

SOC 481H1F – LEC0101/LEC9101 CULTURE AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Fall 2020

Class meets: Tuesdays 12:00 - 2:00 PM

Course Delivery

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, this course will be entirely on line. This is a seminar course in which students take turns leading discussion of the readings of the week, and all students should contribute to class discussions each week. You will need a computer with a microphone and a camera. Some recommend having a headphone with a mike, to block noise in your environment so you can hear class proceedings clearly. Details of how to do your on line course work will be posted before classes start. We will work through Quercus, using mostly Assignments, BB Collaborate, and Discussions. Please get familiar with these.

PLEASE NOTE that it is highly unethical to record the class contributions of others (including fellow students) without their permission. DO NOT make audio or visual records of this class.

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Professor's office hours: TBA

INTRODUCTION

This course introduces students to the critical understanding of how social networks and forms of culture are related. This is a huge, multifaceted topic, so we will focus on two relatively important and coherent subtopics.

First, from September 15 through October 13 we will consider how personal networks and personal cultural repertoires affect each other. Personal networks are the networks of individuals, usually called “ego”. Ego’s personal network is those people he or she knows in a certain way (as closest ties, or acquaintances, as kin or workmates, and so on). Personal network variables include the variety of kinds of people a person knows, the nature of the tie between people, the density of networks (the extent to which the people a person knows also know each other), and whether the focal person is a “broker” who connects people who are not otherwise connected. Cultural variables include forms of knowledge, cognitive and evaluative frameworks, tastes, practices, and creativity.

Second, from October 20 through December 1 we will mostly consider whole networks and culture. Instead of looking at personal networks we will look at all the ties between the actors in a group with a boundary of some kind. Examples include schools, the managers of an organization, voluntary associations, and the book clubs we will consider on October 20. We will consider how networks shape influence on aspects of people’s culture, for example how people develop their own responses to a novel in response to members of their book club. Then we will consider how culture diffuses (or fails to diffuse) through networks. We will then

consider networks of cultural production such as interlinked sets of writers, artists, or musicians. We will ask questions such as how network location is related to cultural status, career success, innovation, and strategic network building.

The work of Pierre Bourdieu is foundational and shows up in most of our readings.

The goals of the course are to build your knowledge of this area, to provide you with ample opportunities to think critically and to discuss issues with others, to guide you in developing your own original essay, and by all these means to enhance your scholarly skills.

This is an advanced undergraduate seminar, not a lecture course. It is essential that you read the readings well ahead of time, think about important issues in the readings, and come to class well prepared to join in discussion.

PREREQUISITES: The prerequisite to take this course is 1.0 SOC FCEs at the 300 level, preferably selected from the recommended preparation courses: SOC 355, SOC356, SOC 348, SOC381, and SOC382. Students without the prerequisite will be removed at any time they are discovered.

EVALUATION

- 1) Analytic Comments, 10%, weekly September 22 – December 1.
- 2) Leading discussions, 15%, individual times to be arranged.
- 3) Class attendance, 10%
- 4) Class participation, 10%
- 5) Essay proposal, 10%, due October 6.
- 6) Second draft of essay, 20%, due October 27.
- 7) Essay, 25%, due December 1.

For detailed descriptions of these grade components see below, after the week by week outline describing class topics and readings.

Course e-mail policies:

- 1) I will only accept e-mails from your University of Toronto e-mail account. Please put "SOC 481" in your subject line so I know the message is course-related.
- 2) I cannot provide instant or even overnight response. I will make every effort to reply to e-mails within 48 hours.
- 3) Many important course announcements will be sent to you through Quercus, using your University of Toronto e-mail address. Be sure to check this e-mail account regularly.
- 4) E-mails asking for information in this course outline (e.g. "How much is the essay worth?") will NOT be answered. Read this outline!

READINGS

Most of the readings are journal articles that you will be able to get on Quercus. You **MUST** read the readings for each class **BEFORE** the class so that you can participate in class discussion – this is a fourth year seminar, not a lecture course.

