

Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

The mediastudies.press *Goffman in the Open* series

Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Beyond Penn

The phrase “beyond Penn,” used in this chapter, means that no participants in the activities under discussion (aside from Goffman himself) were affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania. There are just two cases in which Goffman participated in multi- or interdisciplinary groups beyond Penn that seem useful to describe, both because they are of intrinsic interest, showing the breadth of his concerns and influence, and because they have not (at least, not yet) been examined in detail elsewhere. Goffman participated in numerous conferences, of course, both in the US and internationally, but many of those have already been well documented (especially in Winkin 2022a). Instead, here are, first, a conference he helped to organize, and then, a national committee established to review incarceration, of which he was a member.

The conference here, as with those emphasized previously, is one he helped to organize. Such examples are rare: While his conference presentations and speaking engagements were legion, Goffman did not typically take the lead on organizing them. What will not be included in this chapter are stories of all the times Goffman went to a conference or was a guest speaker. Even his six-week stay at the University of Manchester in spring 1966 is not a focus of attention.¹

Nonverbal Dimensions of Social Interaction Conference

Goffman worked with Robert E. Kleck and several others to organize a conference on Nonverbal Dimensions of Social Interaction, held in Glen Cove, NY, June 16–18, 1969.² At the time of the conference, Kleck was as-

sistant professor of psychology at Dartmouth College. He had earned his PhD in psychology at Stanford in 1964, where, at different times, he worked with Jack Hildegard, Alex Bavelas, and Albert Hastorf. Since Hastorf had worked with Stephen Richardson, a sociologist affiliated with the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York, doing research on disability, that led to a connection between Kleck and Richardson. Kleck had read several of Goffman's books and today describes *Stigma* (Goffman 1963a) as "the book that influenced my subsequent research." While doing early research on physical disability, Kleck told Richardson that it seemed to him that nonverbal communication was an essential element when physically different people interact with physically "normal" individuals, and Richardson thought he was "on to something" and felt "this needed to be pursued—in terms of methodology and what might be discovered," which is what led to the conference. Richardson at that point was Research Director for the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children (AACC),³ and in that capacity was able to arrange funding for a conference on nonverbal communication and methods for observing social interaction. Kleck explained, "Clearly the agenda for the conference was not to be children with disabilities but what was already known about nonverbal communication, and how to analyze social interaction in order to discover the underlying dynamics. . . . Persons who were selected resonated with that focus."

Kleck was the chair of the conference, but Richardson, Goffman, and Starkey Duncan all helped with the organization: "Richardson and I carried the burden of pulling together the list of participants—but Goffman clearly had suggestions for additional participants." Most of the organization of the event occurred through correspondence rather than in person. In addition to Goffman, presenters included: Leonard A. Rosenblum (Primate Behavior Laboratory, State University of New York Downstate Medical Center), Paul Ekman (psychology, University of California, San Francisco), George Mahl (psychology and psychiatry, Yale), Robert Sommer (psychology, University of California, Davis), Allen T. Dittmann (psychology, NIMH), Edward T. Hall (anthropology, Northwestern), Robert Rosenthal (psychology, Harvard), Klaus Scherer (psychology, then a doctoral student at Harvard), Sue Milmoie (psychology, Harvard), Starkey Duncan Jr. (psychology, Chicago), John Newson (psychology, Nottingham University), and Howard Rosenfeld (psychology, University of Kansas). Discussants were Gordon Jensen, Michael Argyle (social psychology, University of Oxford), A. Richard Diebold Jr. (linguistics, Stanford), Norman A. McQuown (anthropology, Chicago), and

Nico H. Frijda (psychology, University of Amsterdam). The list is notable both for international participation (Newson and Argyle from England, Frijda from the Netherlands) and for the range of disciplines (psychology, psychiatry, sociology, linguistics, anthropology, and biology). There were several observers, although there was not space for many; one who made a comment and so whose presence was noted in the documentation was Ralph Exline (psychology, University of Delaware). Those who have already been mentioned elsewhere in this book in various capacities in other projects include Duncan, Ekman, Exline, Hall, McQuown, and Scherer, mostly for connections with MAP; in addition, Rosenthal co-edited the proceedings from the Clever Hans conference (Sebeok and Rosenthal 1981). Birdwhistell was not invited to the conference because Kleck was told that he and Ekman had serious theory differences (as in fact they did).

