Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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CHAPTER TWO

Before Penn

Goffman did not suddenly establish multi- and interdisciplinary connections with colleagues for the first time only after arriving at Penn. Several prior contexts influenced him in this regard. The first of these was the University of Chicago, the second was the National Institute of Mental Health, but the most significant was the University of California, Berkeley. Goffman was also briefly at Harvard University. Each of these contexts will be described in this chapter.[1] Briefly, at Chicago Goffman was introduced to a cohort of other students who shared some of his interests and learned to take interdisciplinarity for granted as strong ties developed among both faculty and students across multiple disciplines, but with a focus on sociology, anthropology, and psychology. At NIMH, the set of disciplines widened, emphasizing not only psychology but also psychiatry, and he collaborated with colleagues, having some of his work included both on conference panels and in edited collections. At Berkeley, he more actively participated in building multiple small collections of scholars interested in overlapping topics, most significantly the Saturday group, a direct precursor to his later invisible college at Penn.

University of Chicago

Goffman came by interdisciplinarity naturally, at least from his time as a student at the University of Chicago, where he earned his MA (1949) and PhD (1953). Applying Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" (1977), Winkin puts it this way in describing Goffman's education at Chicago:

> His acquisition of a "scientific habitus"—that is his explicit professional training—is easy enough to locate at the University of Chicago in the late 1940s. . . . Goffman, and the whole group of Chicago sociologists who graduated at the turn of the mid-century with PhDs, actually developed a certain disposition towards the world, a disposition which guided their perceptions, appreciations and actions throughout their later careers. This may be called the "Chicago habitus." (1999, 34)

Fine and Manning concur: "It was the social scene in Chicago's Hyde Park in the years after the Second World War that had the most lasting and profound impression. Erving Goffman was very much a product of this time and place" (2003, 37). Like Penn, Chicago prides itself on interdisciplinarity, and always has. In the 1930s, for example, Abbott suggests: "faculty offices in the [Social Science Research] building were scattered with respect to discipline, precisely to prevent departmental concentrations" (2010, 132–33n18) . In the 1940s, President Robert Maynard Hutchins specifically encouraged the development of committees crossing traditional disciplinary boundaries, such as the Committee on Social Thought (Emmett 2010; see Wahl-Jorgensen 2004, on the role played by these committees in the early days of communication as a discipline). Partially as a result of these activities, by the 1940s and 1950s, what is now widely known as "the Chicago School of Sociology"—among the most progressive of the approaches taught at Chicago—first came into being,[2] and it was nothing if not interdisciplinary (despite that term not being in common use at the time). Camic describes the "pattern of open contact across disciplines" as the standard in sociology at Chicago, particularly including anthropology and psychology (1995, 1019), and this turns out to have been true of other disciplines as well, as Deegan explains:

> Several University of Chicago departments also supported the work of Chicago ethnographers. For many decades, political scientists, such as Charles Merriam, social workers, such as Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge, philosophers, such as George H. Mead, and geographers, such as Paul Goode, encouraged students and fostered the ideas associated today with 'Chicago sociology.' The massive interdisciplinary project at Chicago is at best only partially understood and documented today. (2001, 17)

Goffman's important models were professors like Herbert Blumer (Winkin 1999), Everett C. Hughes,[3] or W. Lloyd Warner,[4] who themselves served as exemplars of interdisciplinarity.[5] However, other students were relevant as well. Given the uncommonly low ratio of faculty to students at that time (due mostly to high post-war enrollments while the GI Bill supported

veterans in earning college degrees), "graduate students banded together for social and intellectual support" (Fine and Manning 2003, 38). Winkin documents the details of what the department was like when Goffman arrived: "In Sociology, there were about 200 graduate students for about ten professors" (1999, 24). Platt tells us there was a specific "Canadian group" of students mentored by Hughes (himself Canadian) which included Goffman among its members (1995, 89). As Goffman has explained "My friends at Chicago and I formed a sort of solidarity group" (quoted in Winkin 1984a, 86;[6] see also Winkin 1988a; Verhoeven 1993). One of these others, Joseph Gusfield, tells of interactions among them: "The classroom spilled over onto the streets and, of course, into the living rooms and kitchens. My wife still remembers the night she thought I had met foul play when a search of the streets at 1:00 A.M. found me and Erving Goffman 'talking shop' under a lamp post. . . . The Social Science building had a daily interdisciplinary coffee hour. There were the frequent parties and, above all, the talk-talk-talk" (1995, xv). Winkin provides more detail, highlighting the significance of peers rather than faculty members:

> The four years Goffman spent at the University of Chicago certainly forged his intellectual dispositions, but not so much due to the courses he took, no matter how famous his professors were (from W. Lloyd Warner to Everett Hughes, from Herbert Blumer to Louis Wirth). Rather, it was thanks to the many conversations he had with his fellow students, and the many books he kept reading "voraciously," as Bott said (ibid), from philosophy to fiction, from detective stories to Marcel Proust. (2022c, 4)

This is supported by Herbert J. Gans, another of this group: "I also learned a great deal from my fellow students, who included Howie (Howard) Becker, Fred Davis, Eliot Friedson, Erving Goffman, and Joe (Joseph) Gusfield. The students really gave life to the Chicago School after the Second World War" (in Jaynes et al. 2009, 380). Gans points out an important and directly relevant assumption in place at Chicago then, that "social science was a unified field and the disciplines were somewhat arbitrary boundaries" (379). Kenneth Pike's book *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* was already available at Chicago (published in 1967, the "preliminary edition" was printed in 1954 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics), and it summed up some of the assumptions in the air at the time.[7] Another relevant source was Grinker et al.'s *Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behavior* (1956), summarizing a series of conferences held 1950–1955, which included Jürgen Ruesch among other participants; Goffman and his peers

were quite likely to have known about this as well. Both books were about the attempt to unify knowledge rather than make it manageable by dividing it into disciplines and also can be seen as another call for interdisciplinarity.

One of the other students contemporary with Goffman was Saul Mendlovitz, also studying sociology, who explains: "Erving and I used to go to parties and agree that we would exchange what we had seen. He especially was interested in what we had seen and then he would take copious notes on that. I have no idea of whether he ever used those notes or not, but he was very much into that observational stuff very early on" (2009). Speaking of Chicago just a few years later, David T. Apter echoes this: "Where I saw promise and intellectual opportunity was in the university's interdisciplinary tradition, which was particularly noteworthy at a time when most other academic institutions of merit were organized around departmental boundaries and tended to resist programs or centers that challenged or cut across disciplinary lines" (in Jaynes et al. 2009, 376–77).[8]

Returning to Goffman's cohort specifically, Dennis Wrong says, "All of us, including Erving, were most attracted by the cultural anthropology that strongly shaped the sociology we were taught" (1990, 10). As these quotes make abundantly clear, the context at Chicago was seriously interdisciplinary, and could not help but influence Goffman's assumptions.

Goffman occasionally mentioned individual professors by name, as here: "My teachers were [Robert E.] Park, [Ernest W.] Burgess, and Louis Wirth. And then later on Hughes. But the person I worked for initially, was Lloyd Warner. I was oriented to Social Anthropology at the time" (quoted in Verhoeven 1993, 321).[9] In sorting out some of his early influences in greater detail, Goffman went on to explain:

> There was the tradition of George Herbert Mead to provide the social psychological underpinnings of background for any study. From there one could go in all kinds of directions, one of which is the one [Everett] Hughes developed: a sort of occupational Sociology and basically Urban Ethnography. And what I did up to a few years ago before I got somewhat more interested in Sociolinguistics was a version of Urban Ethnography with Meadian Social Psychology. . . . If I had to be labeled at all, it would have been as a Hughesian urban ethnographer. (318)

Remember the terms *urban ethnography* and *sociolinguistics* as topics of interest to Goffman, for these will appear again and again as various projects are introduced.

A little later in the same interview, Goffman makes the implicit link to anthropology explicit: "Anthropology was close to sociology, people knew

each other fairly well" (345). Thus, what anywhere else would have been treated as three distinct disciplines (psychology, anthropology, sociology) were interwoven strands at Chicago. Goffman broadens this even further: "When I was in Chicago in the 40s, one could still combine lots of different things: Ecology and social organization, class analysis with Warner, and the like . . . In the mid-40s, however, everybody did everything" (333). This should be more than sufficient to document the general context at Chicago for Goffman: Conversations across disciplinary boundaries were assumed as the norm by administrators, faculty, and graduate students, with particularly close relationships existing among sociology, anthropology, and psychology, and weaker links to additional departments.

