Chair’s Message
Mabel Berezin, Cornell University

Even though it is only August, I am guessing that many of you are counting the days before the return of fall’s more routine obligations. With the ASA, less than two weeks away, it is now time for the pre-meeting newsletter. It is also my last chance to address all of you as section Chair.

In contrast to many other ASA sections, the Culture section assigns duties to the Chair-elect—so it really feels like one has been Chair of the section for two years rather than the more traditional one year term.

Going forward, the most striking thing about being chair of the Culture section is the incredible energy and generosity that our elected officers and members bring to section activities. The term “passion” has almost slipped into cliché these days—but nonetheless our members are passionate about our section! Hardly a request for a volunteer or information remains unanswered in our cyber linked world for more than an hour! And, unlike life, in many instances gratification was instant!

As Chair of the section, I became impressed with the wide range of activities and interests of our members as they moved culture into new and exciting areas.

Tim Dowd and his session organizers have put together five wonderful sessions on topics that range from the culture industries to networks to cognition to consumption. In addition, thanks to Claudio Benzecry and Ruth Braunstein, culture is hosting 15 roundtables this year! Ten ASA regular sessions are devoted to culture. ASA President Annette Lareau has organized a Thematic Session on Pierre Bourdieu. Section member Abigail Saguy’s What’s Wrong with Fat? is featured in an Author Meets Critic session. The variety of session topics, as well as the number, is impressive. I encourage you to attend as many as possible (ASA asks us to take attendance!).

Claudio Benzecry and Ruth Braunstein have also organized a book writing workshop with Eviatar Zerubavel for junior scholars who wish to turn their dissertations into scholarly monographs.

The work of the section goes beyond the meetings. This year we had a record number of submissions to our prize committees.

(Continued on Page 3)
Junior Scholar Spotlight: Neha Gondal

Neha Gondal is currently Assistant Professor of Sociology at The Ohio State University. She received her Ph.D. from Rutgers University in 2013. Her research interests lie at the intersection of social networks and culture with a particular focus on relational meaning, micro-macro linkages, and emergence. She regularly utilizes Exponential Random Graph Models – a cutting edge technique for the statistical modeling of networks - and frequently employs multiple-network data advancing a complex, layered, and contextual approach to social networks.

In a set of three papers recently published in Poetics, Social Networks, and the European Journal of Sociology, Neha and her co-author, Paul McLean, argue that a type of tie in a network may have several meanings. Using data on multiple-networks in Renaissance Florence illustratively, they demonstrate that meaning diversity leaves traces in the network’s structure and can be linked to actors’ heterogeneous involvements in diverse network-domains. They also explore the sociocultural processes underlying the production of elite solidarity in this context. Neha likewise investigates how relational understandings vary on the basis of sibship-size in a distinct paper published in Sociological Forum. In another article published in Social Networks, she investigates the macrostructural features of emergent research areas and the micro-mechanisms structuring the field using literature on the feminization of labor in Asia. In her dissertation research, Neha conceptualizes a general category of ‘less-institutionalized’ social locations that lack cultural cues to action and interpretation. She applies this concept to several empirical examples to demonstrate how such locations offer a unique window into examining cultural emergence.

Neha is currently working on several new projects investigating the relational construction and legitimation of symbolic differences between stratified groups. She also expects to begin a collaborative project exploring the adoption of fuel conservation strategies within informal networks of Air Force pilots. Neha has received awards from ASA’s mathematical sociology and family sections and well as from the International Network for Social Network Analysis recognizing her research.
Four Questions For…

Howard S. Becker

1) How did you become interested in the study of culture?

I never became “interested in the study of culture” as a separate “field” of research or thinking. When I entered the sociology business, the enterprise of defining everything and then arguing about the definitions interminably was in full flower. But I had learned, from Everett Hughes, to be very skeptical about that kind of thing and to devote myself rather to learning about how the social world worked.

So I always understood “culture” to be part of a complex of ideas revolving around how collective action occurred, an idea that got its meaning from its role in that collection of ideas and their combinations. Insofar as I worried about definitions, which wasn’t much, I relied on the one I learned from Robert Redfield which, as I remember, went like this: “Shared understandings made manifest in act and artifact.”

2) What kind of work does culture do in your thinking?

