach's St. Matthew Passion, Milton's "Paradise Lost," even the works of Shakespeare: all of these were works by creators who saw themselves as craft workers and extremely good ones at that, but who didn't have the notion that they were special people, geniuses of the Wagner or Valery type. But in the nineteenth century, these undoubtedly magnificent products of the era of craft art were relabeled - as touchstone canonical works of unutterable genius - by the interpreters feeding and indeed creating the cultural tastes of the new bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century. By contrast, the eighteenth century view of "Paradise Lost" is captured in Samuel Johnson's famous quip that "no one ever wished it longer." Johnson's contemporary David Garrick had no problem rewriting Shakespeare to suit the eighteenth century London theater audience.

So let us start from the premise that the whole idea of creativity as specialness is roughly 200 years old, and that this notion, which began in the arts, has been gradually been exported to many other realms, among them science and commercial life. Creativity has always existed. What is new is believing it to consist of special and set-apart practices. What we have to explain, then, is what "excellence in artistic production" would mean if it did not mean that there are special "creative" skills and practices. There are three possibilities.

The first alternative is that such excellence does not exist. There is no such thing as creative work, in the sense of a kind of work that is qualitatively different from other kinds of work. Yes, there are assembly-line work and similar forms of dominated, non-symbolic labor. But once we set them aside, all symbolic work is more or less the same: bricolage repair of the heating and electrical systems of an old house is really no different from making a sculpture; giving a patient a diagnosis and a prognosis is no different from writing a pre-

lude for piano; writing a commentary speech like this one is not qualitatively different from writing *Moby Dick*. The scale may be different, but the nature of the work is not. That is, we could restate this insight by arguing that in some fractal sense, all these activities are the same. They have the same pieces and parts, they go together in the same order. They differ merely in degree. Such an argument has the processual virtue of making early education into the foundation of later work, as well as the moral virtue of connecting people at different levels of society instead of separating them into demigods and peasants.

A second alternative account of excellence is structural rather than substantive. The reason there are great artists is not genius but rather the fact that audiences and patrons imagine or impose status hierarchies, and that the mere existence of a status hierarchy entails the existence of people who will be at the top. This truth obtains about all kinds of status systems. There's no reason to think Bill Gates a genius; rather, he was given a government-protected monopoly and needed only to know how to avoid destroying that gift. Similarly, the mere probabilities imply that in every football season there will be a few undefeated teams. Are they undefeated because of brilliant coaching or simply because probability declares it? Similarly, each year 50% of universities have losing football records, but this does not mean that half the coaches are bad. Moreover, social hierarchies can emerge not just on probabilistic but also on information-theoretic grounds, because hierarchy handles overload. Sociologists read only Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, although there are dozens of other fine social thinkers. We can't possibly read everyone, so a few have to be chosen, and for various random reasons, these are the winners.

Whether we take the pure structure or the excess reduction theory of hierarchies, both imply that mere structure means there will be people at the top. We cannot infer from the quality of "being at the top" that those people at the top have any special gift. There may be no foundation for the concept of genius or creativity at all. I should note, too, that there is no non-arbitrary statistical approach that can definitively resolve this problem, because of the algebraic dependencies involved.

A third family of alternatives to Professor Menger's argument grows out of Dan Chambliss's brilliant article on the mundanity of excellence. Working with world class swimmers, Chambliss showed that such swimmers are simply excellent craft workers. World-class swimmers simply practice a little harder and a little longer, their bodies happen to fit the task a little better, they focus their energies with particular insistence on the one

task of winning swimming races. They are not unusual or special people. They are not the physical equivalents of geniuses. They are hardworking craftspeople who have the right bodies to do exactly what they are obsessively dedicated to doing.

The classical music world of the 17th, 18th, and even (the craft portion of the) 19th centuries is evidence for the power of Chambliss's argument. The amount and quality of the music composed in those craft centuries is enormous, and the average level of composition and performance was extraordinarily high. Yet no one believed in supramundane genius or talent. Mozart was amazing, but still a craftsman. John Sebastian Bach wrote cantatas like a machine, producing an amount of music unimaginable to the modern "genius" composer, and nearly all of it of a complexity that no modern composer would dare attempt. But he didn't think he was a genius. The same is true for many painters with their ateliers and students. (Painters perhaps cultivated the genius idea more. And in literature, it is true, the craft period was not so obviously productive, although poetry could be argued to have had a strong showing. Interestingly, though, while many great fiction writers of the nineteenth century chose to publish very little, craft-like production on a giant scale was the medium of Balzac, Dickens, Trollope, and dozens of others, achieving true assembly line character in the writing of Dumas-père. Literature in the 19th century seems to show a real choice between the craft writers aiming for quantity and the more self-conscious great artists following the genius model, like George Eliot and Flaubert.)

All that said, on the mundanity argument there is no massive gulf between the Salieris and the Mozarts. They are all basically alike. What differentiates them are really only minor talents, slightly more obsessional practice, and perhaps a more close-minded commitment. The narrowness of the room at the top then selects only the few, just as the wall-touch identifies the winner of the swimming race. Again, there is no need to theorize special conditions or practices of creativity. All symbolic work is more or less the same, and while some of that work ends up being pretty pedestrian, much of it is excellent. But only the very best has enough difference to be noticeably superior. Overall, it's just another normal distribution.

Note that in both the structural and the mundanity approach (but not in the simple fractal theory), the driving force in the appearance of "genius" (where no genius really exists) is the audience or the patron, via the medium of a hierarchy that is external. Yet we have only one theory for that hierarchy to this point (reduction of excess information). Another source could be competition among patrons for art works. A system of invidious comparison between patrons requires invidious comparison between creators if it is to function effectively. (Although from a Veblenian point of view supporting completely *unsuccessful* creative workers is better than supporting people who amount to something, because it is more wasteful.) Rankings could also be driven by sheer capitalism. This is the case in fashion, which requires perpetual novelty in order to generate perpetual sales, and hence evinces an extremely regular "novelty" or "creative" process that is actually a three to five year negative autoregression whereby wide legs succeed skinny jeans which succeeded stovepipes which succeeded body hugging designer jeans, etc. There is nothing creative in such a process at all. (One can even predict which decade will provide the current versions of retro-fashion.)

These facts imply that a full consideration of creativity must consider the dynamics among consumers of created objects, even though it is part of the nineteenth century genius-fiction to say that consumption doesn't matter. But "consumption doesn't matter" only when, as in the present moment, there is general purpose funding for "creativity," provided by the state, by granting agencies, and so on. Artists under the discipline of real markets behave quite differently - they produce what the market calls for - as did Shakespeare, Handel, and Mozart in their day. The death of classical music in the twentieth century can obviously be attributed to genius music that became meaningful only to musicians.

I would like to close with two minor comments. First, even on the (erroneous) assumption that creativity as a special thing exists, we must distinguish between different time horizons of creativity. What we call "real innovation" is actually innovation that is meaningful at the century-long level. But many of Professor Menger's empirical analyses bear on much shorter periods. Similarly, the hotshot sociologists on the beginning job market each year are almost never the people who become major figures later. This happens because hotshots on the beginning academic market are maximized for "creativity" only at a very low, short-term level: excellence at producing mechanical work in some standard tradition. Scholars who become major figures at midlife are optimized on a longer time horizon and will not have looked hot at first job time. They had real ideas and complex notions, and so do not fit into the hotshot model. And the midlife leaders - the highly cited people in any given decade - disappear in the longer run, as I have been surprised to discover in recent empirical work. They are extremely eminent in their time, because their "creativity" was optimized at the

decadal rhythm of the discipline. By contrast, those who will be defined as creative in the long run are those who happen to have been in tune with wherever posterity happens to have arrived later on. This could be because those earlier people were actually great, or, again, it could be because of chance. But we do know that precursors are defined in terms of later rules, not earlier ones. A few major figures will be narratable in later times because they were, in terms of later ideals, so cosmically wrong - Talcott Parsons and Herbert Spencer get that treatment in sociology today. But most of the "classic and canonical figures" will be whoever are the most plausible precursors of the views favored by the later historians. In short, observed "creativity" of whatever kind has changing criteria and changing time horizons.

Let me close with a minor comment about "the business of completion." There are many reasons for failing to complete a work, and one of them, to be sure, is that the creative process is satisfying in itself, as Professor Menger notes. But another crucial reason for leaving things unfinished is the fear that the work will not be as great as one hopes. We see this in many dissertation students, who take forever trying to make a dissertation perfect, when they should simply finish it and try to do better next time. Many of us behave the same way. Perhaps we think an unfinished masterpiece is better in the mind than a finished mediocrity in print.

