

## Erving Goffman And Modern Sociology By Philip Manning

Until recently, to be in a public place meant to feel safe. That has changed, especially in cities. Urban dwellers sense the need to quickly react to gestural cues from persons in their immediate presence in order to establish their relationship to each other. Through this communication they hope to detect potential danger before it is too late for self-defense or flight. The ability to read accurately the informing signs by which strangers indicate their relationship to one another in public or semi-public places without speaking, has become as important as understanding the official written and spoken language of the country. In *Relations in Public*, Erving Goffman provides a grammar of the unspoken language used in public places. He shows that the way strangers relate in public is part of a design by which friends and acquaintances manage their relationship in the presence of bystanders. He argues that, taken together, this forms part of a new domain of inquiry into the rules for co-mingling, or public order. Most people give little thought to how elaborate and complex our everyday behavior in public actually is. For example, we adhere to the rules of pedestrian traffic on a busy thoroughfare, accept the usual ways of acting in a crowded elevator or subway car, grasp the delicate nuances of conversational behavior, and respond to the rich vocabulary of body gestures. We behave differently at weddings, at meals, in crowds, in couples, and when alone. Such everyday behavior, though generally below the level of awareness, embodies unspoken codes of social understandings necessary for the orderly conduct of society.

"Thomas Scheff demonstrates why Goffman remains such a key figure for social scientists. Goffman may have been cautious about recognizing the role of emotions in social life, but Scheff boldly and creatively shows why the sociological and the psychological are necessarily intertwined. This is certainly a book for all serious analysts of social behaviour." Michael Billig, Nottingham University "Scheff's critical eye is equal to his subject, shrewdly appreciating Goffman's many virtues while also showing where and how Goffman's thinking needs revision and development. This original and provocative book offers a fresh interpretation of Goffman and will become a benchmark for all subsequent commentary." Greg Smith, University of Salford One of the seminal sociologists of the twentieth century, Erving Goffman revolutionized our understanding of the microworld of emotions and relationships. We all live in this world every day of our lives, yet it is virtually invisible to us. Goffman's genius was to recognize and describe this world as no one had before. The book synthesizes prior scholarly commentary on Goffman's work, and includes biographical material from his life, untangling some of the many puzzles in Goffman's work and life. Scheff also proposes ways of filling gaps and false starts. One chapter explores the meaning of the emotion of love, another of hatred. These and other new directions could facilitate the creation of a microsocial science that unveils the emotional/relational world.

The work of Erving Goffman has had an enormous impact throughout the social sciences. Yet his writings have not received the detailed scrutiny which they deserve. This new book is the first comprehensive and accessible account of Erving Goffman's contributions, ranging in its scope from his very earliest work right up to the projects upon which he was engaged at the time of his death. Goffman's writings, Manning argues, are much more systematic and conceptually powerful than is ordinarily acknowledged. The book thus offers a defence of Goffman's writings as well as providing an introduction for those who have no prior acquaintance with Goffman's ideas.

This social theory text combines the structure of a print reader with the ability to tailor the course via an extensive interactive website. Readings from important classical and contemporary theorists are placed in conversation with one another through core themes—the puzzle of social order, the dark side of modernity, identity, etc. The website includes videos, interactive commentaries, summaries of key concepts, exams and quizzes, annotated selections from key readings, classroom activities, and more. See the website at [www.routledgesoc.com/theory](http://www.routledgesoc.com/theory) New to the second edition: Expanded web content. Teacher/student feedback employed to clarify difficult concepts. Reframed contemporary section now offers readings by Robert Merton, Bruno Latour, David Harvey, Zygmunt Bauman, and Anthony Giddens.