In December 1979, Goffman was awarded an honorary degree by Chicago, Doctor of Humane Letters, recognizing that he "has transcended his teachers at Chicago while, at the same time, shared powerful parts of Chicago's intellectual tradition" and finding him to be "undoubtedly, one of the most creative social scientists alive."[10] This award was specifically given as a way to recognize "creative alumni."[11] What follows are just a few of the comments provided by multiple scholars around the country asked for their evaluations. Murray Davis (sociology, University of California, San Diego) argued that "in line with the synthetic approach of the Chicago Social Science Division, he has gone beyond the boundaries of sociology in the narrow sense to integrate anthropology (via Radcliffe-Brown), literary criticism (via Kenneth Burke), and philosophy (via George Herbert Mead) into his work";[12] Peter Blau (sociology, SUNY Albany) said that "his imaginative analyses of social life, subtle processes of communication, and total institutions cut across disciplinary boundaries";[13] Lewis Coser (sociology, SUNY Stony Brook) suggested that "by putting to excellent uses the older contributions of the Chicago School of Sociology and of Georg Simmel, he has created a body of work that has enduring significance and is considered a major landmark in Europe as well as in the United States";[14] and Alvin Boskoff (sociology, Emory University) argued that "Goffman has developed a unique place for himself in sociological analysis—and in relating sociological concerns to those of other disciplines and to the educated public at large."[15] Of course, they all pointed out his originality and contributions and influence as well—but what is noteworthy in this context is that they all highlighted his connections to, and expansions of, Chicago traditions, including interdisciplinarity. Goffman's acceptance and commitment to attend the ceremony was in keeping with these comments, also linking his

achievements to what he learned there: "The University of Chicago is the institutional foundation of such life as I have, and there could be no award I feel more deeply."[16]

Goffman and Hughes

Jaworski (2000) and Vienne (2010, 2022) have already examined the work Goffman did at Chicago under Hughes, so that will not be repeated here. There is extensive documentation available specifically related to the interactions between Goffman and Hughes through letters they exchanged, which Hughes donated to the University of Chicago Library. Goffman, of course, did not deposit his correspondence anywhere, so any collection is at best woefully incomplete. But the Hughes papers give us some ideas about their interactions over the years. Both Hughes and Blumer were important influences, despite neither being consistently around during Goffman's years there. He has said: "Hughes was much more of an influence . . . but I found Blumer's [1969b] writings very congenial . . . And I was a colleague of his for a decade" (quoted in Verhoeven 1993, 320).[17] When Irving Horowitz asked if he wished to write a response to a review by Blumer of his book *Relations in Public* (1972), Goffman responded: "It's nice about the Blumer review, nice for you to encourage it and nice for you to do it. But no thanks about replying: Blumer has a special perspective with a logic of its own, and although I do not fully agree with it, I would not consider disputing it" (Mar 2, 1972, HTP). The following pages summarize the relationship with Hughes as part of the Chicago story, reserving Blumer for the next section, as part of the Berkeley story.

Goffman maintained a connection with Hughes long after leaving Chicago. Vienne has documented their "atmosphere of warm exchange" (2022, 113). As when he wrote to others, Goffman's sense of humor comes through in his letters. For example, while he was in Las Vegas doing research on casinos, he wrote Hughes that he had received a "police card" in order to be permitted to "go on the slots" and concludes "I'll save my card, collect one from Howie and members of all the other locals, and present them to you on a birthday: for by their union cards you shall know the participant observers" (Dec 13, 1960, ECH). To fully understand this, it is necessary to know that part of what Hughes taught Goffman and others was the sociology of institutions and occupations (Vienne 2010). Other times Goffman praises Hughes: "To have as one's teacher someone better than oneself, who reads what one

writes and likes it, is rather a special experience, in part, I'm afraid, a family experience" (Nov 26, 1961, ECH).

In addition to demonstrating that they were regularly exchanging publications and drafts of manuscripts from 1955 on, the letters reveal that they regularly connected in person, and even more often tried to connect. For example, in 1961, Hughes thanks Goffman for a copy of his book *Encounters* (1961a), asking, "When may I have the opportunity of encountering you in person" (Aug 23, 1961, ECH). In response, Goffman turned the question around: "Any chance of you and Helen visiting California?" (Nov 26, 1961, ECH). In 1966, after discussing Goffman's book *Stigma* (1963a), Hughes wrote: "Perhaps you will sometime turn up where I can talk to you" (May 9, 1966, ECH). And in 1968, Hughes wrote Goffman: "Is a man really respectable if mail addressed to him is returned to the sender? Of course, nobility put a notice in the TIMES that no mail will be answered during an absence in Europe, but I saw no such notice. The letter simply wandered around and eventually came back" (Nov 20, 1968, ECH). In this way, Hughes demonstrates the same sort of humor in letters as Goffman. They reconnected in person in fall 1969, at a conference Goffman was involved in organizing at Penn, held in New York. Once they determined they would be able to see one another, Goffman responded, "I am glad indeed that you can come and visit with us in New York" (Oct 24, 1969, ECH). (Hughes was, at the time, based in New York for the year; Goffman was then based in Philadelphia, a few hours away by train.) Several months later, while still on the East Coast, Hughes wrote, "When Helen [his wife] was getting up a list of people to ask for dinner next week, I suggested she put you on the list. She reminded me that you don't live here. Well, it isn't far" (Feb 23, 1970, ECH). The answer from Goffman was: "Why can't we have dinner some time some place?" (Mar 24, 1970, ECH). Hughes offered: "We will be in New York for the Eastern Sociological [Association] meetings. Might we meet then?" (Mar 31, 1970, ECH). It's not clear whether they did connect at that event or not, but a few years later, Goffman wrote, "Will you be at the Colorado meetings?" (Mar 1, 1971, ECH). The point here is the frequency of attempts to meet, whether or not all worked out, because these demonstrate the strength of their connection.

Fairly often in these letters, each praised the other, and the other's work. Hughes wrote to Goffman discussing the article that *Time* magazine had published about him: That letter turned into a lengthy ramble, ending with a thank you for Goffman's contribution to the *Festschrift* prepared for Hughes

(Becker et al. 1968; Goffman's contribution was a reprint of "The Neglected Situation" 1964a). Hughes suggested: "Most of the people who wrote in it did really catch some facet of me. It must have been a matter of resonance. I certainly did not create anything in any of those people. You, for example, came down from Toronto already with your feelers out in all directions [illegible] . . . I am very grateful to all of you who had a share in that gift" (Feb 12, 1969, ECH). In response, Goffman argued that the most important thing Hughes had given him, and other students, was "a sense that sociological inquiry is real. Underneath it all, I think that is the task teachers are really involved in: to demonstrate that what they do is substantial and real. The point about yourself is that you did that job for so many of us—not because you had many students but because you had that effect on so many that you had. And you do it still. And that is the lesson of the master. Thanks" (Feb 26, 1969, ECH).

Both Hughes and Goffman maintained their interdisciplinary inclinations long after leaving Chicago, as was made clear in 1978 when Hughes told Goffman, "I become more and more grateful to colleagues and circumstances which prevented me from trying to separate social science into numerous departments unrelated to each other" (Feb 26, 1969, ECH). This is interesting for the reversal of standard assumptions: Most academics assume disciplines and/or departments are to be taken for granted, and that they must work to bring them together. My point here has not been to sort out what ideas Goffman might have learned from Hughes; others have already done that. Instead, what is relevant to this story is that they maintained friendly relations for decades, exchanging both publications and unpublished drafts, connecting in person as they could, despite mostly living in different parts of the US; equally, both maintained their assumptions of interdisciplinarity as practiced at Chicago as something both appropriate and valued.

While still a graduate student at Chicago, Goffman began publishing. In 1951, "Symbols of Class Status" was published in the *British Journal of Sociology*. In 1952, "On Cooling the Mark Out" first appeared in *Psychiatry*, and was later reprinted in *Advances in Psychiatry* (Goffman 1959a). Mabel Blake Cohen was at that point editor of *Psychiatry*, and explained in her introduction to the book that "the journal *Psychiatry* has always selected as its field of particular interest that zone where psychological, biological, and social sciences come together" (1959, 7), so all of the articles published in it can be assumed to be examples of at least multidisciplinary, if not interdisciplinary, work. She goes on to say: "This book represents a collection of some

of the outstanding articles which have appeared in the journal *Psychiatry* in the last twenty years" (7). Reviewers of the collection apparently agreed because Solomon says Cohen "collected some leading papers" (1960, 476). These comments establish that Goffman's work was well received even in early days. Another reviewer praises Goffman's contribution in particular: "A most striking article, and one which beautifully exemplifies the kind of transdisciplinary approach to which *Psychiatry* is devoted. . . . At once an entirely successful tour de force and a highly creative synthesis based on sound application of theory, this work is a real joy to read, as well as a worthwhile scientific contribution" (Oken 1960, 133).

The use of "transdisciplinary" here is quite accurate; the goal was to not only synthesize sociology with psychology to study something new but to apply the results to a concrete context. Although it appeared in 1955, Goffman submitted another article, "On Face-Work," to *Psychiatry* before his time at NIMH ("This paper was written at the University of Chicago," 1955a, 213). That one was reprinted as the lead chapter of *Interaction Ritual* (Goffman 1967).

National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH)

Goffman completed his PhD at Chicago in 1953. That year, sociologist John Clausen, director of the new Laboratory of Socio-Environmental Studies at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), hired him. His new, rather long and complicated title was Visiting Scientist, Section on Social Studies in Therapeutic Settings, Laboratory of Socio-Environmental Studies; that Section was part of NIMH (Walter Reed Army Institute of Research 1958, v). As a result, Goffman spent 1954–1957 based in Bethesda, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, DC. As part of his job, in 1955–1956 Goffman conducted a year's fieldwork in St. Elizabeths, a large psychiatric hospital in DC, leading to his books *Asylums* (1961b) and *Stigma* (1963a). The story has been told in Smith (2022d), Winkin (1922d), and Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz (2013), and so will not be repeated here. However, the context, working primarily with psychologists and psychiatrists, merits attention.