TOPICS AND REQUIRED READINGS

September 15: Introduction

Introduces the course and some basics of network analysis and sociology of culture. We will discuss one of the most famous articles in social science, Granovetter's "Strength of Weak Ties."

READINGS:

Granovetter, Mark. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78:1360-80.

Those of you who have NOT taken SOC 355 or SOC 356 need to improve your familiarity with the basics of network analysis. Please read:

Marin, Alexandra and Barry Wellman. 2011. "Social Network Analysis: An Introduction." Pp. 11-25 in *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, edited by J. Scott and P. Carrington. London: Sage.

September 22: Network Variety and Cultural Variety

Erickson (1996) pioneered the study of links between the variety of kinds of people you know, and the extent to which you know something about a wide range of genres. This is a highly cited and influential paper (winner of the Best Article Award from the American Sociological Association Section on Sociology of Culture), and you will find it cited in several of your other readings.

READINGS:

Erickson, Bonnie H. 1996. "Culture, Class, and Connections." *American Journal of Sociology* 102:217-251.

September 29: Beyond Knowledge: Network Diversity Effects on Other Kinds of Culture

In analysing my latest research project I found that culture does not always flow through weak ties as freely as in Erickson (1996). Your reading this week is my attempt to develop a theory of when forms of culture do, or do not, flow through weak ties, with a focus on ties within and between ethnic status groups (White, Black, and Chinese in Toronto).

The optional readings further extend the question of how weak tie diversity affects culture, with a focus on political culture.

Cote and Erickson (2009) and Tindall (2002) both work with the same kind of measure of occupational diversity in networks used in Erickson (1996, forthcoming). Cote and Erickson (2009) consider how different kinds of network diversity are related to tolerance for immigrants and minorities in Canada. The optional reading Cote et al. (2015) goes further in exploring the roles of respondent class and close ties.

Tindall (2002) considers how the diversity of ties to fellow members of environmental groups affects participation in movement activities. For more work on political culture, see the optional reading Erickson (2006) on networks and views on gendered issues, and see Guilbeault,

Becker, and Centola (2018) for a review of the diffusion of political views and practices.

READINGS

Erickson, Bonnie H. Forthcoming. "The Problem of Culture Flows in Weak Ties." To appear in Mario L. Small, Brea Perry, Bernice Pescosolido, and Edward B. Smith (eds.), *Personal Networks: Classic Readings and New Directions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

OPTIONAL READINGS

Côte, Rochelle and Bonnie H. Erickson. 2009. "Untangling the Roots of Tolerance: How Forms of Social Capital Shape Attitudes toward Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants." *American Behavioral Scientist* 52:1664-1689.

Tindall, David B. 2002. "Social Networks, Identification, and Participation in an Environmental Movement." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 39:413-452.

Côté, Rochelle R., Bob Andersen and Bonnie H. Erickson. 2015. "Social Capital and Ethnic Tolerance: The Opposing Effects of Diversity and Competition." Pp. 91-106 in Yaojun Li, ed., *The Handbook of Research Methods and Applications on Social Capital*, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Erickson, Bonnie H. 2006. "Persuasion and perception: new models of network effects on gendered issues." Pp. 293-322 in Brenda O'Neill and Elisabeth Gidengil (eds.), *Gender and Social Capital*. New York: Routledge.

Guilbeault, Douglas, Joshua Becker, and Damon Centola. 2018. "Complex Contagion: A Decade in Review." Pp. 3-25 in Sune Lehmann and Yong-Yeol. Ahn (eds.), *Complex Spreading Phenomena in Social Systems*. Springer, 2018.

October 6: Personal Network Structure and Culture; ESSAY PROPOSALS DUE

Here we shift from the variety of kinds of people known, to the structure of the ties that connect them. Burt finds that people in brokerage positions generate more good ideas and get more recognition of them. Xiao and Tsui show that the effect of structural holes depends on the prevailing culture in a field.

