

time, revealing the continuing tendency for women migrants to continue to carry out reproductive labor, whether paid or unpaid, even when their numbers are significant. The book ends with a short chapter discussing some of the policy implications for sending and receiving societies.

In only 184 pages of text, this book is a tour de force. Its reach and range are staggering, across time, methods, and theories; from statistical analysis to arguments from history and gender studies, it sets out the framework for an agenda and research program that others should and must take up, raising a host of questions about data, about everyday life, about systems of regulation and control, and about the social, economic, and cultural consequences of variations in the gender mix of movements across time and space. Not everything can be answered by the methods outlined here. Gender, in official statistics, typically is a binary variable, unable to capture new understandings of gender and gender relations, and many migrants are not captured at all in official statistics, including men and women who move under the radar of official surveillance as well as within the boundaries of nation-states. The huge internal migrations inside China, for example, are absent. As Donata and Gabaccia insist, however, the careful scrutiny of the ways in which data are defined, collected, and used is critical, permitting new questions to be asked and sometimes answered. This book is exemplary in its innovative methods and scrupulous in its analysis; its huge strength lies in the ways in which it opens up the field to all sorts of new questions. As Europe faces what has been defined as a “migration crisis,” this book’s long-term assessment of the effects of migration could not be more timely.

*Beyond the Beat: Musicians Building Community in Nashville.* By Daniel B. Cornfield. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii + 218. \$35.00.

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In *Beyond the Beat*, Daniel Cornfield brings together the insights of a “new” sociology of work, of social movement research, and of the sociology of art worlds to develop an account of artist activism. Through an interview-based study of several generations of musicians in Nashville, he traces how over the past half-century these musicians have organized individually and collectively in the face of a changing music industry.

Half sociological analysis and half oral history project, the book offers a rare glimpse into the lived experiences of artistic workers in one of the strongholds of American popular music. “Music City” is not just home to country music and the Grand Ole Opry: from the 1980s onward, it grew into a fully diversified music scene, and it currently boasts the highest concentration of music businesses in the United States and the third highest

concentration of musicians after New York and Los Angeles. Over the past decades, Nashville also went through the mutations that affected the music industry more broadly, from the disintegration of major labels and the casualization of the artistic workforce to the emergence of music streaming and illegal music downloading.

Cornfield writes of these transformations through the lens of the strategies deployed by artists to grapple with the risks of creative labor. He usefully distinguishes between three sources of risk: personal (the uncertainty about one's competence and ability to succeed), interpersonal (the vicissitudes of collaborations), and impersonal (e.g., the advent of new communication technologies). This distinction undergirds the typology of artist activism introduced in chapter 2, which describes the roles musicians can assume to improve their and their peers' livelihoods in an industry at the forefront of postbureaucratic risk individualization. "Enterprising artists," who sustain their self-contained bands by performing both the artistic and the support tasks associated with their trade, understand risk as a personal factor. "Artistic social entrepreneurs" and "artist advocates," in contrast, have a more holistic view of risk, and they respond to it, respectively, through the provision of local resources and opportunities for their peers (such as teaching programs or performance venues) and through their involvement in arts trade unions. The three roles are then surveyed in turn in the book's empirical chapters.

That typology is not without its shortcomings (Are enterprising artists really activists, or do they merely manage their individual careers in a risky environment?), but it does a remarkable job of organizing Cornfield's historical account: through a description of how activist roles have risen, declined, and changed content over time, what the book really portrays are the transformations of the socialization of risk in the music industry over the past half-century. This makes for a welcome addition to our understanding of contemporary work: while the individualization of employment-related risk in modern societies is well known and while the arts have previously served to document it, workers' attempts to come to terms with the new regime have received comparatively little attention. When they have, scholars have focused on individual, entrepreneurial strategies of risk management—as in the work of Gina Neff (*Venture Labor: Work and the Burden of Risk in Innovative Industries* [MIT Press, 2012]) or Pierre-Michel Menger (*The Economics of Creativity: Art and Achievement under Uncertainty* [Harvard University Press, 2014]), for example. Cornfield's exploration of music in Nashville covers that territory, but it also reveals new forms of labor organization and risk resocialization. These are of two kinds: interpersonal, favor exchange relations based on solidarity and reciprocity (as when artists at a low point in their careers enjoy the help of others they have helped previously) and the reshaping of arts trade unions for a world of independent workers.

Readers inclined to view artistic labor as a prefiguration of the future of labor in other parts of the economy will find particular comfort in the devel-

opments described in chapter 6. Here Cornfield traces the takeover of Local 257 of the American Federation of Musicians (Nashville's section of the U.S. musicians' union) by a new generation of arts trade union activists, whose goals include the elaboration of tools for the collective defense of freelance artists. This, he suggests, may foreshadow a novel form of unionization, meant to address the challenges posed by growing work casualization and risk individualization and magnified by the ascent of new technologies. (Uber drivers should take notice.)

From there, it is easy to envision how the book could have broken new theoretical ground by reflecting on the promises and limitations of forms of community that purport not only to mitigate the hazards of precarious employment but also to empower individuals to make the most out of their position as free agents. Cornfield, sadly, does not go down this path until the final pages in his conclusion. More generally, the book suffers from its undertheorization of the relationship—and possible tension—between community building and the pursuit of individual careers in a competitive field. This is compounded by a research design almost exclusively based on biographical interviews with activists, which gives the reader a good sense of their efforts but only a vague idea of whether community is, indeed, building in Nashville and of the difference this makes for nonactivist artists.

Compared to these unexplored avenues, the theory Cornfield does put forward feels somewhat contrived and limited in its scope. It rests on three propositions, all of which trace musicians' assumption and enactment of an activist role to their psychological characteristics—most notably their risk orientation and their initial motivations to embrace an artistic career. It is not entirely clear how that theory of artist activism applies beyond the world of art or music, and the rather straightforward nature of the propositions does not make for the most exciting read. The book, still, has much to offer, but it will be a better companion to students of work and of its recent transformations than to those seeking insight into the origins of activism.

*In the Blood: Understanding America's Farm Families.* By Robert Wuthnow. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. 227. \$35.00.

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In his book *In the Blood: Understanding America's Farm Families*, Robert Wuthnow gives farmers the opportunity to tell their stories and clarify what they see as misunderstandings and mischaracterizations of their lives and occupation. Wuthnow adds important context to the farmers' commentary while patiently encouraging them to speak. Given the profound discussion of the lives and meaning of the work for farmers, *In the Blood* compares to the discussion of individuals and their professions in Stud Terkel's *Work-*