As I said, culture is part of a complex of ideas which revolve around the phenomenon of collective action; to put it in less fancy language, people doing things together. This complex of ideas is less a system of definitions than a kind of imagery that points to an area of reality I’d like to understand.

Here’s the image. As I learned from Louis Wirth, when I was a student, people always live in groups. By extension, everything they do, they do with other people. So the researchable question, the question you try to find the answer to, is simple: how do they do that? Not so much what some folks might take that to mean—how is it possible for them to act together—but something more prosaic and less earth-shaking: how, in this particular case (whatever
you’re studying), do they coordinate their activity so that whatever they’re doing gets done the way it actually turns out. There’s no suggestion in that that it “must” turn out in some particular way, or else something awful will happen. It turns out however it turns out and, for me, the job is to find out how that all happened.

“Culture,” in the Redfield sense of shared understandings, gives part of the answer to that question: part of what happens is that, when people interact, they often have in mind how they think other people will respond to what they’ve just done or are about to do. Very often they guess right about that because they (or people like them) have often done that sort of thing before and this is the way they did it and it worked out okay, so let’s do it that way again. My model for this, no surprise, is playing music together, where the people playing refer to already known ways of playing—twelve distinct tones to an octave, keys, systems of notation, and all the rest of it (which I wrote about in a piece about “inertia” that I’ve tucked into the new book What About Mozart? What About Murder? Reasoning from Cases). For me, “culture” is a name for that kind of shared knowledge which lets people save time and get things done more easily just because they all already know how to do “that,” whatever “that” is.

I don’t think that this means that everything is nice and friendly and cooperative, just that insofar as they get done whatever they get done that’s part of how they do it, by relying on stuff they already know or think will be known to everyone else. I don’t think the end result “has to be” anything in particular, it’s just whatever it turns out to be. Usually, the shared understandings don’t cover the immediate situation completely and then the people involved have to figure out something else to do. The result might not, often doesn’t, satisfy everybody or even satisfy anybody, but it’s what happens.

So “culture” helps me answer questions about how people act together, but it’s only part of the answer. A lot of what happens arises on the spot as the result of a bunch of people working out the solution to an immediate problem of doing whatever. If you asked for names, I’d say Dewey, G.H. Mead, Park, Redfield, Hughes, Blumer—the usual suspects, so to speak. (Oh, my, no European names!)

3) What are some of the benefits and limitations to using culture in this way?

The benefit is that it gives you a way to a general account of one of the things that goes into the development of collective activity. I don’t see any particular limitation to using the “culture” the way I think about it because whatever it doesn’t do, you can insert some other idea to do that for you.

4) How does your approach to culture shape the types of research topics and settings?

My research topics and settings mainly come about in a pretty haphazard way. I didn’t study medical students because I thought that was such a fabulous place for a sociologist to look at, but because Everett Hughes called me and said he had this money to study a medical school and did I want a job doing field work in the medical school in Kansas City. I studied marijuana use because I was fascinated by Lindesmith’s study of opiate addiction and knew that marijuana resembled that in some ways and differed in others, and thought it would make a good topic for a project.

“Culture” came into these, and all the other things I’ve done, in the way I’ve suggested. I thought of all these things as “things people did together.” That’s a trick of thought I use habitually: see how even the most seemingly individual things really have a collective component, as people’s marijuana experiences take their shape in part from the way definitions around them give potential meaning to an ambiguous chemically caused collection of events. It’s what I did to make the arts amenable to research as I think of it: see the making of works of art as a collective enterprise involving all the people and organizations that contribute in any way to the work turning out as it does.

So I’d say that “culture” doesn’t shape the choice of topics or settings, because I make those choices in a more haphazard, situationally affected way than that suggests. The idea of “culture” does inform (a better verb here than “shape,” I think) the way I approach a new thing to study. I look for shared understandings, usually by being very attentive—this is another old fieldwork trick—for situations where the ordinary shared understandings don’t exactly work right, which is a common occurrence. Because those situations bring to the surface, make explicit, what otherwise is so taken for granted that no one even notices it. It’s an old fieldwork maxim: look for trouble, when people argue or fight, that’s where the payoff is, where you find out what ordinarily doesn’t get mentioned.
2014 CULTURE SECTION AWARDS

Winner of Mary Douglas Prize for Best Book:


Honorable Mention to: Colin Jerolmack (New York University), *The Global Pigeon* (University of Chicago Press 2013) and Ofer Sharone (MIT), *Flawed System/Flawed Self* (University of Chicago Press 2013)

Committee: Genevieve Zubrzycki (Committee Chair, University of Michigan), Cheris Shun-ching Chan (University of Hong Kong), Marion Fourcade (UC Berkeley), and Iddo Tavory (New School for Social Research).