And so I am struck that Professor Menger sees lack of success as exogenous but unfinishedness as endogenous. Under "genius" definitions of art, what artist cares about external success? Only the genius can know his own success or failure. After all, Paul Dukas burned almost his entire oeuvre just before death because he found it not good enough. But before the genius era, things were quite different. And so perhaps we should get back to the craft approach ASAP. George Frederick Handel was walking through the Vauxhall Gardens one day, and his companion remarked that the music they were hearing was utter trash. "Yes," said Handel, "I thought so myself when I wrote it." Handel may have taken only three weeks to write the 52 pieces that make up the most performed single piece of choral music in the entire western repertoire, but he did not think of himself as a genius - just a great craftsman. And for those who still cannot forego the lure of genius, there is always the wise remark of craftsman Richard Strauss, deep in the epoch of genius: "I am not a first-rate composer," Strauss said, "but I am a first-class second-rate composer."

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Response to Andrew Abbott's Comments

By Pierre-Michel Menger

Professor Andrew Abbott raises many core questions about my piece. I am grateful for this opportunity to supplement my presentation. Actually, with the exception of the historically contingent treatment of creative achievement as the product of a 'genius', all of the points Professor Abbott raises have been extensively addressed in my book. I will briefly offer my replies and invite readers interested in the complete exposition of my theorization of creativity to delve into my *Economics of Creativity*. The book deals mainly with art and, when needed, extends to scientific research: those are the core creative worlds my presentation also deals with.

Andrew Abbott's reasoning is built on a series of counterfactuals. First, what if creative work weren't domain-specific? Time and again, proponents of that view claim that the arts and sciences misguidedly self-heroize. After all, so says the downplaying argument, the craftsman (Sennett, 2008) or the motorcycle repairer (Crawford, 2009) are no less creative. Yet they are indifferent to competition and prone to embracing a communitarian way of life and exchange. Is the difference a matter of degree, not of nature? The objection misses a core dimension. Distinctions such as those between instrumental and expressive work, or routine and non-routine work, can be found in extremely diverse theoretical traditions (Aristotle, Hegel, Marx, Weber, Parsons, Arendt, Hughes, Hirschman, Stinchcombe), not to mention the now popular issue of "job polarization" addressed by an influential economic literature since the late 1990s.

At the heart of that distinction lie the components of variability and uncertainty of the working process and their end results.[1] Labor whose outcome is predictable needs mainly skills and effort to be performed normally. Predictability goes along with a Gaussian profile of performance. By contrast, in certain activities, the outcome is essentially unpredictable and its value is uncertain. Creative activities involve the development of novel products, ideas, or problem solving whose value, when recognized by peer, consumer or market evaluations, can obtain enormous symbolic and/or monetary significance. Uncertainty in them is twofold: extrinsic, in reference to comparisons and ratings by peers, consumers and

market evaluations; and intrinsic, in reference to the non-routine, trial-and-error and learning-by-doing content of the working process.

If art were an easily programmable activity, work would be determined by a clear specification of the problems to be solved, by precise instructions that must be respected, by knowledge to be implemented without difficulty, by well-defined rules of choice. And it would be easy to evaluate, because the result could be judged by whether it met the goals clearly specified at the beginning. In contrast, uncertainty about goals and processes acts precisely as a precondition for originality and invention, and for more long-range innovation. It is characteristic of activities that are not very routine (art being paradigmatic) that they provide individual satisfaction and social esteem proportionate to the degree of uncertainty about success. The latter is both necessary to the satisfaction derived from creating, and a challenge to be endured.

To reduce the non-routine to a variant of routine work leaves key characteristics of the working process and labor market mechanisms in creative activities and their organizational features unexplained. These include the excess supply of work and workers, the use of tournament-like competitions, the management of uncertainty by means of job diversification and multitasking, or the attractiveness of occupations governed by Pareto-like distribution of visibility, esteem and monetary rewards.

Next, what if successful performance were only a matter of effort, perseverance and motivation? The view of 'deliberate practice' (DP) as the only determinant of expert performance (the Chambliss argument in Abbott's discussion), is a familiar way to debunk the mythology of gift and genius and offer a definitive answer to whether nature or nurture is the ultimate constraint on elite performance. Yet, the DP argument explains only a small part of the variance in performance, as shown in various meta-analyses (e.g. Macnamara, Hambrick Oswald, 2014). Moreover, the percentage of variance explained varies significantly across domains of practice and is typically smallest for activities low in predictability of their task environment. Actually, the opposite view, that ascribes the essential part of exceptional achievement to the causal role of a mysterious factor such as talent, is similarly flawed as long as it ignores the multidimensional combination of characteristics 'talent' is the name for. We can list a number of them, the role and hierarchy of which varies according to the domain and activity under consideration. But it is the combination of the various types of qualities and capacities that matters, and there is no detectable formula for the exact dosage that might produce an optimal combination. Otherwise, success might be easy to predict. The log-normal distribution of visibility and success that is commonly observed in the arts and sciences can be better understood as the result of the interaction of numerous independent factors, each of which may be distributed normally. Yet, because they must be combined, they determine individual performance in a multiplicative rather than in an additive way. In other words, a set of normal causes, by composition, produces unusual results. The resulting distribution tends towards a log-normal distribution profile as the number of factors involved increases. And the less routine the tasks required are, the greater the number of factors involved in their execution will be.

Note that the list of these factors (abilities, personality traits, and skills) is not a simple standard nomenclature of capacities that must necessarily be possessed in normal or more-than-normal quantities. In fact some of these qualities are revealed or formed only gradually, through accumulation of experience and through on-the-job learning. It is therefore absurd to start with the assumption of differences between individuals that one might consider *a priori*, as in the naïve assumption that genius is offered by Dame Nature to the world. But it is also misleading to invoke, as an alternative explanation, **only** omnipotent social forces, chance, or external constraints; or to assume that individuals are endowed with exactly the same combination of abilities, and that their performance is highly unequal only because of a set of forces beyond their control (patrons, powerful market agents, the manipulation of consumer preferences, etc.). The multiplicative nature of the production function in creative undertakings is precisely what makes its process uncertain (non-routine, subject to failures and discontinuities) and what makes the early detection of "talented" workers uncertain.

In fact, the model that concludes the central chapter of my 2014 book (p. 229-233) may provide answers to the counterfactual reasoning Andrew Abbott adopts to do away with the substantive value of creativity. My model has four components.

First, there are differences in the quality of individuals when it comes to performing activities that generate hierarchical rankings and segmentations by status. The magnitude of those differences cannot be determined with precision, they may be tiny or large, but their existence is revealed by relative comparison, however imperfect comparative

judgments may be.

Second, the incomplete observability of differences in quality serves a major function. It creates a veil of ignorance, thereby allowing a high number of would-be artists to nourish the hope of making a career in the invention and creation occupations, despite the iron law symbolized by the sharply asymmetrical Pareto distribution of chances of success. Each candidate will assume that success is the result of a combination of work factors, chance and intrinsic aptitude. The benefit of this indeterminacy for the individual lies in what she may acquire through the experience of on-the-job learning.

Third, we may infer the quality of an individual from the attention she is able to get. This is a way to deal with the overflow of information under unlimited differentiation of production, and also a signal transmitted to others that can rapidly provoke bandwagon effect. As a result, the status conferred on the person that is most successful concentrates attention on him, and in turn provides him with a disproportionate cumulative advantage.

Fourth, the multiple and incessant evaluative judgments, on the basis of which reputation hierarchies are constructed, act as structuring forces that segment a professional milieu whose activities do not fit in a stable organizational mold. Gaps in talent that may be initially fairly small, or at the very least of uncertain importance with regard to future success, are rapidly increased by the game of assortative matching—and this, due to the multiplicative effect this game has on the expression of the individual qualities of collaborators, and to the authority it bestows on those who co-opt each other for their creative projects.

This dynamic reasoning helps to move away from the static refutation of inequalities in inventiveness based on individual differences in talent or ability.

My final comment is about Professor Abbott's many warnings against a fallacious atemporal treatment of creative work. He is right to invoke history to emphasize the long-term variability in the way artists work; who could object? Yes, composers' productivity slowed when careers and competition became increasingly based on the rule of originality and relentless differentiation (Menger, 2009). Yet this is not to say that composers acted like silkworms, to quote Marx's far-fetched analogy, before a new, Romantic regime of invention took place. Long before that era, artists certainly had already multiple creative strategies: Bach's Goldberg Variations are not just like another of those cantatas he was committed to produce and perform Sunday after Sunday in Leipzig. The history of creative practices in the arts cannot be reduced to the shallow distinction between ancient times experiencing nothing other than craftsmanlike artistic work and modernity starting from the late eighteenth century with its whole apparatus of celebration of god-like heroes. Among countless examples, let me mention Warnke's essay on the court artist (1993). Warnke shows how the organization of artistic life differed widely between courts, where artistic careers were based on reputation, unrestricted competition and national and international mobility, and cities, where guilds ruled the game and commissions were minutely specified. In music, the identification of famous composers with geniuses dates back at least to the sixteenth century (Lowinsky,1964; Young, 2014). And art historians have studied the major contribution of scholarly circles to the formation of the theory of artistic genius in the Early Renaissance extensively (Chastel, 1954).

A conclusion emerges: there is no clear-cut succession of homogeneous regimes of creative work, leading from craft, to court, to the market organization of production. A high level of reputation has always been strongly correlated with the ability to break the rules, or at least to mitigate the organizational constraints imposed on one's creative endeavor.