Aral and Van Alstyne show that sometimes people get more information from a few strong ties than from brokerage. Bruggeman constructively criticizes Aral and Van Alstyne. In the optional reading, Aral replies. This is a fine example of scholarly debate, and a model for your own analytic comments.

READINGS

Aral, Sinan and Marshall Van Alstyne. 2011. "The Diversity-Bandwidth Trade-off." *American Journal of Sociology* 117:90-171. Read pages 90-110 (and more if you are interested).

Bruggeman, Jeroen. 2016. "The strength of varying tie strength: Comment on Aral and Van Alstyne." *American Journal of Sociology* 121: 1919-30.

Burt, Ronald S. 2004. "Structural Holes and Good Ideas." *American Journal of Sociology* 110:349-399.

OPTIONAL READINGS

- Aral, Sinan. 2016. "The Future of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 121:1931-1939.
- Xiao, Zhixing and Anne S. Tsui. 2007. "When Brokers May Not Work: The Cultural Contingency of Social Capital in Chinese High Tech Firms." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 52: 1-31.

October 13: Effects of Culture on Networks

Networks affect culture, but culture affects networks too. The most recent and sophisticated work on this huge topic is Lewis and Kaufman (2018). This essay draws on the other three readings, so I suggest you skim those first.

READINGS

- Edelmann, Achim and Stephen Vaisey. 2014. "Cultural resources and cultural distinction in networks." *Poetics* 46: 22-37.
- Lewis, Kevin, and Jason Kaufman. 2018. "The Conversion of Cultural Tastes into Social Network Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 123: 1684-1742.
- Lizardo, Omar. 2006. "How Cultural Tastes Shape Personal Networks." *American Sociological Review* 71:778-807.
- Vaisey, Stephen and Omar Lizardo. 2010. "Can Cultural Worldviews Influence Network Composition?" *Social Forces* 88:1595-1618.

October 20: Influence in Networks

We now switch from personal networks to (mostly) whole networks.

This week, we consider how networks have influence on various kinds of culture.

Childress and Friedkin examine the structure of influence relationships in book clubs and their effects on how people interpret and evaluate a novel. Based on the same book club research, Rawlings and Childress (2019) is a very new and interesting merger of two kinds of influence on culture, a person's social location and the networks the person is influenced by. Rawlings and Childress ask how members of book clubs modify the complex meanings they find in a novel in response to both their social locations and the dispositions the people have developed in those locations (such as gender differences in how people see the central romantic relationship in the novel), and, the influence of their discussion partners in the book club.

The optional reading examines influence in stronger ties. Pachuki et al. shows that people influence the eating choices of those close to them, with different kinds of ties affecting different kinds of eating.

READINGS

- Childress, C. Clayton and Noah E. Friedkin. 2012. "Cultural Reception and Production: The Social Construction of Meaning in Book Clubs." *American Sociological Review* 77:45-68.
- Rawlings, Craig M. And Clayton Childress. 2019. "Emergent Meanings: Reconciling Dispositional and Situational Accounts of Meaning-Making from Cultural Objects." *American Journal of Sociology* 124: 1763-1809.

Optional Extra Readings

Pachuki, Mark A., Paul F. Jacques, and Nicholas Christakis. 2011. "Social Concordance in Food Choices Among Spouses, Friends, and Siblings." *American Journal of Public Health* 101: 2170-2177.

October 27: Diffusion of culture through networks; SECOND DRAFT OF YOUR ESSAY DUE

Centola and Macy make an important contribution to work on network structure and diffusion. The front and back of this paper give useful reviews of big issues in this research area.

In the optional readings, Guilbert, Becker and Centola provide a very recent update on complex contagion research. It includes work on the spread of health and illness, the diffusion of innovations, the role of social media in diffusion, and the diffusion of political views and practices. This is a valuable resource for students interested in doing an essay on one of these topics. If you are interested in health, even better and more recent is Zhang and Centola (2019), especially the second section on the diffusion of health information and beliefs. This has an interesting section on the role of on line networks.