Co-Winners of Clifford Geertz Prize for Best Article:


and


Committee: Peter Stamatov (Committee Chair, Yale University), Amin Ghaziani (University of British Columbia), and Lauren Rivera (Northwestern University).

Co-Winners of Richard A. Peterson for Best Student Paper:


and

Laura K. Nelson (University of California, Berkeley), “Enduring Cultural/Cognitive Structures: Political Logics as
Saturday, August 16

8:30 AM

25. Regular Session. Culture and Inequality
Session Organizer and Presider: Natalie Boero, San Jose State University
Cooking Under Fire: Food Work Among Low-Income Mothers. Sarah Bowen, Sinikka Elliott, and Joslyn Brenton, North Carolina State University
Gender Inequality, the State, and Multiculturalism—Does Multiculturalism Increase Gender Inequality in Migrant Communities? Amanda Admire, and Ronald Kwong, University of California-Riverside Learning to Labor and Love: State Work and Marriage Programs' Neoliberal Assumptions of Cultural Deficiency. Jennifer Randles, California State University-Fresno; Kerry Woodward, California State University-Long Beach
Meaning of Work and Money in the Ghetto. Ranita Ray, University of Nevada-Las Vegas
Middle-Class Mothering and the Body: Status and Self-Identity Practices. Katherine Mason, Miami University

34. Regular Session. Media Sociology: Mass Media and Popular Culture
Session Organizer: David Grazian, University of Pennsylvania
Now Casting: The Emotion Economy of Reality TV. Laura Grindstaff, University of California-Davis
From Father Knows Best to Desperate Housewives: Suburban Television Shows, 1950-2007. Brian J. Miller, Wheaton College

10:30 AM

70. Regular Session. Cultural Capital
Session Organizer and Presider: Susan A. Dumais, City University of New York-Lehman College
Entering the Creative Class: The Role of High-Status Culture. Sharon Koppman, University of Arizona
From Concerted Cultivation to College: How Parenting Practices Shape Postsecondary Success. Daniel J. Potter, American Institutes for Research; Josipa Roksa, University of Virginia
Gender and Bourdieu's Field Theory. Diana Lee Miller, University of Toronto
Grooming the New Elites: Cultural Capital and Educational Strategies in Urban China. Yi-Lin Chiang, University of Pennsylvania
Social Stratification and Cultural Practice in the United Kingdom. Yaojun Li and Alan Warde, Manchester University; Michael A. Savage, London School of Economics and Political Science

4:30 pm

Session Organizer: Timothy J. Dowd, Emory University
Presider: John O'Brien, New York University-Abu Dhabi
More than Just a Soundtrack: Towards a Technology of the Collective in Hardcore Punk. Black Hawk Hancock, DePaul University; Michael J. Lorr, Florida State College-Jacksonville
Mirrored Boundaries: The Intersection of Ongoing Homeland-Hostland Contexts in Bangladeshi Immigrants' Boundary-Work in Los Angeles. Taheen Shams, University of California-Los Angeles
What (Not) to Wear as Hijab: Unveiling Fragmented Acculturation in a Muslim American Community. Melissa J. K. Howe, NORC-University of Chicago
Discussant: John O'Brien, New York University-Abu Dhabi

Sunday, August 17

170. Thematic Session. Bourdieu, Culture, and Empirical Research
Session Organizer: Annette Lareau, University of Pennsylvania
Presider: Sabrina Pendergrass, University of Virginia
How to Turn Habitus from Conundrum to Research Design. Loic Waquant, University of California-Berkeley
Bourdieu and the Hard Embodiment of Culture: Methodological and Theoretical Challenges. Omar A. Lizardo, University of Notre Dame
Studying Culture in Digital Environments: Bourdieu, Big Data, and Interdisciplinary Collaboration. Gabe Ignatow, University of North Texas
Discussant: Diane Reay, Cambridge University