Harry Stack Sullivan was affiliated with St. Elizabeths and the journal *Psychiatry*, both of which became relevant to Goffman's story. Sullivan also was affiliated with Chestnut Lodge, important because psychiatrist Frieda Fromm-Reichmann worked there, and she likely played a small role in the story as well. Sullivan had connected in important ways with linguist Edward

Sapir in Chicago in the 1920s, long before Goffman got there. As Darnell explains: "The interdisciplinary triumvirate of Sapir, Sullivan, and political scientist Harold D. Lasswell persuaded others to participate in the construction of a yet unnamed multidiscipline emerging around the study of the individual in culture, the very problem that had worried Sapir as theoretician of culture at least since 1917" (2001a, 127). So, just as at Chicago and later at Penn, at NIMH Goffman was placed into a context where disregarding disciplinary boundaries in inventive ways was deemed appropriate. In addition, it seems likely that the connection to Sullivan's sphere of influence, and Goffman's own publications (1952, 1955a, as already noted; then 1957a, 1959b) in *Psychiatry* (a journal founded by Sullivan in 1938, where Sapir also published), would have brought national attention to Goffman (because the journal became so well-known, and then because his work was included in the "best of" volume) and later would have become a topic of conversation at Penn with J. David Sapir, Edward Sapir's son. Peters points out that *Psychiatry* "was one of the leading outlets for thinking about communication for the next three decades" (2008, 153), and Bazerman refers to it as a "remarkable interdisciplinary nexus" (2005, 16). Details on that period can be found in Stewart Perry (1966), as he was at NIMH at the same time as Goffman, and Goffman thanks both Helen and Stewart Perry for their help in writing of "The Insanity of Place" (Goffman 1969). Helen Perry was editor of *Psychiatry* from 1946 to 1951 and thus worked with Goffman on his first article in that journal (Saxton 2002). Stewart Perry examined "the *micro*sociology of science. I am concerned what goes on within the small interacting group of researchers in a single research program" (1966, 6; emphasis in original). Microsociology was, of course, of substantial interest to Goffman as well.

Like academics today, Goffman did not just conduct research in the years when he was affiliated with NIMH, he also presented at conferences and published articles and books. Because it will become relevant later, notes about additional publications and conferences related to his work at NIMH follow. This is not the place to summarize what he wrote about in these early publications—that has already been done by others (e.g., Gronfein 1999). Instead, the focus will be to demonstrate his connections with disciplines beyond sociology, primarily with psychology and psychiatry, thus putting into practice what he had learned at Chicago about the value of crossing disciplinary boundaries (or, perhaps more accurately, ignoring them entirely). The intent is to briefly summarize what he did, thus documenting his participation in both a regional and a national network of scholars.

In 1955, Goffman reviewed the books *Children's Humor: A Psychological Analysis* (1955b) and *Tobatí: Paraguayan Town* (1955c) for *American Journal of Sociology*. These are interesting only because they demonstrate that he was participating in the standard ritual of a new PhD reviewing books for major journals. He wrote a few more reviews, noted below, but soon stopped as he became too busy with his own original work. In addition, it was his opinion that, as he wrote to Hughes:

> There is that commitment to the jointly lived life of one's discipline that leads you to write book reviews and letters in the first place. No one insists on it; you don't put the pieces in a bibliography. They are something extra, something that won't get paid for, something to show that even When an official occasion is not in progress, a man should be involving himself in the life that exists between himself and others. (Feb 28, 1969, ECH)

So it makes sense that he did not write a lot of book reviews in his career: They were "something extra," not something essential. Even so, those he did write are relevant because they demonstrate his attention to and connections to other scholars.

In 1956, Goffman participated in one of the Group Processes conferences held by the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation, and his presentation appeared in the resulting volume, including the discussion with Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead (Goffman 1957b). Ray Birdwhistell (one of Goffman's professors from his undergraduate days at the University of Toronto, an earlier Chicago alum, and a later colleague at Penn) was a regular participant in that series and arranged for Goffman to be invited. When it was his turn to present, Goffman discussed his observations at St. Elizabeths. In the Macy Conferences, presenters were constantly interrupted by questions, and then the entirety was transcribed and published, permitting a wide circle of others to gain a clear sense of what occurred. The fact that Margaret Mead argued with Goffman about his use of specific vocabulary choices has been previously well documented.[18] Overall, Goffman comes off as young and untested, which makes sense at that early point in his career. The research he presented at that event was later published in several versions (Goffman 1958, 1961c) and he specifically thanks Bateson for a helpful comment, saying: "The binary character of total institutions was pointed out to me by Gregory Bateson" (1958, 46n2; the same quote appears in 1961c, 18). The relevant binary here is the division into inmates and staff. Goffman got along far better with Bateson than Mead and connected with him again on several occasions.[19]

Also in 1956, Goffman published "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor" (1956a) and "Embarrassment and Social Organization" (1956b), both similarly based on his time at St. Elizabeths and both reprinted in *Interaction Ritual* (1967). Finally, he participated in the Research Conference on Socio-Environmental Aspects of Patient Care in Mental Hospitals, presenting "The Patient as a 'Normal Deviant': Problems of Stigma and Isolation," later included as a chapter in the resulting book (1957c). Interestingly, this book was reviewed by Belknap (1958), a book of whose Goffman had just reviewed (1957d). The web of connections with sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists was already growing.

In 1957, Goffman reviewed *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital*, bemoaning the fact that "no new concepts are added to our means for understanding social organization" (1957d, 120). That tells us what he valued, and what he later supplied in his turn. That same year, he presented the "Natural History of the Patient" at the American Sociological Association (ASA) meeting in Washington, DC, as part of a panel entitled "The Sociology of Mental Health: Treatment Services and Processes" chaired by Clausen (his boss at NIMH) and jointly sponsored by the Society for Study of Social Problems.[20] Note that the phrase "natural history" was being used at that point by Birdwhistell, Bateson, and others as part of *The Natural History of an Interview* project (McQuown 1971; Leeds-Hurwitz and Kendon 2021), something Goffman certainly would have known. Goffman's ASA paper was first published under the slightly revised title "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient" (1959b) in *Psychiatry*, and later republished as a chapter in *Asylums* (1961b). Clearly, his primary audience at that stage was not sociologists, although he did publish "Alienation from Interaction" in *Human Relations* (1957e), a journal more likely to be read by sociologists (also reprinting that article as a chapter in *Interaction Ritual* in 1967).

Still in 1957, again in Washington, DC, Goffman participated in the Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry, organized by the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research. That event was sponsored jointly by the Institute, the Walter Reed Army Medical Center, and the National Research Council, resulting in a book (Walter Reed Army Institute of Research 1958). At that event, Goffman presented as part of the first panel, "Communication, Values, Influence and Group Structure"; the other panelists were psychologists or psychiatrists.[21] Goffman's presentation, "Characteristics of Total Institutions," was based on his Macy Conference presentation (as acknowledged in Goffman 1958, 44n1). Luckily, as at the Macy Confer-

ence, the group's discussions after each panel have been included in the proceedings, so it is possible to learn that Goffman's presentation sparked numerous questions, both immediately after his panel (when his answer to a single question takes up a substantial amount of the discussion session), as well as during comments on later panels. The point here is not to dissect those comments in detail, but rather to point out that his work was being taken seriously and referred to multiple times throughout the symposium by others, mostly people he likely had not known before the event. As everyone who has ever participated in a conference knows, whether others respond to what you have presented makes a huge difference. So, comments from later sessions such as "This would relate to some of the things that Dr. Goffman was talking about this morning" (Walter Reed Army Institute of Research 1958, 184), or "I just can't resist referring back to Dr. Goffman's paper of Monday" (529) are significant, showing that his ideas were striking home and being taken seriously. Goffman first turned his presentation at that conference into two longer book chapters (1961c, 1961d), and then integrated much of what he said into *Asylums* (1961b). In a review of the symposium proceedings, Wilson says: "Goffman in a brilliant discussion of 'total' institutions limns the encapsulating properties of organizations such as the army or the hospital. The eternal dialectic of organizational goals and individual needs continues to plague the social psychiatrist as it has long riven the democratic philosopher" (1959, 433). It is a minor detail, but these chapters were published as part of a volume edited by Cressey, *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change* (1961). This is noteworthy because Goffman had previously published a review of a very different book by Cressey, on embezzlement (1957f). That volume is irrelevant to this discussion, except that it was by Cressey and so indicates that they were at least aware of one another, again demonstrating the network Goffman was already building. In addition, it presages (and was probably one of the publications that led to) his later involvement in The Committee for the Study of Incarceration, documented in chapter 7.

Finally, in 1957, Goffman published "A Sociologist's View (On Some Convergences of Sociology and Psychiatry)" (1957a), important not least for an early use of the word "microsociology" (201). Even then he was thinking about interdisciplinarity, for example, using the phrase "interdisciplinarian encroachment" to refer to sociologists stepping onto ground generally ceded to psychiatrists (201). This essay is particularly noteworthy for the fact that he was one of two people (the other being a psychiatrist) invited to

comment on six articles in a special issue of a journal, rather an early honor for such a junior scholar, indicating that at least some scholars found his opinions already worthy.

