

Articles Highlighting Erving Goffman*
Symbolic Interaction, 1977-2015
(As of 12.30.2015)

1

[Personal Acts](#)

Gregory P. Stone

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall 1977) (pp. 2-19)

Personal acts, whether carried on alone or with others, are amenable to the same mode of analysis as joint actions. They are concerted. This article deals with six dimensions of the orchestration of such concerts—self, role and role-taking, personal appearance, situations, out-of-awareness contexts, and symbols. Comments are made and questions raised about these dimensions that are not often made or raised in the literature of symbolic interaction. A rudimentary paradigm has been established which needs further systematization and specification but may well guide future research even in its present state.

2

[Sexual Politics in the Workplace: The Interactional World of Policewomen](#)

Susan E. Martin

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1978) (pp. 44-60)

This paper examines the dynamics of male-female interaction in one work setting--the backstage region of a police department--and explores the variety of ways that policewomen are pressured to "stay in their place" by male coworkers. Policewomen face interpersonal dilemmas because as police officers they are expected to behave like colleagues (i.e. as status equals); as women they are expected to behave as status subordinates. This paper investigates a number of the techniques by which female officers' gender is made salient and male officers assert dominance over female officers. The verbal techniques employed include the use of euphemisms, affectionate terms of address, cursing, joking and putdowns, and gossip. Non-verbal messages are transmitted by the use of personal space, touch, and chivalrous ceremonies. In addition the problems posed by sexuality and sexual harassment in the workplace are discussed. Data are based on nine months of participant observation and 55 interviews with officers in one police district in Washington, D.C.

3

[The Influence of an Untoward Public Act on Conceptions of Self](#)

Sharon Kantorowski Davis

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1978) (pp. 106-123)

This study focuses on the process of making sense of the experience of being exposed to. It looks at audience interpretations of the experience of having viewed a stranger's genitals in a public place and the effects on viewer self concepts. The study is based on in-depth interviews with 25 adult women. Findings indicate that women typically incorporate their definitions of the experience into their self-images which, as a result, are impugned and discredited. Women often saw the self as having played a role in the production of the event. Although women generally were critical in their assessment of themselves and their management of the situation they used vocabularies of non-responsibility when recounting the experience thereby reducing the likelihood of criticism by

others.

4

[Interactional Considerations In Studying American "Indians" The Case Of Adolescent Self-Esteem](#)

William C. Cockerham

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 1979) (pp. 43-58)

This paper argues that symbolic interactionists must recognize the necessity to not overgeneralize their data and to accurately reflect the natural environment of "Indianness" when investigating the empirical reality of the American "Indian's" social world. Data pertaining to the self-esteem of Arapahoe and Shoshone adolescents living on Wyoming's Wind River Reservation are discussed as a case in point. Arapahoe and Shoshone youth attending integrated high schools, as a racial and numerical minority, were found to have relatively high levels of self-esteem. The implications of this finding are reviewed.

5

[A Review Symposium: Anselm L. Strauss—Negotiations: Varieties, Contexts, Processes, and Social Order San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978](#)

Harvey A. Farberman

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 2, No. 2 (Fall 1979) (pp. 153-168)

6

[Egalitarianism as Dramaturgy: Ideology And Social Interaction In MesoAmerica](#)

John L. Aguilar

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1980) (pp. 105-122)

The anthropological literature generally depicts Mesoamerican Indian communities as egalitarian. This study reveals and examines the dramaturgical nature of egalitarianism among Indians of Teopisca, a biethnic (Ladino-Mayan) town in southern Mexico. It is shown that although much public behavior in this community complies with the moral prescriptions of an egalitarian ideology, such behavior normally serves instrumental rather than moral ends. Following discussion of this ideology and related categories of deviance and defensive interactional tactics, it is proposed that Indian egalitarianism in Teopisca is itself a collective construction of reality designed to assist in the task of self-esteem maintenance in the face of underprivilege and depreciation within the larger Ladino-dominated community. The broader contribution of this study lies in its demonstration of ways in which culture—*qua* morality—relates to behavior through the medium of actors' everyday practical social interests and concerns.

7*

[Directions For An Interactionist Study Of Gender Development](#)

Spencer E. Cahill

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1980) (pp. 123-138)

Harold Garfinkel and Erving Goffman have demonstrated the utility of the interactionist approach for the study of sex and gender. This paper proposes some hypotheses and research strategies for complementary interactionist studies of the gender development process. A review of previous research and clinical data concerning feminized boys that patterns of caregiver-infant interaction and caregivers' use of sex-designating verbal labels provide the basis for gender identity formation.

The child then actively seeks to confirm this identity through social interaction and, thereby, learns to express gender. Some prominent theories of gender development and some important aspects of the child's learning of gender expression are briefly reviewed. A hypothesized sequence of gender development and suggestions for its empirical investigation are offered in conclusion.

8

[Societal Reaction And The Physically Disabled: Bringing The Impairment Back In](#)

Paul C. Higgins

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1980) (pp. 139-156)

According to the societal reaction perspective, the reactions of the nondisabled are the key to understanding the physically disabled. Consequently, stigmatization has been emphasized in explaining the often awkward and inhibited encounters between the disabled and the nondisabled. Stigmatization, though, cannot fully explain interaction between the disabled and the nondisabled. Through a qualitative analysis of encounters between the deaf and the hearing, I demonstrate that disabilities are also disruptive when they cause the assumptions and routine practices which usually successfully maintain interaction to become problematic. Coping strategies are attempts to compensate for those assumptions and practices which have failed. The reactions of the nondisabled are important in understanding the physically disabled, but in more complex ways than the societal reaction perspective has so far suggested.

9

[Individuation In Facework: Theoretical Implications From A Study of Facework In Medical School Admissions](#)

Robert S. Broadhead

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 3, No. 2 (Fall 1980) (pp. 51-68)

In analyzing the process of facework engaged in by medical students in applying for medical school admission, data were collected on a number of theoretical problems which are in need of greater research and empirically-based theorizing. In terms of theory on facework, it was found that future research is needed into the stages of individuation and normalization. In terms of theory on professional socialization, analyses are required which reveal (1) the interpenetration of multiple socialization processes which individuals participate in simultaneously; and (2) how individuals may use specific socialization processes to prepare them for multiple identities and roles.

10*

[The Phenomenon of the Public Wife: An Exercise in Goffman's Impression Management](#)

Joanna B. Gillespie

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 3, No. 2 (Fall 1980) (pp. 109-126)

Approaching the topic of American leader-image from the perspective of politics-as-theater (political communication as exchange of symbols), this paper examines a taken-for-granted visual symbol which a national political leader is invariably expected to present: a wife. Her contributions to her husband's "impression management" techniques are studied in Goffman's "defensive" categories of dramaturgical loyalty, dramaturgical discipline, and dramaturgical circumspection. This analysis suggests that the visible presence of a wife in public leadership rituals offers the public voter or viewer important reassurances or symbolic guarantees about her husband's "morality"—and, therefore, his appropriateness for public trust. She has become a necessary part of

his public performance because of our everyday need for “cultural absolutes” (Furay, 1977) in the image of our leadership figures.

11

[The Staging of Emotion: A Dramaturgical Analysis](#)

Louis A. Zurcher

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 1982) (pp. 1-22)

Dramaturgical analysis is employed in a participant observation study of the emotional performances of fans, coaches and players at a college football game. The structure of the staging for emotional display is described, as is the phasing of people into sets of contextually appropriate performances. The phasing is seen to evolve from expectation for emotional experience, to diffuse emotional readiness, and finally to specific emotional displays. The staging and phasing are shown to be directed by cue-producing others and events which evoke rapidly shifting emotional expressions. The implications of the findings for contrived emotional settings other than football games are discussed.

12

[The Everyday Life of Art: Variation in the Valuation of Art Works in a Community Art Museum](#)

Catherine Valentine

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 1982) (pp. 37-47)

This paper examines variation in the valuation of art works in a community art museum. It often is assumed that art objects collected and displayed by museums are treated as highly valued if not sacred objects. Research at a community art museum indicates that the value of art works varies. Frontstage at the museum, art works are treated with care by museum workers. Backstage, they may be destroyed, misplaced, lost, or stolen. In addition, when not engaged in playing the conventional role of museum visitor, visitors to the museum may disregard and even mistreat art objects. Data are based on observations and interviews conducted over a two-year period in a medium-sized community art museum.

13

[Accounts as Assembled from Breaching Experiments](#)

Stanford W. Gregory, Jr.

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 1982) (pp. 49-63)

A good deal of recent sociological literature has been involved with statements and explanations of the so-called “breaching experiments” or “incongruity procedures” originally introduced to sociological literature by Harold Garfinkel in his article “A Conception of, and Experiments with, ‘Trust’ as a Condition of Stable Concerted Actions.” The recent literature has essentially explained the breaching experiments as demonstrations of a means of eliciting social order through the disruption of taken-for-granted realities. An area, however, which has not been explained is the mental state of the persons who voluntarily involve themselves in these breachings. Persons who do these experiments almost unanimously remark that conducting these breachings creates anxiety and dread for them. Although there are numerous occasions in everyday life when persons find themselves in untoward positions, the breaching experiment can be used as a method of creating experimenter anxiety which is localized and pinpointed in such a way that it can be researched. This paper produces a sociological explanation of this breaching experiment anxiety. It offers therefore some insights into the influence of social situations on individuals' mental states, as well as a better

understanding of the social dynamics behind the accounts people provide to explain their behavior.

14

[Personal Information and Social Life](#)

Eviatar Zerubavel

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 1982) (pp. 97-109)

This paper revolves around the informational aspect of social relationships, attempting to identify the fundamental social patterning of personal information and to establish the basic conceptual framework necessary for analyzing this topic from a sociological perspective. The paper explores the major parameters of personal information (amount, scope, and depth), relating them to sociological variables such as social distance, social power, privacy, and intimacy. It then examines the “information preserve”, a quasi-spatial territory of the self, discussing various forms of defending it (such as discretion, concealment, and fabrication), as well as ways in which it is protected by others (with a particular emphasis on confidentiality and tact).

15

[Performance and Rehearsal: Social Order and Organizational Life](#)

Iain L. Mangham and Michael A. Overington

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1982) (pp. 205-222)

Two perspectives on social order have been influential among interactionists—negotiated order and the dramaturgical. We explore the resources offered by the latter when the *theater* is taken more seriously as a source of theoretic invention. In particular we survey some of the more important elements in theatrical performance and rehearsal. The major part of the paper then takes social order as an *alternation* between performing and rehearsing in which social actors may be treated as “possessed” by their roles and the limits on performance located. We illustrate the analytic possibilities of this view in some organizational conversations.

16

[Producing Drama: Symbolic Communication and the Police](#)

Peter K. Manning

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1982) (pp. 223-242)

Organizational analysis, based on a version of symbolic interactionism, is used here to advance a dramaturgical perspective on the relationships between organization, information and technology. Organizations are defined as meaning-production systems stabilized by relatively permanent interactions that are temporally and spatially-based. Ethnographic data, gathered by fieldwork in two police communication centers in the United States and in England, are presented. Each organization receives messages centrally and processes them through three segments (operators, dispatchers and officers). In semiotic terms, the police can be seen to be a means for producing drama, or the selective presentation of signs which either heighten or reduce the salience of other signs in a message. The primary conditions which increase the likelihood of drama being attached to policing are tentatively advanced. The police reduce the salience of emotive or expressive aspects of communication by encoding (recoding) citizens' messages from an aesthetic mode to a logical classificatory code. The greater the information supplied by a caller, the more ambiguity in the call-classification process, and the more interpretation is required. Interpretations rendered are based in part upon segment specific understandings of the meanings of the calls, and in part on more general or shared meanings based upon the occupational culture. The result of these interpretations is that

messages become more poetic in character as they move across segments within the system. The police also reproduce their own metaphoric version or map of society in and by their encoding, decoding and recoding actions. By so doing, they maintain the dramatic importance of the police and their actions, and the centrality of myths that reify the notion that the police can and do control all that needs controlling in a society.

17*

[The Presentation of Self and the New Institutional Inmate: An Analysis of Prisoners' Responses to Assessment for Release](#)

Catherine M. Watson

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1982) (pp. 243-257)

This paper bases an analysis of the prison experience on Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* rather than on *Asylums*. It describes the situation of prisoners in an institution where release decisions are individualized and where release recommendations depend on official assessments of the character, background, and moral “change” of each prisoner. The paper then focuses on the work that prisoners do to demonstrate institutionally approved character and “change” to the prison staff or, in the words of prisoners, to “show them who you are.” The concepts and premises of dramaturgy are employed to analyse prisoners' techniques of self-portrayal and to analyse prisoners' resistance to institutional assessment through describing their behaviour as simply “conning” and “manipulating.”

18*

[Ritual Power in Interaction](#)

Andrew Travers

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1982) (pp. 277-286)

Research (by a self-styled participant observer) into two fashions of persons—nurses and punks—lends unexpected significance to the ritual “frame” as this appears in Erving Goffman's thought. A new concept that was only implicit in Goffman's ritual frame is demanded by the research experiences. This is “ritual power.” Ritual power, especially when it is strong, is like “presence” or “possession”, and it may well exert a major claim on interactants' consciousnesses (whether the interactants are displaying it or appreciating it). Of course, it must follow that verbal forms which try to define ritual power will do so the more powerfully the more they arrest the reader's attention. So it may not be a good idea to use sociological rhetoric of any sort to suggest that punks and nurses are exemplary referents of “ritual power”, but this last possibility is only latent in what follows.

19

[The Dramaturgical Model of Behavior: Its Strengths and Weaknesses](#)

Bruce Wilshire

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1982) (pp. 287-298)

By means of the dramaturgical model we freshly illuminate social behavior as role-like “performances” in which persons manage the impressions that others get of them. This impression management involves the concealment of data in a “dramatic” struggle with those others who wish to penetrate one's “mask.” But the chief limitations of the dramaturgical model are that it excites the invalid inferences that offstage “roles” are more like stage actors' *roles* than they really are, and that the person is nothing but these “roles.” The differences between onstage and offstage behavior are kept in view when the metaphorical concept of “role playing” is re-connected to its source in *role*

playing onstage. Through an analysis of theatre and the concepts of appearance and time we conclude that while we must appear to others in a “role-like” way offstage in order to be ourselves, we are nevertheless involved in world-time offstage in a way that fundamentally distinguishes our “role-playing” from an actor's *role playing*. We are our “roles”, but *not just* our “roles.”

20

[Telephone Troubles: Interactional Breakdown and its Management by Stutterers and Their Listeners](#)

Michael Petrunik

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 5, No. 2 (Fall 1982) (pp. 299-310)

While both face-to-face and telephone interaction involve problems of management for stutterers and their listeners, the absence of visual cues in telephone talk poses special problems which can lead to interactional breakdown. These problems are accentuated by factors such as an individual's pattern of stuttering and adaptations to stuttering, the awareness context in which interaction takes place, and the nature of the relationship between the speakers. The author's sociological perspective goes beyond the clinical perspective of speech pathology in helping to understand the interactional and identity troubles of stutterers. His analysis also shows how both stutterers' breaches of conversational norms and the practices used to remedy these breaches illuminate taken-for-granted expectations in telephone interaction.

21

[Identity: Its Emergence within Sociological Psychology](#)

Andrew J. Weigert

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1983) (pp. 183-206)

Identity is an oft used technical term in sociological social psychology. Yet, its rather recent emergence remains uncharted. Discussion of its origin in the post World War II period from the writings of Erikson leads to recognition of its rapid development in the 1960's and 1970's. Five theoretical sources are currently informing the development and use of the concept. Its continued strength is apparently in response to the need to interpret contemporary American society. By the 1980's, identity serves as a powerful bridging concept stretched across micro and macro levels of theory and reaching from laboratory analyses to cultural criticism.

22

[Justice as Interaction: Loose Coupling and Mediations in the Adversary Process](#)

Jim Thomas

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1983) (pp. 243-260)

This study has examined the adversary process by focusing on the Chicago Eight trial as a typical, rather than abnormal, instance of the adversary process. By comparing this trial with other less dramatic trials, it becomes easier to display how human activity mediates the formal rules of justice which in turn decouples organizational rules from intended outcomes. This discussion further illustrates that the structure of the judicial systems, ostensibly mandated to seek “truth” through a reasonably fixed set of organizational procedures, may be incompatible with the normatively grounded practices by which “truth” is obtained. Loose coupling helps make more intelligible the justice process as human practice by conceiving it as a set of social relations. In these processes, human work activity transforms by symbolic means the social world within which formal structures, constraints and restraints may be mediated by such symbolic dimensions as communication, control, and style.

23

[Restoring the Semblance of Order: Police Strategies in the Domestic Disturbance](#)

Phillip W. Davis

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1983) (pp. 261-278)

The fact that police officers often try to comply with citizen demands has not gone unnoticed. But the grievance of a complaining party (beatings, drunken husband, disobedient children, philandering spouse, etc.) is either irrelevant or secondary to the actor's demands or wishes. Officers are more reactive than proactive as control agents, and in disputes they react to the demands of citizens more than to the grievance or complaint per se. The grievance is viewed as the manageable part of the underlying domestic disorder which is unmanageable. Attending to the grievance would be doing something for the person. But the officer's concern for the citizen's demand reflects their interest in doing something to the situation. Officers define the trouble underlying the grievance as lying outside their occupational jurisdiction.

24

[Language and the Self: An Expanded View from a Symbolic Interactionist Perspective](#)

Michael L. Schwalbe

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1983) (pp. 291-306)

Language and the self are two of the most important elements in Mead's account of human development and action. Despite the importance of language and the self to symbolic interactionism, little attention has been devoted to exploring their interrelationship, either theoretically or empirically. Some reasons for this neglect are suggested. By merging Mead's view of language and the self with a functional linguistic perspective new possibilities are displayed for expanding our understanding of this relationship. These are developed by considering the: a) ontogenetic, b) categorical, c) expressive, d) performative, and e) transformative aspects of the interrelationship between language and the self.

25

[Toward a Social Psychology of Entertainment Magic \(Conjuring\)](#)

Peter M. Nardi

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1984) (pp. 25-42)

The dynamics of everyday social interactions can often be clarified by studying the social organization of unusual realms of activity. One such activity is conjuring—magic performed as entertainment. This article discusses various sociological and social psychological dimensions in the performance of magic. It focuses on the similarities between a magic act and the social interactions of everyday life. It also discusses the dialectic between magic reasoning and mundane reasoning—between the audience's expectations built from the organization of everyday life and the violations of expectations produced by the magician's construction of an alternate reality. A magic trick is described from the perspectives of both magician and spectator using such topics as the directional, concealment, and disattend channels of activity; breaking frames; bracketing; sex roles; expectations; perception and attention; and rationality. The article concludes with some brief suggestions for additional research topics and some implications for both a theoretical and an applied sociological social psychology.

26

[Self-Mockery: An Alternative Form of Self-Presentation](#)

Sheldon Ungar
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1984) (pp. 121-133)

The first part of the paper delineates grounds for doubting that enhancing performances are as pervasive as the self-presentational literature suggests. Then, the notion of structural ambivalence is used to demonstrate that there is considerable “leeway” in role taking, especially in the case of humorous or playful behaviour. Extending this analysis, it is argued that self-mockery constitutes an important aspect of the presentation of self. The remaining sections of the paper seek to define, illustrate and explore the functions of various types of self-mockery. Above all, it is suggested that self-mockery serves to increase the positive emotional sentiments among participants.

27

[Aligning Actions: Types and Social Distribution](#)

Christopher H. Hunter
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 7, No. 2 (Fall 1984) (pp. 155-174)

Research on aligning actions requires a clearer understanding of what types of aligning actions exist. A typology of aligning actions is described which is based on three criteria: temporal focus (retrospective or prospective), claim made (concerning the actor's responsibility or the act itself), and the desirability of the event involved. The typology is shown to incorporate the aligning actions already discussed in the literature and to suggest new possibilities. Using this typology, a number of propositions are offered suggesting how aligning actions are used by actors with differing levels of interpersonal power, as reflected in their gender and age.

28*

[The Symbolic Interaction 1st “I” As Ironist: Toward Alternative Worlds](#)

William L. Tam
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 7, No. 2 (Fall 1984) (pp. 175-189)

Symbolic Interactionist Irony (SII) has as its aspiration, possibility, and achievement the creation of alternative worlds of seeing and doing. The constituent features of irony as detached from and skeptical of all available perspectives elevate its status to that as transcendental of extant reality. The internal logic-of-discovery and reflexive mood of SII conclude that all knowledge have an inseparable personal and autonomous basis. Hence, there are alternative ways but no final way of knowing. Knowledge without final truth value is—and can only be—an alternative world of seeing and doing. Nonetheless, an ironic alternative world is seen as an emergent that has its own integrity from the interaction of facts against analytic perspectives. The works of Erving Goffman and Joseph R. Gusfield, and their roots in the writings of Kenneth Burke, are read as having conceptual resonance for SII as an intellectual style. An ironic reading is thus offered of how SII practice is possible and how this practice refocuses the worlds of seeing and doing.