Session Organizer: Timothy J. Dowd, Emory University
Presider: Ashley E. Mears, Boston University
How High and Low are Made: Aesthetic Knowledge and
Symbolic Boundaries in Fashion Photo Shoots. Elise C. Laan, and Giselinde Kuipers, University of Amsterdam
So Much Rides on the Programming: Decision Making Processes and Innovation in Performing Arts Organizations. Gregory Trainor Kordsmeier, Indiana University-Southeast
The Front Line of Culture. Wendy Griswold and Hannah Linda Wohl, Northwestern University
Book Reviewing in an Age When Everybody's a Critic. Phillippa K. Chong, Harvard University
Discussant: Ashley E. Mears, Boston University

193. Regular Session. Sociology of Culture
Session Organizer and Presider: Eva Illouz, Hebrew University
All Hands on Deck: Evaluation in Creative Industries. Clayion Childress, University of Toronto; Brian Moeran, Copenhagen Business School
Bringing Theodicy Back In: Suffering and the Sociology of Meaning. Christina Simko, University of Pittsburgh; Jeffrey Olick, University of Virginia
Culture of Algorithms. Karin D. Knorr Cetina, University of Chicago
Enacting the Scripts of Utopia: Collective Violence and the Sacred in the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Guobin Yang, University of Pennsylvania
Making Cents and Nonsense of Art. Alison Gerber, Yale University
Discussant: Jeffrey C. Alexander, Yale University

10:30 AM
235. Regular Session. Popular Culture and the Politics of Authenticity
Session Organizer and Presider: Laura Grindstaff, University of California-Davis
Black Exploitation Television: The New Millenium Minstrel Show: The Impact of Corporate Ownership on Black Media. Jermaine Hekili Cathcart, University of California-Riverside
Bloody Feminism in Hollywood: Content Analysis of a Feminist-coauthored Teen-film Cycle. Neal King and Talitha Rose, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Inventing the Authentic Self: American Television and Chinese Audiences in Global Beijing. Yang Gao, Singapore Management University
Lil’ Wayne for Exercising, Adele for Relaxing at Home: Artists, Listening Situations, and Racial Crossover. John Sommert, University of Mississippi
To See or Not to See: Race and Theatrical Casting. Robin Leidner, University of Pennsylvania

12:30 PM
Session Organizer: Timothy J. Dowd, Emory University

2:30 PM
Session Organizer: Timothy J. Dowd, Emory University
Presider: Vaughn Schmutz, University of North Carolina-Charlotte
Globalization and Popular Music. Explaining Global Success of Pop Music Acts in Nine Countries, 1960-2010. Marc Verboord, Erasmus University-Rotterdam; Amanda Brandellero, University of Amsterdam
Molly Deaths: A Product of the Rave Culture/Drug War Impasse. Tammy L. Anderson, University of Delaware
Street Art and the Cultural Production of Urban Coolness. Virag Molnar, New School for Social Research
Discussant: Vaughn Schmutz, UNC-Charlotte

Monday, August 18
365. Section on Sociology of Culture Roundtable Session
Session Organizers: Claudio Ezequiel Benecry and Ruth Braunstein, University of Connecticut
Table 1. Consumer Studies Network
Table President: Cara E. Bowman, Boston University
Is This Gonna Look Good? Families Consuming Opportunities to Prepare for College. Cara E. Bowman, Boston University
Concrete Terroir: The Aesthetics of a City’s Restaurant Scene. John T. Lang, Occidental College
Doing Good Work by Selling Good Food: Balancing Political Consumerist Projects and Profit-Seeking. Amy Elisabeth Singer, Franklin and Marshall College
The Lies People Tell Themselves: Eating Identity vs. Behavior. Michele Darling, University of Virginia

Table 2. Cultural Consumption
Table President: Christena Nippert-Eng, Illinois Institute of Technology
Sci-Fi and Skimpy Outfits: Making Boundaries and Staking Claims to Star Trek: Into Darkness. Sarah M. Corse and Jaime Hartless, University of Virginia
Coming of Age in Online Media Fandom: A Longitudinal Study of Young Women's Romantic Expectations. Carrie Clarady, University of Maryland-College Park; Jessica Paula Wiederspan, University of Michigan
Reifying the Active Audience? Radio, Reception and Resistance. Amy C. Foerster, Pace University
The Online Place of Popular Music. Explaining Pop Artists' Media Attention in the Digital Age. Mare Verboord, Erasmus University-Rotterdam; Sharon Van Noord, Independent Scholar