Erving Goffman was one of the most pre-eminent authors of the post-war period in social science. His ideas have had an extraordinary influence and have become well known to a wide audience. This is the first systematic appraisal of the legacy of his work. The book brings together a group of eminent scholars from sociology, linguistics and social psychology, all of whom are internationally known for their own work. Contributors include Adam Kendon, Randall Collins, Robin Williams, Emanuel A. Schegloff, Christian Heath, Stephen C. Levinson, P.M. Strong and Anthony Giddens. The contributors analyse and seek to build on Goffman's work in a sympathetic yet critical way. Some chapters describe the main parameters of the "interaction order", as Goffman portrays it, serving as a useful introduction to his approach. Others show how future investigations of the interaction order may be developed. This book will become a standard source for undergraduates and postgraduates in linguistics, social psychology and sociology, and for anyone interested in the development of modern social theory in general.

This broad-ranging text offers an exciting and easily understood introduction to the theorists who have made a key contribution to the discipline of sociology. Its carefully formulated structure places the writers in their social and intellectual context, summarises the central issues dealt with in their work and sketches out the intellectual legacy they have left behind them. Graphically illustrating how these thinkers have shed light on how we think about society, the book aims to convey the spirit of openness intrinsic to the sociological enterprise.

From the team that brought you the bestselling *Understanding Classical Sociology* (SAGE Publications, 1995), we now have a companion volume dealing with the modern period of social theory. An introductory chapter situates the reader in the main changes in society and sociology following the classic period. This is then followed by separate chapters giving a detailed account of four perspectives that are regarded to be of seminal importance - Functionalism, Critical Theory, Structuralism and Symbolic Interactionism. All of the popular features of *Understanding Classical Sociology* are reproduced in this book: · Clarity of exposition and criticism · A passion for the importance and relevance of sociological reasoning and explanation · A commitment to treat social theory as a living tradition of thought In addition, the volume comes with a variety of pedagogic aids including summary points and key definitions to facilitate learning and study. This is a book that enhances the sociological imagination. It draws on the authors deep understanding and experience of teaching the subject over many decades. It will be welcomed by lecturers as a vital new teaching and research aid, and students will be stimulated and enriched by the unfussy and reliable advice on doing sociology that it imparts.

A total institution is defined by Goffman as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated, individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life. Prisons serve as a clear example, providing we appreciate that what is prison-like about prisons is found in institutions whose members have broken no laws. This volume deals with total institutions in general and, mental hospitals, in particular. The main focus is, on the world of the inmate, not the world of the staff. A chief concern is to develop a sociological version of the structure of the self. Each of the essays in this book were intended to focus on the same issue--the inmate's situation in an institutional context. Each chapter approaches the central issue from a different vantage point, each introduction drawing upon a different source in sociology and having little direct relation to the other chapters. This method of presenting material may be irksome, but it allows the reader to pursue the main theme of each paper analytically and comparatively past the point that would be allowable in chapters of an integrated book. If sociological concepts are to be treated with affection, each must be traced back to where it best applies, followed from there wherever it seems to lead, and pressed to disclose the rest of its family.

William Graham Sumner is remembered primarily as an opponent of government intervention in social and economic issues. Focusing on *Folkways* (1906), this book examines Sumner's fundamental work as a comparative ethnographer with an appreciation for the rules and rituals that regulate everyday behavior. In *Folkways*, Sumner developed classifications and an array of sociological concepts that continue to

influence the discipline today. This new book presents key excerpts from *Folkways* as well as three of Sumner's other classic essays. It also includes five original essays by contemporary authorities that explain and explore Sumner's importance and influence. By linking Sumner's work to contemporary research about social control, the sociology of law, and sociological theory, these new essays confirm his status as a foundational thinker in the field. Sumner offers an elegant conceptual schema with which to analyze the moral codes of in- and out-groups. His extensive use of comparative anthropological data demonstrates a qualitative methodology that can easily be applied to the analysis of contemporary American society. This volume includes contributions by Jonathan B. Imber, Howard G. Schneiderman, and A. Javier Trevino. The rise of digital technology is transforming the world in which we live. Our digitalized societies demand new ways of thinking about the social, and this short book introduces readers to an approach that can deliver this: digital sociology. Neil Selwyn examines the concepts, tools and practices that sociologists are developing to analyze the intersections of the social and the digital. Blending theory and empirical examples, the five chapters highlight areas of inquiry where digital approaches are taking hold and shaping the discipline of sociology today. The book explores key topics such as digital race and digital labor, as well as the fast-changing nature of digital research methods and diversifying forms of digital scholarship. Designed for use in advanced undergraduate and graduate courses, this timely introduction will be an invaluable resource for all sociologists seeking to focus their craft and thinking toward the social complexities of the digital age.