McDermott, Fowler, and Christakis show that divorce can diffuse through strong ties. There are many other recent pieces tracking the diffusion of having children, obesity, depression, suicidal thoughts, adoption of new technologies, and so on.

Gondal shows that the distribution of a bit of culture and the nature of social networks can lead to diffusion that reinforces existing inequality, undermines it, or has no effect. The literature review section of this article is worth reading.

Wang and Soule (2012) is an example of studying actors other than people. They show how show how centrality in networks of social movement organizations affects the diffusion of new political tactics.

READINGS

Centola, Damon and Michael Macy. 2007. "Complex Contagion and the Weakness of Long Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 113: 702-34.

OPTIONAL READINGS

Gondal, Neha. 2015. "Inequality Preservation through Uneven Diffusion of Cultural Materials across Stratified Groups." *Social Forces* 93: 1109-1137.

Guilbeault, Douglas, Joshua Becker, and Damon Centola. 2018. "Complex Contagion: A Decade in Review." Pp. 3-25 in Sune Lehmann and Yong-Yeol. Ahn (eds.), *Complex Spreading Phenomena in Social Systems*. Springer, 2018.

McDermott, Rose, James H. Fowler, and Nicholas A. Christakis. 2013. "Breaking Up is Hard to Do, Unless Everyone Else is Doing it Too: Social Network Effects on Divorce in a Longitudinal Sample." *Social Forces* 92: 491-520.

Wang, Dan J. and Sarah A. Soule. 2012. "Social Movement Organization Collaboration." *American Journal of Sociology* 117: 1674-1722.

Zhang, Jingwen, and Damon Centola. 2019. "Social Networks and Health: New Developments in Diffusion, Online and Offline." *Annual Review of Sociology* 45: 91-109.

November 3: Fields of Cultural Production

Writers, musicians and other culture producers do not work alone – they work in communities. The network structure of such communities is critical. Becker and Bourdieu are the two most important general thinkers about what such communities are like. Bottero and Crossley argue that both Becker and Bourdieu needed more attention to networks, and give two examples of networks in UK music scenes.

READINGS

Becker, Howard S. 1974. "Art as Collective Action." *American Sociological Review* 39:767-776.
 Bottero, Wendy and Nick Crossley. 2011. "Worlds, Fields and Networks: Becker, Bourdieu and the Structures of Social Relations." *Cultural Sociology* 5:99-119.
 Bourdieu, Pierre. 1983. "The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed." *Poetics* 12:311-356.

November 10 Reading Week, No Class

November 17: A Model Analysis of a Literary Field

Here we consider the overall structure of a literary field and the links between field position and culture. Anheier et al. map the social structure of a set of German writers, and connect their work to Bourdieu's theories.

READING

Anheier, Helmut K. Jurgen Gerhards, and Frank P. Romo. 1995. "Forms of Capital and Social Structure in Cultural Fields: Examining Bourdieu's Social Topography." *American Journal of Sociology* 100:859-903.

November 24: Personal Networks within Fields

An artist's career success depends on having a good location in the field's network structure (Guiffre, Scott.). Gatekeepers for different kinds of culture, here different kinds of music bands, need different kinds of networks to work effectively (Foster et al.).

READINGS

Foster, Pacey, Stephen P. Borgatti, and Candace Jones. 2011. "Gatekeeper search and selection strategies: Relational and network governance in a cultural market." *Poetics* 39:247-265.
 Guiffre, Katherine. 1999. "Sandpiles of Opportunity: Success in the Art World." *Social Forces* 77:815-32.
 Scott, Michael. 2012. "Cultural entrepreneurs, cultural entrepreneurship: Music producers mobilising and converting Bourdieu's alternative capitals." *Poetics* 40:237-255.

December 1: Field Structures and Innovation; ESSAYS DUE

READING

De Vaan, Mathijs, David Stark, and Balazs Vedres. 2015. Game Changer: The Topology of Creativity." *American Journal of Sociology* 120: 1144-94.