Table 3. Cultural Production
Table President: Tamara Kay, Harvard University
Beyond Objectivity: On Punditry and Legitimation. Samuel Matthew Cluster, Edinboro University-Pennsylvania
Building Cases with Buildings: Physical Evidence on Trial at Museums of Poor People’s Housing. Robin Bartram, Northwestern University
Political Embeddedness: Boundary Processes in U.S. and German News Reporting. Matthias Revers, University of Graz
Producing the Postmodern Moment: Television Commercials from 1948-1989. Lucas Sherry, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Theorizing Hybridization: Negotiating and Leveraging Culture Across Transnational Fields. Tamara Kay and Nicole Arlette Hirsch, Harvard University

Table 4. Cultivation and Status
1920's Etiquette Books and the Production of Culture. Jamila Jamison Sinlao, University of California-Santa Barbara

Table 5. Culture and Markets
Table President: Jennifer Smith Maguire, University of Leicester
Cultural Intermediaries and the Construction of Legitimacy in the Shanghai Wine Market. Jennifer Smith Maguire, University of Leicester
Driving Taste, Shifting Identities: Valuation and Cultural Repertoires in Boston's Food Truck Economy. Connor John Fitzmaurice, Boston University
Sticky Status? The Status Differentiation and Transitivity across Markets. Kangsan Lee, Northwestern University
Who is More Likely to Symbolically Manage their Entrepreneurial Intentions? Loose Coupling in International Comparison. Patricia H. Thornton, Duke University; Kim Klyver, University of Southern Denmark
Be an Apprentice, Not a Worker: Navigating the Organizational Culture of Commercial Art. Gabrielle Raley, Knox College

Table 6. Culture and Politics
Table President: Jeffrey A. Halley, University of Texas-San Antonio
Culture and Defensive Modernization in Thailand, 1855-1932: A Project of Civilization. Keerati Chenpitayaton, New School University
Distorted Public Discourse and the Pseudo-Public in Chinese Public Sphere. Muyang Li, State University of New York-Albany
We Didn’t Know it Was History until after it Happened: Whites’ Narratives about Desegregation. Sandra K. Gill, Gettysburg College

Table 7. Levels of Culture in Everyday Interaction
Table President: Paul R. Lichterman, University of Southern California
Levels of Culture in Everyday Interaction. Kushan Dasgupta and Edson Cruz Rodriguez, University of Southern California

Table 8. Materiality
Table President: Diana Bevin Graizbord, Brown University
Discussion of Special Issue of Qualitative Sociology: Reassembling Ethnography Actor-Network Theory and Sociology. Diana Bevin Graizbord and Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Brown University

Table 9. Music and Taste
Table President: Jeffrey R. London, City University of New York-Graduate Center
Improving Cultural Cartography with Correlational Class
Precarious Work and Cultural Production in the Portland, Oregon Music Scene. Jeffrey R. London, City University of New York-Graduate Center
The Evolution of Genres in a Network Perspective. Yun-Joo Sung and Kira Choi, Seoul National University

Table 10. Narrating the Self; Embodying Culture
Table Presider: Brian Soller, University of New Mexico
Bearing Witness: Victims’ Relatives and Challenges to the Execution Narrative. Annulla Linders, University of Cincinnati
Keepin’ It Real, Keepin’ It Tight: Narrative Identity in Fields of Cultural Production. Kyle Puetz and Michael Gibson, University of Arizona
Let’s Stay Together? Cultural Scripts and the Longevity of Adolescent Romances. Brian Soller, University of New Mexico; Carl W. Stempel, California State University-East Bay
Therapeutic Pasts and Moral Futures: Narratives and the Management of Mobility. Kelly J. Nielsen, University of California-San Diego
Conflict and Change in the World of Tattooing: A Subculture of Consumption. David Paul Strohecker, University of Maryland-College Park

Table 11. Recipes for Success Elite Chefs, Restaurants, and Culinary Styles in New York and San Francisco
Table Presiders: Omar A. Lizardo, University of Notre Dame and Claudio Ezequiel Benzecry, University of Connecticut