Kleck no longer has a copy of the various conference papers, but he prepared a report of the conference for AACC (1969), which he kept and has been kind enough to share with me. That report reveals that Goffman's paper was entitled "The Analysis of Body Gloss and Remedial Exchanges," which seems likely to have been an early version of content in *Relations in Public* (1971). The description of it in the report begins with a summary by Kleck:

It is Goffman's contention that most of us (participants at the conference) are really interested in the close-grained structure of social or public order. If we grant that this constitutes the natural focus of our analysis, then the next question concerns the possible unit that one might employ in such an analysis. It is Goffman's initial purpose to suggest a number of possible units of analysis starting with the largest and moving to the smallest. (64)

Goffman's was the final paper of the conference, so it was an appropriate time for such a summary. Among the specific concepts introduced in the rest of the paper were: users vs. stock characters, solos and withs, contacts and service stops, states of talk, a vehicular unit. As Goffman explained, "These then are the initial five sets of units, each of which cut the social order in a slightly different way" (65). The second part of what Goffman presented concerns "how persons 'stand' in relationship to a given rule" (66), with descriptions of body gloss and remedial exchanges, which he said were "a fundamental unit of public order" (67). These concepts should seem familiar to those who know Goffman's work.

In addition to his own paper, the report documents that Goffman frequently commented on the presentations by others at the conference. In fact, he had something to say about nearly everyone's paper, clearly listening carefully

and taking what others said seriously. An example comes from discussion of Mahl's presentation on "The Psychological Significance of Posture and Posture Changes within the Therapeutic Relationship," after Ekman's formal response; Sommer and Mahl also commented. In this case, there are quotes around the entire section by Goffman, so presumably this is exactly what he said rather than a paraphrase.

If we are going to get anywhere, our task is to describe any event in terms of its broadest scope, for therein lies its naturalistic description. We can't talk about an instance of a class when we should be talking about the class. If I can be convinced about anything, it is this. At some level, we have got to forget about the occasion of the act and look at the form and the family from which that form comes. There is a language of those forms in our society and we won't get at the language if we take seriously any particular occasion of its occurrence. (12)

Another example shows the comments Goffman made in response to Hall's paper, simply titled "Proxemics." Here the comments were summarized by Kleck.

Goffman noted, in response to a series of pictures showing transitions in the use of physical distance from second to third generation foreigners in the United States that one cannot make statements about interaction distances independent of knowledge about the "social frame" which applies to the particular situation in which the photographs or the observations are made. A different set of social rules are invoked when the social frame is modified. He notes for example that when photographs are taken the degree of contact which is permissible is greatly enhanced. (39–40)

A few of the responses by Goffman might have been seen as antagonistic. Asked about this, Kleck suggests:

Erving had a very critical bent to him obviously and was not shy about saying "I think that's not a good idea," or "that's right on." And he saw it as constructive to give feedback to people and took that as on as his role. . . . Goffman was critical by nature and carefully weighed the substance of an argument and his response to it. The general tenor of the conference was very friendly and people were willing to tolerate different points of view. I don't remember any antagonism. But it was 60 years ago.

Reading the detailed report makes it seem that Goffman adopted the role he took on in other conferences, that of synthesizing at least some of what had been said so everyone would be ready to move on, even though that was not his formal appointed role for this event.