29

[The Stigma of Race: Who Now Bears the Mark of Cain?](#)

Lewis M. Killian
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1985) (pp. 1-14)

Instances are cited from the U.S. and India in which individual whites and Brahmans were attacked as being guilty of prejudice and discrimination simply on the basis of their hereditary group

membership. These are characterized as involving “stigma reversal,” defined as the imputation of guilt and moral inferiority to the members of a dominant group on the basis of descent when the moral justification of the group's position of advantage is being redefined. Evidence of the use of stigma reversal as an argument in support of protective discrimination or preferential treatment of minority group members is presented. It is postulated that stigma reversal is related to changes in self-conception which accompany minority protest movements and redefinition of the sense of group position even by members of the dominant group. Dominant group members whose definition of the situation is that they are becoming victims themselves may lead to defensive reactions similar to those previously observed among traditional minorities. The negative consequences which stigma reversal may have for public policies designed to help disadvantaged minorities are discussed.

30

[Dignified Joking: Humor and Demeanor in a Public Speaking Club](#)

Diane Bjorklund

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1985) (pp. 33-46)

An investigation was made of the joking that occurs during meetings of a club which gathers weekly to practice public speaking. In this setting, humor is expected as part of a good speaking performance. It is assumed that the use of humor can establish rapport with an audience and aid in persuasion. This paper describes how such joking must be managed to avoid both a potential disintegration of the club's focused gathering and an undermining of the face-work involved in doing public speaking.

31*

[Marx and the Category of Individuality' in Communist Society](#)

David Ashley

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1985) (pp. 63-83)

Marx was one among the great humanist philosophers who, like the humanists from the Renaissance up to those of our day, have stressed the idea that all social arrangements must serve the growth and the unfolding of man; that man must always be an end and never a means; that each individual carries within himself all of humanity; that human progress in science and in art depends upon freedom; that man has the capacity to perfect himself in the process of history. . . . It is an ironical fact that the main accusation against Marxism in the capitalist countries has been his “materialism”; this is ironical because it was precisely Marx’s aim to fight the materialism engendered in bourgeois life and to create a society in which man-the creative, “self-active” human being-is the sumbonum, in which the rich man is the one, as Marx put it, who is much, and not the one who has much.

32*

[Emotion as Lived Experience](#)

Norman K. Denzin

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 8, No. 2 (Fall 1985) (pp. 223-240)

The place of the lived body in emotional experience is examined. Four layers, or levels, of lived-emotion are identified: (1) sensible feelings, (2) feelings of the lived body, (3) intentional value-feelings, (4) feelings of the self or the moral person. An account of lived emotionality given by James Joyce is analyzed. The importance of a phenomenological and interactionist view of self,

emotionality and social experience is indicated.

33*

[Universal Expressive Needs: A Critique and a Theory](#)

Thomas J. Scheff

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 8, No. 2 (Fall 1985) (pp. 241-262)

This article proposes a theory of expressive needs common to all human beings, which grow out of biologically based "coarse emotions": grief, fear, anger, shame, joy, and love-attachment. In order to locate the new theory within the framework of existing thought on the relation between culture and biology, I classify, in a provisional way, the major theorists as belonging to one of the following schools of thought: instinctivist, culturist, or humanist. The weakness of each of these positions is outlined, and the way the new theory corrects the weaknesses is described.

34

[Pauses: Explorations in Social Rhythm](#)

Robert P. Snow and Dennis Brissett

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring 1986) (pp. 1-18)

Despite the ubiquity of pauses in the personal and social fabric of everyday life, sociological analysis of this phenomenon has been limited in both scope and concern. In this article it is argued that pausing should not be relegated to the status of a residual category nor should pauses merely be conceptualized as breaks in action or periods of inactivity. Rather, it is suggested that pauses are an essential element of the social rhythm that demonstrates degrees of personal and community well-being and vitality. As well, pausing may be an important, perhaps even necessary, part of the process of commitment and self-esteem. A typology of pauses is offered and the implications of pausing in establishing the rhythm of human behavior are discussed.

35*

[Commodore Perry and the Japanese: A Study in the Dramaturgy of Power](#)

Michio Kitahara

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring 1986) (pp. 53-65)

A study of face-to-face interactions between Commodore Perry and his subordinates on the one hand, and Japanese on the other, reveals that Perry consistently displayed power in a well-calculated manner in order to make the Japanese open the country. The Japanese were completely manipulated by him, and they yielded to his demand and opened the country. The American and Japanese documents of the time are analyzed in terms of Goffman's dramaturgical approach. Symbolic interactionism can be a useful approach in understanding international relations or social change.

36

[The Social Construction of Historical Events through Public Dramas](#)

Edward Gross

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 9, No. 2 (Fall 1986) (pp. 179-200)

Medieval Corpus Christi pageants, community and royal public dramas, and French revolutionary demonstrations are examined in order to uncover the elements of their social construction. The elements are seen to be focus, engrossment, costuming, performer selection, scripting, performance

effects and moods, and the presentation of symbols. These theatrical elements form a technology that is employed by elites when they collectively seek to symbolize power, present the status order, demand expressions of loyalty, symbolize tradition, emphasize solidarity, and engineer social and cultural change. It is concluded that the study of power effectiveness requires attention not only to legitimacy and interest satisfaction but also to the manner in which power is presented.

37

[Actors in Search of a Character: Student Social Workers' Quest for Professional Identity](#)

Donileen R. Loseke and Spencer E. Cahill

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 9, No. 2 (Fall 1986) (pp. 245-258)

This article presents a case study of the professional socialization of neophyte social workers. Drawing primarily upon interviews of the 14 members of a senior class in an accredited social work program, the article presents an analysis of student interns' attempts to dramatically realize the occupational identity of social worker. Contrasts between their experiences and the experiences of student doctors are stressed in order to illustrate the reflexive relationship between the historical and the biographical processes of professionalization.

38

[A History of Sociological Theory and a Theory of Sociological History](#)

American Sociology: World Rejection of Religions and Their Directions by Arthur Vidich; Stanford Lyman

Review by: Edward Gross

A History of Sociological Theory and a Theory of Sociological History

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 9, No. 2 (Fall 1986) (pp. 265-268)

39*

[The Degradation of the Sacred: Approaches of Cooley and Goffman](#)

Paul Creelan

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 1987) (pp. 29-56)

Charles Horton Cooley and Erving Goffman both have provided similar, although usually overlooked, contributions to a sociology of religion and culture, namely, their analysis of the process whereby sacred representations of the self-transcending aspect of human nature frequently devolve into fragmented or distorted cultural symbols that increasingly provide legitimation for self-interest alone. Cooley's writings revolve around the dynamic whereby the cultural symbols of Christian mysticism degenerate into the liberal models of economic man. Goffman's work centers around the manner in which sacred rituals, originally emblematic of the social, are degraded and distorted by the onset of self-interested motivations.

40

[Pygmies and Villagers, Ritual or Play? On the Place of Contrasting Modes of Metacommunication in Social Systems](#)

Eyal Ben-Ari

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 10, No. 2 (Fall 1987) (pp. 167-185)

How are social activities and relations maintained despite actors holding to divergent definitions of these activities and relations? This is explored through a reexamination of an ethnographic account

of two groups that participate in joint activities but interpret them differently. The account is that of the Mbuti Pygmies and their neighboring Bantu villagers as described by Colin Turnbull. It is argued is that the maintenance of continued interactions between such groups is facilitated by the grounding of the divergent interpretations of these interactions in contrasting modes of metacommunication: ritual and play. This article concludes with an exploration of some theoretical and comparative issues raised by the analysis.

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[Recent Improvements in Portraying Acts in Symbolic Interaction Behavioral Specimens](#)

James M. Honeycutt

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 10, No. 2 (Fall 1987) (pp. 279-293)

Behavioral specimens are slices of ongoing interaction that take particular behavioral observations from beginning to end and report the temporal sequence of the behaviors under investigation. This article takes the position that behavioral specimens as a symbolic interaction tool preserve the context of natural interaction in interpersonal relationships. Whereas this technique of data collection was first used by Barker and Wright in 1954, over 30 years ago, the format of the specimen presented here is new, because nonverbal behaviors are now recorded in a fashion that reflects the timing of the behaviors in relation to verbalizations. The intent of the new specimen format is to enhance the ecological validity of recordings through a more accurate representation of the contemporaneous nature of nonverbal behaviors and to convey a working knowledge of the actors under analysis.

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[Recent Improvements in Portraying Acts in Symbolic Interaction Behavioral Specimens](#)

James M. Honeycutt

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 10, No. 2 (Fall 1987) (pp. 279-293)

Blumer's corrective to Parsons' excesses is presented against a backdrop provided by two reformulations of Parsons' concepts: The problems of social order is recast as the problem of nonauthoritarian social order, and voluntaristic action is distinguished from normative action. Blumer's corrective, then, was to see that distinctively voluntaristic action is ineluctably the product of actors' negotiations of meaning (whereas both purposive-rational and non-rational action can more legitimately be abstracted from this process and treated as more reified by social analyses). Parsons' optimism about social order was unwarranted, as was Blumer's complacency about the problem of arbitrary power. It is suggested in conclusion that Parsons' theory ironically evinces more respect for the individual's integrity than does Blumer's.

43

[Aces and Bombers: The Post-Exam Impression Management Strategies of Students](#)

Daniel Albas and Cheryl Albas

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 11, No. 2 (Fall 1988) (pp. 289-302)

In this study we attempted to develop a classification of the strategies students employ to manage self-impressions after grades have been awarded and examination papers returned. These encounters between students are of three types: first, when students who have scored a top grade in this exam (Aces) encounter other students who received a low or even failing grade (Bombers); second, when Aces encounter other Aces; and, third, when Bombers encounter other Bombers. The impression management strategies employed in these encounters are constrained by well-known

rules of modesty in regard to one's own achievements and considerateness for lesser achieving peers, dictated by the particular encounter type described above. These rules are spelled out and an attempt made to generalize the findings to a wider universe of interactions.

44

[Fashioning Males and Females: Appearance Management and the Social Reproduction of Gender](#)

Spencer E. Cahill

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 12, No. 2 (Fall 1989) (pp. 281-298)

The author examines the part played by appearance management in both the intergenerational and everyday reproduction of gendered identities in contemporary American society. The author empirically explores the contributions of appearance management to young children's gender socialization by drawing upon observation in preschools, informal interviews with children's parents, as well as others' observations and findings. That analysis indicates that sex-class related appearance management invests infants with gendered identities, promotes children's sex-class related identification of others, and encourages them to embrace behaviorally their own ascribed sex-class identities. Sex-class related appearance management is of fundamental importance to both the intergenerational and interactional reproduction of the seemingly natural and moral order of gendered person that characterizes our society.

45*

[Emergent Sociality: A Dialectic of Commitment and Order](#)

Anne Warfield Rawls

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 1990) (pp. 63-82)

A conversation has a life of its own and makes demands on its own behalf. It is a little social system with its own boundary maintaining tendencies; it is a little patch of commitment and loyalty with its own heroes and its own villains (Goffman 1967:113).

46*

[Visual Onomatopoeia](#)

Steven C. Dubin

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 13, No. 2 (Fall 1990) (pp. 185-216)

Social solidarity and group identity are not givens; at particular times they must be intentionally cultivated and concretely enacted. What I have termed visual onomatopoeia assembles large numbers of individuals into group insignias, emblems, or other significant symbols. The subsequent artistic or photographic record of such displays is tangible evidence of a group's existence—who comprises it and how it sees itself. It thereby operates as both act and artifact. Like its verbal counterpart, visual onomatopoeia communicates through a close equivalence between a subject and its representation. It frames experience in a distinctive manner by objectifying the group, which ordinarily is only vaguely conceptualized. “Living photographs” of religious and patriotic subjects (e.g., 18,000 men configured as the Statue of Liberty) were executed by the team of Mole and Thomas and E. O. Goldbeck between 1913 and 1971. From a Durkheimian perspective, such images could be an important device for mobilizing allegiance. But by adopting a Goffmanian perspective, we additionally learn that there is affective deviance from affirmative social rituals: participants were not as fully engaged as their organizers might have desired. Additional examples from the mass media (e.g., advertising, news reports) demonstrate the metaphoric use of this device and attest to the subtle pervasiveness of this way of representing social life.

47

[A Refracted Reality of Everyday Life: The Constructed Culture of a Therapeutic Community](#)

Juniper Wiley

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer 1991) (pp. 139-163)

Focusing on the charismatic authority of its Founder/ Director, the ideology, and formal social structure of a holistic therapeutic community for schizophrenics, this paper examines the process of reality construction in an alternative therapeutic milieu. Data was provided from a field work study involving Intensive participant observation over a two year period and open-ended interviews. Within a phenomenological perspective, therapeutic work is viewed as a cognitive activity that not only redefines and transforms the meanings of everyday life but also one that in the process of redefining produces a peculiar cognitive style—a specific tension of consciousness—through a specific epochs. By virtue of this sustained bracket and a self-consciously created culture the therapeutic community is seen as constructing its own version of reality and a peculiar social world.

48*

[Strikes, Frames, And Touchdowns: The Institutional Struggle for Meaning In The 1987 National Football League Season](#)

Raymond L. Schmitt

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 14, No. 3 (Fall 1991) (pp. 237-259)

The introduction of “replacement” teams for the first time in the NFL provided an opportunity to investigate how controversial social definitions and the meaning of such frames emerge within a modern social world. Seven processes were identified: disrupting social worlds, experiencing social ambiguity, interpreting disruption institutionally, socially constructing laminations, disattending problematics of laminations, culturally adapting to anomaly, and negating collective protest. Conclusions are based on an emergent content analysis of extensive newspaper, sport and newsmagazine, and live television and radio accounts. The value of Goffman's framing ideas for symbolic interactionism is discussed.

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[Talk About Embarrassment: Exploring the Taboo-Repression-Denial Hypothesis](#)

C. Lee Harrington

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer 1992) (pp. 203-225)

Theory and research suggest that, while embarrassment may be intrinsic to social interaction, its expression is C. taboo. Embarrassment is seen as reflecting social incompetence. As such, members make routine attempts to repress embarrassment in the self and to deny embarrassment to self and others. I call this the taboo–repression–denial hypothesis. However, despite attempts at repression and denial, members reveal embarrassment in a variety of ways, including verbally, paralinguistically/vocally, and facially/bodily. This paper is an initial investigation of emotion denial in verbal discourse. Through an analysis of embarrassment talk and non-embarrassment talk, I discover six features of the verbal context of references to embarrassment which aid in the disguise and denial of feeling: (1) verbal mitigation; (2) a link between references to embarrassment and mitigation; (3) verbal projection; (4) a link between use of “ya know”, embarrassment references, and mitigation; (5) a link between use of “I don't know”, embarrassment references, and mitigation; and (6) a link between references to embarrassment and laughter. Findings indicate verbal and nonverbal methods of emotion denial, and provide initial support for the taboo–

repression–denial hypothesis.

50

[Drama = Life?](#)

The Drama of Social Life: Essays in Post-Modern Social Psychology by T.R. Young

Review by: Peter K. Manning

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 1993) (pp. 85-89)

51*

[What is Real in the Age of Virtual Reality? “Retraining” Frame Analysis for a Technological World](#)

Mary Chayko

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 16, No. 2 (Summer 1993) (pp. 171-181)

How do social actors determine what is really happening and what is not? This distinction, analyzed in such depth by Erving Goffman in *Frame Analysis*, now requires further analysis as technologies such as virtual reality become ever more affordable and available, transforming many aspects of everyday life and, inevitably, the definition of the “real” experience itself. This article considers the ways that experience is generated and organized in modern social life, arguing that a “reframing” of frame analysis and a “reconceptualization” of reality itself is necessary to help us understand the ways in which social worlds involving highly sophisticated technologies are created and endowed with meaning by actors, as well as the subtle, long-term effects of such technologies.

52*

[Shame, Peer, and Oscillating Frames in DWI Conviction: Extending Goffman's Sociological Landscape](#)

Phillip B. Gonzales

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 16, No. 3 (Fall 1993) (pp. 257-271)

Goffman argues that “the interaction order” is a substantive domain autonomous from formal social organization. His scholarship generally analyzes the interaction order in its autonomous workings but neglects the areas in which it is legally regulated. Analyzing the case of legal detention and conviction for the offense of driving while intoxicated (DWI), the article illustrates and extends Goffman's paradigm. A DWI conviction is the result of the legal system's response to distortion at the level of the interaction order. Conviction creates new interactive frames. The interaction order resists the official moral definition of DWI.

53

[The Importance of Authenticity for Self and Society](#)

Rebecca J. Erickson

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer 1995) (pp. 121-144)

The transition from industrial to postindustrial society and from modern to postmodern culture has led to increased interest in authenticity. Such interest is widespread not only among those studying changes in social structure and culture but also among those who adhere to the social psychological tenet that self reflects society, and society, the self. In this article, I specify how issues of authenticity have become a pervasive part of our culture, our institutions, and our individual selves. Building on both Rosenberg and Turner, I conceptualize authenticity in terms of a commitment to self-values. The relevance of this conceptualization is illustrated, first by demonstrating its

implications for identity theory and second through its implicit use by others writing about the contemporary experience of being oneself. I conclude with a discussion of how this approach to authenticity may be used by social scientists to better conceptualize self in a way that explicitly incorporates the cultural implications of today's postindustrial society.

54

[High School Reunions and the Management of Identity](#)

Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Robert Zussman

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 19, No. 3 (Fall 1996) (pp. 225-239)

Organized around an intersection of the past with the present, high school reunions confront those who attend with discontinuities in their own lives as well as the lives of others. Based on observations of and interviews with attendees at five reunions, we argue, contrary to many claims about the contemporary segmentation of the self, that reunion goers are able to construct accounts of coherent lives by reference to “true selves” independent of appearances. Although reunion attendees may attempt to manage impressions by controlling information about themselves, these efforts are limited by attendees efforts to sustain convictions of their own integrity. These convictions, however, also depend on accounts, albeit accounts directed inward. Moreover, the maintenance of this conviction depends on the successful “neutralization” of others' judgments.

55

[Redefining Sex and Intimacy: The Sexual Self-Images, Outlooks, and Relationships of Gay Men Living with HIV/AIDS](#)

Kent L. Sandstrom

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 19, No. 3 (Fall 1996) (pp. 241-262)

This paper examines how gay men living with HIV disease come to terms with the profound sexual implications of their illness. Based on interviews with 25 gay men diagnosed with HIV/AIDS, this paper highlights (a) the disruptions that these men experience in their sexual feelings and self-images as a result of their illness; (b) the challenges they encounter in negotiating and sustaining sexual relationships; (c) the declines they experience in their sexual attractiveness, desire, and capacities as their illness advances; and (d) the changed meanings they give to sex and self as they come to terms with the erotic implications of their illness and try to preserve valued, intimate identities. In focusing on these themes, this paper offers an “insider's view” into key dimensions of the moral experience of gay men with HIV/AIDS. It also illustrates how the moral experience of these men shifts over the course of their illness, especially in response to the changes and challenges that arise in their intimate relationships and subcultural networks. On a broader, analytic level, this paper addresses a research question that has been neglected in previous studies of the experience of illness—that is, how does serious illness affect the sexuality of diagnosed individuals, particularly their construction of sexual and intimate identities? Through examining this question, this paper contributes to and extends the growing interactionist literature on the consequences of illness for self.

56

[Status Inequality and Close Relationships: An Integrative Typology of Bond-Saving Strategies](#)

Scott R. Harris

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 20, No. 1 (1997) (pp. 1-20)

Equality is described in the literature as a prerequisite to satisfying close relations, but research has

not seriously grappled with how a sense of equality is created or how inequalities might be overcome. This paper uses an interactionist perspective to explore how individuals maintain or repair a close social bond when a perceived difference in status is defined to be problematic. In 176 essays, respondents described a situation where a status inequality disrupted a close relationship, the strategies one or both of the participants used to maintain the bond, and how effective the strategies were. Analytic induction yielded four basic strategy types: (a) accept the status inequality; (b) avoid the situation which fosters feelings of inequality; (c) alter the inequality by redefining or concretely mitigating it; and (d) acknowledge and discuss the problematic situation. Findings from previous research on facework, embarrassment, and shame are integrated into this typology, and implications are drawn for symbolic interactionist theory and research.