Table 12. Symbolic Boundaries Research Network
Table Presider: Bethany Bryson, James Madison University
In Comparison, I’m Really Lucky: How Breast Cancer Patients Utilize Symbolic Boundaries as a Coping Mechanism. Laura E. Rogers, University of California-San Diego
Equal but Separate? Gender, Culture, and the Social Organization of Public Space. Alexander Davis, Princeton University
The Scandal as the Play of Symbolic Boundaries. Mark D. Jacobs, George Mason University
Are Boundaries to Keep People Out or In? Nancy DiTomaso, State University of New Jersey-Rutgers

Table 13. Taste and Classification
Table Presider: Dustin Kidd, Temple University
Capital Volume and Highbrow Arts Participation: How Economic and Cultural Capital Affect Taste Boundaries. Susan A. Dumais, City University of New York-Lehman College; Durmus A. Yuksel, Louisiana State University and Turkish Military Academy; Yoshinori Kamo, Louisiana State University
Inequality and Popular Culture. Dustin Kidd, Temple University
Toward a Theory of Cultural Engagement: Gender, Culture, and Music. Benjamin Lee Hutcherson, University of Colorado
Thomas Kinkade-Caliber: Exemplification and Classification Work. Amanda Koonz Anthony and Amit Joshi, University of Central Florida

Table 14. Trauma, Memory, Belonging
Table Presider: Michelle Hannah Smirnova, University of Missouri-Kansas City
Cultural Trauma and the St. Francis Dam Collapse. Charles Brady Potts, University of Southern California
History You Can Touch: Mapping Memory and Space at the Former Stasi Prison in Berlin-Hohenschönhausen. Jeremy Brooke Straughn, Westminster College
Real Russians: Cultural Citizenship Defined by Soviet Political Humor. Michelle Hannah Smirnova, University of Missouri-Kansas City

Table 15. Working Cultures
Table Presider: Geoff Harkness, Grinnell College
Consuming Labor: Charisma and Identity in Music Industry Work. Alexandre Frenette, City University of New York-Graduate Center
Distinction and Status in the Firehouse: How Firefighters Maintain Boundaries and Earn Prestige. Roscoe C. Scarborough, University of Virginia
Step in the Arena: How Social Class Shapes the Performative Context. Geoff Harkness, Grinnell College
Disappearing into the Object: Aesthetic Enrollment and the Cultural Labor Process. Michael Louis Siciliano, University of California-Los Angeles

10:30 am
Section on Sociology of Culture Council and Business Meeting

2:30 pm
448. Section on Sociology of Culture Invited Session. Big Data and the Study of Culture: Prospects for the Future
Session Organizer and Presider: Timothy J. Dowd, Emory University
Big Data: Can It Solve Cultural Sociology’s Behavioral Problems? Emily Ann Marshall, University of Michigan; Hana Shepherd, State University of New Jersey-Rutgers
4:30 PM
485. Section on Sociology of Culture Paper Session. Cultural Consumption in a Changing World (co-sponsored with the Section on Consumers and Consumption)
Session Organizers: Laura E. Braden, Erasmus University-Rotterdam and Timothy J. Dowd, Emory University
Presider: Alex van Venrooij, University of Amsterdam
Understanding Cultural Omnivores: Social and Political Attitudes. Tak Wing Chan, University of Oxford
Symbolic and Material Resources: The Relevance of Cultural Omnivorosity during the Great Recession. Matthew Stimpson, University of California-Berkeley
Discussant: Alex van Venrooij, University of Amsterdam

6:30 PM
Joint Reception: Section on Political Sociology and Section on Sociology of Culture

Tuesday, August 19
8:30 am
Session Organizer and Presider: Rodney Benson, New York University
Art World Decentering? Cultural Production, Place, and the 21st Century Urban Field. Samuel Shaw, Vanderbilt University
Corporate Capitalism on the Great White Way. Kyla Thomas, Princeton University
Counting Clicks: Commensuration in Online News in the United States and France. Angele Christin, Princeton University
Turning Green into Gold: Cultural Pragmatics of the Open Access Movement in Academic Publishing. Casey Brienza, City University London
Discussant: Rodney Benson, New York University

10:30 am
543. Section on Sociology of Culture Paper Session. Culture and Cognition