Decades after his death, the figure of Erving Goffman (1922–82) continues to fascinate. Perhaps the best-known sociologist of the second half of the twentieth century, Goffman was an unquestionably significant thinker whose reputation extended well beyond his parent discipline. A host of concepts irrevocably linked to Goffman's name – such as 'presentation of self', 'total institutions', 'stigma', 'impression management' and 'passing' – are now staples in a wide range of academic discourses and are slipping into common usage. Goffman's writings uncover a previously unnoticed pattern and order in the minutiae of everyday interaction. Readers are often shocked when they recognize themselves in his shrewd analyses of errors, awkwardness and common predicaments. Greg Smith's book traces the emergence of Goffman as a sociological virtuoso, and offers a compact guide both to his sociology and to the criticisms and debates it has stimulated.

Erving Goffman and Modern Sociology John Wiley & Sons

This fully revised and updated version of Anthony Giddens's *Sociology*, now in its fifth edition, offers an unrivalled introduction for students new to the subject – lucid, lively, authoritative and original. Written by one of the world's leading sociologists, this comprehensive textbook manages to be clear, accessible and jargon-free, but without oversimplifying complex debates. Earlier editions of *Sociology* broke new ground by incorporating cutting-edge debates, such as the impact of globalisation, into an introductory text. This fifth edition remains a state of the art textbook, with fresh and engaging new material added throughout. While covering all of the core topics of sociology, the fifth edition also includes a great deal of substantive new material, ensuring that students are introduced to the most recent sociological debates.

Throughout, the book weaves together classical and contemporary theory and data, and provides a wide range of everyday examples to which students can easily relate. The fifth edition also benefits from: ? New discussions of global inequality, disability, ageing and the life course, risk, the network society, and terrorism, as well as many other additional and up-to-date topics. ? Numerous learning aids in every chapter, such as summary points, questions for further thought, and additional reading suggestions, which help to reinforce students' knowledge. ? Lots of extra photographs, diagrams, case studies and cartoons, to bring ideas to life and fire students' imaginations. ? High-quality supplementary resources on a dedicated website, including a full instructors' manual and additional student aids, all specially designed to stimulate students' learning and critical thinking. The fifth edition of this classic textbook is an ideal teaching text for first-year university and college courses, and will be essential reading for all students who are looking for an exciting, authoritative and easy-to-follow introduction to sociology. Please visit the accompanying website at: <http://www.polity.co.uk/giddens5/>

Challenging the 'classical' conception of Goffman's sociology, this book offers a new interpretation based on a comprehensive examination of previous interpretations and critical assessments of Goffman's work. Epistemologically, the book acknowledges the important but overlooked influences of both pluralism and particularly of pragmatism, where not only Simmel but also James and Dewey played a pivotal role in his work, thus rooting Goffman's thought in symbolic interactionism. With attention to two central theoretical principles underlying his work—the pertinence of studying social interaction as given and the need and warrant to study face-to-face interaction in its own right—the author presents a rigorous examination of Goffman's own writings to uncover the clear and recognizable process of systematization that Goffman followed throughout. In this manner, the book reveals the structure of Goffman's theory by way of mapping the main themes, topics, concepts, empirical referents, methodological principles and theoretical frameworks relevant to the structure of his thought. A fresh examination of the structure of Goffman's work that sheds light on the core of his unique approach, this new study of one of the central figures of sociology constitutes an important contribution to scholarship in social theory and the history of sociology.