[1] In a suggestive analysis, Arthur Stinchcombe (1968: 263) ranked the structures of activity according to the degree of variability of the factors that directly determine their constituent properties. The outcome of an activity is uncertain when "(a) causal variables affecting the outcome of action have high variance; (b) we cannot . . . predict the value of the causal variable which will have influence; and (c) we cannot cut the causal connection between this variable and the outcome". By characterizing determining factors in terms of their variance, we can map activities along an axis running from the most standardized and repetitive to the least routine, based on whether the determinants of action have low or high variance. Artistic creation and scientific research, but also less prestigious activities such as advertising, gambling, fighting, sports, and the stock market, figure among the least routine of human enterprises, and their outcome is imperfectly predictable. As Stinchcombe observes, this explains the very frequent recourse to superstition, divining practices, or magic—all presumed to force the hand of chance and to reduce uncertainty. The values of inspiration, giftedness, genius, intuition, and creativity, which are more acceptable in the culturally sophisticated spheres of artistic and intellectual creation, actually do no more than transpose onto the individual and his intrinsic qualities this faith in magical and supernatural powers for the control of uncertainty.

A Field Guide to Materiality for Cultural Sociologists

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Materiality is an exciting area of cultural analysis right now, but it is a bit hard to get into because much of the work in this field is not widely read by cultural sociologists and/or appears in fields outside of cultural sociology (i.e., science studies or anthropology). Two years ago, Terry reached out to scholars of materiality to "nominate five books or articles" for a graduate seminar on "Cultural Objects and Materiality." The resulting course syllabus and bibliography are here:

Syllabus: https://goo.gl/aZMZdG

Bibliography: https://goo.gl/azP04m

Based on this bibliography, we've compiled a "field guide" for those interested in reading up on this area. We've done so by asking the next generation of materiality scholars to pick one paper from the broader bibliography and write a summary for cultural sociologists. Here at the trailhead of your path into the material world, grab your machetes, headlamp, and binoculars, and confidently explore with our trusty guide eight "must-reads" (presented in chronological order).

Before we send you off on your journey, let us offer you some perspective on what sociologists' attention to materiality can bring to studies of culture. At the heart of this question are long-standing debates about what culture means and how to study it. On the one hand, materiality revisits and reinvigorates key debates in cultural sociology, among them the question of measuring culture and of the ostensibly absent object in the sociology of art. On the other, materiality—much like culture—is constitutive, offering not just an empirical variable to identify but also an analytical perspective. Importantly, the question of how objects mediate social action and interpretation spans across, and can foster dialogue among, subfields. Along these lines, it bears note that several sources on our bibliography cite science studies scholars' longstanding attention to the material contingencies of scientific systems, work, and knowledge, which Chandra Mukerji argued as early as 1994 should be a theoretical touchstone for cultural sociologists.

Without taking a position in these debates, this guide points cultural sociologists to important key questions about materiality, thereby illuminating the diversity of perspectives on the topic. Does cultural sociology rely too heavily on a subject/object divide (Cerulo 2009; Latour 1992)? And are cultural theories too representationalist (Barad 2003) or are our semiotic theories too cultural (Domínguez Rubio 2015)? These readings suggest we need to incorporate objects, their intentions, and their affordances into our theories of culture in action (DeNora 2000; Gell 1998; Latour 1992). They show that the material qualities of objects shape processes of meaning-making (McDonnell 2010) and interpretation within diverse knowledge communities (Knorr-Cetina 1999). They suggest we need to better account for the power of aesthetics and iconicity (Bartmanski and Alexander 2012; Wohl; 2015; Zubrzycki 2013) and the built environment (Gieryn 2002; Mukerji 2009; Griswold, Mangione, and McDonnell 2013; Bartram 2015) in theorizing what things can "do" to people. These effects are mediated by how people's perceptual capacities interact with the material world (Mangione 2016; Klett 2014; Rose-Greenland 2016). Objects are often seen as ways to make social life durable, but this research suggests objects are destabilizing: inherently open to cultural entropy and change (McDonnell 2016), and in need of cultural "repair" (Domínguez Rubio 2014 and 2015).

We hope you find this field guide useful. It is necessarily incomplete, so please let us know if there is something we should add to the bibliography. Additionally, if you'd like to have your name added to the material culture research network email list please send a note to terence.e.mcdonnell@nd.edu.

Fernando Domínguez Rubio (University of California, San Diego) on Latour's "Where are the Missing Masses?"

What do door-closers, seat belts, speed-bumps and hotel keys have to do with morality? Quite a bit. For Latour (1992), morality is not just "beliefs", "values", "interests", "cognitive schemes", or "habitus", but a matter of *things*—those forgettable objects that silently pattern our lives and choices, like that speed-bump which forces you to slow down even if you do not want to, or that automatic door which closes without you intending it. These objects are "the hidden and despised social masses who make up our morality." What vocabularies do we need to capture the specific ways these objects intervene into the patterning of social life? Rather than following the usual path of describing objects as simple "means", "tools", or "resistances," Latour opens up a different way of talking (and thinking) about them. Objects do not act like human actors. They are "actants" (non-human agents), which work as "delegates" constantly "translating" the "programs of action" we "inscribe" in them, and which create "shifts" and "displacement" that give rise to "counter-programs" and courses of action. Whether this is the best way to characterize the social action of objects is debatable, but it attempts to address the fact that our lives are not simply held together by networks of humans relations, but also by door-closers, seat belts, speed-bumps, and hotel keys.

Fiona Rose-Greenland (University of Chicago) on Gell's *Art and Agency*

Alfred Gell was a British anthropologist who died in 1997, at the height of his intellectual powers. *Art and Agency* (1998) was his last book, published posthumously, and it offers a radical revision of the anthropology of art. The key achievement is a robust theoretical approach in which artworks are active participants in social relations. Agency, or doing, is here developed as a process involving indexes and effects in which material objects motivate responses or interpretations. This point alone would earn the author his reputation for genius. *Art and Agency,* however, offers a further idea that can greatly enrich the study of materiality. Style, Gell argues, is absolutely integral to the active meaning of works. The key is the perceptual mode, whereby viewers deal with multiple "distributed objects" at once by linking them stylistically. Artworks are in relationship to each other; as Gell puts it, they "do not do their cognitive work in isolation" but rather "cooperate synergically with one another." Gell moved away from semiosis as the dominant interpretive tool for the study of art, and insisted instead that observing people making and using art reveals with better clarity what artworks mean and what they do.

Gemma Mangione (Northwestern University) on DeNora's *Music in Everyday Life*

Music, Tia DeNora (2000) writes, "is not about life but is rather implicated in the formulation of life; it is something that gets into action, something that is a formative, albeit often unrecognized, resource of social agency" (152-3). DeNora's *Music in Everyday Life* asks scholars to consider not only how music is produced, or how people interpret it, but instead how people *use* it and thus how it mediates lived experience. She does so by bringing together a diverse range of literatures in psychology, sociology, and linguistics, and considering ethnographic research on cases including music therapy sessions, aerobics, and how people select their "background music." Throughout her analysis, she maintains that music does not simply "act upon" individuals but rather that its agency is assigned through interactions that in turn order the self, the body, organizational behavior, and institutional relations. Ultimately, in positioning music as grounded in practice and constitutive of action, DeNora argues more broadly that the aesthetic organization of social life is a fundamental concern for theorists of culture.

Robin Bartram (Northwestern University) on Gieryn's "What Buildings Do."

What do buildings do? Gieryn (2002) tackles this question by describing how buildings – their floors, walls, doors, and corridors – give structure and durability to social institutions, networks, and behaviors. But people do stuff too; and Gieryn argues that the potential for buildings to "do" anything depends as much on their users as material form. The article reviews theoretical frameworks that capture the rigidity and the flexibility of buildings, and concludes with an empirical discussion of the design, reconfiguration, and use of a science building. Gieryn prompts sociologists to consider broad theories alongside object-specific examples of what material things "do." He draws our attention to different kinds of material power, insisting that the ability for buildings to reinforce social relations depends on more than their immediate material affordances, yet still hinges on their materiality. Buildings are adept at concealing the politics and interests that shaped their design and construction because they appear relatively concrete. This argument prompts questions about how buildings differ from other material objects in what they "do." Are

buildings more powerful than other objects? How do different construction materials matter? Gieryn's article renders such particular, materiality-minded questions pertinent for understanding the reproduction of any social relations.