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[The Discourse of Dress and Appearance: Identity Talk and a Rhetoric of Review](#)

Scott A. Hunt and Kimberly A. Miller

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 20, No. 1 (1997) (pp. 69-82)

This article examines how identities are constructed and maintained via talk about personal dress and appearance. In this article, we introduce the concept of rhetoric of review, which is defined as the taken-for-granted rules that guide the evaluations of the appearances of self and others. Three basic components of a rhetoric of review are identified: moral precepts, program neutralizations, and review neutralizations. Data were derived from eight in-depth interviews with eighteen sorority members from a single university in the Southeastern United States. These data were used to expand Stone's (1962) conceptual framework of program and review by including Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization techniques. The purpose of this article is to bridge the interactionist perspectives on appearance and identity talk so as to augment our understanding of the discourse of appearance.

58

[Founding the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction: Some Observations from the Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee, 1974-1975](#)

Harvey A. Farberman

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 20, No. 2 (1997) (pp. 115-129)

59

[Traveling With the Ball Club: A Code of Conduct for Wives Only](#)

Steven M. Ortiz

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 20, No. 3 (1997) (pp. 225-249)

When they accompany their husbands on road trips, the wives of major league baseball players must follow an unwritten code of conduct, a code socially constructed and enforced by men. This code is reflected in the way wives and ballplayers interact on airplanes and buses, and most strikingly, in the requirement that wives stay out of hotel bars where the team is staying. These interactions within a code reflecting female conformity to male dominance, and preserving male privileges, provide a lens through which we can inspect gender inequity and marital inequity, including what can fairly be called institutionalized adultery.

60

[Account Sequences](#)

Robert L. Young

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 20, No. 3 (1997) (pp. 291-305)

As common features of everyday interaction, social accounts have been studied by scholars from a variety of disciplines. Despite an impressive quantity of research on this topic, however, relatively little of it has focused on the interactional dynamics of the accounting process. This research analyzes account sequences from literary fiction in order to (a) reveal the basic dimensions of account sequences, (b) identify those linguistic moves that mark the beginning and ending of account sequences, and (c) discover the types of linguistic moves that are commonly employed in account sequences. Analysis of these sequences shows that, although traditional models of account sequences are often adequate for the description of dyadic interaction, making sense of account sequences generated by triads and larger units requires a more complex model of the process.

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[Ugly Duckling to Swan: Labeling Theory and the Stigmatization of Red Hair](#)

Druann Maria Heckert and Amy Best

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 20, No. 4 (1997) (pp. 365-384)

Interviews were conducted with redheads, and labeling theory is used to analyze their stigmatization in society as well as their perceptions of having red hair. First, using the relativistic stance of labeling theory, red hair is described as a type of deviance. Second, the processes involved in the labeling of redheads are examined, especially in regard to how redheads have personally experienced stereotyping. The stereotypes that redheads perceive to be socially constructed are as follows: hot temper, clownish, weirdness, Irishness, not capable of being in the sun, wild women, wimpy men, and intellectual superiority. Finally, the impact of being negatively labeled and treated in society is considered. Redheads typically receive negative treatment as children, and, as a consequence, redheads experience a lowered self-esteem, feelings of differentness, and a sense of being the center of attention. Nevertheless, redheads typically transform a negative experience into a positive one by learning to appreciate their hair color and how it has shaped their sense of self. In essence, they become an example of tertiary deviants.

62

[Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment](#)

Melinda J. Milligan

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 21, No. 1 (1998) (pp. 1-33)

This article presents an interactionist-based theory of place attachment, the emotional bond formed by an individual to a physical site due to the meaning given to the site through interactional processes, and suggests that such attachment is comprised of two interwoven components: (1) interactional past, or the memories of interactions associated with a site, and (2) interactional potential, or the future experiences perceived as likely or possible to occur in a site. To discuss these components, I use the case of an organization that moved to a new location, thereby disrupting its employees' place attachment to the original site. Data collection involved questionnaires, participant observation, and interviews.

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[Monastic Blessings: Deconstructing And Reconstructing The Self](#)

Kurt A. Bruder

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 21, No. 1 (1998) (pp. 87-116)

This paper explores the development and maintenance of the self among members of an Orthodox Christian monastery. The principal communicative resource by which members effect their unique social order, the blessing sequence, is interpreted as a spiritual technology for altering processes of reality construction, especially those associated with agency and selfhood. The deconstruction and reconstruction of the monastic self is essential to their membership in the community and a necessary preparation for the achievement of their shared objective: immediate experience of Ultimate Reality. This study demonstrates the interdependence of communicative practice and psychological experience and suggests that specific interactive routines may be identified and enacted in order to secure desirable psycho-social outcomes.

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[Meaning and Identity in “Cyberspace”: The Performance of Gender, Class, and Race Online](#)

Lori Kendall

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 21, No. 2 (1998) (pp. 129-153)

This article explores issues of gendered, classed and raced identities using examples drawn from my research on a type of online forum known as a mud. I critique previous accounts of research regarding identity online which have suggested that online interactions encourage greater identity fluidity and multiplicity. Drawing on examples from face-to-face interviews and online interaction, I discuss several aspects of identity. I first examine participants' efforts to meet face-to-face and discuss their privileging of offline information regarding identity. Using two examples of “gender-switchers”, I then show how some participants distance themselves from experiences of gendered identities which might otherwise disrupt previously held beliefs about gender. Next I discuss classed and raced identities, which participants express in conversations about income and ethnicity. These discussions point to the interconnections between online and offline interpretations of class and race. Thus, in discussing these examples, I emphasize the need to examine not just online performances, but also the participants' interpretations of such performances. Despite the potentially disruptive effects of online ambiguity, many participants continue to believe in essence and continuity of identity.

65*

[Going to the Crackhouse: Critical Space as a Form of Resistance in Total Institutions and Everyday Life](#)

Jill A. McCorkel

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 21, No. 3 (1998) (pp. 227-252)

This article explores the extent to which organizational identity claims and the formal organization of social control influence how actors in a total institution conceptualize their “real” selves. The setting for this case study is Project Rehabilitate Women, a drug treatment program serving incarcerated female offenders. Using Goffman's analysis of the total institution as a guide, I explore the importance of “secondary adjustments” for self-definition. This analysis will show that the capacity of residents to distance themselves from the label of “addict” is contingent on the formal structure of social control. I will argue that, in the absence of traditional distancing strategies, residents construct “critical space” as an alternative means to subvert institutional control mechanisms and to creatively acquire the resources necessary to articulate definitions of self that are distinct from staff constructions. It is clear that resistance, whether temporary or sustained, successful or failed, is central to how subordinates maintain their sense of self in an environment committed to radical self-transformation.

[Prison Gang Members' Tattoos as Identity Work: The Visual Communication of Moral Careers](#)

Michael P. Phelan, Scott A. Hunt

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 21, No. 3 (1998) (pp. 277-298)

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate how symbolic self-completion and moral careers are identity work by examining prison gang tattoos. Data were derived from one author's six-year full-member participation as a correctional officer in the California prison system. We examine tattoos specific to members of the Nuestra Familia, a California-based prison gang. Tattoos make an individual's self-definition more complete by visually communicating gang membership, status, rank, and personal accomplishments; they reflect a person's past career accomplishments and possible future career objectives. To analyze the moral careers communicated by these tattoos, we identify and elaborate upon Five distinct phases in a prison gang moral career: pre-initiate, initiate, member, veteran, and superior. The article concludes with discussion of the importance of incorporating symbolic self-completion into an identity work perspective and consideration of some implications for future research on gang tattoos in particular and identity construction more generally.

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[The Work Sites of an American Interactionist: Anselm L. Strauss, 1917-1996](#)

Isabelle Baszanger

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 21, No. 4 (1998) (pp. 353-377)

This article offers a situated overview of the work of Anselm Strauss. Beginning from its intellectual genesis at the University of Chicago with Blumer and Hughes, Strauss's creation of a sociology of action through concepts of routine and nonroutine action, negotiated order, social worlds, arenas, properties and kinds of work, and trajectory are examined. Strauss's ideas about medicine and chronic illness, psychiatric institutions, death and dying, awareness contexts, biography and trajectory are discussed. His profoundly innovative contributions to research methods, including grounded theory and the integration of structural elements through his conditional matrix, are also detailed. In conclusion, the ways in which Strauss himself framed the critical space of an interactionist sociologist are laid out through new interview materials.

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["I Don't Have to be Afraid of You": Rape Survivors' Emotion Management in Court](#)

Amanda Konradi

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 22, No. 1 (1999) (pp. 45-77)

This analysis of 32 semi-structured interviews with rape survivors explores why and how emotions are managed during court events. I examine rape survivors' accounts to identify the factors that contribute to intense feelings in the courtroom, incentives/motivations survivors have to manage their feelings and expressions of specific emotions, survivors' individualized strategies for deflecting, suppressing, and cultivating emotion, and interpersonal strategies for achieving emotional control that involve others in the courtroom. This investigation shows that survivors are not passive victims and that emotions are a fundamental feature of interaction in courtrooms. This investigation builds on Mills and Kleinman's (1988) cognitive/emotional framework and other studies of interpersonal emotion management in and out of formal organizations.

[The Boundaries of Professionalization: The Case of North American Funeral Direction](#)

Spencer E. Cahill

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 22, No. 2 (1999) (pp. 105-119)

This article examines the relationship between occupational and individual professionalization through the example of funeral direction. It is based upon an ethnographic study of an accredited mortuary science program at a community college. It compares and contrasts the socialization of aspiring funeral directors in that program to previous case studies of socialization into other self-styled professions. This analysis suggests that the success of occupational socialization in fostering a personal sense of professional distinction depends not so much on an occupation's professional prestige but upon its definitive claim to a distinctive occupational jurisdiction.

70*

[Whiteness as Stigma: Essentialist Identity Work by Mixed-Race Women](#)

Debbie Storrs

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 22, No. 3 (1999) (pp. 187-212)

Historically, in both the social sciences and the general public, racial mixing has been stigmatized. This stigmatization was fueled by whites' desire to protect their racial privileges as well as the belief that hybridization between "pure" and superior white racial stocks and inferior non-white stocks produces an inferior being. While this view has been challenged within the social sciences, the general public's sentiment toward racial mixing remains consistently negative. The low interracial marriage rate, particularly among blacks and whites, points to the lack of popular acceptance of racial mixing. This article reveals an unusual and creative reversal of the racial mixing problem by historically stigmatized mixed-race women. The women in this study reject dominant patterns of stigma by reassigning stigma to their European ancestry. Given this reversal, women articulate and embrace non-white identities. This article explains the reversal of the racial mixing problem as well as the identity work of women as they particulate the meaning of race and racial belonging within dominant racial logic. The identification of macro constraints and the illustration of individual agency in the negotiation of identity extends the symbolic interactionist perspective on identity formation.

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[Making and Facing Danger: Constructing Strong Character on the River](#)

Lilian M. Jonas

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 22, No. 3 (1999) (pp. 247-267)

River guides are those individuals given the extraordinary task of delivering their passengers from the dangers and chaos of white-water rivers. After engaging in what Coffman would call fateful action, river guides emerge with perceived strong character. However, before river guides can achieve such an elevated identity, they must first manage the passengers' view of the rapids as dangerous. In this article, I discuss the various techniques river guides use to construct and enhance danger on the river, how facing such danger is used to demonstrate strong character, and its relevance as a basis for authority in a leisure setting.

72

[Making It "Count": Mental Weighing and Identity Attribution](#)

Jamie L. Mullaney

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 22, No. 3 (1999) (pp. 269-283)

Research on identity suggests that a critical factor in identity concerns presentation or the behaviors actors perform in order to convince others of their identity. Yet identity also involves the attributions others make on the basis of these behaviors. In this paper, I argue that all acts do not fare equally in the process of attribution. Rather, individuals making attributions engage in a process of mental weighing as a way to determine which acts “count” toward identity and to what extent. While various components of the act contribute to its social weight—its presence or absence, markedness, frequency, context, and the manner in which it is performed—the lens through which the attributer views the act also influences the weighing process.

73

[“Our Own Little Language”: Naming and the Social Construction of Alzheimer's Disease](#)

Anne K. Vittoria

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 22, No. 4 (1999) (pp. 361-384)

Social meanings and cultural definitions attached to illness, disability, and aging have a powerful influence on the development and operations of medical care as well as the social, behavioral, and therapeutic processes occurring within these settings. Specialized care environments designed to meet the needs of what some would argue is a dramatically increasing population worldwide, those with Alzheimer's disease, have been dominated by a medical model of care where treatment of disease has primacy over person. In contrast to the medical model, the Certified Nursing Assistants (CNAs) at Starrmount (pseudonym) Alzheimer's Unit have socially constructed an alternative to the medical model of care through what I argue is the use of language and a process of “naming and reframing.” In this “different world,” as the CNAs call the world of the Unit, the resident is depicted as a socially responsive actor with a surviving self that is to be treated with respect. Using a symbolic interactionist framework, this paper examines the CNAs' construction and use of a “language of openings”—that is, the language arising out of the lifeworld of the residents—as the counterpoint to the “language of limits” of the medical model. Spoken everywhere but nowhere inscribed as “official” knowledge, this “little language,” as the CNAs speak of it, is the fundamental medium for social interaction in the Alzheimer's Unit.

74

[The Self in a World of Going Concerns](#)

Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 23, No. 2 (2000) (pp. 95-115)

While commentators on the postmodern scene have dismissed or trivialized the personal self, it nonetheless remains a central experiential construct, articulating a sense of moral agency for everyday life. This article examines self-construction in the context of a world of proliferating going concerns—social institutions—that increasingly shape the discursive contours of subjectivity. Both the negative and the positive sides of this development are examined, the analytic implications of which can move us in strikingly different directions. We conclude by offering suggestions for tying the study of the contemporary self to the variety of discursive environments and practices that set the conditions of possibility for who and what we are or could be.

75

[Getting Paid in Smiles: The Gendering of Child Care Work](#)

Susan B. Murray

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 23, No. 2 (2000) (pp. 135-160)

Based on four and a half years of participant-observation field research and focused interviews with men and women child care workers, the author examines the occupational processes of the entry and tenure of workers, paying particular attention to gender as it manifests in the meanings and actions involved in becoming and continuing as a child care worker. As men and women workers go about the business of becoming and being child care workers, they become active agents in the reproduction of child care as low-wage, low-status, women's work. Through the construction of particular gendered "accounts" and "vocabularies of motive", workers play a key role in sustaining the status of child care as a gendered occupation.

76*

[Credibility, Agency, and the Interaction Order](#)

Philip Manning
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 23, No. 3 (2000) (pp. 283-297)

There are two ways of reading Goffman--as a theorist of trust and ritual accommodation, that is, as a theorist of the interaction order, or as a theorist of deception. I suggest a way of making these two readings compatible, by arguing that Goffman was interested in what I call the "production of credibility." Credibility is the quality of being believable, and this quality is integral to both trust and deception. Viewed in this way, Goffman explored the ways in which people make their actions convincing to other people. Although Goffman's analysis of the interaction order did not need a theory of the self, his work actually contains two quite different theories of the self: one linked to role analysis, one to his analysis of mental illness. I argue for the latter at the expense of the former. I conclude that Goffman both initiated substantive work about the interaction order and contributed to a synthesis of a theory of the interaction order and a theory of the self.

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[Erving Goffman: The Reluctant Apprentice](#)

Gary D. Jaworski
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 23, No. 3 (2000) (pp. 299-308)

The intellectual relationship between Erving Goffman and Everett C. Hughes is explored in the context of an apprenticeship model derived from correspondence between the two sociologists. Goffman is identified as a "reluctant apprentice" because his work and his letters to Hughes display a tension between a striking originality and a fidelity to his "master." Three phases of their ambivalent relationship are described and an explanation for Goffman's reluctant acknowledgment of Hughes's influence is briefly explored.

78

[Cybersex: Outercourse and the Enselfment of the Body](#)

Dennis Waskul, Mark Douglass and Charles Edgley
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 23, No. 4 (2000) (pp. 375-397)

The increased popularity of the Internet invites the possibility of repackaging familiar activities in a new medium. Sex is one such activity--an age-old topic with a new cyber twist. The new technologies of computer-mediated communication allow us to examine the nature of human interaction in a uniquely disembodied environment that potentially transforms the nature of self,

body, and situation. Sex-fundamentally a bodily activity-provides an ideal situation for examining these kinds of potential transformations. In the disembodied context of on-line interaction both bodies and selves are fluid symbolic constructs emergent in communication and are defined by sociocultural standards. Situations such as these are suggestive of issues related to contemporary transgressions of the empirical shell of the body, potentially reshaping body-to-self-to-social-world relationships.

79

[What Was That Secret? Framing Forced Disclosures from Teen Mothers](#)

Naomi Fujimoto

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 1 (2001) (pp. 1-24)

Although previous research has examined the micropractices of therapeutic interaction, few studies have focused on the expression of power in group therapy. This ethnographic study examines a therapeutic program for teen mothers to explore how self-disclosure occurs, focusing on the therapist's techniques for soliciting disclosure and subsequent responses. These techniques include the therapist's own disclosures, presentation of commands, and revelation of information, which then evoke the disclosure. Individuals respond with immediate compliance, delayed compliance, or sustained resistance. Although the therapist attempts to mask this imbalance, her strategies reinforce the power differences between herself and the teen mothers. The interactions observed here illustrate how clients may find therapeutic environments less about psychological unburdening and healing and more about the negotiation of power in an institutional setting. A more effective therapy might focus on disclosure of clients' successes rather than primarily on the revelation of discrediting information.

80

[Deconstructing Categories: The Exposure of Silent Racism](#)

Barbara Trepagnier

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 2 (2001) (pp. 141-163)

Although racism remains an enduring social problem in the United States, few white people see themselves as racist. In an effort to study this paradox, the research discussed here explores racism among those in the "not racist" category. Eight focus groups were conducted in which twenty-five well-meaning white women talked openly about racism; subsequently, the women kept journals to record their thoughts on racism. Findings indicate that silent racism pervades the "not racist" category. "Silent racism" refers to negative thoughts and attitudes regarding African Americans and other people of color on the part of white people, including those who see themselves and are generally seen by others as not racist. An apparent implication of silent racism inhabiting the "not racist" category is that the historical construction racist/not racist is no longer meaningful. Moreover, data show that the "not racist" category itself produces latent effects that serve to maintain the racial status quo. I propose replacing the oppositional either/or categories with a continuum that accurately reflects racism in the United States today.

81

[Exhibiting Interaction: Conduct and Collaboration in Museums and Galleries](#)

Dirk Vom Lehn, Christian Heath, Jon Hindmarsh

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 2 (2001) (pp. 189-216)

This article explores how individuals, both alone and together, examine exhibits in museums and galleries. Drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, it focuses on the ways in which visitors encounter and experience exhibits and how their activities are organized, at least in part, with intimate regard to the actions of others in the domain, both companions and "strangers." This study contributes to the long-standing concerns of symbolic interactionism with (mutual) attention and involvement, materiality and social relations, and interpersonal communication. The data consist of video recordings of naturally occurring action and interaction in various museums and galleries.

82*

[Accounting for Trouble: Identity Negotiations in Qualitative Interviews with Alcoholics](#)

Margaretha Järvinen

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 3 (2001) (pp. 263-284)

This article combines a narrative approach on life histories, inspired by Paul Ricoeur, with the symbolic interactionist approaches of George Herbert Mead and Erving Goffman. It focuses on "negotiations" in qualitative interviews with alcoholics, that is, narrative sequences in which the interviewee's line comes into conflict with the line of the interviewer. From a larger study of drinking careers among alcoholics in Copenhagen, two interviews are singled out for a more detailed analysis. The two interviewees did not live up to the (implicit) expectations of the study: the presumptions (a) that persons contacted at institutions for heavily addicted alcoholics do indeed identify themselves as alcoholics and (b) that alcoholics are interested in structuring their life histories according to the development of their drinking problems. By struggling to defend an alternative identity for themselves than the one the interviewer had in readiness for them, the interviewees laid bare the (problematic) therapeutic framework of the study.

83

[Innocence Lost: Accomplishing Victimization in Intimate Stalking Cases](#)

Jennifer L. Dunn

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 3 (2001) (pp. 285-313)

This article explores identity work and emotion management in felony domestic violence stalking cases, using data collected in a domestic violence unit in a large metropolitan district attorney's office. Victim narratives in crime reports, intensive interviews of stalking victims, and participant observation in a stalking survivors' support group show how women become "victims" in the criminal justice system. Sometimes women's continued interaction with both stalkers and law enforcement actors affects their ability to create and sustain credible victim identities. Almost any action a victim takes or presentation she makes has the potential for inducing negative identity attributions. Thus identity dilemmas seemingly inhere in the stalking situation.