The sociology of Erving Goffman has inspired generations of sociologists throughout the world. Students and scholars alike have in Goffman's unsurpassable and generous ability to capture the world of everyday life discovered an emporium of useful, incisive and quite often humorous analyses, concepts and ideas. The *Contemporary Goffman* highlights the continued relevance of Goffman to sociology and related disciplines – to theoretical discussions as well as to substantive empirical research – through contributions dealing with a variety of topics and themes. Some contributions concentrate on locating or reinterpreting Goffman's work as a special kind of sociology (as is found in his literary sensibilities or his fieldwork strategies). Others focus on overlooked aspects and neglected potentials of his sociology (by applying his perspective to studies of gender, emotions and violence), while others still relate his concepts and ideas to substantive research areas (such as the media, mobile telephones, hospitals, surveillance technologies and tourism).

This comprehensive volume ranges across the entire spectrum of contemporary sociological inquiry, as seen by Durkheim. It also includes secondary readings by social thinkers of today, connecting the classic writings of Durkheim to contemporary issues. Organizes Durkheim's writings thematically, in a comprehensive collection Includes selections from Durkheim's best-known writings as well as less widely-known texts that explore the themes of modern sociology Contains secondary readings by key contemporary social thinkers today Connects the classic writings of Durkheim to contemporary issues Includes a substantial editorial introduction by a leading Durkheim scholar

In this book Anthony Giddens addresses a range of issues concerning current developments in social theory, relating them to the prospects for sociology in the closing decades of the twentieth century. Composed of closely integrated papers, all written over the past few years, the book includes seven essays not previously published, plus two have not appeared in English before. In assessing the likely future evolution of sociology in particular, and the social sciences in general, the author both draws upon ideas established in his more abstract theoretical writings and examines critically competing traditions of thought. Those looking for an accessible introduction to Giddens's writing will find in this book a set of clear expositions of his basic ideas. By situating these ideas in relation to the critical assessment of the views of others, however, the author provides new sources of insight into the distinctiveness of his own claims.

The *Presentation of Self in Contemporary Social Life* covers the popular theories of Erving Goffman, and shows modern applications of dramaturgical analysis in a wide range of social contexts. David Shulman's innovative new text demonstrates how Goffman's ideas, first introduced in 1959, continue to inspire research into how we manage the impressions that others form about us. He synthesizes the work of contemporary scholars who use dramaturgical approaches from several disciplines, who recognize that many values, social norms, and laws have changed since Goffman's time, and that contemporary society offers significant new forms of impression management that we can engage in and experience. After a general introduction to dramaturgical sociology, readers will see many examples of how Goffman's ideas can provide powerful insights into familiar aspects of contemporary life today, including business and the workplace, popular culture, the

entertainment industry, and the digital world.

The purpose of this volume is to explore existing literature, with an eye towards encouraging scholars not to ask “the same old” questions but to use older writings as a basis for revolutionary and evolutionary thinking. What do the older writings tell us about what questions we should be asking, and what research we should be doing, today?

Stigma is a corrosive social force by which individuals and communities throughout history have been systematically dehumanised, scapegoated and oppressed. From the literal stigmatizing (tattooing) of criminals in ancient Greece, to modern day discrimination against Muslims, refugees and the 'undeserving poor', stigma has long been a means of securing the interests of powerful elites. In this radical reconceptualisation Tyler precisely and passionately outlines the political function of stigma as an instrument of state coercion. Through an original social and economic reframing of the history of stigma, Tyler reveals stigma as a political practice, illuminating previously forgotten histories of resistance against stigmatization, boldly arguing that these histories provide invaluable insights for understanding the rise of authoritarian forms of government today.

Originally published: Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014, as part of the Fieldwork encounters and discoveries series.

A notable contribution to our understanding of ourselves. This book explores the realm of human behavior in social situations and the way that we appear to others. Dr. Goffman uses the metaphor of theatrical performance as a framework. Each person in everyday social intercourse presents himself and his activity to others, attempts to guide and control the impressions they form of him, and employs certain techniques in order to sustain his performance, just as an actor presents a character to an audience. The discussions of these social techniques offered here are based upon detailed research and observation of social customs in many regions.