Terence E. McDonnell (University of Notre Dame) on Mukerji's *Impossible Engineering*
Mukerji's tour-de-force *Impossible Engineering* (2009) uses the case of the construction of the Canal du Midi to explore collective intelligence, the rise of impersonal rule, and the making manifest of France as the New Rome. The Canal is a monumental reshaping of the material world and served both as a symbol of state power and a path to state power as the control over land was wrested from local nobles and put under control of the state. Mukerji's contribution to work on materiality here is dual. First, she carefully accounts for how water and land resisted systematic planning, requiring constant experimentation and solutions grounded in the tacit knowledge of local (often women) engineers, surveyors, and artisans. In this way, nature drew together the cooperation of diverse people to design and maintain the canal. Second, by demonstrating the state's control over nature, Mukerji suggests "the brute face of things *did* make a difference" (176) in reshaping political regimes under Louis XIV. Throughout the construction of the Canal du Midi, this shaping of the material world required a depersonalized knowledge that undermined patrimonial politics. This depersonalization established and showcased the power of an impersonal rule, taking authority away from people like local nobles and putting it in material techniques.

Joseph Klett (UC Santa Cruz) on McDonnell's "Cultural Objects as Objects."
McDonnell's 2010 article in AJS provides a theory of how people make meaning in routine encounters with material culture. The argument goes: the materials that we experience as nominal objects "afford" a delimited range of interpretations based in whether and how we perceive and pay attention to those materials. To provide a template for analysis, McDonnell theorizes "object settings" as the frames in which people encounter material culture, both as local situations for interaction and as global contexts for interpretation. Object settings not only affect whether or not we perceive physical phenomena; they also provide a framework within which to interpret that phenomena. The concept of object settings allows cultural sociologists to study how meaning is made from material when that material is decomposing, distorted, or otherwise encountered in less than ideal conditions. This is important because absolutely no encounter with material culture is ideal: there are always bodily practices, perceptual habits, and the social environment of the actor that intervene in the process. In this regard, the process of perception is not a binary, on/off state of reception. Rather, the meaning we perceive emerges through practical arrangements of materials and actors seeking meaning in those materials.

Anne-Marie Champagne (Yale University) on Auslander's "Material Culture and Materiality."
Auslander's (2012) article is an ambitious undertaking of conceptual boundary work, making it a useful text for anyone interested in studying materiality and meaning-making from a social perspective. The chapter's disciplinary contribution derives from Auslander's description of material culture as a "touchable object produced by human beings that exists in time and space" (p. 354), a designation she uses to delimit the programmatic boundaries of material culture studies. This narrow definition, which emphasizes the senses of touch and taste, and privileges the productions of *homo faber* over those of the natural world, excludes, among other cultural goods, music, film and the digital arts. Auslander's conceptual winnowing, far from detracting from the epistemological value of her argument, fortifies it. By anchoring the concept 'material culture' to a specific research agenda and she thereby provides readers a theoretical framework from which to step beyond the range of material cultural production to explore materiality's cultural generativity. "Material Culture and Materiality" cuts a neat intellectual line through a dense interdisciplinary forest, thus opening a critical pathway to further inquiry and debate.

Hannah Wohl (Northwestern University) on Zubrzycki's "Aesthetic Revolt and the Remaking of National Identity in Québec, 1960–1969."
Using archival and ethnographic data to examine the use of the image of Saint John the Baptist in parades and protests in Québec, Zubrzycki (2013) reveals how the reworking of this national symbol allowed the Québécois to envision and communicate a new national identity. Zubrzycki analyzes five elements of cultural objects and social life – social context, content, form, discourse, and public performance. She focuses on these elements in order to explore a particularly dramatic event in which protesters overturned and decapitated a papier-mâché float of Saint John the Baptist during a major parade. The public widely interpreted images of this protest, disseminated and

discussed by the media, as a symbolic killing of a weakened saint, fueling the emergence of a secularized national identity. This case illustrates Zubrzycki's concept of "aesthetic revolt," the process of reworking iconic symbols that results in reformulated national identities. While cultural sociologists often explore materiality within cultural fields, Zubrzycki brings the study of materiality to the political sphere, showing how individuals craft their national identities by manipulating material symbols. Moreover, Zubrzycki articulates the relationship between the material forms and meanings of objects by revealing how individuals alter perceived meanings by reshaping material forms.

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"Resource Curse" and Cultural Artifacts: Is There a Link?
Essay by Fiona Rose-Greenland
(University of Chicago, Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society)

The ongoing conflict in Syria and Iraq has generated a good deal of interest in the role of cultural objects. While the self-proclaimed Islamic State in Iraq and Syria ("ISIS") has carried out spectacular and devastating destructions of ancient monuments and art works, the group has also apparently been protecting archaeological artifacts ("antiquities") for profit. Depending on whom you ask, ISIS has made several million or several billion US dollars from antiquities. The order of magnitude discrepancy is explained in part by the inherent difficulty in studying illicit markets. Looters, traffickers, middlemen, and dealers take great care to hide their transactions, leaving researchers and policymakers with patchy data at best. This is the challenge that my University of Chicago research team is tackling. In order to get a more reliable estimate of the hypothetical market value of looted antiquities, we are examining such problems as market demand for types of objects, the conditions that give rise to mass looting and smuggling, and the overlap of licit and illicit practices within the antiquities trade. There is, in short, a strongly sociological aspect to this area of study.

In this essay I want to focus on a specific issue connected with cultural objects and conflict: Are antiquities generative of a "political resource curse"? With this term, I adopt the definition provided by political scientist Michael Ross: "the adverse effects of a country's natural resource wealth on its economic, social, or political well-being" (Ross 2015: 240). This idea has been analyzed in relation to oil and natural gas, agricultural products, and minerals. Only one type of resource, petroleum, has sufficiently robust evidence to be linked with resource curse (manifest in government corruption, violence, and authoritarian rule). Scholars haven't yet looked at cultural goods in this framework, but there is good reason to put antiquities to the test. Not just in the current Middle East conflict but also in several prior political upheavals did antiquities feature prominently as a suspected source of income for insurgents and rogue individuals: the 2003 Iraq war, the 2011 civil unrest in Egypt, and the deadly rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria in 2012. In each case antiquities were stolen from museums and archaeology sites, and sold (or attempted to be sold) on the global market. Setting aside for the moment the social and political differences across these cases, let us consider how we might provide a sociological framework for addressing the possibility that antiquities are linked with a resource curse. It is an important question with potentially powerful implications for the ways we think about culture, conflict, and global trade.

First we have to reframe antiquities as a natural resource or raw commodity rather than cultivated, priceless goods (as heritage objects are often seen). Antiquities are a resource in at least three respects: economic, epistemic, and symbolic. Sociologists have productively mined the latter two for insights into such sociological phenomena as collective memory and state formation. For example, Yael Zerubavel has shown how "Antiquity" was seen by early Zionists as the golden age of Israel, the essence of the national spirit and the period to which they harked back to recover their roots. In Israel, the idea of Antiquity is instantiated in the ruins, artifacts, and inscriptions the era produced (Zerubavel 1995). Looking at 17th century France, Chandra Mukerji revealed the complex relationship between the official court imagery of Louis XIV and Roman antiquities. The Sun King wished to set up his own New Rome, with the express objective of displacing Italy as the seat of the arts in Europe. In order to achieve this, the king initially sought (occasionally with success) to procure original marble statues of emperors and mythical figures from the Greco-Roman pantheon. Zerubavel and Mukerji remind us that in order to understand antiquities as a socio-political resource, we have to understand how they work: what people do with them, what they mean, how they are used for building memories, official stories, and symbols, scientific knowledge, and regimes, and when they fail as a resource for social action. While sociologists

Conference Report

"Inventing the New: Innovation in Creative Enterprises" (Northwestern University, April 8-9, 2016)

Hannah Wohl, Northwestern University

In April 2016, scholars from a diverse array of disciplines – including communication studies, sociology, media studies, art history, and law – shared their research at Northwestern University's Lambert Family Conference, "Inventing the New: Innovation in Creative Enterprises," organized by **Claudio Benzecry** and **Pablo Boczkowski**. The participants examined how actors, institutions, and objects interact in the creation, distribution, and consumption of new kinds of creative products, from video games to contemporary art.

Pierre-Michel Menger (Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and Collège de France) gave the keynote address, outlining several characteristics of creative work, including non-monetary and monetary motivations for work and the uncertainty of rewards from time spent on work. Menger suggested that examining variability and selection is key to understanding the creative process (See page 6, this issue). Specifically, he claimed that analyzing the "scraps" of the creative process, such as sketches and unfinished work, are privileged empirical entry-points into the creative process and key to accounting for the different possible outcomes of creative work. **Andrew Abbott** (Chicago) served as the respondent, provocatively contesting the reality of "creativity", arguing that creative work was one among many kinds of symbolic works, one to which the myth of creative genius had been applied. Abbott emphasized the primacy of structural analyses, claiming that ascriptions of talent derived from actors' positions in status hierarchies (see page 13; For Menger's response to Abbott see page 16).