Uzzi, Brian and Jarrett Spiro. 2005. "Collaboration and Creativity: The Small World Problem." *American Journal of Sociology* 111: 447-504 (read 447-465).

December 8: Student presentations

Students will give short summaries of their essays. This is a great opportunity for you to learn more about each other's work. To avoid any extra pressure at this busy time of the academic year, the presentations will not be graded. If you are missing any attendance or participation points, you can get some here.

EVALUATION

Forms of evaluation and their contributions to your final grade:

1) Analytic Comments, 10%

For each of 10 weeks, September 22 to December 1, read the week's readings well ahead of time. Construct at least two analytic comments on the readings. You should discuss some aspects of the links between networks and culture in the readings for the week. Each comment should be one paragraph about half a page long. Submit your comments to the entire class via Quercus at least two days before the class (that is, on or before the Sunday before the class). You will receive one percentage point towards your final grade for each set of analytic comments submitted on time. Since the point of this is to prepare you for good class discussion, late submissions do not count.

Analytic comments address key issues, not picky little matters. Possible topics include key concepts (are they clear? Do they make sense in the context of the central argument of the paper? Would a different conceptualization be better?), measurement (is a key variable measured appropriately?), arguments (does the argument in a reading make sense? Does it leave out something important? Could the argument be generalized to other topics or settings?), and comparison and contrast of different arguments about the same thing.

Your readings include many fine examples of analytic commentary, usually in the literature review section when people discuss previous work and its strengths and weaknesses.

2) Leading discussions, 15%

Each student will help to lead off discussion in two of the weeks September 22-December 1. Students will be assigned to weeks during the first class. There will be 2-3 students leading discussion in each week, so students leading discussion for the same week should meet virtually ahead of time to divide up their work. Students are strongly encouraged to meet on line with Professor Erickson to discuss their plans ahead of time.

Each discussion leading group will prepare a written set of discussion notes for the class. This will include a short summary of one important aspect of a reading or readings, some kind of analytic commentary, and questions for class discussion. Students will submit these notes to the whole class via Quercus ahead of time IN PLACE OF the analytic questions you all submit the Sunday before class. Discussion leaders for the week do not need to submit both analytic questions and discussion notes. Each student will make a SHORT presentation based on the

discussion notes (5 minutes maximum) and then raise issues for discussion. Other students (the ones not involved in leading that week) should raise related questions and comments of their own. After the discussion leaders have finished, we will move on to any remaining questions and issues contributed by others.

Each group of discussion leaders will get a group grade. The instructor will rate the overall quality of the group contributions and give the same grade to each group member.

3) Class attendance, 10%

You will receive 1% towards your final grade, to a maximum of 10%, for each class which you attend.

4) Class participation, 10%

You will receive 1% towards your final grade, to a maximum of 10%, for each class in which you make contributions to class discussions.

Your contributions to class discussion should be respectful of other students. Engage in civilized debate, working towards a common goal of deeper understanding and learning. Do not hog all the air time – everyone needs to contribute.

5) Essay proposal, 10%. Due October 6.

Write a short (1-3 pages) description of the topic you would like to write on for your essay. To this, add a starting reading list of scholarly books or articles you are thinking of using. The reading list is not part of the 1-3 page limit, that is just for your text. Your starting reading list should include several relevant readings from our course, and several you have found by doing library research on your chosen topic.

The proposal is an important way to make sure your topic is suitable for our course, and, to get some initial feedback from me.

When thinking about possible topics, do not limit yourself to the topics in the first few weeks! There is lots of fun stuff in the second half of the course. Skim readings for topics that seem interesting to you, and if they appeal, read them more seriously and start thinking about possible related topics for your essay.

Consulting with me before you write your proposal is highly recommended.

6) Second draft of essay, 20%. Due October 27.

Write a half-length version of your essay (no more than 8 pages of text). Use this opportunity to develop and/or modify the ideas in your proposal and get more feedback.

7) Essay, 25%. Due December 1.