Kleck and Goffman had met in person in August 1967 when they served on the same panel at the American Sociological Association in San Francisco, "The Social Consequences of Stigma." That panel was chaired by Fred Davis, a contemporary of Goffman's in sociology at Chicago, then at the University of California Medical Center; the final panelist was Richardson.⁴

Kleck and Goffman also exchanged at least some unpublished manuscripts: Goffman's files included "Physical Stigma and Nonverbal Cues Emitted in Face to Face Interaction," later published in *Human Relations* (Kleck 1968a).⁵ That article cites Goffman several times but does not make substantial use of his work. However, in another 1968 article, "Self-Disclosure Patterns in the Nonobviously Stigmatized," Kleck begins with Goffman's "general categories of persons who are different from others in an 'undesirable way'" and how "in Goffman's analysis of the social-psychological implications of stigma an important aspect of a stigma condition concerns its visibility to others" (1968b, 1239). And he ends with the conclusion that "the results tend to confirm Goffman's observation that information management becomes a strong concern and interpersonal problem area for stigmatized individuals who are permitted the tactic of passing and choose to employ it extensively" (1248).

The 1969 conference did not result in a proceedings volume, partly because Kleck was an assistant professor at the time. But there were other activities and publications influenced by conversations at the conference, and even more by Goffman's ideas and publications. First, Kleck and Richardson studied the Fresh Air Fund's summer camp for children in Fishkill, NY. The site was chosen as "one of the few places where fairly large numbers of physically handicapped kids were integrated with physically normal kids. . . . Goffman stimulated the analysis—we asked what handicapped kids were doing to improve their social status but never discovered anything that seemed to work. The primary finding was that it all depended on how physically attractive the kids were." And that meant the handicapped kids were relegated to the bottom of the social group. The results were published as Richardson, Ronald, and Kleck (1974), and clearly show the influence of Goffman (1959c) on the presentation of self.

Second, Kleck organized a later conference at the Dartmouth Binary Conference Center. This event brought together most of the social psychologists working on stigma issues, another topic for which Goffman is well known (see Goffman 1963a); it resulted in the book *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (Heatherton et al. 2000).

Third, a research project begun by Edward Jones and Albert Hastorf while Jones was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford resulted in the book *Social Stigma* (Jones et al. 1984). Overall, Kleck says of these further projects: “I don’t know that they were influenced so much by the conference as they were influenced by Goffman.” He never saw Goffman after the 1969 conference, but nonetheless acknowledges that Goffman had significant influence: “Oh my goodness, was the influence there—he is one of my mentors who I’ve had very little contact with.”

Committee for the Study of Incarceration

In a completely separate project, having nothing whatsoever to do with Penn or any of the activities or colleagues described to this point, Goffman was invited to be a member of a national group studying incarceration. This story will be told briefly, because it truly had little to do with anything else discussed to this point, but since other Goffman scholars have not yet noted its existence, it merits description. Like all the other stories told to this point, it too involved Goffman collaborating with a variety of colleagues drawn from multiple disciplines, and their connections have remained invisible to those seeking to understand Goffman and his work. Unlike those projects but like the conference just presented, none of the other participants were based at Penn.

As a direct response to the uprising at Attica prison in September 1971, the worst prison riot in US history, resulting in forty-three deaths (Margolis 1971), the Committee for the Study of Incarceration was created in late 1971, funded by grants from the Field Foundation and the New World Foundation (von Hirsch 1976a). The committee’s goal was to “study involuntary confinement in mental hospitals and reform schools as well as in prisons and jails” (Lissner 1971). The idea originated with the Field Foundation. Charles E. Goodell, a former US senator and chair of the Presidential Clemency Board, was made chair, and he looked for “leading scholars” who would “examine the validity of all our assumptions about prisons—and about prison reform” (Lissner 1971). Other committee members were: Marshall Cohen (philosophy, City University of New York), Samuel DuBois Cook (political science, Duke), Alan M. Dershowitz (law, Harvard), Willard Gaylin (psychiatry, Columbia), Joseph Goldstein (law, Yale), Jorge Lara-Braud (Commission on Faith and Order, National Council of Churches), Victor Marrero (First