The first panel, "What's New?" explored the production and dissemination of new kinds of creative works, technologies, and marketing practices. **Fred Turner** (Stanford University) examined the origins and ideals of the "Maker Movement," a community of do-it-yourself engineers, by analyzing the movement's foundational texts. Turner discovered that the movement's founders deployed ideologies of creative work by connecting discourses of American Romanticism and the Protestant Ethic with those of personal improvement. **Amanda Lotz** (Michigan) discussed how the transition to broadband distribution of television via portals, like Netflix, transformed the content, reception, and economics of television, revealing how changing industry norms generates new norms of creative production. **TL Taylor** (MIT) analyzed how video game live-steamers commercialize play as public entertainment by designing digital "sets," narrating games, and interacting with audiences. **Alex Fattal** (Penn State) explored branding as a mode of "affective governance" through the case of Columbia's efforts to demobilize the FARC. Fattal shows how Colombia's government uses advertisements that target both the mass public and guerilla fighters to produce affective desires for civilian and consumer lifestyles.
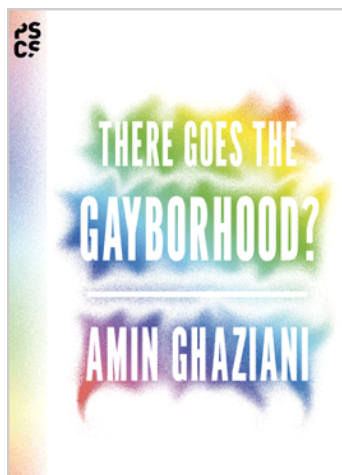
Panel two, "Geographies and Scales of Innovation," examined how place shapes the production and consumption of creative products as well as how creative products are distributed across space. **Larissa Buchholz** (Harvard) analyzed how the value and reputations of new creative works and their creators diffuse on a global scale, arguing that Bourdieu's field analysis must be broadened beyond national borders. Buchholz used the case of artist Gabriel Orozco to reveal that Orozco transcended his peripheral locale by drawing on eclectic artistic practices that translated internationally. **Jonathan Wynn** (U. Mass. Amherst) researched how music festivals shape musicians' touring maps, revealing that a "geography of genre" emerges as actors communicate about opportunities for shows, eventually solidifying well-trodden tour routes. **Mukti Khaire** (Harvard) focused on intermediaries in studying how markets are created for new categories of goods, showing how the Sundance Institute legitimated the value of independent films through narrative and discourse concerning cultural value.

Panel three, "Communities of Innovation," explored how creative producers interact to make new products. **Jessica Silbey** (Northeastern) examined how a variety of standards of "fair use" emerge within communities of creative producers and showed how these collective understandings influence processes of creative production. **Vanina Leschziner** (Toronto) drew from her research on elite chefs in New York and San Francisco to reflect on how various concerns, such as geographical location, status, and cost, shape chefs' dishes. Leschziner argued that scholars must attend

BOOK REVIEW

By Michael Connors Jackman, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Amin Ghaziani's *There Goes the Gayborhood?* takes on the question of whether and how queer residential and commercial areas are transforming in America. The book attempts to track the meaning of 'post-gay', a term bandied about in academic circles and in popular media to describe the supposed obsolescence of gay identity, its waning significance as a social marker of inequality and difference, and the formation of an identification amongst gays as being "ethnically straight" (44). Ghaziani discusses the contradictions of post-gay life as they are articulated by a variety of interviewees who live in Chicago. He also draws on journalistic and news media reports about the transformation of gayborhoods, as well as census data on the distribution and clustering of same-sex households across America, to map out popular explanations and justifications for such changes. He argues that, contrary to reactionary accounts which have predicted the inevitable death of the gayborhood, queer people's desire to live and socialize in proximity to other gays and lesbians remains a persistent force in the reshaping of existing gayborhoods and in the creation of new ones.

Though gayborhoods continue to serve as safe havens for those who come from small towns, queers of color, and transfolk who seek the safety and freedom that such neighborhoods provide, gay communities have long histories of hierarchical gendered and racial relations, in which women and queers of color often feel marginalized, excluded and invisible in spaces dominated by white middle-class gay men. This text is attentive to the exclusions inherent in the notions of collectivity used to produce and sustain older gayborhoods, but Ghaziani nonetheless expresses a desire for

the protection and commemoration of such spaces in the fight against cultural amnesia. In his view, "commemorative markers of racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual groups inspire their members to reflect, congregate, and celebrate their respective communities" (205). While this is one aspect of commemoration which works against the erasure of queer existence, such markers also hold the dangerous potential to reinscribe the forms of exclusion on which the originary collectivities were forged and extend them into the future.

The book's treatment of social transformation, however, does not fall into the trap of oversimplifying or idealizing the community structure that once existed, nor does the text conceive of the historic gayborhood as a fully realized entity now in the process of disaggregation and/or reformation. Instead, Ghaziani shows that there have always been multiple dimensions of gayborhood formation and reform. He describes the contemporary formation of reshuffled commercial and residential spaces as *cultural archipelagos*: multiple clusters of gay and lesbian populations that are emerging in urban, suburban, and rural areas (137).

While Ghaziani takes a broad and multi-stranded approach to his subject matter, he leaves several themes unexamined. The book's treatment of social media is notably brief and seems to downplay the influence of technology on when, where, and how queers socialize. There are several short sections in which the Internet is cited for its role in reshaping the contours of queer communities, but this line of inquiry is not pursued further and the author writes that he did not formally ask interviewees about the influence of the Internet in transforming gay residential spaces (126). The text connects the decline of bookstores to the rise of Amazon.com and other on-line retailers, and though it mentions Grindr's popularity, the everyday use of on-line media is largely absent from the analysis. Ghaziani rightfully rejects the explanation that Grindr is "the *cause* of gay bars closing and a waning sense of community" (58), but he does not take seriously the broad implications of Smartphone dating apps or their centrality to the

Questioning the "Crisis" of Journalism
By Elizabeth Butler Breese, Jeffrey C. Alexander, and María Luengo
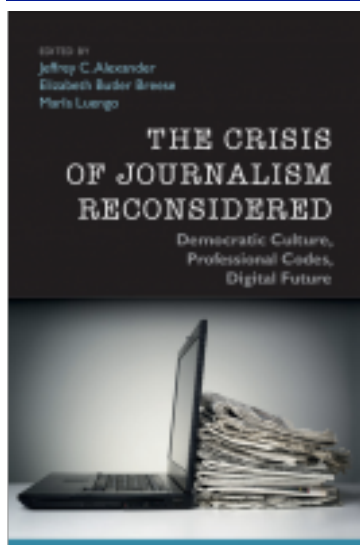
This summary was originally written by the book's editors for the Cambridge University Press blog. Book available here.

We've all seen the headlines. Newspapers are forced to downsize. Investigative news stories are fewer and farther between, while journalists produce "click-worthy" articles meant to perform well on news aggregation sites, Facebook, and Twitter. The crisis of journalism in the digital age has captured the interest and concern of communication scholars and sociologists.

Featuring new studies from scholars hailing from communication and journalism schools and sociology departments in the United States and Europe, *The Crisis of Journalism Reconsidered* brings a dramatically different perspective to bear on the "crisis." Most of the recent literature devoted to the crisis of journalism has been one-sidedly focused on technology and economics. Consequently, commentators weighing in on the crisis have been gloomy in their predictions for democratic, professional journalism in a digital future.

Through studies from different theoretical traditions and using various methodologies, contributors to the new volume argue the opposite. From rich ethnographic studies to surveys and close textual analysis, the authors uncover professional ideals and narratives that offer creative pathways to sustain professional journalism in new forms.

The Journalist in the 21st Century

Spotlight, winner of the 2016 Academy Award for Best Picture, tells the story of investigative journalists for the *Boston Globe* who investigate sexual abuse of children by Catholic priests, behaviors which were known to the church but never prosecuted. The film's portrayal of reporters' lives 15 years ago feels far in the past. *Spotlight* depicts the moment before Twitter and smartphones entered the newsroom and changed journalists' practices in ways several chapters of *The Crisis of Journalism Reconsidered* highlight.

Spotlight could make viewers nostalgic for a last, great moment of journalism. Yet, *The Crisis of Journalism Reconsidered* challenges us to see that the journalistic values that motivated Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein to investigate Watergate in the 1970s, and which animated the *Boston Globe* reporters in the early 2000s, are the same professional commitments that endure today. Indeed, the professional commitments of journalism give vocabulary and moral weight to reporters' responses to new technologies and financial realities.

Journalists today are committed to objectivity: to rendering the news of the day free from bias. And journalists strive to produce news stories with depth; the profession still celebrates journalists who do. As studies in *The Crisis of Journalism Reconsidered* show, journalists interpret and evaluate blogging, Twitter, and other new tools according to how well they support or undermine the same professional ideals.

In their own way, each author explains how recent technological change and the economic upheavals it has produced can be understood according to longstanding cultural codes of professional journalism and democracy. It is this cultural framework that actually transforms these "objective" changes into a crisis of journalism. Only because journalism is meant to be objective, unbiased, timely, and accurate are we concerned that new technology and financial realities threaten the news.

It is these very enduring moral codes that hold the key to the future of journalism. The objective rendering of information, even when reporting is critical of the state and other powerful institutions, remains the lodestar of journalism. Anxieties about the "crisis" of journalism, authors in the new volume show, offer an opportunity for journalists, readers, and scholars to recommit to enduring moral codes, and to sustain them in new ways.