PROCEDURES

There is a strict page limit of no more than 15 pages for the essay, double spaced, with font size 12 points or larger and margins at least 1". References, figures and tables are not included in the page limit.

Please use ASA referencing style. Include a cover page with your name and student number, course information, and essay title. Please number your pages, starting with 1 for the first page of your text (not the cover page).

NO FAX OR E-MAIL SUBMISSIONS WILL BE ACCEPTED. Submit all your work through Quercus (details will be provided before classes start).

Using Turnitin

Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Turnitin is now embedded in Quercus, and usually all your course submissions will be checked by Turnitin.

Assignments not submitted through *Turnitin* will receive a grade of zero (0 %), unless a student instead provides sufficient secondary material (e.g., reading notes, outlines of the paper, rough drafts of the final draft, etc.) to establish that the paper they submit is truly their own. Students wishing to use this option must declare their intention to Professor Erickson and meet with her to set up a schedule for submission of work in progress, at least one week before the essay proposal is due.

TOPICS

Most students will pick a course topic that interests them and pursue it in greater depth by finding more scholarly work on the topic and developing an argument based on this richer set of materials.

Students who have completed both SOC 200 (methods) and SOC 300 (multivariate statistics) may consider doing a research paper using publicly available data sets. There are two kinds of good Canadian data sets that include network data similar to that in Erickson (1996): the Canadian Federal Election studies, 2004 onwards, and the General Social Survey of Canada, 2008. These data sets include variables that can be read as forms of culture. The election studies include a variety of questions about politics. The GSS includes questions about internet use, trust, political participation, volunteering, and religiosity. This is a challenging option, so if you are thinking about it, talk to me SOON.

DO NOT PLAGIARIZE

Be careful to avoid plagiarism. That is, do not copy words from someone else's writings and present them as your own. If you include someone else's words, use quotation marks and give proper references. It is NOT enough to just include your source in your list of references. Plagiarism is a serious academic offense with very heavy penalties (see the Academic Handbook).

See also the section on ACADEMIC INTEGRITY below.

LATE ESSAYS

If your essay proposal, second draft of the essay, or final essay is handed in late, I will deduct 10% of the maximum possible grade for *each weekday* the work is late. The maximum penalty is 100% of your grade, for papers 10 or more days late.

PERMISSION FOR LATE SUBMISSIONS OF ESSAY PROPOSALS AND ESSAYS

If you have acceptable reasons concerning things beyond your control, you may apply for permission to submit your essay proposal or your essay after the due date.

The most common reason is ill health that makes it impossible to complete your essay on time. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, we no longer require students to get a form filled in by a doctor. Instead, you must do two things. (1) Send an e-mail to your instructor (Professor Erickson) explaining that you are ill and will need to be late with your work. It is not necessary to tell your instructor what your health issue is, this is a personal matter and your privacy must be respected. (2) Declare your absence on the system (ACORN).

In other cases, such as personal or family crisis, contact your college registrar. College registrars are very experienced, very discreet, and there to help you. The registrar will assess your situation and send an email to your instructor with their recommendations. The registrar does not normally tell the instructor what the problem is, since your privacy should be respected.

STUDENTS WHO NEED ACCOMMODATIONS

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please approach Accessibility Services at (416) 978 8060 or accessibility.utoronto.ca.

Do not approach your professor about accommodations. The people at Accessibility Services have the necessary expertise, and they provide full confidentiality, so your privacy is protected.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. Academic integrity is a fundamental value of learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that your University of Toronto degree is valued and respected as a true signifier of your individual academic achievement.

The University of Toronto's Code of Behavior on Academic Matters outlines the behaviors that constitute academic misconduct, the processes for addressing academic offences, and the penalties that may be imposed. You are expected to be familiar with the contents of this document. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgment.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment (this includes working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work).

On tests and exams:

- Looking at someone else's answers.
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code of Behavior on Academic Matters*. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information from me or other available campus resources like the College Writing Centers, the Academic Success Centre, or the U of T Writing Website.