84

[The Medicalization of Deviance as an Interactive Achievement: The Construction of Compulsive Gambling](#)

Josh Rossol

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 3 (2001) (pp. 315-341)

This article joins two lines of research from distinct areas in sociology to illuminate the mechanisms through which the meaning of "compulsive gambling" and what it means to be "a compulsive gambler" are cooperatively constructed in interaction at meetings of the fellowship group Gamblers

Anonymous (GA). Combining Conrad's work on the medicalization of deviance with a social psychological focus on support group interaction, I demonstrate how individuals' experiences and identities come to be imbued with a medical vocabulary through the homogenization of the initial diversity among members. This analysis contributes to conceptualizations of the medicalization of deviance as well as to interactionist interests in the social construction of reality.

85

[Occupational Claims to Professionalism: The Case of Paralegals](#)

Kathryn J. Lively

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 3 (2001) (pp. 343-366)

This article, based on fifty-one in-depth interviews with paralegals working in private law firms, bridges the gap between sociologists' understanding of *professions* and *professionalization* and workers' subjective meaning of *professional* and *professionalism*. For paralegals to be professional, they must be both competent and capable of maintaining the proper demeanor, which includes their thoughts, behaviors, appearances, and emotions. Ironically, paralegals claim the title professional, or make claims to professionalism, to make themselves feel better about the unprofessional manner in which they are treated by attorneys; however, their assumptions about the meaning of professionalism undercut the likelihood that they will ever make collective demands for the professional treatment they seek.

86

[Extending and Broadening Blumer's Conceptualization of Symbolic Interactionism](#)

David A. Snow

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 3 (2001) (pp. 367-377)

In this article I have suggested that we can extend the conceptualization, or defining essence, of symbolic interactionism beyond Blumer's three-pronged emphasis on the intersection of meaning and interpretation to include four cornerstone principles: interactive determination, symbolization, emergence, and human agency. None of the principles are necessarily inconsistent with Blumer's (1969) treatise. The principle of symbolization encompasses and blends Blumer's emphasis on meaning and interpretation, and the three remaining principles are alluded to or implied in Blumer's conceptualization but are not developed and accented. By conceptualizing symbolic interactionism in terms of these four principles, the perspective clearly is broadened without neutralizing its distinctive and sensitizing theoretical emphases.

87

[Inequality and the Self: Exploring Connections from an Interactionist Perspective](#)

Leon Anderson, David A. Snow

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 24, No. 4 (2001) (pp. 395-406)

Symbolic interactionism provides a major contribution to understanding inequality by illuminating the various manifestations and contexts of inequality at the micro, everyday level of social life. Drawing on a spectrum of symbolic interactionist theory and research, we examine the range of symbolic and interactional manifestations of social inequality, the consequences of being the object of patterned interactional affronts, and the strategies people use to negotiate interactional stigmatization in everyday life. We argue that symbolic interaction's unique contribution to understanding inequality results from two of the perspective's central features. First, symbolic interactionism emphasizes the necessity of investigating social life in situated social interaction.

Second, it highlights social actors' capacities to interpret and construct lines of action rather than respond directly to the stimuli they encounter. Symbolic interactionist research and theory thus contribute to a more complex understanding of social stratification than that provided by perspectives focused exclusively on macroscopic structural factors.

88

["You Go 'Cause You Have to": The Bridal Shower as a Ritual of Obligation](#)

Beth Montemurro

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 25, No. 1 (2002) (pp. 67-92)

Getting married is one of the most celebrated and revered transitions in a woman's life. Therefore, many rituals and events exist to prepare a woman to become a wife. The bridal shower is one of those that is most steeped in tradition. It may be viewed as an event in which women friends and family members must participate. Women often attend bridal showers out of "duty." Interestingly, many women find them boring, socially awkward, or otherwise uncomfortable. In this article, I identify the primary stressors of bridal showers for the three major participants: brides-to-be, hostesses, and guests. Finally, I explore the persistence of this ritual, despite its apparent lack of appeal for participants. This study draws on interviews with fifty-one women who are recent brides or who have recently hosted or attended bridal showers, as well as participant observation at five bridal showers. I discuss the bridal shower as a ritual of obligation, one that is grounded in tradition and gives women the opportunity to express care and support for other women as members of a gender community.

89

[The Sexual Body of the Young Jew as an Arena of Ideological Struggle, 1821–1948](#)

Mimi Ajzenstadt, Gabriel Cavaglion

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 25, No. 1 (2002) (pp. 93-116)

This article analyzes professional discourse on masturbation to illustrate how child sexuality serves as a site for symbolic ideological struggles. Sex instruction manuals written in central Europe in the nineteenth century Palestine and Israel in the twentieth century are the basis for broader discussions on religious and scientific discourse on child and adolescent sexuality within the Jewish communities. By tracing the development of new forms of expert knowledge, we show how expert discourse on masturbation gradually transformed it from a symbolic moral evil into a medical disease and a psychological problem, before declaring it a legitimized behavior.

90

[The Naked Self: Being a Body in Televideo Cybersex](#)

Dennis D. Waskul

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 25, No. 2 (2002) (pp. 199-227)

Unlike text-based cybersex, televideo is an embodied experience. Participants present their bodies as an object to be looked at. Through in-depth interviews this study examines the relationships among selfhood and the body and the context in which both are located. The body, much like the self, exists as both a viewed object and an experienced subject. Televideo cybersex participants manipulate this relationship by presenting themselves as only a body, the experience of which acts back in an erotic "looking glass" affecting how the self conceives of the body. While in some cases the medium serves to create a "disembodied" context for interaction, as this study illustrates, it may also serve to fully embody. The obvious relationships among self, body, and social situation made

evident in any form of sexual experience are largely unexplored in sociology, yet fully within the realm of interest and theoretical models of symbolic interaction.

91

[Bad Girls and Fallen Women: Chronic STD Diagnoses as Gateways to Tribal Stigma](#)

Adina Nack

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 25, No. 4 (2002) (pp. 463-485)

This article uses women's firsthand experiences as the basis from which to explore how social constructions of sexual disease and feminine morality merge to threaten women's sexual selves during sexually transmitted disease (STD) diagnostic interactions. Constant comparative analysis of interview data reveals how forty-three women made sense of this stage in their moral careers. Adding to interactionist literature on gender and chronic illness, this article expands discussions of tribal stigma to the intrapersonal realm. The data show how these women learned to view herpes and human papillomavirus (HPV) as symbols of impurity, antithetical to feminine ideals of sexual morality. Socialized to fear a caste system that divides women according to perceptions of moral transgression, the women viewed official medical diagnoses as having the potential to brand them not only as diseased but also as immoral. Tribal stigma provides the theoretical framework for analyzing why and how STD diagnostic interactions may be the catalysts for women to symbolically redefine themselves as bad girls and fallen women.

92

[The Abject Embodiment of Cancer Patients: Dignity, Selfhood, and the Grotesque Body](#)

Dennis D. Waskul, Pamela van der Riet

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 25, No. 4 (2002) (pp. 487-513)

The body is the empirical quintessence of the self. Because selfhood is symbolic, embodiment represents the personification and materialization of otherwise invisible qualities of personhood. The body and experiences of embodiment are central to our sense of being, who we think we are, and what others attribute to us. What happens, then, when one's body is humiliating? How does the self handle the implications of a gruesome body? How do people manage selfhood in light of grotesque physical appearances? This study explores these questions in the experiences of dying cancer patients and seeks to better understand relationships among body, self, and situated social interaction.

93

[Telic Reflections: Interactional Processes, as Such](#)

R. S. Perinbanayagam

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 1 (2003) (pp. 67-83)

Interactional processes, conducted through symbols of various kinds, are the primal events in human life and, therefore, the primary site also for all social scientific inquiries. The implications of such a claim for a variety of sociological issues are then examined: the "individual" should be conceptualized as an interactive agent; the symbolic processes that she or he undertakes are both pragmatic and artistic exercises; selves emerge out of such exercises and face various "contingencies" as the individuals who bear them advance through various trajectories of their lives, each such moment having its own telos, just as the trajectory will have its particular telic process.

94

[Hall's Hope and the Focus Next Time: Let Us Now Study Social Structure](#)

Michael A. Katovich

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 1 (2003) (pp. 57-66)

Many interactionists downplay the importance of generating generic concepts and processes in the laboratory because they view it as an artificial environment. However, all environments are artificial in the sense that human beings construct them and build in arbitrary norms to maintain them. Research in the laboratory makes use of the same methods of observing interactors as occurs in settings outside the laboratory. A more crucial point holds that generating concepts and processes in a laboratory allows researchers to explore the detailed complexity of social action in controlled conditions. Exploring this complexity in the laboratory enables researchers to provide a completed analysis of the beginning, middle, and end of interactional episodes, and thus to avoid interrupting analysis.

95*

[Shame in Self and Society](#)

Thomas J. Scheff

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 2 (2003) (pp. 239-262)

This article proposes that shame is the master emotion of everyday life but is usually invisible in modern societies because of taboo. A review of shame studies suggests a taboo that results in denial and silence. The studies by Cooley, Freud, Elias, Lynd, Goffman, Lewis, and Tomkins have been largely ignored. Their work suggests a vital connection between shame and social life: shame can be seen as a signal of a *threat to the bond*. If so, understanding shame would be necessary for the study of social systems. The taboo on shame in English still holds: current usage, for the most part, assigns an intense and narrow singular meaning. This meaning offends, on the one hand, and misses the everyday function of shame, on the other. Perhaps the problem can be approached, as it is in traditional societies, by the use of a broader term, such as "bond affect" or "Shame." Such a concept could lead to discovery of the emotional/relational world.

96

[Chess Playing as Strategic Activity](#)

Antony James Puddephatt

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 2 (2003) (pp. 263-284)

This article takes an interactionist perspective and explores how people engage in strategic activity in the context of a chess game. Based on participant observation in the chess community and interviews with twenty amateur chess players, it examines the most relevant issues to players as they form their lines of action during play. It considers the following dimensions: incorporation of routine activity and style, role taking, impression management, engrossment, and composure. By examining these dimensions, we can gain an understanding of strategic activity as a generic social process. Further, drawing connections from strategic activity in chess to other areas of human group life indicates directions for future research.

97

[What Happened on Ruby Ridge: Terrorism or Tyranny?](#)

Betty A. Dobratz, Stephanie L. Shanks-Meile, Danelle Hallenbeck

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 2 (2003) (pp. 315-342)

In the 1992 Ruby Ridge, Idaho, incident during which U.S. Marshal William Degan and Sammy and Vicki Weaver were killed, law enforcement and the Weavers socially constructed each other's roles. We focus on how the framing of what happened on Ruby Ridge changed. Drawing on Gamson's (1968) discussion of law enforcement strategies, we suggest that certain federal agencies were challenged about the justness of their actions. The Weavers, white separatists, and others tried to alter the dominant frame of the federal government from a legitimating one to that of unjust authority. To counter that, investigations by the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism and the Department of Justice portrayed certain agents as incompetent rather than unjust. Various federal agencies "yielded ground" by recognizing mistakes, making payments to the Weavers and Kevin Harris, and charging one official and temporarily suspending others, but they maintained the legitimacy frame.

98

[Book Reviews](#)

The Faultline of Consciousness: A View of Interactionism in Sociology, David R. Maines

Review: by Hans Joas

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 2 (2003) (pp. 343-353)

99

[Actions Speak Louder than Words: Close Relationships between Humans and Nonhuman Animals](#)

Clinton R. Sanders

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 3 (Summer 2003) (pp. 405-426)

Symbolic interactionism and other sociological perspectives traditionally have not attended to a significant form of close relationship—that which exists between people and the companion animals with whom they share their everyday lives. After a brief presentation of a portion of the relevant literature that deals with how humans understand and interact with their animal companions, I present the process by which caretakers come to define the unique identities of their animals and the ways in which the human-animal couple identity shapes public interaction. Since play, mutual gaze, and “speaking for” animals are key elements of friendly human-animal interaction, I discuss these activities as central to the process by which caretakers establish and express intersubjective connections with their animals. Finally, I maintain that attention to human-animal relationships holds promise for advancing an appreciative understanding of how personhood, mind, and culture are constructed in the process of interaction. Of special significance to the broadening of the interactionist perspective is that the understandings and emotional connections that bind people and their animals are created and maintained in the absence of a shared body of linguistic symbols.

100

[Editorial Introduction: Theory and Method in Symbolic Interactionism](#)

Philip Manning and David R. Maines

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2003) (pp. 497-500)

The success of symbolic interactionism requires each generation of scholars to absorb and cultivate its perspective. However, the best tribute that can be paid to symbolic interactionism is to allow the field to develop in new ways, to pursue ideas that earlier generations of scholars did not and perhaps could not imagine. We believe that the articles in this special issue contain both the cultivated appreciation of symbolic interactionism that preserves the field and the willingness to take the intellectual risks that may transform it. In studying the symbolic interactionism of the past, we must

remember how radical a perspective it then was. Our intellectual risk-taking today must be able to stand comparison to the past; otherwise symbolic interaction will atrophy.

101*

[Residual Categories and Disciplinary Knowledge: Personal Identity in Sociological and Forensic Investigations](#)

Robin Williams

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2003) (pp. 515-529)

A central feature of the development of sociological knowledge is the formulation and use of “descriptive frames of reference” within which theoretical and empirical work may be critically assessed. This article considers the way in which one such frame of reference—that developed by Erving Goffman to represent the variety of human science understandings of the nature of identity in social interaction—distinguished between “personal,” “social,” and “self” identity. The relative neglect of the first of these three categorizations is noted. Following Garfinkel's suggestions for the “respecification” of social analysis, this article suggests the usefulness of an approach to the neglected issue of personal identity that suspends theoretical stipulation about an abstract noun in favor of an ethnographic study of a particular occupational group—forensic investigators—for whom an orientation to personal identities is a recurrent accountable practical concern.

102*

[Chrysalid Goffman: A Note on “Some Characteristics of Response to Depicted Experience”](#)

Gregory W. H. Smith

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2003) (pp. 645-658)

Goffman's first substantial sociological work, his M.A. thesis entitled “Some Characteristics of Response to Depicted Experience,” has hitherto escaped critical commentary. Inspection of the thesis yields insights into the early development of Goffman's sociology. It shows that Goffman's later dismissal of positivistic and experimental approaches, his suspicion of interview methods, and his valorization of observational data have their origins in his research experiences in late 1940s Chicago while he worked toward his first graduate degree. The thesis fails to deliver the findings promised by the approved thesis proposal but succeeds as a demonstration of Goffman's methodological acuity.

103*

[The Politics of Presentation: Goffman and Total Institutions](#)

Howard S. Becker

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2003) (pp. 659-669)

Erving Goffman's essay on total institutions exemplifies his solution to a major problem in the presentation of social science thinking and results: how can we describe concrete social phenomena without using the descriptive terms already in use in the organization studied? Existing terminology embodies the perspectives of participants in the organization and so accepts all of those people's conventional judgments. This makes it impossible to isolate a class of similar social objects about which generalizations can be made. Goffman avoided this trap by creating a neutral but specific technical language and by a rigorously comparative analysis.

104

[Fitting In and Fighting Back: Stigma Management Strategies among Homeless Kids](#)

Anne R. Roschelle, and Peter Kaufman ,
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 27, No. 1 (Winter 2004) (pp. 23-46)

Using data collected during a four-year ethnographic study, this article examines the stigma management strategies of kids who are homeless in the San Francisco Bay area. We focus specifically on strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Strategies of inclusion are attempts by homeless kids to establish harmonious relationships with both peers and strangers. The most common are forging friendships, passing, and covering. Strategies of exclusion are aggressive and nonconciliatory attempts to gain social acceptance. They include verbal denigration and physical and sexual posturing. Some of these strategies successfully protect the kids' sense of self, while other strategies had the unintended effect of reinforcing their spoiled identities. We argue that these stigma management strategies are both informed by and interpreted through their disadvantaged social structural location.

105*

[The Meanings of a Star: Interpreting Music Fans' Reviews](#)

Phillip Vannini
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 27, No. 1 (Winter 2004) (pp. 47-69)

This article both elaborates on and empirically supports Norman Denzin's thesis on the political aesthetics of interpretation. Through a reading of consumer reviews, I discuss both the image and the music of the contemporary pop star Avril Lavigne by combining analytic tools derived from dramaturgy and social semiotics. Specifically, I present consumer reviews of Avril Lavigne's public persona as interpretive acts that decode the practices of production, distribution, and consumption of her alleged subcultural authenticity. I discuss the importance of understanding interpretation as a practice of cultural resistance against the pervasive force of consumerist ideologies and hegemonic mass media discourses. In addition, I reflect on the usefulness of a symbolic interactionist approach to a cultural studies based on Peircean semiotics and Goffmanian dramaturgy.

106*

[Contesting Stigma: On Goffman's Assumptions of Normative Order](#)

Abdi M. Kusow ,
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 27, No. 2 (Spring 2004) (pp. 179-197)

Goffman's classic analysis of stigma tacitly suggests that it has a conditional nature. An important shortcoming, however, is that his analysis proceeds from the existence of a normatively shared understanding of the criteria for and the distribution of stigma assignment. I use data from Somali immigrants to Canada to further that argument by showing that stigma as a social object cannot be created when its cultural and structural contexts are disjunctive. Through reverse stigmatization, counter devaluation, and rejection of discrimination, Somalis reveal the problematics of stigma establishment and therein raise the question of who is stigmatizing whom.

107

[To Die For: The Semiotic Seductive Power of the Tanned Body](#)

Phillip Vannini, and Aaron M. McCright ,
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 27, No. 3 (Summer 2004) (pp. 309-332)

Human skin burns with prolonged exposure to ultraviolet light. This simple physiological process acquires meaning through social interaction—whereby tanned skin assumes symbolic and semiotic properties. In this article we examine the meanings of tanned skin by focusing on the semiotic seductive power of the tanned body. Drawing from forty qualitative interviews, we examine the motives, beliefs, and experiences of people who tan their skin artificially, that is, through exposure to tanning lamps, in order to understand how tanned skin assumes meaning for them. We analyze the practice of artificial tanning and the interplay among processes of seduction, impression management, self-expression, and the construction, exchange, and interpretation of embodied sign-values.

108*

[A Cartography of Passing in Everyday Life](#)

Daniel G. Renfrow ,

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 27, No. 4 (Fall 2004) (pp. 485-506)

This analysis of student narratives explores various forms of passing encounters whereby individuals are not who they claim to be. I distinguish between (a) passing along highly stigmatized identities and everyday passing across less threatening ones; and (b) proactive passing, which individuals initiate, and reactive passing, in which individuals embrace an identity others have mistakenly assigned to them. These strategies are complex processes whereby individuals interactively negotiate definitions of the situation and sometimes give idealized performances. They underscore through contrast the sense of an authentic identity that enhances the stability of self. Although theorists claim that passing is inconsequential for the individual, the narratives in this study suggest that masking a central identity can be emotionally costly.

109*

[Embodied Fluidity and the Commitment to Movement: Constructing the Moral Self through Arthritis Narratives](#)

Dana Rosenfeld, and Christopher Faircloth ,

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 27, No. 4 (Fall 2004) (pp. 507-529)

While biomedical research reifies bodily movement in the lives of people with chronic illness as “functional mobility,” our analysis of biographical osteoarthritis narratives uncovers a moral commitment to movement as both a moral imperative and a technique to preserve a self threatened by the limits arthritis places on daily life. A content analysis of twelve interviews with arthritis sufferers shows that, in addition to the practical and emotional challenges of living with arthritis, these actors face the daily challenge of displaying their understanding of embodied fluidity—the timely and fluid movement through time and space—as a virtuous practice. Our informants use the movement mandate—the commitment to move despite the pain it may cause—to produce themselves as competent social and moral actors sacrificing the demands of their bodies to meet social expectations, and they conduct this performance in front of several audiences: the self and specific and generalized others. For these informants, in both private and public realms, the experience and the management of pain and physical limitation are profoundly social and accountable matters, as they affect interactions with others, their own social identities and moral integrity, and their relations with self as they seek to balance their arthritis pain with their past, present, and future self-concepts.

110*

[To Invest or Detach? Coping Strategies and Workplace Culture in Service Work](#)

Karla Erickson ,

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 27, No. 4 (Fall 2004) (pp. 549-572)

Drawing on original ethnographic research and interweaving food servers' voices with theories of labor, this article examines the emotional content of interactions between customers and workers in restaurants. It addresses the potential benefits of emotional labor, the effect of gender on how workers make sense of and cope with the demands of their jobs, and the work culture that arises as a result of workers' approaches to the emotional demands of their jobs. The article culminates with a discussion of the potential for exploitation when servers, particularly waitresses, begin to care for the customers who pay them.