Supporting this move to being considered more senior than perhaps already merited is the fact that in 1960, he chaired the panel "Social Psychology: Information, Commitment and Identity" for ASA. Participants were Albert D. Biderman (Bureau of Social Science Research in DC), Harold Garfinkel, Robert J. Stoller, and Alexander Rosen (all at the University of California, Los Angeles), Evelyn Hooker (also at UCLA), Dorothy Hillyer (Psychopathic Hospital, State University of Iowa), and Thomas C. Schelling (Center for International Affairs at Harvard).[22] One interesting follow-up activity to this conference was that Goffman and Biderman both served as discussants for the workshop "Issues in Research: Covert Research Funding" at the American Sociological Association's convention in 1978. The organizer was Richard M. Stephenson (Rutgers University), and the panelists were Bradford H. Gray (National Academy of Science), Myron Glazer (Smith College), William Bates (Berkeley), and Jay Schulman (National Jury Project).[23] Goffman connected again with Bates at Berkeley, and with Schelling in 1964 at the Strategic Interaction and Conflict conference held at Berkeley, and was invited to spend a year at Harvard by Schelling as a result.

In 1962, Goffman presented "Mental Symptoms and Public Order" at the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Disease, first published in the volume resulting from that conference, *Disorders of Communication* (1964b), and then republished as part of *Interaction Ritual* (1967). Finally, in 1969, he published "The Insanity of Place," the last relevant piece, later included as part of *Relations in Public* (1971). Again, we see him crossing over the border of sociology to connect with psychologists and psychiatrists.

Goffman and Duncan

While developing new connections in psychology and psychiatry, Goffman also maintained connections, or developed new ones, to at least some sociologists, so he absolutely was not leaving one field for another, merely applying what he had learned in the one to study contexts or topics common to the other. A specific example of this was in 1957, when Hugh Duncan, another former Chicago student, wrote to him. Apparently, they did not know one another before this exchange of letters, because Goffman responded: "As an ex-Chicago student with a sometime interest in the sociology of knowledge, of course I know and own your book on the sociology of literature" (Feb

19, 1957, HDD), something he presumably would not have said to someone he had known as a peer. A few weeks later, Goffman suggests: "It would be very nice to have a conference in Chicago with Burke and others" (Feb 26, 1957, HDD). Kenneth Burke taught at the University of Chicago from 1949 to 1950, so it is likely they both would have known him. Collins describes the attraction: "Goffman's old classmates tell me that he was very much impressed with the literary critic Kenneth Burke, who wrote about the social stances of rhetoric and espoused the notion of everyday life as a kind of theatre" (1986, 110).

Apparently, Goffman and Duncan agreed that Goffman would critique the draft of a book by Duncan. Based on the comments, this seems likely to have been *Communication and Social Order* (Duncan 1960). Goffman said: "We have indeed hit upon the same things to talk about and the same point of view to take in regard to them. . . . On the critical side, it seems to me you have tried to do it the hard way by talking about everything in the world. Burke certainly does this and certainly gets away with it, but Burke is Burke. . . . All this bitching is probably due to jealousy" (Mar 25, 1957, HDD). A few months later, there is a lengthy (five-page, single-spaced) letter from Duncan to Goffman critiquing a book manuscript of Goffman's in return.

> First off let me say I like your book very much. I sent a copy to Kenneth. He thinks highly of your work. In his reply to me he devotes a full page to it. He sums up by saying: "It's a highly intelligent book. I'm glad he let me in . . . I'd vote it a highly reputable job. Its observations on the nature of social finagling are excellent." He does not agree with your theoretical frame for reasons which you might better get directly from him. Write him. If you do not hear from him within a reasonable time I will send you a copy of what he said. In talking to him on the phone about another matter I mentioned your work and he was pleased (as I am) to know that you are alive and daring to do such original work. (May 1, 1957, HDD)

What follows are detailed comments on Goffman's manuscript of what must have been *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959c). These are very small critiques: For example, Duncan questions the choice of the term "sign-equipment," asking: "How does this relate to a dramatistic model?" or "Mystification as Burke's pontification, transcendence, etc. might round this out more." But there is also high praise: "And my delight in your thinking soars again." Or: "Here begins the kind of sensitive observation and writing which I find very exciting." And: "As they say in book reviews, I couldn't put it down till I had read it through. It is full of excellent concrete propositions

and wonderful illustrative material." The major critique is that "I think you suffer as I do from lack of decision about whom you write for." And the major praise: "I would like to have written these pages. They are so good I feel sure I will be stealing them for something I will write. I am a bare faced but merry burglar. I do not have to dislike the man I rob. So, if you should ever read anything of mine wherein I do not credit you for the backstage statement curse me into the night" (May 1, 1957, HDD). Duncan's letter ends with an offer: "I do not mean to intrude on your privacy but if there is anything very practical I can do let me know. It would help if you would tell me enough about yourself so I think of how I might help you to get in the kind of spot you need to go on with the kind of rare writing you can do." In his immediate response Goffman asked, "When can we have a meeting? In the Fall I may go to Berkeley and Blumer to become a temporary paper-grader, with palm, second class" (May 6, 1957, HDD). His lovely closing: "It's nice to share meanings."

In fall of the same year, Goffman thanks Duncan for comments on the total institutions paper (presumably the one published as Goffman 1958), hopes for a connection at the anthropology meetings in Chicago that year, and again asks about connecting with Burke (Sep 17, 1957, HDD). Over the course of the few months covered in these letters, Goffman progressed from "Mr. Duncan" to "Hugh Duncan" to "Hugh," so presumably this really was their first contact, despite common history at Chicago. While Goffman did not specifically acknowledge the detailed comments by Duncan when he published *Presentation of Self* in 1959, he did thank "fellow students of occupations at the University of Chicago" (x), which presumably would have included Duncan.

Progress in Psychotherapy

In addition to these stories of his professional activities, there were times Goffman turned down an opportunity. One specific example follows. In 1958, he was invited to submit a chapter to *Progress in Psychotherapy*, an annual review, edited by psychiatrists Jules Masserman and Jacob Moreno. A few years earlier, the 1956 volume had been co-edited by Moreno with Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, someone well known to Birdwhistell (she was the person whose questions eventually led to *The Natural History of an Interview*, as documented in Leeds-Hurwitz 1989a), so the suggestion to involve Goffman may have originated with her.[24] It is unclear whether Goffman met her, but it is certainly feasible; after all, he cited her work as early as his dissertation

(1953), so he certainly knew about her, and their networks overlapped. In any case, the invitation letter from both Masserman and Moreno explained that they edited an annual "in which outstanding authorities throughout the world contribute chapters on their specialty in the field." As the next volume would be on social psychiatry, Goffman was invited to contribute the topic "Social Influences in Psychotherapy, or a related title of your own choice." They explained that "a summary or modification of some of your recent writings in this field would serve the purpose admirably" (Jun 19, 1958, JLM), so presumably they had read some of his work. Oddly, Moreno's secretary had difficulty in locating the correct Goffman; the letter in the file is addressed to "Mr. Irwin W. Goffman" at the University of Michigan, and there is a separate letter from Ann Manzoeillo, Moreno's secretary, to Masserman, saying that letter was returned, marked "unknown," and requesting further information. She realized he had mentioned "Erving" as the person's name, but "the one we found as a member of the American Psychological Society was Irwin" (Jun 30, 1958, JLM). The correct name and address were obviously supplied, because the next month Goffman answered: "Some day I would like to do a paper on the specific subject you mention, but for the next half year or so I'm afraid other commitments prevent me from doing so." Goffman enclosed a prepublication copy of "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient," to show "the sort of thing I do" and suggesting that "You are of course welcome, if *Psychiatry* is willing, to use it or any other of my published pieces" (Jul 28, 1958, JLM). They were not interested in that option but did leave open the possibility of Goffman making "a contribution in the future" (Aug 4, 1958, JLM). This example of a missed opportunity was presumably only one of multiples, but it is one for which documentation is available. It demonstrates at the very least that Goffman's name was being circulated and his reputation built (through just the sort of invisible college he later more actively participated in building) if people he did not yet know were writing to offer opportunities. It is important especially because these were not sociologists offering the invitation, but psychiatrists, also demonstrating the sort of disciplinary boundary-crossing that was becoming a taken-for-granted by Goffman.

University of California, Berkeley

Goffman taught at Berkeley from 1958 to 1968, moving with uncommon speed from a Visiting Assistant Professor in 1958 to Professor in 1962 due

to completing an astonishing five books in his first years there (1959c, 1961a, 1961b, 1963a, 1963b). He obtained the position as the result of an invitation from Herbert Blumer, another of his professors in sociology at Chicago (see Winkin 1999 for details). Blumer had begun his position in sociology at Berkeley in 1952, and six years later invited Goffman to join that department (Fine and Manning 2003). Marx tells us that "Berkeley in 1960 represented the best of the Chicago, Columbia, and Harvard sociological traditions" (1984, 650), so it was a wonderful place for him to be. Goffman's first important connection outside of sociology at Berkeley was with anthropology.