This comprehensive book provides an indispensable introduction to the most significant figures in contemporary social theory. Grounded strongly in the European tradition, the profiles include Michel Foucault, Jürgen Habermas, Roland Barthes, Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu, Zygmunt Bauman, Martin Heidegger, Frederic Jameson, Richard Rorty, Nancy Chodorow, Anthony Giddens, Stuart Hall, Luce Irigaray and Donna Haraway. In guiding students through the key figures in an accessible and authoritative fashion, the book provides detailed accounts of the development of the work of major social theorists and charts the relationship between different traditions of social, cultural and political thought.

Decades after his death, the figure of Erving Goffman (1922-82) continues to fascinate. Perhaps the best-known sociologist of the second half of the twentieth century, Goffman was an unquestionably significant thinker whose reputation extended well beyond his parent discipline. A host of concepts irrevocably linked to Goffman's name - such as 'presentation of self', 'total institutions', 'stigma', 'impression management' and 'passing' - are now staples in a wide range of academic discourses and are slipping into common usage. Goffman's writings uncover a previously unnoticed pattern in the minutiae of everyday interaction. Readers are often shocked when they recognize themselves in his shrewd analyses of errors and common predicaments. This superb study, written by one of the most respected sociologists at work today, is an indispensable guide to the sociology of Erving Goffman. This book offers a compact guide to Goffman's key ideas and the debates they have engendered, and incorporates understandings generated by recent Goffman scholarship.

The study of every unit of social organization must eventually lead to an analysis of the interaction of its elements. The analytical distinction between units of organization and processes of interaction is, therefore, not destined to divide up our work for us. A division of labor seems more likely to come from distinguishing among types of units, among types of elements, or among types of processes. Sociologists have traditionally studied face-to-face interaction as part of the area of “collective behavior”; the units of social organization involved are those that can form by virtue of a breakdown in ordinary social intercourse: crowds, mobs, panics, riots. The other aspect of the problem of face-to-face interaction—the units of organization in which orderly and uneventful face-to-face interaction occurs—has been neglected until recently, although there is some early work on classroom interaction, topics of conversation, committee meetings, and public assemblies. Instead of dividing face-to-face interaction into the eventful and the routine, I propose a different division—into unfocused interaction and focused interaction. Unfocused interaction consists of those interpersonal communications that result solely by virtue of persons being in one another's presence, as when two strangers across the room from each other check up on each other's clothing, posture, and general manner, while each modifies his own demeanor because he himself is under observation. Focused interaction occurs when people effectively agree to sustain for a time a single focus of cognitive and visual attention, as in a conversation, a board game, or a joint task sustained by a close face-to-face circle of contributors. Those sustaining together a single focus of attention will, of course, engage one another in unfocused interaction, too. They will not do so in their capacity as participants in the focused activity, however, and persons present who are not in the focused activity will equally participate in this unfocused interaction. The two papers in this volume are concerned with focused interaction only. I call the natural unit of social organization in which focused interaction occurs a focused gathering, or an encounter, or a situated activity system. I assume that instances of this natural unit have enough in common to make it worthwhile to study them as a type. Three different terms are used out of desperation rather than by design; as will be suggested, each of the three in its own way is unsatisfactory, and each is satisfactory in a way that the others are not. The two essays deal from different points of view with this single unit of social organization. The first paper, “Fun in Games,” approaches focused gatherings from an examination of the kind of games that are played around a table. The second paper, “Role Distance,” approaches focused gatherings through a review and criticism of social-role analysis. The study of focused gatherings has been greatly stimulated recently by the study of group psychotherapy and especially by “small-group analysis.” I feel, however, that full use of this work is impeded by a current tendency to identify focused gatherings too easily with social groups. A small but interesting area of study is thus obscured by the biggest title, “social group,” that can be found for it.