111*

[Order! Order!—Functionalism, Interactionism, and Ethnomethodology—Modernity and Agency](#)
Reviews of Order and Agency in Modernity: Talcott Parsons, Erving Goffman, and Harold Garfinkel by K.-K. Kim; Ethnomethodology's Program: Working Out Durkheim's Aphorism by Harold Garfinkel; and Bad News, Good News: Conversational Order in Everyday Talk and Clinical Settings by D. W. Maynard

Review: by Russell Kelly
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 27, No. 4 (Fall 2004) (pp. 573-584)

112

[The Red, Shaking Fool: Dramaturgical Dilemmas in Shyness](#)

Susie Scott
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter 2005) (pp. 91-110)

Shyness has previously been conceptualized as an object of psychological study, but a symbolic interactionist approach relocates the condition in its social context. Using data from in-depth interviews and an e-mail distribution list, this article considers the ways in which the shy role is defined and negotiated in everyday interaction. It examines the myriad dramaturgical strategies through which shy actors attempt to conceal their lack of poise and competence, as well as how shyness itself can be a discrediting performance. Managing this identity therefore requires complex skills of self-presentation and paradoxically reveals a strong commitment to the interaction order.

113*

[Looking-Glass Self: Goffman as Symbolic Interactionist](#)

Thomas J. Scheff
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring 2005) (pp. 147-166)

My thesis is that for most of his career, Erving Goffman was a symbolic interactionist in the Cooley line. The only sustained theoretical structure in Goffman's work before 1974 follows Cooley's conjecture of the looking-glass self. Cooley assumed shared awareness, that we "live in the minds of others." He also realized that shared awareness is virtually invisible in modern societies and proposed pride or shame as the emotions that resulted. Goffman emphasized embarrassment over shame and implied a fourth step beyond Cooley's three: the management of embarrassment or shame. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* is dense with these emotions. Goffman proposed conceptual definitions of the embarrassment and shared awareness that are central to Cooley's idea. The conjunction of shared awareness and emotion in Goffman's examples may be the main feature that arouses reader sympathy. Two hypotheses are formulated here, along with techniques that

might be used to test or apply them.

114*

[Reinvigorating the Tradition of Symbolic Interactionism](#)

Philip Manning

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring 2005) (pp. 167-173)

Here I want to present four issues that I think are implicitly or explicitly raised by Scheff's interesting article. Their explication must itself be part of the reinvigorating of the tradition that Scheff has initiated. First, I wish to consider the role of the looking-glass self in Cooley's overall approach. Second, I will comment on weaknesses in Goffman's analysis of the self. Third, I will comment on the prospects for a synthesis of symbolic interactionist and psychoanalytic concerns. Fourth, I want to question Scheff's view that Goffman was a theorist of what he calls our "interior life" and sketch an alternative account of Goffman's project and achievement.

115*

[Reflections on Varieties of Shame Induction, Shame Management, and Shame Avoidance in Some Works of Erving Goffman](#)

Carol Brooks Gardner, and William P. Gronfein ,

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring 2005) (pp. 175-182)

In sum, Scheff's close examination of shame in the works of Goffman and of Cooley has provided the groundwork for our discussion of other ways of categorizing and typologizing shame, a discussion, we hope, that is useful to students of the sociology of emotions.

116

[What Kind of Mother Am I? Impression Management and the Social Construction of Motherhood](#)

Jessica L. Collett

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 28, No. 3 (Summer 2005) (pp. 327-347)

Previous research has examined the use of others as props for impression management (e.g., presidents' use of first ladies), but has left many areas underexplored, including the role of nonadults as important associates. This article focuses on the unacknowledged role of children's appearances in the maintenance of identities and management of impressions for their mothers. Using both participant observation of a playgroup and interviews with mothers of young children, the research described here investigates what these mothers think about children's clothing, mothers' concerns about when—and with whom—to manage impressions, and the impressions these women hope they portray through the physical appearance of their children. In addition to providing insight about these phenomena, the article also discusses responses surrounding the importance of first impressions, differences in meanings attached to children's spoiled appearances, and the sacrifices made in motherhood. Results show that women do use well-dressed and groomed children to enact and confirm identities as "good mothers" and to protect and enhance their own self-concepts during the course of everyday social interaction.

117

[On the Existential Aspects of Desistance from Crime](#)

Stephen Farrall ,

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 28, No. 3 (Summer 2005) (pp. 367-386)

This article seeks to introduce several core insights of existential thought and existential sociology to study why people desist from crime (stop offending). By investigating the internal processes associated with desistance, existential sociology can contribute to our theoretical understanding of this phenomenon. The article demonstrates the usefulness of this approach by presenting a case study of one ex-offender who has successfully desisted. The study demonstrates that gaining employment and rebuilding familial relationships were important factors in the process of creating a new sense of self. In addition, successful desistance entails developing a sense of what the future may hold for the individual and a sense of how this future can be realized. The implications of these findings for both theory and practice are discussed.

118

[The Digital Self: Through the Looking Glass of Telecopresent Others](#)

Shanyang Zhao

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 28, No. 3 (Summer 2005) (pp. 387-405)

The impact of others in telecopresence on the formation of self has not been well studied, and existing research on the self in cyberspace has focused mostly on issues related to the presentation of self. A major question researchers have been trying to answer is how people *present* their self to others when they become disembodied and anonymous in the online world. The question the present study attempts to answer, however, is almost the opposite: how do people come to *conceive* their self when others become disembodied and anonymous? This question is particularly important for understanding the effect of the Internet on self-formation, especially in teenagers who are yet to form a stable view of themselves. Based on the analysis of teenagers' online experience, the present study shows that others on the Internet constitute a distinctive “looking glass” that produces a “digital self” that differs from the self formed offline. Teenagers' playful online self-presentation is thus an integral part of the process of self-formation. As such, “intimate strangers” or “anonymous friends” on the Internet play an important role in affecting the self-development of online teenagers.

119*

[“Hoes can be hoed out, players can be played out, but pimp is for life”—The Pimp Phenomenon as Strategy of Identity Formation](#)

Annegret Staiger

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 28, No. 3 (Summer 2005) (pp. 407-428)

The pimp's ubiquity in popular and youth culture belies its divergent interpretations along racial lines. This article is an ethnographic study of how adolescents at a multiracial urban high school vary in their performance and interpretation of the pimp and how they create racialized identities through these variations. All peer groups studied understood the pimp as representing sexual prowess, but for the African American peer group, the pimp more importantly represented manipulation and generalized power. Departing from Goffman's concepts of performance and stigma, the study illustrates the limitations of both in capturing the racializing and empowering aspects of the pimp persona for the African American students who enacted it. Merging symbolic interaction with the poststructuralist concepts of identity as lodged in discourse and with performance as transgression, this article explains how adolescents' pimp performances produced identities that were informed by white supremacist logic but also subverted this logic in their construction of racial differences.

120

[Being Middle Eastern American: Identity Negotiation in the Context of the War on Terror](#)

Amir Marvasti
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 28, No. 4 (Fall 2005) (pp. 525-547)

Using in-depth interviews with naturalized U.S. citizens and immigrants as well as autoethnographic data, the author examines the stigma management strategies Middle Eastern Americans deploy, particularly in the aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks. He applies the concepts of interpretive practice and accounting to narratives of disrupted encounters in which Middle Eastern Americans were prompted to explain their identities, and classifies the stigma management strategies this group utilizes into five types of accounting: humorous, educational, defiant, cowering, and passing. This article evaluates the strengths and drawbacks of each accounting type for combating stigma and discusses how these findings inform existing scholarship on the social construction of deviant identities and their management in everyday life.

121

[Losing Selves: Dementia Care as Disruption and Transformation](#)

Tracy X. Karner, and Donna Bobbitt-Zeher
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 28, No. 4 (Fall 2005) (pp. 549-570)

Caregiving is a process of transformed identities and reconstructed relations. The disruption of Alzheimer's disease affects both the individual with dementia and the person providing care. One becomes ensnared in dementia, the other transformed into a caregiver. Using data from twenty qualitative interviews with family caregivers, this article traces the transformative process by which the previous relational selves of both participants become casualties of the disease. Findings suggest that the ill person in this dyad is silenced through dementia, leaving the caregiver narratives to become the morality tales of transformation from disorder to order, from havoc to meaningful interaction. By becoming caregivers, family members construct value in their struggles to negotiate the disorder of illness and recreate meaningful and affirming selves and relationships.

122*

[Postmodern Swing Dance and Secondary Adjustment: Identity as Process](#)

Scott W. Renshaw
Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 29, No. 1 (Winter 2006) (pp. 83-94)

In this article, the author describes activities of strategic consumption that members of a postmodern swing dance scene utilized to construct identity. He deploys Goffman's category of "contained secondary adjustment" for describing social interactions that are moments of purposeful resistance designed to usurp (while also being lodged within) organizational and/or institutional claims and constraints for identity and self. Specifically, the article describes swing dancers' presentations of unique selves, thrift store shopping, tavern socializing, and swing dancing. Swing dancers utilized these secondary adjustments to resist the dictates of corporate-driven and mass-mediated claims and constraints for "mainstream" consumer identities. These secondary adjustments add up to an "identity distancing," which is the individual's and/or group's purposeful distancing and separation from other identities or groups associated with popular culture. Describing the swing dancers' secondary adjustments reaffirms the symbolic interactionist stance that identity construction is a durable social interactional process.

123

[Symbolic Interaction Theory and Architecture](#)

Ronald W. Smith, and Valerie Bugni

Symbolic Interaction
Vol. 29, No. 2 (Spring 2006) (pp. 123-155)

Architectural sociology is receiving renewed attention but still remains a neglected area of investigation. As a major theoretical perspective within sociology, symbolic interaction helps us understand how the designed physical environment and the self are intertwined, with one potentially influencing and finding expression in the other; how architecture contains and communicates our shared symbols; and how we assign agency to some of our designed physical environment, which then invites in a different kind of self-reflection. This article discusses numerous instances of symbolic interaction theory–architecture connections, with applied examples showing how symbolic interactionists and architects can collaborate on projects to the benefit of each, and to the benefit of humanity.

124*

[Sociology of Humor and a Critical Dramaturgy](#)

Paul Paolucci, Margaret Richardson

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer 2006) (pp. 331-348)

Goffman's analytic framework can provide tools useful for a critical theory of modern society. While commentators have remarked on Goffman's apparent technical neutrality, a sociology of humor can help reveal his critical thrust. Using a latent content analysis, we demonstrate how several frames found in Jerry Seinfeld's humor are both dramaturgical and covertly critical. We use these themes to illuminate the critical analyses of modern social life provided by Goffman's method.

125

[Bike Messengers and the Really Real: Effervescence, Reflexivity, and Postmodern Identity](#)

Jeffrey L. Kidder

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer 2006) (pp. 349-371)

Out of more than two thousand bike messengers in New York City, a few hundred participate in alleycats—illegal races held in open traffic. Surrounding this racing scene is a vibrant messenger community. Messengers who race in or attend alleycats carry their messenger identity into all aspects of their lives. Through direct participant observation, this article proposes that alleycats function as Durkheimian rituals for these messengers. Alleycats express the central values of the social world. Lost in collective effervescence, the individual confronts these values as objectified truths, which allow messengers to form stable identities. Further, bicycles, messenger bags, and other objects become sacred symbols within this ritualization process. The ability of messengers to construct such nonreflexive identities is juxtaposed with theories about the self in postmodernity.

126

[One Step Forward, Two Steps Back](#)

Review by: Philip Manning

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer 2006) (pp. 411-417)

127*

[The Presentation of Dead Selves in Everyday Life: Obituaries and Impression Management](#)

Samuel K. Bonsu

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 30, No. 2 (Spring 2007) (pp. 199-219)

This study draws on obituary content and meanings to extend Goffman's explication of the vagaries of face-to-face interactions to situations where people pursue goals without corporeal copresence of actor and audience. Data for the study was collected in Kumasi, the capital city of the Asante people of Ghana, West Africa. My analysis suggests that obituaries embody self-presentation strategies that include star crafting, social risk management, and mobilization of external resources. I conclude that obituaries are cultural texts that appropriate social symbols to facilitate the presentation of the dead as part of the bereaved's identity projects. My specific observations about obituaries hint at more general reflections on self-presentation strategies that may be extended to other aspects of social life. They also raise questions for future research.

128*

[Him: Remembering the Person](#)

John Bryce Merrill

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 30, No. 4 (Fall 2007) (pp. 495-499)

Following Cahill following Goffman, I agree that “a sociology of the person cannot neglect the ‘serious ethnographic task of assembling the various ways in which the individual is treated and treats others, and deducing what is implied about [her] through this treatment’” (Cahill 1998:145). I take a slightly different path here by arguing that a revealing strategy of person production is individual memory work.

129

[Manning's Freud and American Sociology](#)

Review by: Douglas Kellner

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 30, No. 4 (Fall 2007) (pp. 609-612)

130*

[Hook-Ups and Train Wrecks: Contextual Parameters and the Coordination of Jazz Interactions](#)

Nicholas P. Dempsey

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter 2008) (pp. 57-75)

This article discusses the importance of several parameters of context integral to jazz musicians' ability to hear musical signs as meaningful, such as performers' individual backgrounds and the various other styles of music available in the aural landscape, and how those parameters influence what the musicians play. Several examples from an ongoing ethnography of jazz jam sessions suggest that context is constituted by several variables, that different variables may become salient at different times, and that different interactants vary in their ability to attend to these variables. This study thus extends and elaborates frame analysis by showing that, while an interaction frame of the sort described by Goffman (1974) may perdure, it is subject to change, and the nature of the context it provides for interactions can change whenever a new interaction is initiated.

131*

[The Logic of Goffman's Analyses](#)

A. Javier Treviño

Reviewed by: Greg Smith

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter 2008) (pp. 101-103)

132

[A Queen's Drowning: Material Culture, Drama, and the Performance of a Technological Accident](#)

Phillip Vannini

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 31, No. 2 (Spring 2008) (pp. 155-182)

Drawing on ethnographic data collected among residents of northwest British Columbia's coastal and island residents, I examine a technological accident: the sinking of the M/V *Queen of the North*. This accident is examined as an instance of social drama, as a succession of what Victor Turner calls breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration and what in this case I call wrecking, coping, inquiring, and mending. Ethnographic description, performative representation, and dramaturgic analysis of the sinking yield the impression that the *Queen of the North* was a person. Examined throughout this article are the performative processes through which the personhood and agency of this material object is accomplished. In so doing I posit an original dramaturgic approach to technoculture.

133

[University Administrators as Information Tacticians: Understanding Transparency as Selective Concealment and Instrumental Disclosure](#)

Tim Gawley

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 31, No. 2 (Spring 2008) (pp. 183-204)

Despite its burgeoning popularity, the concept of administrative transparency has received little attention from interpretivist sociologists. Symbolic interactionism offers a theoretical and methodological agenda for understanding administrative transparency that departs from the more common quantitative- and factor-based approaches. With an emphasis on educational administration, this article defines and examines how university administrators accomplish transparency in their everyday activities. Data from in-depth semistructured interviews identify administrative transparency as a reflexive act of concealment and disclosure. These activities are further described by what are identified as silent budgetary bargaining and opportunistic budgeting.

134

[The Space-Control Theory of Paramedic Scene-Management](#)

Anthony G. Campeau

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 31, No. 3 (Summer 2008) (pp. 285-302)

Paramedics provide emergency service in physically hazardous and socially complex situations. These work settings present unique challenges in terms of managing resources and relationships in a multicrisis context, in order to enable the delivery of emergency patient care. Using data obtained from interviewing paramedics, this study demonstrates the usefulness of symbolic interaction theory for context analysis, by analyzing an important aspect of paramedic practice: scene management. Through grounded theory methodology, this study also presents the first interactionism-based theory of how paramedics manage emergency scenes. This theory emphasizes the critical role of social processes in establishing social control in work spaces.

135

[Academic Outings](#)

Sara B. Dykins Callahan

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 31, No. 4 (Fall 2008) (pp. 351-375)

This essay is an exploration of my personal experiences with poverty and identity negotiation, specifically framed within and through my educational experiences. It is the beginnings of an answer to Denzin's (2003:259) call for a "performative politics that leads the way to radical social change." Scholars often ignore class subjectivities and lived experiences of class. I have chosen to employ critical autoethnographic inquiry in the form of a layered account to understand my lived experiences and my positionality, simultaneously inviting the reader to enter into the discourse.

136

[Symbolic Interaction, Psychoanalysis, and the Role of Vulnerable Emotions in Human Conflict](#)

Reviewed by: Benjamin Kelly

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 31, No. 4 (Fall 2008) (pp. 450-453)

137*

["As Far as They Knew I Came from France": Stigma, Passing, and Not Speaking about the Holocaust](#)

Arlene Stein

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 2009) (pp. 44-60)

Today we recognize that storytelling plays an important role in helping survivors of traumatic episodes such as sexual abuse, military combat, or genocide refashion a sense of self and "work through" their traumatic experiences. But before the Holocaust was named and widely acknowledged and the diagnosis of post-traumatic stress had emerged, survivors of Hitler's genocidal policies struggled to tell their stories in a world that did not particularly wish to hear them. While most accounts of Holocaust survivors' postwar experiences focus on themes of redemption, adjustment, and integration, my analysis of interviews with Holocaust survivors suggests during their first two decades living in the United States they were often silenced by individuals they encountered. I use Goffman's analysis of stigma to document how and why this silencing occurred, and with what consequences, providing an account of the interactions survivors had with family members, neighbors and acquaintances, and the strategies of identity management that survivors devised.

138*

[The Synthetic Situation: Interactionism for a Global World](#)

Karin Knorr Cetina

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter 2009) (pp. 61-87)

Presented as the Distinguished Lecture at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction in Boston, Massachusetts, on August 1, 2008, this article rethinks central assumptions of the interaction order as conceptualized by Goffman and others with respect to global domains of activity. It proposes two new concepts, that of the synthetic situation and that of time transactions. Synthetic situations are situations that include electronically transmitted on-screen projections that add informational depth and new response requirements to the "ecological huddle" (Goffman 1964:135) of the natural situation. Global situations invariably include such components; we also find that temporal forms of integration may substitute for joint territoriality of copresence in the natural situation. Based on research on global currency trading and other empirical examples, I identify four types of synthetic situations and describe the synthetic situation's informational character, its ontological fluidity, and the phenomenon that synthetic situations may become role-others for participants. I outline the response system of synthetic situations, sketching out the concepts of response presence and its implications in this context as well as the importance of

embodiment. I also discuss time transactions and the idea of fatefulness as a symbolic charge linked to the synthetic components of the situation.

139

[Asian Girls Are Prettier: Gendered Presentations as Stigma Management among Gay Asian Men](#)

Chong-suk Han

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 2009) (pp. 106-122)

Despite the well-documented cases of racism toward gay Asian men in the gay community, there is currently little research on how gay Asian men manage racial stigma. In this article, I examine the racial stigma management strategies of gay Asian men. I examine the nature of gay racial stigma toward gay Asian men and find that they use gendered presentations to counter the stereotype that they are more feminine than gay white men. While some gay Asian men engender a hypermasculine presentation, others use a hyperfeminine presentation to trade a more-stigmatized status for one that is less stigmatizing. More important, these men actively embrace stereotypes to successfully make these transitions. This article demonstrates that stigmatized groups can manage stigma by highlighting their spoiled identities rather than attempting to minimize them.

140*

[Re-clothing the Emperor: The Swimming Pool as a Negotiated Order](#)

Susie Scott

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 2009) (pp. 123-145)

This article examines the unspoken rules, routines, and rituals of the swimming pool, using ideas from negotiated order theory, Foucault, Goffman's dramaturgical theory, and symbolic interactionism. It identifies three sets of social norms: respect for personal space, respect for individuals' disciplinary regimes, and the desexualization of encounters. I show how these rules are (normally) followed or (occasionally) breached through various rituals, and examine the consequences for interaction order. The tale of "The Emperor's New Clothes" is used analogously to explain why actors cannot consciously attend to their precarious construction of reality, yet remain poised to defend it.

141

[Framing the Self](#)

Michael Schwalbe

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer 2009) (pp. 177-183)

The meaning of a photograph depends on the story we tell about it. In the case of portraits, these narrative frames shape the self we impute to the sitter. The interiority of the portrait subject, the inner character we imagine is revealed in the photograph, is a result of what we know about photographic portraits, about the sitter, about the photographer, and about the context in which the image was made. Likewise in everyday life, the selves we impute to others are inflected by similar processes of narrative framing. Who we are known to be depends not only on self-presentations but on the stories within which those self-presentations are placed.

142

[Cyclops Cave](#)

Irina L. Isaakyan

Symbolic Interaction

Written in the post-structural traditions of symbolic interactionism, *Cyclops Cave* is a biographic-interview-based and fact-and-fiction-plotted ethnodrama of anti-Semitism in Soviet higher education. This project is premised on the theories of the "social self"---namely, the "looking-glass racialized self," constructed by the dominant ethnic "supremacy," and the theories of racial stigma as an outcome of the racialized "me" production. Showing the stigma experiences of former Soviet Jewish academics from 1970 to the 1980s, the play adds a new illuminative and self-interpretive case of a race-situated symbolic interaction and deconstructs the "root image" of Soviet anti-Semitism through interpreting the informants' stigma incidents and interactional conflicts between their "selfhood" symbols.