Schneider and Anthropology

David M. Schneider took a position in anthropology at Berkeley before Goffman arrived, leaving before him as well, in 1960.[25] They already knew one another—correspondence dating back to 1952 has been preserved—although not at Chicago because Schneider earned his doctorate from Harvard. They were quite comfortable early, as Goffman teased often in these letters, especially playing with forms of address: "Boy" in 1954,[26] "Sweatpea" in 1956 (a letter which made clear he hoped they would share a hotel room for the ASA meeting that year) (Nov 4, 1956, DS), and "Hero of the People" in 1957 in a letter asking, again in teasing fashion, what Schneider thought about Berkeley (Feb 5, 1957, DS).[27] Importantly, Schneider wrote an extremely positive recommendation for Goffman to Reinhard Bendix of the department of sociology at Berkeley, concluding:

> The particular problem—the structure of social interaction—which Erving Goffman has devoted himself to—is not popular because it is so very tough. I know of a few people who have tried to work at it, but I do not know of a living person either in the United States or in Europe who even approach Goffman in either the quality or the quantity of published output, or who even approaches him in intellectual structure. (Nov 6, 1958, DS)

In fact, Goffman did begin teaching at Berkeley in 1958. There is documentation from 1959 that together Goffman and Schneider were

> exploring the feasibility of applying on behalf of the two departments to the National Institute of Mental Health for a five-year grant. This grant would be designed to set up a training program in the social aspects of mental health. It would provide the funds necessary for the faculty member principally responsible for the program, for secretarial assistance, and for a number of relatively generous graduate fellowships for students electing to work in this field.[28]

The two of them wanted to work with Merton Gill, a psychoanalyst in private practice in Berkeley, who had taught in the psychology department.[29] The quote just provided comes from a letter arguing that Gill should be hired in sociology to facilitate this three-way collaboration. However, Gill was not hired, and the next year Schneider left Berkeley for Chicago,[30] and so that project never happened. (In fact, Goffman argued for Schneider to return to Berkeley,[31] simultaneously with trying to get Berkeley to hire Gill,[32] simultaneously with Schneider trying to get Chicago to hire Goffman.[33]) In any case, this connection between scholars in sociology, anthropology, and psychology is a good example of an early multidisciplinary collaboration at Berkeley (and presages Goffman's assistance in preparing the proposal for the Center for Urban Ethnography at Penn a few years later).

Despite this instance, neither multi- nor interdisciplinary connections were taken for granted at Berkeley in the same way they had been at Chicago. For example, Neil Smelser (2009), a colleague of Goffman's in sociology at Berkeley starting in 1958, describes the group of regular poker players of which they were both part, and everyone listed is a sociologist, which sounds quite different from the diverse group of graduate students with whom Goffman had spent time at Chicago. But there was one particularly significant successful interdisciplinary group at Berkeley that included Goffman.

The Saturday Group

Fine and Manning argue that the sociolinguists William Labov and Dell Hymes were "perhaps most significant in terms of his [Goffman's] social and intellectual development" (2003, 40), but they are talking about when all three of these scholars were based at Penn. However, their connection began earlier, for Goffman connected with Hymes, as well as with others, at Berkeley, and that is the heart of the story to be told here. This was an interdisciplinary group rather than a multidisciplinary one because they were jointly inventing a new way to study interaction.

Table 2.1: Saturday Group at Berkeley, by Department

Anthropology: Dell Hymes, Ethel Albert
Sociology: Erving Goffman, Aaron Cicourel
Linguistics: John Gumperz (also South Asian studies), Wallace Chafe (later: Sidney Lamb, Julian Boyd)
Speech/Psychology: Susan Ervin-Tripp (later: Josephine Miles)
Psychology: Dan Slobin
Philosophy: John Searle, David Schroeder
Folklore: Alan Dundes
(From **Stanford University, in Anthropology**: Charles Frake, Roy D'Andrade [later: Duane Metzger, Kimball Romney])
(Occasionally, from **UCLA, in Sociology**: Harold Garfinkel)

Hymes taught at Berkeley from 1960 to 1965, with a joint appointment in linguistics and anthropology, so he overlapped with Goffman for five years. He and Goffman were both part of the informal gathering sometimes called the "Saturday group" (Murray 1998, 149), starting about 1960, which also included John Gumperz and Wallace Chafe in linguistics; John Searle and David Schroeder in philosophy; Ethel Albert in anthropology (but not David Schneider, as he had already left for Chicago); Dan Slobin in psychology; Alan Dundes in folklore; Aaron Cicourel, then at the Center for the Study of Law and Society[34] and later in sociology; and Susan Ervin-Tripp (officially based in psychology, then speech, then psychology again, but often counted as a linguist).[35] For details on the Saturday group, see Murray (1998, 2013) and Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz (2013). Meyer says that Harold Garfinkel "sometimes participated in these meetings" as well (2024, 33). Hymes has portrayed the Saturday group as "a loose confederation at Berkeley in the early 1960s, one that became the basis of a continuing network of 'socio-linguistic' activity until this day" (1984, 621), and pointed out in a 1994 interview with Murray that members "were not the established figures in their various departments" (300). Hymes later expanded on this, crediting Gumperz as primary organizer.[36]

> John Gumperz was of great importance in reaching out and bringing together people at Berkeley and elsewhere. Marginality again was the probable part of the motivation. He was teaching Hindi in a South Asian program, innovatively indeed, but without much recognition for his linguistics. John organized a local production of Saturday papers with John Searle, Erving Goffman, Sue Tripp, myself, and some others, which led to a session at the AAA [American Anthropological Association] meetings in San Francisco in 1963, and the *Ethnography of Communication* special publication of the AAA in 1964. (1997, 126) [37]

Silverstein characterizes the Saturday group as "a lively crowd of transdepartmentally located age cohorts" (2010, 935), adding in Sydney Lamb, in linguistics at Berkeley, as well as Charles Frake and Roy D'Andrade, in anthropology at nearby Stanford University. All three of Silverstein's phrases are relevant: They were the lively crowd, they were close in age, and they were not yet central in terms of specializations within their home departments. In an interview, Gumperz added in Julian Boyd, in linguistics, and Josephine Miles, in English, both at Berkeley, as well as Duane Metzger and Kimball Romney, in anthropology at Stanford (Murray 2013). Asked if the meetings involved formal papers, Gumperz responded, "Oh, no, no, no. We just had luncheons and talked, we talked very freely" and whoever was available on a particular day got together at someone's home (6). Gumperz has written about how important the group was to him personally: "Another major influence in my own development were the associations I formed in the nineteen sixties at the University of California in Berkeley with Dell Hymes, Erving Goffman, Susan Ervin-Tripp, and with Charles Frake and others at Stanford" (1997, 115). He mentions the major publications resulting from the group's "informal discussions" (115) as being a journal special issue (Gumperz and Hymes 1964a) and the expanded book version (Gumperz and Hymes 1972).

As Gumperz and Hymes explain in their preface to the special issue of *American Anthropologist*, "The good fortune of co-presence in the same area over several years has enabled many of the contributors to have frequent discussions and to discover the common interests that link their work; travels, meetings, and letters have brought one or more of them into more than casual personal contact and discussion with the others" (1964b, v). But participants did not just gather informally in a sort of faculty seminar; multiple members of this group first participated in two regional conferences: a joint meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society and the Southwestern Anthropological Association (SAA) in 1962. Panelists at SAA were Goffman, Hymes, Frake, and Gumperz (Murray 2013).[38] Although there is no record of what Goffman presented, most likely it was an early version of the paper

selected for the resulting Gumperz and Hymes volume. Then they presented a symposium at the AAA in 1963 (Gumperz and Hymes 1964b). It was these presentations which lead everyone to write up their ideas for either or both the journal special issue and later book. Participants included not only the two editors, but also Goffman, Albert, Ervin-Tripp, and Frake from the Saturday group, as well as William Labov, later part of the Penn group. Ray Birdwhistell only joined in the 1972 collection, but Labov connected earlier, and so was included in both volumes (Labov 1964, 1972a).[39] In his introduction, Hymes highlighted Goffman's contribution "The Neglected Situation" (Goffman 1964a) as one that "strikes to the heart of the matter" (1964a, 4), so Goffman was clearly identified as a relevant and valued participant even in those early days. Later, in 1984, Hymes expanded on the matter: "In this paper, as in his conversation at the time, Erving welcomed the emerging attention to the social dimension of language" (621). As one of the major participants, Ervin-Tripp felt that the departure of Hymes from Berkeley and the Saturday group "severely damaged this network" of sociolinguists (1997, 75).[40] She also valued Goffman's presence on campus: He participated in her 1968 summer workshops, a project sponsored by the SSRC Committee on Sociolinguistics, along with others, including Gumperz, Hymes, Charles Ferguson, Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, Aaron Cicourel, Roger Shuy, Vera John and Courtney Cazden (see Ervin-Tripp [1969] for the report; doctoral students, including Ben Blount, Brian Stross, and others who do not otherwise appear in these pages, filmed interaction during participant observations around the world in order to study children's communicative competence). In addition to these others, Ervin-Tripp writes, "Erving Goffman joined the group to analyze filmed interaction" (23n2), an activity for which he is certainly not much known. Once Goffman had left Berkeley, the others in the group lost their connection to sociology, as Gumperz explained to Murray: "I kept getting the last of his [Goffman's] students for two or three years, but we've had no relationships with sociology" (2013, 8), whereas ties between anthropology, linguistics, psychology, and philosophy endured, although Gumperz did say the remaining group members did not meet as often in later years.

The point here is that Goffman was an active member of a productive interdisciplinary group (interdisciplinary rather than multidisciplinary because they were creating sociolinguistics, a new topic) which met informally and collaborated on multiple joint products: conference panels, a journal special issue, and a book. He was putting into practice what he had

learned at Chicago, refined at NIMH, and would go on to develop much further at Penn—that is, not only coordinating with people having common interests but turning those interests into significant publications, whether sole-authored or edited collections. As Gumperz was the instigator of that group, it is worth spending a little more time on his connection to Goffman.