In his chapter, "The crisis in news: Can you whistle a happy tune," the preeminent social historian of news Michael Schudson predicts: "Printed newspapers will in time, possibly a very short time, largely disappear." For many news watchers, that prediction causes great concern. However, the studies in *The Crisis of Journalism Reconsidered* offer a different vision of the future of the news. Newspapers may largely disappear, but professional journalism endures, perhaps even stronger than ever.

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND NEWS

CULTURE SECTION

Professional Development Workshop: Navigating the Faculty/Post-Doc Job Market as a Cultural Sociologist. ASA Annual Meeting, Seattle. Saturday, August 20th, 4:30-5:30pm (location TBA). **Panelists:** Patricia A. Banks (Mount Holyoke), Claudio Benzecry (Northwestern), Clayton Childress (U of Toronto), Fiona Rose-Greenland (U of Chicago) **Discussant:** Hannah Wohl (Northwestern) **Chair:** Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

See the Culture Section's full program on page 3.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Abril, Julie C. 2016. *Bad Spirits: An American Indian Explanation for Family Violence*. Scholars Press, an imprint of OmniScriptum GmbH & Co. KG.

Abril, Julie C*.* (2015) *(Yaqui Woman) A Native American Indian Cultural Perspective of Identity Power & Evil*. Scholars Press, an imprint of OmniScriptum GmbH & Co. KG.

Jeffrey Alexander, Elizabeth Butler Breese, and Maria Luengo, eds. 2016. *The Crisis of Journalism Reconsidered: Democratic Culture, Professional Codes, Digital Future* Cambridge University Press.

Joseph E. Davis and Ana Marta González, eds. 2016. *To Fix or to Heal: Patient Care, Public Health, and the Limits of Biomedicine*. New York University Press.

Dum, Christopher P. 2016. *Exiled in America: Life on the Margins in a Residential Motel.* Columbia University Press.

DeSoucey, Michaela. 2016. *Contested Tastes: Foie Gras and the Politics of Food*. Princeton University Press.

Alondra Nelson. 2016. *The Social Life of DNA: Race, Reparations, and Reconciliation after the Genome*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Gina Neff and Dawn Nafus. 2016. *Self-Tracking*. MIT Press.

Ellingson, Stephen. 2016. *To Care for Creation: The Emergence of the Religious Environmental Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Singh, Prerna. 2015. *How Solidarity Works for Welfare. Subnationalism and Social Development in India.* Cambridge University Press.

Stephen Kalberg. 2016. *The Social Thought of Max Weber.* Sage Publications.
> Stephen Kalberg is also the author of *Searching for the Spirit of American Democracy* (Special Offer from Paradigm Publishers 2014) and *Max Weber's Comparative-Historical Sociology Today* (Special Offer from Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2012)

Corning, Amy and Howard Schuman. 2015. *Generations and Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wendy Espeland and Michael E. Sauder. 2016. *Engines of Anxiety: Academic Rankings, Reputation, and Accountability*. Russell Sage.

Tavory, Iddo. 2016. *Summoned: Identification and Religious Life in a Jewish Neighborhood.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cherry, Elizabeth. 2016. *Culture and Activism: Animal Rights in France and the United States*. New York: Routledge.

JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Edgell, Penny, Kathleen E. Hull, Kyle Green, and Daniel Winchester. 2016. "Reasoning Together through Telling Stories: How People Talk about Social Controversies." Qualitative Sociology 39(1): 1-26.

Gill., Timothy M. 2016. "Unpacking the World Cultural Toolkit in Socialist Venezuela: National Sovereignty, Human Rights, and anti-NGO Legislation," *Third World Quarterly*. (DOI 10.1080/01436597.2016.1199259)

Ghaziani, Amin; Verta Taylor; and Amy Stone. 2016. "Cycles of Sameness and Difference in LGBT Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 42.

Pascale, Celine-Marie. 2016. "Vernacular Epistemologies of Risk: The crisis in Fukushima". *Current Sociology*. (March 3, 20160011392115627284)

Singh, Prerna. 2015. "Subnationalism and Social Development: A Comparative Analysis of Indian States." *World Politics*, 67: 03, 506-562.

Singh, Sourabh. 2016. "What Is Relational Structure? Introducing History to the Debates on the Relation between Fields and Social Networks." Sociological Theory, 34: 2, 128-150.

Singh, Sourabh. 2016. "Appreciating Field Theory's Insights into Politics: An Empirical Illustration Using the Case of Emergency in India (1975-77)." Theory and Society (Vol 45. Issue 2. April 2016, pp. 107-142).

Singh, Sourabh. 2016. "Political Field Theory: Solving Structure/Agency Duality in Democracy Consolidation Theories." International Political Anthropology, 9: 1, 3-20.

Singh, Sourabh. 2015. "Role of Political Habitus in Shaping Dynamics of Democracy: Insights from the Nehruvian and Gandhian Periods of Democracy in India." Comparative Sociology, 15: 5, 682-714.

Singh, Sourabh. 2015. "Political Field Dynamics and the Elite's Interest in Democracy: Insights from Political Elite's Role in Consolidating Indian Democracy." International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society, 28:4, 1-26.

Smångs, Mattias. 2016. "Doing Violence, Making Race: Southern Lynching and White Racial Group Formation." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(5): 1329-1374.

Straughn, J.B. 2016. "Wo 'der Osten' liegt. Umrisse und Ambivalenzen eines verschwundenen und verschwindenden Landes." Pp. 195-223 in Kubiak/Matthäus (eds.), *Der Osten – Neue sozialwissenschafliche Perspectiven auf einen komplexen Gegenstand jenseits von Verurteilung und Verklarung*. VS Springer. (The chapter explores the fractal contours of "the East," as reflected in the everyday talk of former East Germans, and explains why "the East" is always somewhere else.)

Yeung, King-To, and Mahesh Somashekhar. 2016. "Sensing Agency and Resistance in Old Prisons: A Pragmatist Analysis of Institutional Control." *Theory, Culture & Society* 33 (3): 79-101.

SPECIAL ISSUES

Special Issue of *Current sociology: Future Moves in Culture, Society and Technology* (March 2015 63:2)

Markus S Schulz (Guest Editor)**,** Future moves: Forward-oriented studies of culture, society, and technology (Introduction)

Lars Geer Hammershøj , Diagnosis of the times vs description of society; **Frédéric Claisse and Pierre Delvenne**, Building on anticipation: Dystopia as empowerment; **Alexander Ruser**, Sociological quasi-labs: The case for deductive scenario development; **Mariolina Graziosi**, Projecting selves: From insecurity to reflection? **Natàlia Cantó-Milà and Swen Seebach,** Desired images, regulating figures, constructed maginaries: The future as an apriority for society to be possible; **Giuseppina Pellegrino,** Obsolescence, presentification, revolution: Sociotechnical discourse as site for *in fieri* futures; **Christina Schachtner**, Transculturality in the internet: Culture flows and virtual publics; **Emma Porio,** Sustainable development goals and quality of life targets: Insights from Metro Manila; **Markus S Schulz**, Inequality, development, and the rising democracies of the Global South; **Timothy W Luke**, The climate change imaginary; **Hebe Vessuri**, Global social science discourse: A Southern perspective on the world

Debate on the concept of culture in *American Sociologist (*online):
Christian Smith, "The Conceptual Incoherence of 'Culture' in American Sociology," *American Sociologist* 2016. DOI 10.1007/s12108-016-9308-y. With replies by Monika Krause, "Clarification? Yes! Standardization? No. Or: what Kind of Cooperation for the Sociology of Culture?"; Douglas Porpora, "The Meaning of Culture and the Culture of Empiricism in American Sociology"; Lyn Spillman, "Culture's Coherence: How the Trees Compose the Woods"; Andrea Voyer, "Consensus on Culture in American Sociology: Reply to Smith."

Issue 2 of the **American Journal of Cultural Sociology** 2016 (Vol. 4) is out. Contents here.

SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE IN THE MEDIA

Alondra Nelson (Columbia University) was interviewed about her new book, *The Social Life of DNA: Race, Reparations, and Reconciliation* on NPR's "All Things Considered," WNYC's "The Brian Lehrer Show," WUNC's "The State of Things," KERA's "Think," and "The Mark Steiner Show" on WEAA. *The Social Life of DNA* was also featured in *The Boston Globe, Nature*, *Slate*, *Quartz*, *New Scientist*, *Aeon*, and *Pacific Standard.*

Dustin Kidd (Temple University) has produced a new animated video on Digital Media Literacy, in anticipation of his forthcoming book Social Media Freaks (coming in March 2017). The video is available at: http://www.dustinkidd.net/digital-media-literacy/.

Guobin Yang (U. Penn), **Fatma Müge Göçek** (U. of Michigan at Ann Arbor), **Gary Alan Fine** (Northwestern), **Todd Gitlin** (Columbia) and others have recent blog posts on current issues on the International Sociological Association web site.