143

[Thinking with the Mind, Syncing with the Body: Ballet as Symbolic and Nonsymbolic Interaction](#)

Sibyl Kleiner

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer 2009) (pp. 236-259)

Symbolic interactionist theory describes self-consciousness as arising through symbolic interaction. I use one empirical case, ballet training, to suggest that symbolic interaction can, by producing self-consciousness, cultivate unself-consciousness. Using in-depth interviews with twenty-three individuals reporting on training experiences in six countries and twenty-three American states, I show that dancers can learn, through self-conscious symbolic interaction, how it feels to embody what an audience sees, as they strive to train their bodies to portray an institutionalized aesthetic. The embodiment of technique facilitates a markedly unself-conscious "flow" experience while performing. In contrast, having an acute awareness of embodying an incompatible physiology inhibits flow and often motivates dancers to self-select out of ballet. These interactionist sources of "nonsymbolic" interaction both evoke and suppress "mind" through social interaction.

144

[The Use of the Talmudic Format for the Presentation of Qualitative Research](#)

Diane M. Rodgers

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 3 (Summer 2009) (pp. 260-281)

In this article, I propose to adapt the Talmud, a Jewish religious text, for the written representation of qualitative research. The form and the style of argumentation in and engendered by the Talmud can be adapted to present qualitative methods in a way that transcends the limitations of conventional formats. In addition, this format requires even greater participation in the act of reading. Because the Talmudic format uniquely addresses the difficulties involved in representing everyday life, I argue that adapting the format of the Talmud is ideal for giving voice, for presenting multiple and competing narratives alongside documents, and for further problematizing any simple notion of truth and authority.

145

[Consumption Styles and the Fluid Complexity of Punk Authenticity](#)

William Ryan Force

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 4 (Fall 2009) (pp. 289-309)

Subcultures are distinguished in terms of what they are not, highlighting differences with broader cultural characteristics. From this perspective, authenticity is drawn from external contrasts. This

ethnographic study of a local punk scene shows that internal comparisons among participants centered on consumption styles also construct authenticity. This activity was dominated by three indigenous cultural processes: the publicized possession of consumer goods, stylized presentations of self, and conversational display of acquaintance with punk esoterica. In contrast to previous studies, this article shows how the interpretive particulars of consumption in talk and interaction move beyond style alone to feature the fluid complexity of punk authenticity.

146

[Immigrants' Identity Negotiations and Coping with Stigma in Different Relational Frames](#)

Marko Valenta

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 32, No. 4 (Fall 2009) (pp. 351-371)

This research describes strategies that immigrants deploy in face-to-face interactions with indigenous locals and links these strategies to their relational frames and networks. By focusing on interconnections between identity management and network management, the author further explores some of the key trends already documented in the contemporary literature on ethnicity. The article also adds new insight to the analysis of stigma and identity by showing how self-friend and self-stranger relationships present different opportunities and limitations for self-presentation. Network fragmentation—commonly associated with a weak degree of social integration—is not necessarily an indicator of unsuccessful integration or segregation; it may be part of a wider immigrant identity project, a way to cope with stigmatization, and an important precondition for integration into mainstream society.

147

[Identity Management of the Dead: Contests in the Construction of Murdered Children](#)

Daniel D. Martin

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 1 (Winter 2010) (pp. 18-40)

Presenting data gathered from fieldwork and ethnographic interviews with families of homicide victims, this study explores "postmortem identity-contests" faced by families who have experienced the homicide of a child or other family member. Interview data from families on their interaction with police, funeral home directors, and other institutional officials suggest that the construction of postmortem identities is commonly a process of contestation filled with competing identity-claims. The findings reveal that as families resist "oppressive othering" by the state and other institutional actors, they develop various accounts and strategies in "selfing" and sanctifying the identity of the dead.

148

[Face, Accounts, and Schemes in the Context of Relationship Breakups](#)

Jan Doering

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 1 (Winter 2010) (pp. 71-95)

This article investigates account strategies that individuals employ to neutralize identity threats caused by breakups from romantic relationships. I distinguish three narrative frames for such accounts: dumper, dumpee, and consensus narratives. Individuals who employ a consensus narrative frame provide accounts by default: they deny that any harm was done to anyone. Dumpers dismissed the breakup's conflictuality, used externalization strategies, and depicted themselves as empathetic. Dumpees used externalization strategies and denials of injury, emphasized their agency, and pointed out valuable changes of self. I then analyze the results from a phenomenological

perspective to identify connections between accounting practices and the structure of the self. I argue that accounting for traumatic breakups is important for the development of schemes that guide perception, action, and the interpretation of biography.

149

[Standing OUT/Fitting IN: Identity, Appearance, and Authenticity in Gay and Lesbian Communities](#)

David J. Hutson

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 2 (Spring 2010) (pp. 213-233)

Sexuality scholars have noted the historical connection between appearance and gay or lesbian identity. However, as the social landscape for lesbian women and gay men has shifted over the past forty years, little research has documented how such changes influence gay and lesbian individuals' appearance choices as they form, manage, and maintain their identities. To explore the impact of this "post-closet" (Seidman 2002) era on the identities and appearances of lesbians and gays, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty individuals, aged eighteen to thirty. Findings suggest that while most people use appearance to attain a sense of authenticity after "coming out," achieving a feeling of authenticity in gay and lesbian spaces presents unique challenges as individuals come under scrutiny by the community.

150

[Paradoxes of Sexuality, Gay Identity, and the Closet](#)

Tony E. Adams

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 2 (Spring 2010) (pp. 234-256)

In this project, I illustrate how eight premises of sexuality, gay identity, and the closet contribute to the existence of paradox, an interactional situation constituted by contradiction. I first outline the following premises: gay identity is (1) inextricably tied to the metaphor of the closet; coming out is necessary when gay identity (2) is invisible; the closet draws meaning (3) only in relation to heteronormative contexts; gay identity, as a (4) stigmatized identity, makes coming out a (5) potentially dangerous act; coming out is conceived of as a (6) necessary and important, (7) discrete and linear, (8) inescapable and ever-present process. I then use autoethnography to describe and analyze the lived experience of paradox in terms of these premises. I conclude by formulating ways a gay person can negotiate paradox in, and by way of, interaction.

151

[Students Who Strip: The Benefits of Alternate Identities for Managing Stigma](#)

Mary Nell Trautner, Jessica L. Collett

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 2 (Spring 2010) (pp. 257-279)

We apply interactionist theories that highlight the contextual nature of stigma and the relational quality of stigmatization to the case of college students who work as topless dancers. We explore how the "toll of stripping" might be mediated by having an alternate, positive identity like "student." Our analysis demonstrates that students who strip are distinctive from other strippers in important ways that stem from their salient, positive identity as students. Although they often feel as if they live a "double life" because they hide their occupation from family and friends, they benefit from sharing their student goals and ambitions with club customers. "Student" is a socially acceptable identity to share in routine social interactions and helps student strippers frame dancing as a transient occupation, offering them an opportunity to maintain a positive sense of self while buffering them from some of the negative effects of stripping.

152*

[Networks and Complexity: Directions for Interactionist Research?](#)

Nick Crossley

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 3 (Summer 2010) (pp. 341-363)

In this article I consider the potential importance of social networks for symbolic interactionism. Specifically, I argue that symbolic interactionism operates with an underdeveloped and often tacit conception of networks; that network analysis offers us various tools for further developing and operationalizing this conception, empirically; and that doing so would be to our considerable advantage. In addition, I argue that a stronger focus on networks would give interactionism an inroad into important contemporary debates on "complexity," building on an obvious but again underdeveloped affinity between these two academic domains. Moreover, tackling complexity raises important and central sociological concerns of structure/agency and micro/macro, with the additional payoff that interactionism can develop and demonstrate its strengths, as an approach, in addressing the problems often associated with these concerns.

153

["We are not strippers": How Belly Dancers Manage a \(Soft\) Stigmatized Serious Leisure Activity](#)

Rachel Kraus

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 3 (Summer 2010) (pp. 435-455)

Most stigma research examines people who engage in deviant activities or possess visible and permanent discredited attributes, which lead to "hard" or severe consequences. Existing leisure studies focus on the benefits of leisure pursuits. Less attention is paid to the potential costs associated with serious leisure, such as "soft" stigma. The snubs and slight embarrassments resulting from soft stigma may jeopardize the rewards people receive from participating in leisure, such as a sense of identity, self-worth, and pride. Using interviews with seventy-four female belly dancers, most of whom belly dance as a form of "serious leisure," this article examines how dancers manage perceptions that they are erotic dancers. Results show that dancers use an interesting set of stigma management techniques and new forms of some existing management strategies to simultaneously protect themselves and enhance the reputation of the group. Implications for how people negotiate soft stigma associated with serious leisure are discussed.

154

[The Presentation of Avatars in Second Life: Self and Interaction in Social Virtual Spaces](#)

Simon Gottschalk

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 4 (Fall 2010) (pp. 501-525)

What do interactions in virtual spaces suggest about everyday life in the digital age? How do interactions in virtual spaces shape everyday life in the digital age? Guided by hypermodern theory, I conduct participant observation in the social virtual world Second Life to provide tentative answers to those questions. I suggest that Second Life is both a social psychological playground where participants enjoy individualistic fantasies and a virtual community where they collaborate on collective projects. When people define the virtual as real, it is real in its consequences. Accordingly, social virtual spaces such as Second Life offer sociologists unique opportunities for research, education, intervention, and hence the development of a virtual imagination.

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[The Pastor in the Basement: Discourses of Authenticity in the Networked Public Sphere](#)

Kevin Healey

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 4 (Fall 2010) (pp. 526-551)

Applying Altheide's method of ethnographic content analysis, this article tracks competing discourses of authenticity in media coverage of Jeremiah Wright and Sarah Palin. The "pastor problems" of the last election demonstrate a bias toward issues of sincerity and authenticity in the networked public sphere. Pundits and bloggers use viral videos to construct rival representations of candidates' backstage identities. Such debates favor "fat" notions of authenticity, however, and decontextualization tends to thwart the critical gatekeeping functions of journalism. Religion serves as a proxy for issues of race, prophetic critique is demonized, and apocalyptic thinking is normalized.

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[Contesting Community Online: Virtual Imagery among Dutch Orthodox Protestant Homosexuals](#)

Willem de Koster

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 4 (Fall 2010) (pp. 552-577)

Whereas substantial scholarly attention has been paid to the online presentation of self, symbolic interactionist approaches are largely absent in the literature on virtual communities. Instead, recurrent questions are whether communities can exist online and whether specific online venues qualify as communities. This article aims to move beyond these dichotomous questions by studying how different meanings attached to an online venue can be understood from offline experiences. In a case study of a Dutch forum for orthodox Protestant homosexuals, two types of understanding of online community emerged from an analysis of fifteen in-depth interviews. Users struggling with stigmatization in offline life seek empathic support and have an encompassing sense of online community—the forum as "refuge." For users dealing with practical everyday questions, online contacts are part of so-called personal communities and help ameliorate offline life—the forum as "springboard." Apart from demonstrating that online forums can serve as Goffmanian backstages in two distinct ways, these results indicate it is fruitful to take a symbolic interactionist approach to uncover relationships between offline and online social life.

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[Stigma, Secrets, and the Human Condition: Seeking to Remedy Alienation in PostSecret's Digitally Mediated Environment](#)

Naaman Wood, Susan Ward

Symbolic Interaction

Vol. 33, No. 4 (Fall 2010) (pp. 578-602)

While digitally mediated environments have altered how human communication takes place, they do not necessarily alter the human condition of alienation. Applying key principles from Goffman's *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963), the popular blog PostSecret offers ways in which anonymous users attempt to remedy the alienations linked with the stigmatic act of secret keeping. Through imaginative, associative, and vicarious conversations, the blog purports to offer the unconditional acceptance necessary to remedy the alienations. Because of the complications of anonymity in the nonreal reality of the internet, the blog can offer only echoes of acceptance. Although some of the stigma literature argues that self-acceptance or assertions of power are the strongest solutions to stigma's negative effects, this article extends the stigma construct with the suggestion that vulnerability might be a viable option to remedy the attendant alienations correlated with stigma.

[Negotiating Personal Experience over the Lifetime: Narrative Elasticity as an Analytic Tool](#)

Oriana Bernasconi

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 1, pages 20–37, Winter 2011

Sociology and neighboring disciplines have produced different analytic tools to examine the dialogical relationship between individuals and society (“narrative work,” “identity work,” “moral career,” “moral breakdown”). However, the question of how individuals negotiate the interpretation of personal experience over their lifetimes in a changing cultural context remains unexplored. This article introduces narrative elasticity as a feature of narrative work and as a time-sensitive analytic tool for conducting inquiries into processes of temporal retraction and expansion of what storytellers conceive as the normal order of significance. The application of this tool to the analysis of mature and elderly Chileans' life stories shows how cultural change occurs at the individual level, considers factors that motivate and inhibit processes of reinterpretation of personal experience, and identifies different levels at which it operates.

[Doing Fake Masculinity, Being Real Men: Present and Future Constructions of Self among Black College Men](#)

Kristie A. Ford

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 1, pages 38–62, Winter 2011

Through a qualitative analysis of twenty-nine black college men at a large research university, this project explores how black masculinity is physically, behaviorally, and materially constructed from idealized images resulting in a contextually adaptive sense of self. The findings suggest that black masculinity, specifically the thug image, is symbolically affirmed or denied through a particular type of raced, gendered, classed, and sexualized discourse within black public social spaces. Moreover, these data show that maintaining this construction of black masculinity promotes bodily self-doubt or insecurity and inauthentic intra- and interracial interactions. In contrast, black manhood is thought to involve more genuine interactions, regardless of the social location. Unlike doing masculinity, the idealized notion of being men allows young black men to project a future construction of self that seemingly resolves their feelings of inauthenticity or bodily insecurity.

[Claiming Competence: Biographical Work among Victim-Advocates and Counselors](#)

Kenneth H. Kolb

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 1, pages 86–107, Winter 2011

Advocates and counselors at agencies that assist victims of domestic violence and sexual assault argue that they are especially suited to help their clients develop safe and practical strategies to protect themselves from further abuse. Yet the backstage of these agencies can depict a reality of confusion, doubt, and sometimes fear—especially when clients' cases do not go according to plan. Data collected from in-depth interviews and participant observation over fourteen months show how advocates and counselors engaged in “biographical work” (Gubrium and Holstein 2000) to construct coherent and consistent narratives as competent service providers in the aftermath of their clients' unanticipated outcomes. Calling on different discursive strategies accessible to them according to their position within the agency, both groups were able to interpret negative results as beyond their responsibility. However, the counselor's rhetoric of “professionalism” proved more

effective in this regard compared with the advocates' "empowerment."

161*

[Assault on Self: Intimate Partner Abuse and the Contestation of Identity](#)

Jacquelyn Allen-Collinson

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 1, pages 108–127, Winter 2011

The complexities of intimate partner abuse and violence have been studied from a range of theoretical, conceptual, and methodological perspectives. It is argued here that symbolic interactionist analyses offer specific and powerful insights into this particular interactional domain. This article is based on data generated by a topical life-history case study of a well-educated, middle-class, middle-aged man, whose wife subjected him to sustained unilateral violence and abuse, resulting in deleterious consequences for his health and well-being. Data were gathered via a series of in-depth interviews and a personal diary. The analysis draws on Goffman's conceptualization of "possessional territory" as one of the "territories of the self," in order to examine the role of possessions in the interactional routines of intimate partner abuse.

162

[Interactions That Trigger Self-Labeling: The Case of Older Undergraduates](#)

Dawn R. Norris

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 2, pages 173–197, Spring 2011

Deviant or stigmatizing labels are associated with various negative outcomes. Although self-labeling theory proposes that one can self-label as deviant without first being labeled by others, most labeling research focuses on people whom others have already labeled. Using the case of undergraduates aged twenty-five and older, I identify three subtle forms of interaction—contextual dissonance, reminder cues, and third-party communication—that trigger self-labeling and are associated with negative reactions, even absent others' direct negative feedback or prior labeling. I also show that each form of interaction may systematically relate to specific kinds of negative reactions. I discuss possible reasons for these patterns, as well as how these findings may affect self-labeling theory and policymaking decisions in higher education.

163

[From Refrigerator Mothers to Warrior-Heroes: The Cultural Identity Transformation of Mothers Raising Children with Intellectual Disabilities](#)

Amy C. Sousa

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 2, pages 220–243, Spring 2011

This article examines public performances of mothering children with intellectual disabilities through thematic discourse analysis of thirty-three published memoirs. These data reveal presentations of self that, once consumed and interpreted by public interaction, emerge collectively as a "warrior-hero" identity, a reformulated archetype in the social construction of a good mother. This archetype places a cultural expectation on mothers to do battle to attain resources and possible cures for their children, ultimately shifting the historical burden on mothers from causing the intellectual disabilities of their children to curing them. The article concludes with a discussion of how this hyperfocus on expert parenting has the potential to leave mothers of children with intellectual disabilities strained and subject to the pitfalls of systems of inequality.

164

[Getting Away from It All: The Construction and Management of Temporary Identities on Vacation](#)

Karen Stein

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 2, pages 290–308, Spring 2011

When individuals go on vacation they take on a temporary “vacation identity.” Vacationers use props, behaviors, and interactions with traveling companions to define and bound the experience as separate and different from everyday life. Data are drawn from twenty in-depth interviews and participant observation with sixty international tourists in China during the summer of 2008. Vacationers' participation in rites and routines and impression management techniques helped them construct a personally meaningful, yet short-lived identity. The results underscore the influence of others in identity construction and point to the importance of a nonpresent other in creating and presenting identities.

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[Interaction Ritual Theory and Structural Symbolic Interactionism](#)

Chris Hausmann, Amy Jonason, Erika Summers-Effler

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 3, pages 319–329, Summer 2011

This article develops a comparison between structural approaches to symbolic interaction, as described by Sheldon Stryker (1968, 1980, 2008), and interaction ritual theory, elaborated by Randall Collins (1981, 1998, 2004). The value of this comparison lies in both the similarities and differences between the perspectives: each is committed to developing empirically grounded, general knowledge and emphasizes interaction as an emergent unit of sociological analysis. However, their disparate intellectual heritages lead them to stake out different positions regarding the nature of interaction, the self, and social structure. We suggest that the differences between structural symbolic interaction and interaction ritual theory offer important areas for theoretical innovation, and we highlight a few directions that seem especially promising.

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[Extending the Symbolic Interactionist Theory of Interaction Processes: A Conceptual Outline](#)

Jonathan H. Turner

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 3, pages 330–339, Summer 2011

This article outlines the elements of a more robust symbolic interactionist theory of interpersonal processes. I argue that George Herbert Mead's conceptualization of interaction processes can be extended to explain not only micro-level social processes but also key elements of meso- and macro-level dynamics. By expanding Mead's and more recent symbolic interactionist theorizing, and incorporating key ideas from other theoretical traditions outside symbolic interactionism proper, it becomes possible to develop a theory of interaction that fills in important conceptual gaps in theories on the dynamics of micro-, meso-, and macro-level social phenomena.

167*

[Goffman's Interaction Order at the Margins: Stigma, Role, and Normalization in the Outreach Encounter](#)

Robin James Smith

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 3, pages 357–376, Summer 2011

This article considers Goffman's conceptualization of interaction order at the margins of society in encounters between urban welfare workers and their clients. Observations from these encounters demonstrate practices relating to the situated management of stigma and identity, and the accomplishment of role within these service encounters. A reading of Goffman's theoretical contribution lies in revealing how social actors and social structures are realized in situ within the constraints of the interaction order sui generis. The article discusses three aspects of the outreach encounter, namely, (1) the accomplishment of role and motive, (2) the sequential phases of the outreach encounter, and (3) "the normalization ritual," and introduces the concept of willful disattention.

168

[Discrimination and Reaction: The Practical Constitution of Social Exclusion](#)

Venetia Evergeti

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 3, pages 377–397, Summer 2011

This article explores and extends Blumer's work on race prejudice and discrimination by using empirical data from an ethnographic study of minority communities in Greece. Blumer explains prejudice as the result of an interactional process through which one group defines itself as superior or dominant in relation to the other. His work on race prejudice has often been misinterpreted as emphasizing the individual's subjective imaginary of the "other." Here I illustrate the importance of the intersubjective processes involved in defining a particular social situation as discriminatory. A central point of the article is to elaborate on his analysis by looking at the experience of prejudice and discrimination from the receiving end, through the participants' interpretation of their social interactions with the dominant group. Therefore I focus on how members of the subordinate group interact with the process that Blumer identifies.