Assistant Council to the Governor of New York), Eleanor Holmes Norton (chair, New York City Commission on Human Rights), David J. Rothman (history, Columbia), Simon Rottenberg (economics, University of Massachusetts), Herman Schwartz (chair, New York Commission of Correction), Stanton Wheeler (law and sociology, Yale), and Leslie T. Wilkins (criminal justice, State University of New York, Albany). The committee was given a staff, several of whom were quite active participants: Andrew von Hirsch (appointed as executive director of the committee; also criminal justice, SUNY Albany; also the former legislative counsel for Goodell), David F. Greenberg (appointed as senior fellow of the committee; also sociology, NYU); as well as Susan Steward (research associate), Patricia Ebener (research assistant), Andrea Shechter (research aide), and Janiska Boudream (secretary) (von Hirsch 1976a). As von Hirsch says in the introduction, “The group was interdisciplinary in the broadest sense” (xxiv), including not only the obvious sociologists, psychiatrists, and lawyers, but also representatives from philosophy, history, economics, and political science. And, as with other multi- or interdisciplinary groups, there were “built-in hazards” (xxiv), largely because each group member was an expert in a limited area, but they came with “different language, different premises, and indeed, often, a different style of reasoning” (xxv). Even so, they all agreed on one thing: “an insistence on not doing harm” (xxxiv). Committee offices were based in Washington, DC. The group was given a budget of \$175,000 and asked to “try to devise alternative measures to replace institutions of confinement” (Lissner 1971).

Why was Goffman invited onto this committee? It seems possible, even likely (although unconfirmed) that Louis B. Schwartz, who was a law professor at Penn and one of the Benjamin Franklin Professors with Goffman, as well as director of the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, may have recommended Goffman as a potential member.⁶ In addition, Becker has pointed out that *Asylums* “may have, on occasion, helped to instigate attempts at their reform” (2003, 662) because it “made possible a deeper understanding of these phenomena than either denunciation or defense ever had” (669). And so, *Asylums* is an obvious and sufficient reason why Goffman was asked to participate in this committee: That book was both well-known and directly relevant. But was that his only relevant work that the people creating the committee would have known about? Absolutely not. Consideration of Goffman’s early activities while at NIMH, both conference presentations and resulting publications through the late 1950s and 1960s, already documented in chapter 2, demonstrates significant activity related

to issues of mental health and institutionalization. The result of connections with a wide network of scholars, especially psychologists and psychiatrists, but also anthropologists and sociologists, could easily have brought Goffman to the attention of those choosing members of the committee in 1972. Also, he had just helped Thomas Szasz⁷ organize the American Association for the Abolition of Involuntary Mental Hospitalization in 1970 (Szasz 1971; Winkin 2022b), a group having obvious overlaps with prison reform. Adding all those activities to Goffman's status as a Benjamin Franklin Professor at Penn, especially with a possible recommendation from another such, suggests that he must have seemed an obvious choice.

Once membership had been established, the Committee for the Study of Incarceration met for four years, holding over twenty working sessions (Robbins 1977), before issuing its report, the book *Doing Justice* (von Hirsch 1976a). As of March 2025, Google Scholar reports 2,284 citations of the book, so it was certainly noticed. In a short article designed to draw attention to the book, von Hirsch clearly summarizes the committee's major conclusion in that book: It "proposes a system of standardized penalties: for each gradation of seriousness, a definite penalty—the 'presumptive sentence'—would be set" (1976b, 4). This follows a "just deserts" model; the punishment should fit the crime, and so very few people would be imprisoned for more than a few years. Looking back from a distance of several decades, Garland explains the committee's conclusions even more clearly: "*Doing Justice* explicitly endorsed a retributivist philosophy of punishment. It stressed the moral superiority of proportional, backward-looking punishments—'just deserts'—and the immoral, authoritarian dangers of penal measures based upon predictions of future criminality, or upon evaluations of the individual's character and mode of life" (2001, 59).