Gumperz and Goffman

Gumperz was the same age as Goffman, but had started at Berkeley two years earlier, in 1956, so it makes sense that he was the organizer of the Saturday group. His comments about that group have already been quoted, but in several places Gumperz also has been quite explicit about what he learned from Goffman through their connection. For example, in Blom and Gumperz (1972), Goffman is one of those (along with Edmund Leach and Fredrik Barth) credited for the conceptual framework used. In an interview in 1992, Gumperz said: "But now I realize what Goffman has contributed. He's the first one who's given us a language really to study interaction, a set of concepts: situation, encounter, focused interaction and things of that sort and involvement in particular which have been really basic to conversational analysis, even though conversational analysts never mention these notions" (Murray 2013, 20). In a 1995 interview, he provided a slightly different explanation of where his work and Goffman's overlapped: "To look at talk as it occurs in speech events is to look at communicative practices. Along with others, I claim that such practices constitute an intermediate and in many ways analytically distinct level of organization. A sociological equivalent here is Erving Goffman's 'interaction order,' a level of organization which bridges the linguistic and the social" (Prevignano and Di Luzio 2003, 8). Gumperz provided an even more detailed evaluation of what he considered most valuable about Goffman's work. The crucial part is this:

> Goffman has given us the outline of a communicative perspective on the social world. In his earlier work he sets aside traditional analytical categories such as role, status, identity, and the like to concentrate on the phenomenal bases of interactive processes . . . Interaction, he goes on to claim, should be seen as a separate level of communicative organization: thus the interaction order, which bridges the verbal and the social, must be analyzed in terms of its own analytical units both at the level of language and in interaction. His arguments thus foreshadow current thinking on communicative practice. (2001, 217)

The use of the phrase "a communicative perspective on the social world" here is key. But even the fact that Gumperz was still talking about the influence of Goffman's ideas on him and others decades after Goffman died serves to demonstrate the significance of his role both at Berkeley and as a leading scholar. Although Gumperz did not continue as an important member of Goffman's invisible college after the move to Penn, he demonstrated how to create an invisible college while they were both at Berkeley and had a connection to the Multiple Analysis Project based at Indiana.

Minor Projects at Berkeley

The Saturday group was Goffman's most significant interdisciplinary association at Berkeley, but it was not the only one. Clearly, none of the following was as influential (on Goffman or on others) over the long term, but all merit at least brief mention. First, he was affiliated with the Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory. Second, he participated in an informal group at the Center for the Study of Law and Society with Aaron Cicourel and others. Third, he connected with Bateson and the Palo Alto Group. And finally, he was one of the organizers of a conference, Strategic Interaction and Conflict.

Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory

Goffman was affiliated with the Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory while he had a grant from NIMH to write up the books *Asylums* (see the preface to that book, 1961b) and *Encounters* (see that preface, 1961a). In this case, there is no evidence that he had much to do with others at the center, so it's an exceedingly minor affiliation, although it is possible that further research will uncover more details.

Center for the Study of Law and Society

Aaron Cicourel (part of the Saturday group) has written (in 2009) about another informal group at Berkeley that included Goffman.

> I frequently saw Erving from the summer of 1961 to the summer of 1965 and during the academic year 1965–66, I was affiliated with the Law and Society Center at the Boalt Law SŒchool in Berkeley. Phil Selznick had organized a kind of on-going seminar. Erving, Shelly Messinger, David Matza, Ed Lemert, Ruth Kornhauser, Carl Werthman, Jerry Skolnick, and a few others were also participants in the regular meetings of the Center. We spent a lot of time together

> during [the] 1965–66 academic year in Berkeley when I was a visiting professor in sociology and at Phil Selznick's Center. In the spring of 1966, Erving attended my graduate seminar regularly.

Selznick was based in sociology with Goffman and Cicourel, and started the Center for the Study of Law and Society at Berkeley.[41] Sheldon Messenger was vice chair at the center, also based in sociology,[42] as were all the others named here. As will be evident in chapter 3, Goffman apparently enjoyed this sort of gathering of colleagues, for he participated in comparable informal seminars at Columbia University with Labov, and occasionally attended other people's graduate seminars as well once he moved to Penn.

Palo Alto Group

Fred Erickson mentions an intriguing possibility about Goffman's connections in his early days at Berkeley, in this case not with anyone on campus, but with several people based nearby: Gregory Bateson, Jürgen Ruesch, and Weldon Kees, all well known for their work in communication. He writes: "As sound recording became easier after World War II, Bateson, in collaboration with Jürgen Reusch [*sic*] and Weldon Keys [*sic*], made sound cinema films of family therapy interviews using a 16-mm camera (Reusch [*sic*] & Keys [*sic*] 1956). Erving Goffman became involved with Reusch [*sic*], Keys [*sic*], and Bateson, and their family therapy efforts when he arrived at the University of California, Berkeley, after the mid-1950s" (Erickson 2011, 180). When asked for details, Erickson clarified that "Ron [Scollon] said that while Goffman was at UC Berkeley he visited with the people at the family therapy research group at the VA hospital in Palo Alto" (email to the author, Apr 28, 2024). Bateson was one of the people then working with that research group, now typically referred to as the Palo Alto Group (Wilder 1979; Winkin 1988b). Goffman cited Bateson in his dissertation (1953) and had met him in person at least by the 1956 Macy Conference as mentioned earlier; he also cited Ruesch and Bateson (1951) on communication and psychiatry in his dissertation and had met Ruesch at least by 1957 when they participated in the same panel for the Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry, previously mentioned.

In addition, Burns briefly refers to "the working relationship he [Goffman] came to establish at Berkeley with Gregory Bateson's group" (1992, 17). Thus, despite the lack of documentation seen to date, Goffman may well have joined Bateson and Ruesch to participate in some of their film analy-

sis; he is known to have done that on several other occasions, even though film analysis was not a frequent activity for him. Clearly, both Bateson and Goffman worked with psychologists and psychiatrists and framed at least some of their work as having special interest for that audience. And Bateson began working with Ruesch, a psychiatrist, at the Langley Porter Clinic in San Francisco by the late 1940s, preparing several films for analysis with Kees.[43] The fact that Goffman required students to read Ruesch and Bateson in a course at least by 1960 (Winkin 2022f) may only show the significance of their ideas, or may be another hint that they were talking in person at that point.

Overall, these three affiliations to two UC Berkeley groups and one off-campus group demonstrate that Goffman was beginning to forge connections with not one but several multi- and/or interdisciplinary research groups, finding a surprising variety of scholars sharing at least some research interests with him, and joining them for various periods of time and at various levels. These increased in level of involvement over time: First, he was affiliated with the Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory as an administrative home while he held an NIMH grant to complete not one but two books—basically a solitary activity, although there may well have been connections with others there that have not yet been documented. Second, he was part of an informal group meeting through the auspices of the Center for the Study of Law and Society, a group which met to talk (rather than conduct research). While there may have been some concrete results (perhaps a conference panel organized?), no evidence has yet been located. Third, and most enticing, he met informally with Bateson's group at Palo Alto and was apparently a participant in at least a few of their research discussions analyzing filmed interaction. As with these other activities, there is very little documentation available, so it is difficult to be certain how active Goffman was, but at the very least all three demonstrate his participation in multidisciplinary conversations, setting him up for a fourth, more productive activity relating to still another group on campus.

Strategic Interaction and Conflict Conference

Goffman was one of the members of the Conference Planning Committee for Strategic Interaction and Conflict, an event sponsored by the Institute of International Studies in 1964, working with Seymour Martin Lipset, who directed the institute (Jaworski 2019, 2023). Lipset was based in Berkeley's sociology department 1956–1966; he had previously been a lecturer at the

University of Toronto (1946–1948), which he and Goffman would have noticed, though their time there did not coincide; afterwards Lipset moved to Harvard (1966–1975),[44] overlapping with Goffman's year there.

Table 2.2: Strategic Interaction and Conflict Conference, by Department

Sociology: Erving Goffman (Berkeley), Seymour Martin Lipset (Berkeley), William Gamson (University of Michigan), Jessie Bernard (Pennsylvania State University)
Psychology: Morton Deutsch (Columbia University), Alex Bavelas (Stanford)
Economics: Thomas C. Schelling (Harvard), John C. Harsanyi (Berkeley), Martin Shubik (Yale), Daniel Ellsberg (US State Department), Frederick Balderston (Berkeley)
Math: Anatol Rapoport (Michigan)
Political Science: Albert Wohlstetter (Rand Corporation)
Institute of International Studies: Kathleen Archibald (Berkeley)
Results: *Strategic Interaction and Conflict: Original Papers and Discussion* (Archibald 1966)

A few others beyond Lipset are notable: Kathleen Archibald served as coordinator at the institute rather than being primarily affiliated with any department; earlier she had earned a master's in social work and later a PhD in sociology (Archibald 1968); she was one of the organizers of the conference, editing the resulting volume (1966). Before Rapoport was at Berkeley, he was at Chicago, something he and Goffman were likely to have discovered. Gamson had already read Goffman's work, used it in his own teaching, and later invited Goffman to the University of Michigan to give the Katz-Newcomb lecture, hosting him for a several-day visit (Gamson 2009; Gamson also reviewed Goffman's book *Frame Analysis* in 1975). Jaworski reports that "Goffman's central contribution was in the second part of the conference. . . . Goffman introduced the discussion of 'Communication and Enforcement Systems' . . . Goffman had prepared what amounted to a full paper" (2023, 85–6). Jaworski summarizes Goffman's comments, but the point here is not what he said so much as that he was involved both in organizing a multidisciplinary event while at Berkeley, and in helping

participants to synthesize the ideas discussed, roles which he went on to reprise in later activities.