Amy Corning (U. of Michigan) and **Howard Schuman**'s (U. of Michigan) *Generations and Collective Memory* (University of Chicago Press 2015) was reviewed by CHOICE, the publication of the Association of College and Research Libraries, which referred to the book's "multidisciplinary, inclusive method for understanding collective memories and how they are transmitted across generations." It recommended the book for "Upper-division undergraduates and above."

AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS

Corey M. Abramson's recent book*, [The End Game: How Inequality Shapes Our Final Years](#)* (Harvard University Press 2015), was awarded the 2016 Outstanding Publication Award by the American Sociological Association section on Aging and the Life Course. *The End Game* was also selected for an author meets critic session at the 2016 ASA annual meeting in Seattle and featured in various media outlets including *The New York Times* and *The Atlantic*. A Korean translation is forthcoming later this year.

Hillary Angelo's 2015 dissertation, "How Green Became Good: Urban Greening as Social Improvement in Germany's Ruhr Valley" was awarded the Theda Skocpol Dissertation Award from the Comparative and Historical Sociology section of the ASA.

Prerna Singh's 2015 article "[Subnationalism and Social Development: A Comparative Analysis of Indian States](#)" (*World Politics* 67:3) was the winner of the Leubbert prize awarded by the American Political Science Association for the best article published in Comparative Politics in the last two years; of the Mary Parker Follett prize awarded by the American Political Science Association for the best article published in Politics and History in the last year; and of the Best article prize awarded by the American Sociological Association for the best article in the Sociology of Development.

Iddo Tavory received the 2016 Lewis A. Coser Award for Theoretical Agenda Setting from the ASA Theory Section.

CALLS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND APPLICATIONS

Call for Submissions - [ASA Rose Series in Sociology](#), a book series published by the Russell Sage Foundation, is seeking book proposals. The Rose Series publishes cutting-edge, highly visible, and accessible books that offer synthetic analyses of existing fields, challenge prevailing paradigms, and/or offer fresh views on enduring controversies. Books published in the Series reach a broad audience of sociologists, other social scientists, and policymakers. Please submit a 1-page summary and CV to: Lee Clarke, rose.series@sociology.rutgers.edu. For more information, visit http://www.asanet.org/research-publications/rose-series-sociology.

Call for Papers: Europeanization and Changes in Minority Inclusion in Central and Eastern Europe (*Intersections, East European Journal for Society and Politics***)**
Although the pacifying impact of European integration in post-communist Europe is widely acknowledged, significant questions remain open about the future of peaceful and democratic interethnic relations. This special issue examines how conditions for minority inclusion have changed in Central and Eastern Europe. The **deadline** for abstract submission is **30 November, 2016.** More info at http://intersections.tk.mta.hu/index.php/intersections/announcement/view/15

Call for Papers: Collecting & Collectibles Area, Popular Culture Association
2017 Conference — April 12-15 at the Marriott Marina, San Diego, CA
The Collecting and Collectibles Area of the Popular Culture Association invites paper submissions on any topic involving collecting. Papers can deal with any type of collecting – from individual to institutional (museums, libraries etc.) – and/or any type of collectible – from popular culture to fine arts to antiquities to new forms of collecting that may exist only in virtual spaces. We would especially like to encourage submissions that work to broaden and deepen our understanding of collecting across its many contexts. Inquiries about possible papers or proposals for round table sessions or full panels are also welcomed and encouraged. All proposals should be submitted online via the PCA/ACA website (http://pcaaca.org/). Please point your web browser to http://pcaaca.org/national-conference/proposing-a-presentation-at-the-conference/ and follow the instructions there to submit your 100-250-word abstract. **Submission Deadline October 1, 2016.** Authors of accepted abstracts will be notified by October 30, 2016. Contact Info: Kevin M. Moist, Associate Professor of Communications, Penn State Altoona, kmm104@psu.edu

Call for Papers: Jews in Racialized Spaces, Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, University of Cape Town. 28-30 March 2017
We invite papers that investigate the place of Jews and 'the Jew' in a variety of racialized spaces both real and imagined, engaging with conceptual and physical spaces, urban and rural environments, colonial and postcolonial, cosmopolitan and homogenous, Israel and the Diaspora, Jewish 'spaces' such as ghettoes and those understood to be controlled by others. Since our aim is to develop this field further, we seek papers reflecting many different geographies, chronologies, and approaches. We welcome proposals from all periods from antiquity through to the contemporary, and from all disciplines including history, literary and film studies, art and cultural studies, architecture, geography, sociology, anthropology, religious studies, Holocaust studies, and political studies. Please send proposals, maximum of 250 words, and a brief bio to Janine Blumberg (Janine.blumberg@uct.ac.za) **by 30 September 2016.** Decisions on proposals will be made by 15 November 2016. Whilst we are not able to offer help with travel expenses, the Kaplan Centre will provide four night's accommodation at All Africa House for each participant. The conference will be hosted in partnership with the Parkes Institute for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish Relations at the University of Southampton, the Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies at the University of Sydney, and Jewish Studies at Tulane University.

EVENTS AND CONFERENCES

10th Junior Theorists Symposium.
Seattle University Wyckoff Auditorium (Engineering 200) August 19, 2016. Full program on the ASA Theory Section web page: http://www.asatheory.org/newsletter/2016-junior-theorists-symposium

PDW on "The Material and Cognitive Foundations of Culture in Cultural Entrepreneurship"
Time: Saturday, August 6, 8:00 AM to 9:30 AM
Location: Orange County Ballroom 2 @ the Anaheim Marriott
Academy of Management Annual Meeting 2016 Anaheim
Kangsan Lee and Michael Mauskauf (Ph.D. candidate, Northwestern University) is organizing an interdisciplinary professional development workshop, "The Material and Cognitive Foundations of Culture in Cultural Entrepreneurship," sponsored by the Organization and Management Theory Division, Organization Behavior Division, and Entrepreneurship Division. We have a fantastic line-up of presenters, Nina Eliasoph (USC), Candace Jones (U. of Edinburgh), Paul Leonardi (UCSB), and Patricia Thornton (Texas A&M), and expect to cultivate a vibrant discussion that identifies new research questions, methods, and solutions for scholars interested in the study of culture, market, and cognition. Summary: Where does culture live—in the world, or in our heads? This PDW represents a forum to re-examine cultural entrepreneurship by focusing on the material and cognitive foundations of culture. Research on cultural entrepreneurship has been conducted from a variety of perspectives, but the origins and consequences of culture remain a black box. While some scholars consider culture a material resource or condition at arises through social processes, others emphasize its cognitive and interpretive roots. Both of these approaches have generated important insights regarding cultural entrepreneurship, but it is unclear how best to integrate these perspectives and move forward. In the first part of the PDW, four senior scholars will give presentations that engage directly with this issue. In the second part of the PDW, presenters and discussants will lead roundtable discussions, with the goal of (1) identifying new research questions, methods, and solutions, and (2) growing a community of scholars interested in studying cultural entrepreneurship.

MENGER'S RESPONSE

References

André Chastel, *Marcile Ficin et l'art*, Genève, Droz, 1964.

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Edward J. Lowinsky, Musical Genius. Evolution and Origins of a Concept, *The Musical Quarterly*, 1964, 50, 3: 321-340, and 1964, 50, 4 : 475-495.

Brooke N. Macnamara, David Z. Hambrick, Frederick L. Oswald, Deliberate Practice and Performance in Music, Games, Sports, Education, and Professions: A Meta-Analysis, *Psychological Science*, 2014, 25, 8 : 1608-1618.

Pierre-Michel Menger, *Le travail créateur*, Paris, Seuil/Gallimard, 2009.

Pierre-Michel Menger, *The Economics of Creativity*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard UP, 2014.

Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008.

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RESOURCE CURSE

have not developed a literature or model that explicitly addresses antiquities as an economic resource, important steps forward are offered in Nina Bandelj and Fred Wherry's 2011 volume, *The Cultural Wealth of Nations*.

In addition to clarifying the qualities of antiquities as a resource, we must evaluate the possibility that there is a causal arrow from antiquities to political instability. This is the classic (albeit simplified) version of the resource curse hypothesis. On the face of it, it is unlikely that antiquities *cause* wars. By contrast with petroleum, antiquities operate on a much-reduced scale along lines of market demand, profits, global operative infrastructure, and labor arrangements. A more plausible hypothesis is that societies in which antiquities are prominent in political imagery and discourse are probably also societies in which there are tourist and collecting industries and well-developed scientific structures (within and outside of the government). These institutions reinforce the value of antiquities, thereby (a) offering a target to individuals or groups wishing to injure the image of political leaders and (b) exciting public belief that there is money to be made by digging up and selling artifacts. In this way, the tables can be turned on a political regime or dominant social group as antiquities transition from high status, regulated symbols of power to the contested materiel of revolutionaries and racketeers.

If antiquities are related to political upheaval via a resource curse, it is probably along lines roughly as follows: political upheaval can, in some situations, create conditions that are optimal for looting and trafficking. This includes corrupt or ineffective border controls that make it possible for artifacts to move across international boundaries, and symbolic structures that re-inscribe antiquities as heretical or treasonous.