169

["Scissors, Please": The Practical Accomplishment of Surgical Work in the Operating Theater](#)

Jeff Bezemer, Ged Murtagh, Alexandra Cope, Gunther Kress, Roger Kneebone

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 34, Issue 3, pages 398–414, Summer 2011

The focus of this article is on professional activity in the operating theater. We explore how surgeons and nurses organize their activities, how social interaction is used to help structure and define situations, and how differentials in knowledge are constructed and oriented to. We utilize some ideas and concepts from symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and conversation analysis to analyze small clips of audio- and video-recorded interaction. Focusing on how surgeons and nurses request, provide, and apply surgical instruments, the analysis shows how surgical work is accomplished through talk and bodily conduct. We conclude that, examined in detail, the social interaction between surgeons and nurses is analytically inseparable from the "technical" demands of their work.

170

[Intersectional Identities and Conceptions of the Self: The Experience of Transgender People](#)

Kylan Mattias de Vries

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 1, pages 49–67, February 2012

Transgender people in the United States change genders in relation to androcentric, heterocentric, and middle-class whitenormative cultural narratives. Drawing on ethnographic data primarily with transgender people of color, I analyze the ways in which gender, race, social class, and sexuality all

combine to create specific background identities – intersected identity frames – which others attribute in interaction. We can better understand these intersected identity frames through the experiences of transgender people, who actively engage in identity management. The meanings others attach to specific combinations are foregrounded in the context of transitioning; some audiences employ dominant, white cultural narratives, while others draw upon ethnic cultural narratives. In all cases, transitioning throws the multi-dimensionality of intersected identity frames into sharp relief against the background of intersecting social and cultural structural arrangements.

171

[Memorial Essay: Harold Garfinkel \(1917–2011\): A Sociologist for the Ages](#)

Douglas W. Maynard

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 1, pages 88–96, February 2012

Harold Garfinkel, the founder of Ethnomethodology, died at home on April 21, 2011 of congestive heart failure. A major sociologist of the twentieth century, his contribution to many fields will undoubtedly continue to be felt for years to come. In this essay, I will discuss the origins of the term “ethnomethodology,” briefly explore ethnomethodology's relationship with symbolic interactionism, provide a biographical overview of Garfinkel's oeuvre, list some ways in which the work has had a massive influence, and end with a short discussion of Garfinkel's legacy.

172

[Little Dramas of Discomposure: On Doing Face-Work with Disaligning Actions](#)

Michael Dellwing

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 2, pages 146–161, May 2012

Everyday life is full of little physical signs of discomfort and discomposure. Usually, they are attributed to mere bodily reactions which the portrayer does not control. However, that is not an abstract fact, but a definition of the situation that is a social achievement. This achievement is consequential: it allows for a form of everyday communication from which intention is drained, but judgment is not. Little dramas of discomposure are thus important elements of face-work that can be analyzed as such: They allow for a negotiation of identity through reaction to ascriptions made by others, but reactions that remain on the back stage and thus avoid negotiations of rank and hierarchy that would usually accompany communications of judgment.

173*

[More than a Façade: Somatic and Structural Determinants in Erving Goffman's Theory of the Perduring Self](#)

Isher-Paul Sahni

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 2, pages 162–185, May 2012

This paper argues that Erving Goffman endorses the veracity of a perduring self. Culling the corpus of his work, recent findings in neurophysiology and cognitive science surrounding the autonomy and mutual determination of emotion, cognition, and social structure are drawn upon when unpacking his highly composite theory. Isolating Goffman's claims about the psychobiological underpinning of the emotionally sentient body and those pertaining to macro and micro-structural determinants, the former, it is argued, champion the coherence of the self insofar as they link cathected feelings to individual desires and inclinations. The latter, conversely, complicate the picture by accentuating the social construction of emotions and the relationship between episodic cognitive operations and multifarious interpretive frames. In the end, however, it is shown that

Goffman's macro-structural account, far from being residual, discloses the consistency, and unity of the self occasioned by social proximity and general social norms.

174

[Reframing the Biotechnology Debate: The Deconstructive Efforts of the Council for Responsible Genetics](#)

Tony Zschau, Alison E. Adams, Thomas E. Shriver

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 2, pages 221–239, May 2012

We demonstrate the analytical utility of social movement theory for understanding the framing efforts of the anti-biotechnology movement. We content-analyzed electronic and printed documents from the anti-biotech watchdog group, the Council of Responsible Genetics to identify the movement's diagnostic and prognostic framing efforts. Our findings suggest that while the organization blends frame extension and frame translation strategies it aims for a more radical frame transformation project. Moving the public debate away from overly technical and scientized frames toward issues of social utility and democracy, it tries to recast biotechnologies as a violation of individual and collective rights. Drawing from our findings we offer a number of suggestions for how future research can help further illuminate the interactive and discursive realities of modern technological developments.

175*

[Editor's Choice: An Interview with Hans Joas](#)

Editor's Choice: An Interview with Hans Joas

Ramón Vargas Maseda

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 2, pages 240–247, May 2012

The interview explores multiple aspects of social theory, most of them directly related to Joas's theory and others to symbolic interactionism and Goffman. The first part delves into Joas's theory in three respects. First, a clarifying note on a common misunderstanding about his book *The Creativity of Action*. Second, a clarification on the scope of his theoretical endeavor, and third, a look into his coming books to have a better grasp of the course that his theory is taking. The second part is dedicated to symbolic interactionism and Goffman. Firstly, Joas's opinion about the theoretical relationship between symbolic interactionism and macrosociology is emphasized, secondly, his opinion about the pertinence of locating Goffman within symbolic interactionism is stated, and thirdly, a brief commentary about the relationship between Joas's theory and Goffman's is introduced.

176*

[Nonsocial Transient Behavior: Social Disengagement on the Greyhound Bus](#)

Esther C. Kim

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 3, pages 267–283, August 2012

Based on two years of observations and engaging in informal conversations with passengers on Greyhound Line buses, this article describes the long-distance bus journey and the ways in which people actively disengage from others over the course of the ride. Using the Greyhound buses and stations as a microcosm of other such public spaces, I examine its unspoken rules and behavior. I paint a picture of the buses and stations, the patrons, the employees, and the transactions that take place between them. Using ideas from Goffman's civil inattention theory, Lofland's thoughts on strangers, and symbolic interactionism, I explain what I call “nonsocial transient behavior” and

“nonsocial transient space.” The reasons nonsocial transient behavior emerges and thus encourages disengagement are identified as follows: uncertainty about strangers, lack of privacy or absence of a personal space, and exhaustion.

177

[Believing Not Seeing: A Blind Phenomenology of Sexed Bodies](#)

Asia M. Friedman

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 3, pages 284–300, August 2012

Vision plays a privileged role in social interaction and the construction of intersubjective reality. Given that one of sociology's tasks is to problematize the taken for granted, research that examines rarely foregrounded non-visual modes of sensory perception is a powerful resource. This article draws on twenty-seven interviews that explore blind people's perceptions of male and female bodies. I highlight several distinctive features of non-visual sex attribution (salience, speed, and diachronicity), and argue that conceptions of sex as “self-evident” primarily reflect visual perception. These findings suggest the need to explore the sociology of perception as a new approach to the sociology of the body, and more broadly highlight the role of sensory perception in the social construction of reality.

178

[Repelling the “Rutter”: Social Differentiation Among Rural Teenagers](#)

Edward W. Morris

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 3, pages 301–320, August 2012

This paper examines low-income white rural teenagers' management of race and class-based inequality. It analyzes how these teenagers constructed boundaries to distinguish themselves from outsiders, but also to distinguish themselves from the local abject category of “rutter.” The findings reveal hidden interconnections between race and class in interactional practice, and highlight local processes of differentiation through which actors attempt to deflect stigma and attain credibility. The paper discusses how interactional mechanisms such as “internal othering” and “stigma-theory” bolster race and class credibility, but reproduce inequality.

179

[Radical Normals: The Moral Career of Straight Parents as Public Advocates for Their Gay Children](#)

J. L. Johnson, Amy L. Best

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 3, pages 321–339, August 2012

Sociological research has examined straight parents in “traditional” family arrangements who become gay rights activists, but pays insufficient attention to how this puzzling identity comes into being. Drawn from observations and interviews of parents participating in a local chapter of Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) (2009 to 2010), this paper analyzes the parenting activities undertaken by straight parents of gay children as a moral career, involving stages of acceptance that can lead to eventual public advocacy. Paradoxically, these parents become radical normals through these stages; that is to say, they “do” the work of parenting by becoming gay rights advocates, motivated by commitments to conventional imperatives of loving and supporting a child. Using the conceptual scaffolding of the moral career, this paper identifies the mechanisms that move parents through these different career stages.

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[Different, Like Everyone Else: *Stuff White People Like* and the Marketplace of Diversity](#)

Patrick R. Grzanka, Justin Maher

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 3, pages 368–393, August 2012

This article explores *Stuff White People Like* (SWPL), a popular blog that has lampooned the cultural practices of a certain kind of bourgeoisie-bohemian White person since its inception in early 2008. The overwhelmingly positive reception of the blog motivated the authors to explore the complexities of this commercial humor project in the context of the twenty-first century multicultural neoliberalism in the United States. Through analysis of both the blog entries and online audience response, they ultimately claim that SWPL is limited in its potential for antiracist cultural work because it fails to challenge the logic of neoliberalism—indeed, it operates firmly within it—and defers a radical critique of White privilege. Moreover, SWPL facilitates gleeful celebration of essentialized White idiosyncrasies by incorporating a form of White “ethnicity” in the twenty-first century neoliberal marketplace of diversity.

181

[Peak Oil and the Narrative Construction of Unmarked Identities](#)

John C. Pruitt

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 4, pages 438–455, November 2012

Resource depletion is usually an ecological or economic issue, but I approach interpretations of peak oil as the interplay between local and cultural knowledge during narrative identity construction. I examine two internet resource depletion blogs finding that bloggers compete for narrative control using identity unmarkers. Identity unmarkers are taken for granted understandings of normativity. I call this process narrative unmarking. I discuss four identity unmarkers that play on everyday sentiments of normativity: doing something, doing rationality, making plausible insights, and proposing solutions.

182*

[Race and Interactions on Public Transportation: Social Cohesion and the Production of Common Norms and a Collective Black Identity](#)

Danielle T. Raudenbush

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 4, pages 456–473, November 2012

In this article, I examine interactions on public transportation in order to assess social cohesion among members of the same race. Contrary to the prevailing view of social cohesion in urban places, I find that individuals in poor, black areas demonstrate more social cohesion than individuals in more affluent, white areas. This cohesion is meaningful as it plays a role in the production of common notions of a particular black reality and collective black identity, and that it serves a normative function in defining appropriate behaviors. I use Goffman's idea of civil inattention as a heuristic for studying social cohesion.

183*

[The Effort of Being in a Fictional World: Upkeyings and Laminated Frames in MMORPGs](#)

Jonas Linderöth

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 35, Issue 4, pages 474–492, November 2012

On the basis of ten months of fieldwork studying a role-playing guild in the game *World of*

Warcraft, this article shows that contrary to the idea that virtual worlds are seductive illusions, technology does not necessarily support players' feelings of being immersed in fictional worlds. Applying Goffman's frame theory, the author explains how role-players in the game actively upkey elements from primary frameworks in order to create and uphold the frame of being in a fictional world. This kind of narrative immersion is rather hindered than facilitated by technology.

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["Sometimes, I think I might say too much": Dark Secrets and the Performance of Inflammatory Bowel Disease](#)

Bowel Disease

Alex I. Thompson

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 1, pages 21–39, February 2013

This study examines the dramaturgical embodiment of chronically ill bodies managing “fecal matters” (Weinberg and Williams 2005) in Inflammatory Bowel Disease (IBD) support groups. Data were derived from my reflections as a person with IBD, a year of participant observation, and semi-structured interviews with support group members. I first uncover the boundaries of the private body (Cahill 2006). Secondly, I focus on the entrenchment of IBD within the stigma of fecal matters. Lastly, I explore the disparate ways that support group members harnessed language to protect their embodied selves from symbolic fecal contamination, from a “soiled self.”

185*

[Telling Others How You Live—Refining Goffman's Stigma Theory Through an Analysis of Housing Strugglers in a Homeowner Nation](#)

Anders Vassenden, Terje Lie

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 1, pages 78–98, February 2013

This article revisits Goffman's stigma theory from the perspective of housing studies. We elaborate on Goffman's approach by exploring how housing tenure can work as a proxy for moral character. We interviewed twenty-seven people who are excluded from access to homeownership in two cities in Norway, which is a “homeowner nation.” These individuals are unable to enter the dominant “homeowner class” for different reasons, including drug-dependency, mental illness, refugee background, low socioeconomic status; thus, they must access housing through other tenures; private renting or social housing. To many of them, housing becomes a stigma, in Goffman terms, an “undesired differentness.” Social housing is known to carry stigma in Norway. It was thus a paradox, that those with the softest differentness—private rental—were most likely to practice (Goffman:) “information control” over their housing situation. Goffman's theoretical apparatus, and his distinction between the discreditable and the discredited in particular, helped us make this paradox comprehensible. Through this analysis, refinements to Goffman's theory were discovered. We suggest that “multiple stigmas,” which was not seen clearly by Goffman himself, should be a key notion in stigma studies. We use this notion to distinguish between possible sub-types to the discredited-discreditable distinction.

186

["Not Getting Any Because of Jesus": The Centrality of Desire Management to the Identity Work of Gay, Celibate Christians](#)

S.J Creek

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 2, pages 119–136, May 2013

Drawing from semistructured interviews with gay, celibate Christians or “Side B” individuals, I explore the emotion of desire. I specifically attend to these questions: How do Side Bs interpret and communicate feeling rules connected to desire? How do these individuals manage desire? How might feeling rules and conceptualizations of this feeling serve as an important source of boundary heightening? Finally, how might shared feeling rules create connection with others who do not identify as Side B? By attending to these questions, I illustrate the relationship between the conceptualization of an emotion and a set of feeling rules and emotion management strategies. I also highlight how such rules and strategies can serve as a source of boundary heightening, or alternatively, as a bridge between seemingly disparate groups.

187

[Learning from Experience: Recollections of Working with Howard S. Becker](#)

Clinton R. Sanders

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 2, pages 216–228, May 2013

Howard S. Becker is, and has been, a major figure in contemporary sociology, especially within the symbolic interactionist perspective. This discussion describes my initial encounter with Howie in the mid-1960s and moves to identify the substantive and methodological areas in which he has had major impact. I then briefly outline various ways in which the foci of my own work have been shaped by Becker's instruction and example.

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[Getting Angry to Get Ahead: Black College Men, Emotional Performance, and Encouraging Respectable Masculinity](#)

Brandon A. Jackson, Adia Harvey Wingfield

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 3, pages 275–292, August 2013

This article draws on two years of ethnographic fieldwork to explore how a group of black men on a college campus displayed anger in order to encourage other black men to adopt a respectable form of masculinity. Although prior research suggests that black men may work to avoid public displays of anger to evade negative stereotypes of black men, we uncover the contexts in which black men were comfortable expressing feelings of anger, frustration, annoyance, and irritation. Specifically, group leaders displayed these emotions when they observed recruits to their group engaging in actions or behaviors that threatened to reinforce certain stereotypes about black men.

189

[The Segregation of Social Interactions in the Red Line L-Train in Chicago](#)

Eva Swyngedouw

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 3, pages 293–313, August 2013

This study documents how residential segregation is visible in social interactions in the (semi) public space of the red line L-train in Chicago. While public spaces are often celebrated as spaces of cosmopolitanism, people tend to interact mainly with people who look similar and appear to be living in the same area in Chicago. People of different race and class, represented by the station where they board the train, do not encounter each other much in the L-train because of the existing residential segregation in the city of Chicago. Blacks ride from the south to downtown while whites ride from the north to downtown. Different time frames are reserved for different people. Furthermore, on the train itself people prefer to be interacting with and sit next to people who

appear alike; who seem to be from the same part of the city. Hence, I argue that social interactions on the subway are mainly an expression of geographical and social exclusion in the city. Residential segregation is visible in the “segregation of social interactions” in the red line L-train. Consequently, while de jure segregation has been abolished in the 1960s in Chicago, segregating practices are still going on de facto in everyday life.

190*

[Goffman in the Gallery: Interactive Art and Visitor Shyness](#)

Susie Scott, Tamsin Hinton-Smith, Vuokko Härmä, Karl Broome

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 4, pages 417–438, November 2013

In an effort to facilitate public engagement, contemporary art galleries and museums house interactive exhibits incorporating digital media. Despite removing traditional barriers of cultural capital, however, these exhibitions now presume a level of technological and performative competence, which can feel equally intimidating to visitors. Reporting on an UK-based ethnographic study and using dramaturgical theory, we show how interactive exhibitions can evoke situational shyness in visitors, through the combination of a demand for active, performative engagement and the deliberate restriction of instructional and explanatory information. In this ambiguous setting, visitors search for a social script to guide their action, the absence or opacity of which creates self-conscious inhibition. Actors adapt to this resourcefully by looking toward others to provide a replacement script; these may be companion visitors, strangers, or imaginary audiences. Some visitors, meanwhile, demonstrate resistance by refusing to engage with the interactive art agenda altogether, preferring to assume a role of detached spectatorship.

191*

[Profaning the Past to Salvage the Present: The Symbolically Reconstructed Pasts of Homeless Shelter Residents](#)

Emily Meanwell

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 4, pages 439–456, November 2013

Homelessness presents challenges for maintaining a positive self-concept, and those seeking help from homeless shelters face a particular irony: establishing service-worthiness requires them to present themselves as homeless, not self-sufficient, and genuinely in need of help, yet also morally worthy of that help. How do shelter residents manage this tension and salvage the self within the institutional context of the shelter? A theoretical framework linking Mead, Goffman, and narrative helps clarify strategies of self-presentation and salvaging the self within the homeless shelter context. Drawing on interviews with 44 shelter residents, this paper demonstrates that residents construct narratives that symbolically reconstruct the past from the standpoint of the present, and draw on the stages of the shelter's moral career to present a temporally-divided self, allowing residents to strategically profane the past self while keeping the present self separate and sacred. Implications for research on other institutional selves are also discussed.

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[Reconciling Agency and Structure: A Review of Stigma Revisited](#)

Reviewed by Christopher Conner

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 36, Issue 4, pages 497–499, November 2013

193*

[Interfacing Biography, Theory and History: The Case of Erving Goffman](#)

Dmitri N. Shalin

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 1, pages 2–40, February 2014

This study aims to show that much of Erving Goffman's writing is crypto-biographical and that key turns in his intellectual career reflected his life's trajectory and attempts at self-renewal. The case is made that Goffman's theoretical corpus reflects his personal experience as a son of Russian–Jewish immigrants who struggled to raise himself from the obscurity of Canadian Manitoba to international stardom. The concluding section describes the Erving Goffman Archives and the contribution that the large database of documents and biographical materials assembled therein can make to biocritical hermeneutics, a research program focused on the relationship between biography, theory, and history.

194*

[When Erving Goffman Was a Boy: The Formative Years of a Sociological Giant](#)

Sherri Cavan

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 1, pages 41–70, February 2014

This exploratory paper addresses the intersection of character and social structure by looking at the childhood and youth of Erving Goffman. Drawing from historical and contemporary documents, I reconstruct the social world of Canada between WWI and WWII and Goffman's place in it, identify Goffman's social position as an outsider, and document his early familiarity with dramaturgy. The argument is made that Goffman's formative years illuminate his interest in stigma, showing how stigmatizing circumstances can discredit claims to identity, and suggesting how impression management helps mitigate the discrepancy between a person's real life circumstances and prevailing cultural ideas.

195*

[Goffman on Gender, Sexism, and Feminism: A Summary of Notes on a Conversation with Erving Goffman and My Reflections Then and Now](#)

Mary Jo Deegan

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 1, pages 71–86, February 2014

Often known as cynical, contentious, and exhibiting a complicated approach to objectivity, Erving Goffman could also be generous, civil, insightful, open to feminist ideas, and surprisingly political. A 1977 collective feminist writing project led to my conversation with Goffman in 1980 about his ideas on gender, sexism, and feminism. A summary of that conversation is presented, together with my formal reflections then (1980) and now (2013). While documenting the sociological practice of an earlier era, this paper concludes that feminist sociological theory must move beyond its locations in the past and the present into the liberating knowledge of the future.