In fact, Goffman's role as discussant at conference panels continued across multiple organizations over the years, e.g., the American Sociological Association in 1971, where he was a discussant for "The Sociology of Sex Roles";[45] ASA 1978, for "Issues in Research: Covert Research Funding";[46] twice at the American Anthropological Association in 1976, for "The Mental Hospital as a Small Culture: The Anthropology of a Total Institution and for Approaches to the Analysis of Face-to-Face Interaction," with Adam Kendon, Madeleine Mathiot, Ray McDermott, Emanuel Schegloff, and Ervin-Tripp;[47] and AAA in 1978, for "Discourse: Speech Acts and Contextualization," with presentations by Bambi Schieffelin, Judith Irvine, Joel Sherzer, and Gumperz, and with Hymes as a second discussant.[48] Uncommonly, Goffman was the keynote speaker at the Chicago Linguistic Society, along with Michael Silverstein, in April 1979, followed by what has been described as "a quite spirited and engaging debate between the two" (Mokros 2010, 299).

All told, while at Berkeley Goffman connected with multiple informal groups as well as more established research centers, and helped to organize at least one conference, most of these activities leading to further connections in later years. Clearly, the Saturday group was the most substantial of these affiliations. The major (documented) result of the several minor activities was an invitation to Harvard.

Harvard University

Goffman apparently was in a visiting position at Harvard twice, once in 1959 (Jaworski 2023; Meyer 2024; Smith 2006), and again in 1966–1967. Certainly, Goffman was citing Garfinkel's work around that time, as in his 1959 article, "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient," and Rawls (2023) has documented the details of their drafting a book together, though it was never completed. The second visit was when Schelling invited Goffman to be a research fellow at the Center for International Affairs in 1966–1967 while on sabbatical from Berkeley (Jaworski 2019; Winkin 2022b). Schelling was at Harvard from 1958 to 1990 in economics and co-founded the Center for International Affairs in 1958.[49] According to the official history, "In 1958, Schelling, along with Robert R. Bowie, Henry A. Kissinger and Edward S. Mason, cofounded the Center for International Affairs at Harvard as a home

for basic research in international relations, at a time when academia did not recognize the legitimacy of this discipline" (Nicholasen 2016).

Goffman and Schelling did not meet for the first time at Berkeley but had known each other during Goffman's time at NIMH in the 1950s. As Schelling (2015) has explained:

> I met him when he was at the Institutes of Health in Washington. He approached me, I visited him and we talked, and I think he gave me reprints of "Facework" and "Cooling the Mark Out," which I've always loved. Sometime in the middle 60's I invited him to Harvard's Center for International Affairs, at which I had some Ford Foundation money for bringing scholars to Harvard, and he spent a year, finishing one of his books; I don't remember which one. . . . When he was my guest at Harvard we didn't become close friends. He was very distant.

A few clarifications: by "Institutes of Health" Schelling presumably means the National Institute of Mental Health, an easy error to make because NIMH is but one of the National Institutes of Health, all based on a single campus in Bethesda, Maryland. Also, the book Goffman prepared while at Harvard was *Strategic Interaction* (1970). Preda (2022) points out that he actually wrote one chapter while at Berkeley, and the other while at Harvard. In fact, in the first chapter, "Expression Games," Goffman first points out that he had published "a preliminary statement" in Archibald (1966) and then credits Archibald with "having made a great number of suggestions which I have incorporated freely into the text without acknowledgment" (1970, 3n1).

Although there is not much documentation available, we know Goffman participated in at least one semi-formal gathering at Harvard, a "discussion club," because Lon Fuller, who was Carter Professor of Jurisprudence at Harvard Law School at the time, wrote a letter to Goffman in 1966, following up on a conversation they had. As attachments, Fuller sent three articles. "The third piece, on adjudication, is the one I discussed with you briefly the night of the meeting of our discussion club." He asks Goffman to read them. "I hope I might coax out of you some help and criticism. I am in the quandary of dealing with what seem to me to be sociological problems, but at the same time problems that appear not to be dealt with in the existing literature of sociology. These problems have to do with social roles, and particularly with the responsibility that attach to the discharge of a particular role" (Oct 26, 1966, LFF). There is no response in the file, but presumably they met and continued the conversation. So, Goffman made at least one new connection while at Harvard.

At the same time, for the larger story being told here, what is most relevant about Goffman's time at Harvard is that he apparently did not make the same sort of long-term connections with multiple colleagues from a range of departments there as he had made previously at Berkeley, and would go on to make at Penn. And this was despite the several scholars he knew at Harvard; not only did he know Schelling and Lipset before he arrived, but Hymes had been based in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard prior to Berkeley, which he explained as a combination of "social anthropology, social psychology, sociology, maybe developmental psychology" (Scollon 2004, 52), so Goffman may have had an introduction to one or two people in that department as a result, despite the fact that Hymes did not leave on the best of terms. Gamson (2009) mentions that Harvard had a "department of social relations which also had this interest in the interdisciplinary bridging," but it is unclear whether Goffman connected with that group, just as it is unclear whether he connected again with Lipset. He did know George A. Miller, since they served on a panel together in 1957, as well as Ozzie G. Simmons (a student of Clyde Kluckhohn and Talcott Parsons, and faculty in anthropology at Harvard)[50] and Howard E. Freeman (a research associate at the School of Public Health)[51] from another panel the same year, as mentioned in the section on NIMH. It seems likely he would have connected with one or more of them, and/or various colleagues and friends while he was there. Goffman did at least get a lot written while at Harvard: He wrote a chapter and prepared the manuscript for *Strategic Interaction* (1970). In addition, he credits the Center for the Study of Law and Society as one of the sources of funds supporting his writing of "Where the Action Is," published as a chapter of *Interaction Ritual* (1967).

Conclusion

Chicago is where Goffman first developed a solid understanding of interdisciplinarity, made friends with peers across disciplinary boundaries (especially in anthropology and psychology, among the closest disciplines to sociology in that place at that time), and connected strongly enough with several of his professors that he was invited to apply to Berkeley by one (Blumer), and maintained a long-term friendship with another (Hughes). He joined fully in the "community of scholars" that Chicago deliberately fostered.[52] That was the beginning of his invisible college, although it is one that many others have described. NIMH is where he connected with notable numbers

of psychologists and psychiatrists, published in relevant journals such as *Psychiatry*, and conducted the observations that led to major publications such as *Asylums* (1961b). In the process, he expanded his invisible college considerably, adding psychiatry to the mix of disciplines.

Even in his first teaching role at Berkeley, Goffman displayed a willingness to cross disciplinary borders. This is clear not only from his incomplete efforts to work with Schneider and Gill on a grant proposal, his participation in the Saturday group and resulting conferences and publications, as well as his work on the Strategic Interaction and Conflict conference and the other small projects there, but in memories of students. For example, Emanuel Schegloff has said in an interview with Cmejrkova and Prevignano that Goffman made him read the "literature of all the fields that were contiguous to what I was working on"—and that included nine fields! While he did not appreciate it at the time, he did later (2003, 21).

While at Berkeley, Goffman not only met Hymes, with whom he worked frequently on multiple projects large and small until his death, but also Gumperz, Cicourel, Garfinkel, Schegloff, Sacks, and others, many of whom he maintained contact with after leaving California, and most of whom became part of one or another later project. Goffman had Gumperz available as a model for how to develop and coordinate multi- and interdisciplinary efforts, and he was included in a publication resulting from those early efforts (Goffman 1964a). And it was while he was at Berkeley that he first became involved with the development of sociolinguistics, a topic which remained an interest for the rest of his life, and formed a larger scholarly community that was quite different from the community of psychologists and psychiatrists previously developed during his years at NIMH, including now scholars based mostly in linguistics, philosophy, and folklore. In addition, the conference which he helped to organize at Berkeley led not only to further connections with people in additional disciplines (economics, math, political science) but also led directly to his year at Harvard, the addition of at least one more discipline (international relations), and the completion of another book. Until and unless someone else who was his contemporary at Harvard supplies additional information (or deposits letters into an archive), we must rely on Schelling's report that Goffman did not develop the same sort of informal network at Harvard that he did earlier at Chicago, NIMH, and Berkeley, and later at Penn, Indiana, and Texas, unlikely as that seems.

Given that sociology at Berkeley was a more prestigious department than the one at Penn, one might ask why Goffman was willing to leave at

all. There is correspondence explaining this as a move to permit a lighter teaching load and granting more time for research and publications, so that is at least one obvious answer. A letter from UCLA demonstrates that Goffman was considering leaving Berkeley for that university as early as 1965 in exchange for a particularly light teaching load.[53] There is another letter from Schneider telling Goffman he was wanted at Chicago and could get the same light teaching load (Jun 6, 1965, DS). The Chicago position would have been a joint affiliation between anthropology and sociology, just what he ended up with at Penn (Schneider to Goffman, Jun 11, 1965, DS). There is not a lot of documentation explaining why Penn won this competition, but it may well have had to do with the strong push from Hymes and others there, as well as the additional reward of becoming a Benjamin Franklin Professor and the resulting higher salary. In addition, Murray describes a few negatives about the context at Berkeley, based on interviews with Hymes and Gumperz, which led Hymes to consider leaving, and which probably were relevant to Goffman's move as well. Briefly, there was some "mutual unease between the generations" (according to Gumperz), and junior faculty felt they "didn't have any weight in decisions" (according to Hymes) (Murray 2010, 98). In any case, the invisible college that Goffman had been developing while at Chicago, NIMH, and Berkeley was not lost when he moved to Penn; rather it was expanded considerably. Some of the connections he made involved strong personal relationships that lasted decades (as demonstrated by his correspondence with Hughes and Schneider); some led to publications (as with the Saturday group); and others led to an invitation to the next stage (both Harvard and Penn).