There is a lot of work to be done on this problem, with plenty of space for creative thinking from sociologists across the sub-fields. If you're interested in how cultural materiality and history relate to political change and patterns of violence, please consider joining the Comparative and Historical Sociology section's working group on terrorism. We'll be meeting in Denver on Sunday (Day 2). (Fiona Rose-Greenland, University of Chicago. fargreenland@uchicago.edu)

References

Bandelj, Nina and Frederick Wherry (eds.). 2011. *The cultural wealth of nations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Mukerji, Chandra. 1997. *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, Michael L. 2015. What have we learned about the Resource Curse? *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 239-259.

Zerubavel, Yael. 1995. *Recovered Roots: Collective memory and the making of Israeli national tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

to social, cognitive, and organization factors explain how producers make new products. **Balazs Vedres** (Central European University) analyzed the relationship between networks of producers and new ideas in the cases of video game development and recorded jazz, revealing that the mechanism of "structural folding" – overlapping membership between different cohesive groups – generates new ideas through continued exploration and cognitive diversity.

The final panel, "Materials for the New / New Materials," investigated how new materials, content, and technologies produce different ways of interacting with creative products. **Fernando Dominguez Rubio** (UC San Diego) drew upon ethnographic research at MoMA to explore how digital artworks acted as "distributed objects" with thousands of components located in physical and digital space. Dominguez Rubio showed how these new kinds of artworks change the way in which museums preserve artworks and generate new organizations within museums. **Sonia Coman** (Columbia) discussed how a new kind of ceramic characterized modern art and initiated the modern art market by promoting collaborations between artists, dealers, critics and collectors. **Joseph Klett** (UC Santa Cruz) analyzed the relationship between morals and technology with the case of personalized audio, revealing that R&D engineers' moral claims about what technology should do influences how technology is made.

Innovation is an inherently interdisciplinary topic, involving technology, cultural fields, markets, globalization, and law. This conference provided a critical platform for scholars in diverse disciplines to engage with one another. These scholars took a key step toward constructing generalizable theories of innovation by discussing each other's research to identify common social processes across creative industries. As the presenters emphasize, such theories must attend to complex features of interaction, including materiality, motivations, norms, place, and power.

Hannah Wohl is a doctoral candidate in Sociology at Northwestern University and a regular contributor to our newsletter. Her dissertation examines processes of creative production in the field of contemporary visual art. Her recent articles include "Community Sense: The Cohesive Power of Aesthetic Judgment," published in Sociological Theory (Dec. 2015).

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GAYBORHOOD

lives of many gay men since their introduction nearly a decade ago. A related piece of the puzzle is the role of queer youth and their relationship to technology. The author notes that gay teens are rejecting gayborhoods (53), but the sample group for his study did not include teenagers—a point explained with reference to restrictions imposed by the institutional ethical review process (115). Because the vast majority of interviewees quoted in the text are in their thirties or older, the reader is left to wonder whether the voices of 20 year-olds who might be more likely to use Smartphone dating and hook-up apps have been overlooked, and whether their contributions to the study would offer more insight into how queer people decide where to live and how to socialize.

The text is readable and would be a great resource as a teaching tool in undergraduate classes. The most valuable contributions of the text are not its abstract theoretical interventions, but its arrangement of empirical findings. Key points are plainly spelled out and examples are discussed in an uncomplicated manner. The book weaves a tapestry of perspectives on the meaning of gayborhoods and the various justifications that are made for choosing to live within or outside of them. The text accomplishes excellent nuance of description, even if this requires a fair amount of repetition. In laying out the complexities of interviewees' views, Ghaziani points to a contradiction at the heart of 'post-gay': that gay people's desires to move beyond queer community, their sense of affinity with other gays and lesbians, and the gayborhood itself are often paired with the desire to move closer to queer people elsewhere.

Michael Connors Jackman is a postdoctoral fellow with the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland. His current research is an ethnographic/historical study of sexuality, police surveillance, and secularism in St. John's, Newfoundland.

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SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE

American Sociological Association

August 20-23 | Annual Meeting, 2016 | Seattle, WA

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20

7:00-8:15 AM
Council Meeting

8:30-10:10 AM
Recent Advances in the Sociology of Culture
Organizer & Presider: Shamus Khan (Columbia University) • Claire Alexander (U of Manchester) • Andrei Boutyline (UC Berkeley) • Omar Lizardo (Notre Dame) • Andrea Voyer (Pace University)

10:30-12:10 PM
Sociology of Culture Section Roundtables
18 amazing roundtables organized by Francesco Duina (Bates College & University of British Columbia)

2:30-4:10 PM
Grit, Luck, Warmth, and the Irrational: Frontiers for Theorizing Culture
Organizer & Presider: Jennifer Lena (Columbia University) • Michael Sauder (University of Iowa) • Masako Watanabe (Nogoya University) • Jeffrey Guhin (UCLA) • Kyla Thomas (Princeton) Discussant: Ellis Prentis Monk (Princeton)

4:30-6:10PM
Professional Development Workshop: Navigating the Faculty/Post Doc Job Market as a Cultural Sociologist
Organized by Michael Stambolis-Ruhstorfer (Dickinson College) Panelists: Clayton Childress (U of Toronto) • Fiona Rose-Greenland (U of Chicago) • Claudio Benzecry (Northwestern U) • Patricia Banks (Mount Holyoke) • Hannah Wohl (Northwestern)

5:30-6:10PM
Sociology of Culture Section Business Meeting

6:30-8:00 PM: PARTY!!!

SUNDAY, AUGUST 21

8:30-10:10 AM
Cultural Capital in the 21st Century
Organizer & Presider: Alexandra Kowalski • Ashley Mears (Boston University) • Marion Fourcade (UC Berkeley) • Larissa Buchholz (Harvard) • Melissa Aronczyk (Rutgers) Discussant: Jean-Louis Fabiani

10:30-12:10 PM
Cultural Production, Old and New
Organizer & Presider: Angéle Christin (Data & Society Research Institute) • Allyson Stokes (University of Texas at Austin) • Diana Miller (U of Toronto) • Ian Sheinheit (SUNY Albany) • Terence McDonnell (Notre Dame) • Henk Roose (Ghent) & Willem Roose (Ghent)

12:30-2:10 PM
Can Cultural Sociology be an Interscience?
Presider & Organizer: Omar Lizardo (Notre Dame) • M.B. Fallin Hunzaker (Duke) • Corey Abramson (U of Arizona) • Amir Goldberg (Stanford) • Ben Carrington (University of Texas, Austin) • Kimberly Rogers (Dartmouth) • Andrew Miles (Toronto, Mississauga) Discussants: Orlando Patterson (Harvard), Karin Knorr Cetina (U of Chicago)

All locations are TBA (5/2/16)
Full program details at: http://www.asanet.org/

Become a member & get involved
at: https://asaculturesection.org/

SOCIOLOGY OF CULTURE

American Sociologecal Association

August 20-23 | Annual Meeting, 2016 | Seattle, WA

OTHER EVENTS OF INTEREST

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20

8:30-10:10am: Culture, Media, and Socialization Roundtable (#15), Section on Crime, Law and Deviance

8:30-10:10am: Worker Cultures, Identities, and Prospects for Resistance Roundtable (#1), Section on Labor and Labor Movements

2:30-4:10pm: Research in the Sociology of Culture Across Asia Roundtable (#7), Section on Asia and Asian America

2:30-4:10pm: Culture, Music, and Identity Roundtable (#7), Section on Marxist Sociology

SUNDAY, AUGUST 21

10:30-12:10 pm: How Political Culture Matters Panel, Section on Political Sociology

MONDAY, AUGUST 22

8:30-10:10 am: Crossing Borders: People, Finance and Culture Roundtable (#2), Open Refereed Roundtables

8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, How Institutions and Culture Shape Identities

8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, Gender and Work: Structure, Culture, and Emotions

8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, Culture and Narrative

10:30-12:10pm: Regular Session, Sociology of Culture

10:30-12:10pm: Regular Session, Culture and Inequality

2:30-4:10pm: Culture and Organizations Roundtable (#2), Section on Organizations, Occupations and Work

2:30-4:10pm: Religion and the Politics of National Identity, Section on the Sociology of Religion

2:30-4:10pm: Culture, Language, and Nation Roundtable (#5), Section on Comparative-Historical Sociology

4:30-6:10pm: Regular Session, Taste and Cultural Reception in Popular Culture

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23

8:30-10:10am: Regular Session, Sociology of Culture 2

8:30-10:10am: Culture and Achievement among the Children of Immigrants, Section on International Migration

12:30-2:10pm: Regular Session, Political Culture

12:30-2:10pm: Regular Session, Success, Quality, and Legitimacy in Popular Culture

12:30-2:10pm: Race, Space, and Culture Roundtable, Theory Section

2:30-4:10pm: Algorithmic Culture Roundtable, Section on Communication, Information Technologies, and Media Sociology