196*

[Goffman at Penn: Star Presence, Teacher-Mentor, Profaning Jester](#)

Michael Delaney

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 1, pages 87–107, February 2014

This essay is based on my encounters with Erving Goffman as his student at Penn in the 1970s. It concerns Goffman's largely self-orchestrated “place” at Penn in various respects: his uneasy

relationship with the Penn sociology department despite his academic fame; his disenchantment with “mainstream” sociology; his calibrated interactional style as a “profane jester,” offset by his thoughtful seriousness as a mentor; his classroom deportment and no-nonsense teaching style. Goffman's casual classroom use of unseemly epithets is discussed as a pedagogical device for demonstrating the stigmatizing power of language. Goffman's suggestions for possible field-site studies contrast with his commentary on the current state of sociology and, by implication, his place in it.

197*

[Goffman on Emotions: The Pride-Shame System](#)

Thomas Scheff

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 1, pages 108–121, February 2014

This essay proposes that Goffman's basic method was the intuitive recognition of generic examples of social interaction. This focus on examples, when considered from the point of view of two of Cooley's general propositions, helps explain the meaning of Goffman's metaphor of theatrical performance, and his insistence on the risk of shame in all interaction. These ideas make sense following Pascal's emphasis on the intuitive element in finding new knowledge, and Spinoza's part/whole idea. This latter approach leads to what will be called the Goffman/Cooley conjecture: we run the risk of shame in all human interaction. Although they didn't explain why, it seems that the pace of modern alienated societies punishes the mammalian urge that humans have for connectedness (pride) with others. These ideas seem to be supported by studies by Helen Lewis and Norbert Elias, and by my own recent study of Ngrams. As Elias's study proposed, virtually all shame is hidden in modern societies. The idea of hidden shame requires a new definition of shame that is quite different than vernacular usage.

198*

[Goffman on Mental Illness: Asylums and “The Insanity of Place” Revisited](#)

Dmitri N. Shalin

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 1, pages 122–144, February 2014

This case study is designed to demonstrate that sociological imagination can feed on personal experience, that research practice interpolates our biographical circumstances, and that a systematic inquiry into the interplay between our professional and everyday life offers a fruitful avenue for sociological analysis. The discussion focuses on Erving Goffman's treatment of mental illness. The argument is made that the evolution of Goffman's constructionist views on mental disorder had been influenced by his family situation and personal experience.

199*

[Review essay: The importance of being Erving—Erving Goffman, 1922 to 1982](#)

P. M. Strong

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 1, pages 145–154, February 2014

What then was Goffman's contribution? For medical sociology, the answer seems too obvious to need much examination. The author of *Asylums* and *Stigma* requires no obituary: the books themselves and the revolution in institutional care to which they contributed are sufficient monument. Add to these, “The Insanity of Place” a classic if much neglected article, and one gets a brilliant career within the field. Yet these three pieces form only a small, somewhat atypical, part of his work. His major contribution to the area has yet to come. Medical sociology like almost every

other branch of the discipline, has still to assimilate his study of the microstructure of interaction; the relationship of both individuals and society to that structure; and of the methods he used in that study.

200

[Divided and Drifting: Interactionism and the Neglect of Social Organizational Analyses in Organization Studies](#)

Patrick J. W. McGinty

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 2, pages 155–186, May 2014

The analysis of organizational phenomena within interactionism has become bifurcated between social organizational analyses and organizational ethnographies. This division has had the effect of allowing organizational ethnographies to more readily contribute to organization studies while marginalizing studies of social organization. The historical conditioning of this development and current evidence for this case is demonstrated through an analysis of the existing literature from the past thirteen years of interactionist organizational research. To end the continued neglect of social organizational analyses in the interdisciplinary field of organization studies the article concludes by suggesting a number of possible inspirations for promoting future research.

201

[Eroticism as Embodied Emotion: The Erotics of Renaissance Faire \(pages 209–225\)](#)

Staci Newmahr

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 2, pages 209–225, May 2014

This paper conceptualizes eroticism as emotional experience. I use the Renaissance Faire to illustrate the construction of asexual eroticism along three dimensions: the carnal experience of Faire, its focus on physicality, and intimations of increased interpersonal access. This approach forefronts the complexity of eroticism and situates the erotic squarely in the sociology of emotion, providing a model for understanding a range of emotional, embodied, and nonsexual charges as erotic. More broadly, the analysis seeks to contribute to the study of all emotion as embodied.

202

[A Sociology of No-Self: Applying Buddhist Social Theory to Symbolic Interaction](#)

Matthew Immergut and Peter Kaufman

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 2, pages 264–282, May 2014

Although fraught with complexity, the self is a central phenomenon of discussion and analysis within sociology. This article contributes to this discourse by introducing the Buddhist ideas of anatta (no-self) and prattiyasamutpāda (interdependence) as analytic frameworks to deconstruct and rethink the self within sociology. We argue that the sociological self, most clearly articulated by symbolic interactionism, is premised on a self-other dualism. This dualism leads to a conceptualization of the self as constantly threatened and anxious. Using these Buddhist concepts we propose an alternative interpretive schema, a sociology of no-self, for analyzing social interaction and understanding the roots of social angst.

203*

[Cooling the Mother Out: Revisiting and Revising Goffman's Account](#)

Gareth M. Thomas

Symbolic Interaction

This article revisits Erving Goffman's important yet neglected metaphor of “cooling the mark out.” Drawing on a study of mothers whose child has Down's syndrome, I explore the value of Goffman's work for capturing how mothers interpret their child's diagnosis as a loss and rectify this breach by constructing an acceptance of their new situation. The mothers' accounts highlight how Goffman's contentions can be enriched by acknowledging the gendered, temporal, and public character of a loss. This article, thus, can be read both as a celebration and critical revision of his theoretical contribution.

204

[“Why Would Our Heavenly Father Do that to Anyone”: Oppressive Othering through Sexual Classification Schemes in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints](#)

J. Edward Sumerau* and Ryan T. Cragun

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 3, pages 331–352, August 2014

In this article, we examine how leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS or LDS Church) responded to the emergence of homosexuality as a prominent social issue by engaging in “oppressive othering” (Schwalbe et al. 2000), which refers to the process whereby elites classify members of other groups as morally inferior. On the basis of LDS archival materials, we analyze how LDS elites accomplished “oppressive othering” by constructing sexual classification schemes defining homosexuality as the result of (1) familial, (2) gendered, and (3) sexual dysfunctions. In conclusion, we draw out implications for understanding (1) how elites, religious, or otherwise, construct sexual classification schemes that facilitate the ongoing subordination of sexual minorities, (2) the importance of taking an intersectional approach to oppressive othering, and (3) the ways elites revise institutional doctrines in response to shifting societal issues and concerns.

205*

[Labeling in Interactional Practice: Applying Labeling Theory to Interactions and Interactional Analysis to Labeling](#)

Gregory A. Thompson

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 4, pages 458–482, November 2014

Labeling theory has long held a rather significant place in sociology generally, and in symbolic interaction more specifically. Yet, in its long history, labeling theorists have seldom considered how interactional contexts mediate the effective application of labels. Similarly, labeling theory, with its focus on deviance, has largely neglected positive instances of labeling. In this article, I consider an instance of labeling in a tutoring session and show how the local interactional context of the application of a label is accomplished such that the label “smarter than you think” is made to stick to the student. In doing so, I demonstrate how labeling theory can be productively extended to consider positive labeling as well as the interactional contexts that mediate these labeling processes. In closing, I propose that this approach could help develop labeling theory into a complex and nuanced theory of the social constitution of human behavior.

206*

[Giving Clients a Backstage Experience: A Case of Dramaturgical Trouble in the Professional Performance of Drug Treatment](#)

Ditte Andersen

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 4, pages 483–499, November 2014

Professionals who provide drug treatment to young people seek to approach clients as agents of change, i.e., highlight clients' agency and ownership of treatment plans. On the basis of ethnographic data from two treatment institutions in Denmark, this article investigates how everyday interaction organizes clients' experiences in ways that alternately support and contradict this professional ambition. Notably, findings indicate that talk and material arrangements “backstage” make professionals, not clients, appear as the real agents of change. Clients are increasingly encouraged to participate in meetings “backstage,” where treatment is organized, but, contrary to intentions, clients may experience participation as debasing rather than empowering.

207*

[Triangulating the Self: Identity Processes in a Connected Era](#)

Jenny L. Davis

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 4, pages 500–523, November 2014

The increasing prevalence of digital social technologies in everyday life affects processes of self and identity in theoretically and empirically interesting ways. Based on face-to-face interviews (N = 17) and synchronous text-based exchanges (N = 32) from a Facebook-based population, I examine the conditions of identity negotiation in a networked era, and explore how social actors strike a presentational balance between ideal and authentic. I identify three key interaction conditions: fluidity between digital and physical, expectations of accuracy, and overlapping social networks. I argue that social actors accomplish the ideal-authentic balance through self-triangulation, presenting a coherent image in multiple arenas and through multiple media. I differentiate between two degrees of triangulation: networked logic and preemptive action.

208

[Moral Identity in Friendships between Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Students and Straight Students in College](#)

Koji Ueno and Haley Gentile

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 1, pages 83–102, February 2015

People construct moral identities for being a supportive affiliate of stigmatized groups. To extend past research that focused on such identities within formal organizations, this study seeks to identify the process of moral identity construction in a personal setting—friendships between gay, lesbian, and bisexual (GLB) people and straight people. Analyzing data from in-depth interviews with college students, we show that straight students claim moral worth by emphasizing their deliberate decisions to develop and sustain friendships with GLB people and by highlighting how the friendships led them to personal enlightenment and political engagement. GLB students, as a stigmatized group, also claim moral worth by emphasizing their ability to transcend the community boundary and to be accepted in the larger society. Students make such claims as they strategically link these aspects of cross-orientation friendships to existing moral discourses in the larger society and draw on resources available in the organizational and life course contexts.

209*

[Between the Procedural and the Substantial: Democratic Deliberation and the Interaction Order in “Occupy Middletown General Assembly”](#)

Nimrod Shavit and Benjamin H. Bailey

Symbolic Interaction

This article analyzes interaction from an intentional, self-reflexive democratic meeting of ordinary citizens—a “General Assembly” from the 2011 Occupy Movement—to explore two competing theories of democracy: Habermas's democratic deliberation and Mouffe's agonistic pluralism. The group's rational ideals and procedures for democratic deliberation approximate those of Habermas's “ideal speech situation,” but appear limited in their capacity to ensure Habermasian understanding or consensus. Intertwined with these rational procedures are practices best explained in terms of what Goffman called “face-work”—the ways in which participants maintain a working consensus of mutual acceptance and respect in conversation. These face-work procedures—rather than sincere, rational intentions—help constitute the civility necessary for rational deliberation and participation. Such symbolic valuing of self and other provide interactional grounds for the liberty and equality of agonistic democratic conversation as conceived by Mouffe.

210*

[Illustrating the Life Cycle of Goffman's Concepts](#)

Andreas Bischof

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 1, pages 169–171, February 2015

Book Review

211*

[“It's Like Being in Church and Being on a Field Trip:” The Date Versus Party Situation in College Students' Accounts of Hooking Up](#)

Julie A. Reid, Gretchen R. Webber and Sinikka Elliott

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 2, pages 175–194, May 2015

This article examines the importance of setting as a factor shaping college students' dating and sexual behavior using a Goffmanian framework to explore how U.S. students interpret a vignette describing a casual heterosexual encounter at a party followed by a sexless dinner date. Rather than simply follow generalized cultural scripts, students indicate that college heterosexual encounters are guided by standardized patterns of behaviors based on the distinct settings and roles associated with each situation. Students view sexual behavior as appropriate to being a partygoer but unsuitable to being on a date. As such, hooking up with a stranger at a party can be more appropriate than having sex with the same person on a first date.

212

[Kafkaesque Bureaucracies as Natural Breaching Experiments: Interactional Failures and the Search for Institutional Agency](#)

David Peterson and Daina Cheyenne Harvey

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 2, pages 195–212, May 2015

In accord with scholars who have suggested extending the symbolic interactionist perspective to investigate interactions with macrolevel structures, we argue that symbolic interactionism provides valuable tools to understand how bureaucratic breakdowns are interpreted by individuals. In this article, we use the experience of interacting with a Kafkaesque bureaucracy as a natural breaching experiment in order to outline the subjective effects of large-scale institutional failure. In particular, we look at homeowners' interpretations of a flawed program initiated by the Obama administration to stem the tide of foreclosures. We conclude that persistent interaction failures with the bank divisions charged with modifying mortgages led frustrated and confused homeowners to question

the nature of the bureaucratic interaction. This produced a search for a blame-worthy agency and revealed the ways that agency was conceptualized in this complex and obscure institutional setting.

213

[The Flayed and Exquisite Self of Travelers: Managing Face and Emotions in Strange Places](#)

GINNA HUSTING

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 2, pages 213–234, May 2015

Travelers who cross cultural and linguistic borders encounter recurrent failures of social competence. People routinely violate the linguistic and nonlinguistic normative order, and have few means at their disposal for repair work. These episodes lead to the experience of a flayed self: a temporary, painful identity born of one's inability to display competence, combined with heightened, exquisite self-consciousness. Using interactionist scaffolding and travelers' accounts, I examine this self, its commitments, and resources. I examine four techniques used to avoid flayed and exquisite selfhood: denying negative experience, externalizing the causes of that experience, engaging in the mind cure, and doing time work.

214*

[Identity Dilemmas: Toward a More Situated Understanding](#)

JENNIFER LEIGH DUNN AND S. J. CREEK

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 2, pages 261–284, May 2015

When are identity dilemmas—when people possess identities that conflict with one another and both are potentially stigmatizing—most likely to occur? Are they the result of generic social processes? A review of some of the extant research on “identity work” suggests that historical “misalignments” of culture and stratification, which we refer to as “lag,” create the greatest potential for stigma and the reproduction of inequalities. Lag is exacerbated by complex, intersecting axes of hierarchy, and amplified as symbolic environments globalize and subcultures multiply. Articulating culture and structure reveals how power plays out in interaction, and highlights the omnipresence of struggles for treatment as “fully human.” We consider whether “alignment” is even possible when multiple dimensions of social location intertwine, compete, and collide. Following Schwalbe and Mason-Schrock (1996), we argue that “subcultural” or collective identity work that brings new meanings into dominant cultural narratives may offer the greatest hope, but in the interim all coping strategies are costly.

215*

[Hybrid Strategies: Allocating Involvement in the Digital Age](#)

MIKE OWEN BENEDIKTSSON, DANIEL ALEXANDER, JHANIDYA BERMEO, JOSEPH CONTRERAS, BRADLEY KINGSTON, WENDY HARPER, JONATHAN HENKIN, FAUSTO LOPEZ, RANDY WAGENHEIM AND AARON WILLIAMS

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 3, pages 331–351, August 2015

An important trait of mobile phones is their capacity to superimpose multiple social interactions in time and space. Little research examines how individuals choose between face-to-face and digitally mediated interactions in specific social contexts. Drawing upon focus group interviews with a diverse sample of university students in the United States, we argue that, contrary to a perspective that is popular in theory and journalistic commentary, mobile phone users do not experience the digital and the face-to-face as distinct realms. In deciding where to direct their attention, users enmesh the distant and the present, making moves that are expressive and strategic in their own right that reveal the interest, intimacy and urgency that users place in multiple, coinciding social

involvements.

216*

[Seeing \(Transitions to\) Adulthood in Youth \(Sub\)cultural Studies Through the Eyes of Former Straightedge Adherents](#)

Jason Torkelson

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 3, pages 352–370, August 2015

This article uses forty-four face-to-face interviews with individuals who formerly identified with straightedge—a clean-living, mostly youth-based (sub)culture—to explore the possible role chosen youth cultural identities play in adult transition, as well as extend recent work on aging and youth scenes by more deeply engaging both “subjective adulthood” and the retrospective accounts of “ex” members. Data show interviewees developing (paths to) subjective adulthoods substantially influenced by former affiliation with straightedge culture they frequently believe mark their (paths to) adulthoods fundamentally distinct from others in their age cohort. Particularly, individuals transitioning from straightedge recounted pronounced subculturally rooted antipathy toward adult conventionality, often envisioned alternative adult trajectories for themselves, discussed transitional impediments and opportunities they took to be unique to transitioning from straightedge, and, in indicating heightened awareness of adulthood's “facework,” visualized a collective of others like them inside adult social spheres by virtue of the formative bases (former) scene affiliation provided them. Ultimately, findings suggest that the study of subjective adult transition may profit from directly considering the formative influence of elective youth identities. Likewise, perhaps the most fertile grounds in the turn toward examining aging and scenes might rest in meanings individuals attach to adulthood and transitioning, even for ex-members of certain communities.

217

[Rejection, Humiliation, and Parole: A Study of Parolees' Perspectives](#)

Mark R. Pogrebin, Paul B. Stretesky, Alexandra Walker and Tara Opsal

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 3, pages 413–430, August 2015

Research on status rejection has developed considerably over the past two decades and is applied in a number of different settings to better understand criminal and deviant behavior. Our research contributes to that body of work by examining the ways in which status rejection may create a potentially humiliating dynamic for individuals on parole. Specifically, we use in-depth interviews with parolees to illustrate how the parolee identity can promote the experience of status rejection and simultaneously foster conditions for humiliation—an emotional state that may impede one's ability to both (re) construct a conventional identity and reintegrate back into one's community.

218

[The European Contribution to Symbolic Interactionism](#)

Emma Engdahl and Thaddeus Müller

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 3, pages 431–441, August 2015

219*

[The Perpetuation of Neighborhood Reputation: An Interactionist Approach](#)

Sarah Zelner

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 4, pages 575–593, November 2015

How is neighborhood reputation performed and reproduced? Drawing on ethnographic observation in a Philadelphia neighborhood known for stable racial integration, I show how residents engage in Goffmanian interactional teamwork, particularly deference-demeanor rituals, that perpetuate the neighborhood's reputation. My observations demonstrate how the ideology of racial integration is collectively performed and maintained through these deference rituals. I show that these deference rituals can also have the unintended and undesirable consequence of maintaining, rather than challenging, preexisting racial hierarchies. This work highlights the tenuous nature of reputations for inclusivity in the face of persistent social inequality.

220*

[Enacting Blind Spaces and Spatialities: A Sociological Study of Blindness Related to Space, Environment and Interaction](#)

Per Måseide and Håvar Grøttland

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 38, Issue 4, pages 594–610, November 2015

Lack of eyesight generates blind spaces. Blind spaces often enacted together with sighted are different from visual spaces in important ways. Sharing physical and social space with sighted may imply special challenges for blind persons with regard to interaction order and social identities. The article is based on ethnographic data with the purpose to describe enactment and management of physical and social spaces for blind born persons in different settings. It focuses on the physical and social plasticity of blind spaces and the mediated, practiced and often toolic relationship between body, self and physical and social environments.

*220 items selected for this database are papers published in *Symbolic Interaction* between 1977 and 2015 where the name of Goffman is brought up at least four times in the body of the text (210 cases) or where Goffman's name is mentioned less than four times but his ideas receive a substantial treatment (10 cases). All entries are numbered, arranged in chronological order, furnished with a bibliographical reference and an abstract. Items marked by asterisk represent papers where Goffman's name appears in the article's title (N=23), in the abstract only (N=37), or where his name is not included in the abstract/title but his work and/or life are the author's major concern (N=17). Thematic cluster analysis of the papers in this database can be found here, http://cdclv.unlv.edu/ega/articles/si_eg_thematic_clusters.pdf.

Chronological Trends in Papers Highlighting Erving Goffman** (*Symbolic Interaction* 1977-2015)

Papers Highlighting Goffman	1977-1986	1987-1996	1997-2006	2007-2015
Goffman in Title/Abstract (N=60)	6	6	17	33
Goffman as Main Focus (N= 77)	9	7	22	42
All Papers in Database (N=220)	38	18	71	95

**Reanalysis of the articles that appeared in *Symbolic Interaction* between 1977-2015 turned up two additional papers meeting the criteria for inclusion in this database:

52a*

[Goffman Against Postmodernism: Emotion and the Reality of the Self](#)

Michael L. Schwalbe

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 16, Issue 4, pages 333–350, Winter 1993

Goffman has been read as arguing that selves are no more than images created in conformity with situational expectations. I read Goffman as saying that the reality of selfhood is not an image, but a psychobiological process shaped by signs and symbols. Seen in this way, the reality of the self is evident, as Goffman suggested, not in conformity but in moments of feeling, resistance, and choice. Drawing out what is implicit in Goffman, this article proposes that all forms of signifying behavior, including self-presentations, are means to sustain the coherence of the self. For this to work, however, people must, as Goffman pointed out, trust each other to respect the rules governing signifying behavior and must care about the feelings attached to selves. The article argues that the inequalities of so-called postmodern society are undermining the trust and care on which the interaction order and coherent selfhood depend. Goffman's ideas about the self are used to develop an optimistic critique of the conditions that have produced these pernicious trends.

207a*

[Orienting to Disability After Goffman](#)

Alex I. Thompson

Book Review

Symbolic Interaction

Volume 37, Issue 4, pages 608–610, November 2014