Endnotes

[1]I am not describing the years between enrolling at Chicago and completing the dissertation as that period has been more than adequately covered; see especially Winkin 2000; also Winkin 1988a, 1999, 2010, 2022c, 2022d, 2022e; Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz, 2013. For Goffman's dissertation research in the Shetland Islands (in Scotland), across 1949–51, see Smith 2022a; Winkin 2000, 2022c. On Goffman's undergraduate days in Canada, see Bott-Spillius 2010; Smith 2003; Winkin 1984a, 1988a, 2022c, 2022f; Wrong 1990. For further details about Goffman's graduate days at Chicago, see Smith and Winkin 2013; Winkin 2022a.

[2] There were actually two Chicago Schools of sociology (Fine 1995), but distinguishing between them is not the issue in this context.

[3] See Jaworski 2000; Vienne 2010, 2022; Winkin 1988a. And Shalin suggests that Hughes is important for his "doubts about disciplinary boundaries" (2023, 769).

[4] See Chapoulie 1996; Smith 2022a; Smith and Winkin, 2012, 2013.

[5] See Winkin 1999 for discussion of the problematic term "influences" (31–33).

[6] Winkin published this in French: "Mes amis de Chicago et moi, nous avons formé une sorte de groupe solidaire" (1984a, 86), although he has pointed out that Goffman spoke to him in English and so suggested that the quote should appear here in English.

[7] I remember Birdwhistell talking about it and encouraging us to read it.

[8] Even into the early 1960s, William Kornblum explains: "Chicago is the most exciting intellectual community that I have ever been part of. . . . One of the best things about sociology at the University of Chicago was its proximity to anthropology. . . . The interdisciplinary tradition that Robert Redfield and Robert Park started was of inestimable importance for me" (Jaynes et al. 2009, 381).

[9] Interestingly, he did not mention either Edward Shils or Edward Banfield, as those are the professors for whom he actually served as research assistant in different years (Goffman CV, n.d., UCOP).

[10] Committee on Honorary Degrees to unnamed administrator, Jun 12, 1979, UCOP.

[11] Alvin Boskoff to Wilson, Feb 14, 1979, UCOP.

[12] Murray S. Davis to William Julius Wilson (Chair of Sociology at Chicago), Feb 27, 1979, UCOP.

[13] Peter M. Blau to Wilson, Mar 6, 1979, UCOP.

[14] Lewis A. Coser to Wilson, Feb 16, 1979, UCOP.

[15] Alvin Boskoff to Wilson, Feb 14, 1979, UCOP.

[16] Goffman to D. Gale Johnson (Provost), Aug 1, 1979, UCOP.

[17] The reference to Blumer 1969b is part of the quote from Verhoeven, so it is Blumer 1969 in the references section.

[18] Specifically, see Leeds-Hurwitz 1994, 2022; Winkin 2022d; Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013.

[19] For more on Goffman's relationship with Bateson, see Leeds-Hurwitz 2022.

[20] Other participants were Ozzie G. Simmons and Howard E. Freeman at Harvard University; Henry J. Meyer and Edgar F. Borgatta at New York University; and John H. Mabry, E. L. Siegal, W. A. Mann, S. Furman, and A. McLaughlin, jointly authoring one paper, and coming from New York State College of Medicine or Syracuse Veterans Administration Hospital (https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1957_am_final_program_complete_o.pdf).

[21] The panel chair was Lawrence C. Kolb (director of the New York State Psychiatric Institute); other participants were George A. Miller (psychology, Harvard University), Solomon E. Asch (psychology, Swarthmore College), and Jürgen Ruesch (psychiatry, University of California School of Medicine, known for his work with Bateson).

[22] https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1960_am_final_program_complete_with_cover.pdf.

[23] https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1978_annual_meeting_program.pdf.

[24] Fromm-Reichmann died in 1957, so either she made the suggestion about Goffman's inclusion in this particular volume before the letter of invitation was written in 1958, or she was not the one who recommended him.

[25] https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.SCHNEIDERD.

[26] Undated letter with the handwritten note "1954?" from Goffman to Schneider, DS.

[27] Goffman is not listed in the ASA program that year (https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1960_am_final_program_complete_with_cover.pdf), but it was held in New York, so he may just have gone without presenting; New York is only a few hours from Washington, DC by train.

[28] Letter from Reinhard Bendix, chair of sociology, to Lincoln Constance, Dean of the College of Arts and Letters at Berkeley, Feb 16, 1959, DS.

[29] https://www.nytimes.com/1994/11/19/obituaries/merton-m-gill-psychoanalyst-is-dead-at-80.html.

[30] https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scrc/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.SCHNEIDERD#idp3351112.

[31] Goffman to Schneider, n.d. [May 1965, based on internal evidence], DS.

[32] This three-way collaboration was still being discussed a few years later, as Goffman wrote to Schneider: "Marty's [Merton Gill] away in S. America; when he comes back I'll talk to him again about us all forming a social science research institute (that would be one way he could stay), but that's a very long shot" (Goffman to Schneider, n.d. [May/June 1965, based on internal evidence], DS).

[33] Schneider to Goffman, Jun 11, 1965, DS.

[34] The Center for the Study of Law and Society provided funding for doctoral projects, including those of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, David Sudnow, and Roy Turner, as well as a postdoc for Cicourel (Meyer 2024). Cicourel and Goffman obviously stayed in touch, because Goffman was included on a panel Cicourel organized and chaired, "The Problem of Integrating Macro and Micro Sociological Theory" for the American Sociological Association in 1977. Other panelists were Randall Collins (UC San Diego) and A. W. Gouldner (Washington University) (https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1977_annual_meeting_program.pdf).

[35] https://oac.cdlib.org/search?style=oac4;Institution=UC%20Berkeley::Bancroft%20Library;idT=991077445029706532.

[36] Heller also reiterates Gumperz's influence in bringing others together "into an interdisciplinary network" (2013, 398), although her focus is on the time after Goffman had left Berkeley.

[37] The publication he mentions is Gumperz and Hymes (1964a). To highlight the connection between the 1964 Committee on Sociolinguistics conference held at Indiana and Gumperz and Hymes's 1972 volume, *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, which grew out of their 1964 special issue, it is worth noting that Ferguson's report on the former event was titled "Directions in Sociolinguistics" (Ferguson 1965). A related title was used by Grimshaw for an article, "Directions for Research in Sociolinguistics" (1966).

[38] The SAA panel was probably part of the spring meeting of 1962, held at Berkeley (Dixon 1983).

[39] Hymes first wrote to Labov at Uriel Weinreich's recommendation when he was looking for people interested in contributing to the Gumperz and Hymes special issue "The Ethnography of Communication" (Hymes to Labov, Jan 9, 1963). Labov responded that he had already read Hymes's 1962 work on the ethnography of speaking (Labov to Hymes, Jan 24, 1963, DHH); he was included in the 1964 collection (Labov 1964). They quickly found areas of shared interest, as when Labov wrote, "Your letter demonstrated to me that we are looking at the world through the same pair of spectacles, or binoculars, or whatever they may be" (Oct 4, 1965, DHH). Labov and Hymes's full exchange can be found in DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

[40] Although Levinson documents that many of the same connections remained available, at least to students of Gumperz, through the 1970s: "In Berkeley at that time there was a rare and wonderful confluence of ideas from different disciplines concerning the study of meaning" (2003, 32).

[41] http://news.berkeley.edu/2010/06/16/selznick/.

[42] https://newsarchive.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2003/03/13_messinger.shtml.

[43] Ruesch and Bateson 1951; Ruesch and Kees 1956; see Leeds-Hurwitz 1922 for further discussion of the connections between Goffman and Bateson.

[44] The finding aid to his papers does not have an entry for Goffman, so it is unlikely they corresponded: https://findingaids.loc.gov/exist_collections/ead3pdf/mss/2018/ms018030.pdf.

[45] https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1971_annual_meeting_program_c.pdf.

[46] https://www.asanet.org/wp-content/uploads/1978_annual_meeting_program.pdf.

[47] https://openanthroresearch.org/index.php/oarr/preprint/view/38/70.

[48] https://openanthroresearch.org/index.php/oarr/preprint/view/40/74.

[49] https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2016/12/thomas-schelling-game-theory-pioneer-95/; https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2021/03/thomas-crombie-schelling-95/.

[50] https://sirismm.si.edu/EADpdfs/NAA.1997-10.pdf.

[51] https://oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb5g50061q&chunk.id=div00037&brand=oac4&doc.view=entire_text.

[52] https://provost.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/documents/reports/KalvenRprt_0.pdf.

[53] Richard Morris, acting chair of sociology at UCLA, to Goffman, May 27, 1965, DS.

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