What was Goffman's role in the committee and the report? The book is made up of brief chapters, with no indication of who said what during meetings except for a few objections provided by a few members in the appendix; none is from Goffman, so presumably he agreed with the book's major conclusions. However, Goffman's name and several quotes from his publications appear in "Chapter 13: Incarceration." Each of these will be listed, because it is interesting to see what von Hirsch chose to highlight out of all Goffman's work, and because this is the only clue found to date as to his role in the group.

- “A free person, Erving Goffman has pointed out, ‘tends to sleep, play, and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities.’ An incarcerated person must perform most or all of these activities in the same place and under the same authority.” (von Hirsch 1976a, 108; quote is from Goffman 1961b, 5–6)
- “In Erving Goffman’s words: . . . among inmates in many total institutions there is a strong feeling that time spent in the establishment is time wasted or destroyed or taken from one’s life; it is time that must be written off; it is something that must be ‘done’ or ‘marked’ or ‘put in’ or ‘pulled.’ In prisons and mental hospitals, a general statement of how well one is adapting to the institution may be phrased in terms of how one is doing time, whether easily or hard. This time is something its doers have bracketed off for constant conscious consideration in a way not quite found on the outside. As a result, the inmate tends to feel that for the duration of his required stay—his sentence—he has been totally exiled from living.” (von Hirsch 1976a, 110; quote is from Goffman 1961b, 67–68)
- There is a third reference to Goffman, relating to how “time crawls for the incarcerated individual” (von Hirsch 1976a, 114), which cites Goffman (1961b, 67–69), but this time the original words are not quoted in the body of the text.

All of this is relevant because few quotes are provided in the book, and certainly not three for any other committee member, which suggests that Goffman was an active participant in the meetings and, perhaps especially, once they began writing up their report.

A different report produced several decades later, prepared on behalf of the Committee on Causes and Consequences of High Rates of Incarceration and supported by grants from the MacArthur Foundation and the US Department of Justice, names the von Hirsch report as one of three they call “the most influential reform proposals” during the 1970s, because it called for “the abolition of parole release and the creation of enforceable standards to guide judges’ decisions in individual cases and provide a basis for appellate review” (Travis et al. 2014, 76). Even more significantly, they found: “Policy makers responded” (76). Interestingly, that later report cites work by both Erving Goffman (although this time for *Stigma*, rather than *Asylums*, as in the earlier report), as well as his daughter, Alice Goffman (2009). And it is common for later analyses of incarceration to cite both the von Hirsch report (1976a) and Goffman’s *Asylums* (1961a), as is the case for Garland (2001).

Conclusion

This chapter has been a footnote to the earlier discussions of Goffman's role in multi- or interdisciplinary collaborations and his development of an invisible college. It documents his involvement in a conference on nonverbal behavior and a national commission on incarceration. These are important only insofar as they provide evidence of his connections into areas typically overlooked, two very minor stories to add to his more significant activities, especially those at Penn. In addition, however, they suggest that there remains still more to be learned about his involvement with colleagues across disciplinary boundaries and his involvement in a far wider range of collaborative projects across his career than have been typically even mentioned, let alone documented.

Endnotes

¹ Instead, see Braga 2011; Sharrock 1999; Winkin 2022a, 2022b.

² This section is based on a phone interview with Robert Kleck (Mar 14, 2024), and all quotes come either from our conversation or the written materials he provided, unless another source is indicated. I have found no documentation for this conference in any of the archives consulted. What I did find was an incorrect reference to the wrong event, and somehow that led me to Kleck. He was gracious enough to reply and sort things out for me. A good example of the twists and turns of historical research.

³ For information about the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, see <https://www.fcd-us.org/about-us/history/>.

⁴ https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1967_annual_meeting_program_c.pdf.

⁵ This is noted in the list of works in Goffman's files compiled by Winkin (1998).

⁶ Schwartz to Benjamin Franklin Professors, n.d. [received Jan 29, 1971], RED. (This letter does not mention Goffman, but it does mention Schwartz's role with the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws.)

⁷ Goffman and Szasz corresponded from 1957 on, exchanging drafts and publications, and occasionally connecting at conferences (TSz).

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