This book is about Erving Goffman's frame analysis as it, on the one hand, was presented in his 1974 book *Frame Analysis* and, on the other, was actually conducted in a number of preceding substantial analyses of different aspects of social interaction such as face-work, impression management, fun in games, behavior in public places and stigmatization. There was, in other words, a frame analytic continuity in Goffman's work. In an article published after his death in 1982, Goffman also maintained that he throughout his career had been studying the same object: the interaction order. In this book, the author states that Goffman also applied an overarching perspective on social interaction: the dynamic relation between ritualization, vulnerability and working consensus. However, there were also cracks in Goffman's work and one is shown here with reference to the leading question in *Frame Analysis* – what is it that's going on

here? While framed on a "microsocial" level, that question ties in with "the interaction order" and frame analysis as a method. If, however, it is framed on a societal level, it mirrors metareflective and metasocial manifestations of changes and unrest in the interaction order that, in some ways, herald the emphasis on contingency, uncertainty and risk in later sociology. Through analyses of social media as a possible new interaction order – where frame disputes are frequent – and of interactional power, the applicability of Goffman's frame analysis is illustrated. As such, this book will appeal to scholars and students of social theory, classical sociology and social interaction.

This volume brings together leading scholars in the area of symbolic interactionism to offer a broad discussion of issues including identity, dialogue and legitimacy.

*Modern Sociologists on Society and Religion* provides an introduction to some of the most influential figures in contemporary social theory with an emphasis on their analyses of society and religion. The figures profiled include Erving Goffman, Zygmunt Bauman, Michel Foucault, Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Jürgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Arlie Hochschild, Richard Sennett, and Patricia Hill Collins. The introduction places these sociologists in contemporary social discourse. Each chapter begins with an introduction to the main work and social analyses of the sociologist in question. After a brief critical assessment, it outlines their view on religion, followed by examples of how other sociologists have used their theories to study religion. Each chapter ends with the authors' suggestions for how their perspectives can be used to analyze the role of religion in contemporary society. The book provides a general introduction and overview of social analyses in modern sociology. It is a rich resource for scholars and students on all levels who are interested in social theory and the complexity of religion in contemporary society.

Addresses the relationship between modernity and social theory by looking at the works of Parsons, Goffman, and Garfinkel.

Part of the SAGE Social Thinker series, this book serves as a concise and inviting introduction to the life and works of Erving Goffman, one of the most prominent social theorists in postwar sociology. Goffman's ideas continue to influence scholars in various fields and have also attracted many readers outside conventional academia. Goffman's overall research agenda was the exploration of what he termed the interaction order—that is, the micro social order that regulates the co-mingling of people in each other's immediate presence. He coined several new concepts (face-work, impression management, role distance, civil inattention, etc.) with which to grasp and understand the complexities and basic social restructuring of everyday life, many of which are now part of sociology's standard vocabulary.

The authors of the bestselling 'Understanding classical sociology' present the companion volume dealing with the modern period of social theory.

This book shows how contemporary religious groups arrange very different sorts of rituals in order to achieve collective encounters with "the spirit." Mixed-methods analysis of rituals across a diverse range of religious traditions shows how Randall Collins' interaction ritual theory opens new pathways for the sociology of religion.

From the author of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, *Stigma* analyzes a person's feelings about himself and his relationship to people whom society calls "normal." *Stigma* is an illuminating excursion into the situation of persons who are unable to conform to standards that society calls normal. Disqualified from full social acceptance, they are stigmatized individuals. Physically deformed people, ex-mental patients, drug addicts, prostitutes, or those ostracized for other reasons must constantly strive to adjust to their precarious social identities. Their image of themselves must daily confront and be affronted by the image which others reflect back to them. Drawing extensively on autobiographies and case studies, sociologist Erving Goffman analyzes the stigmatized person's feelings about himself and his relationship to "normals." He explores the variety of strategies stigmatized individuals employ to deal with the rejection of others, and the complex sorts of information about themselves they project. In *Stigma* the interplay of alternatives the stigmatized individual must face every day is brilliantly examined by one of America's leading social analysts.

William Graham Sumner is remembered primarily as an opponent of government intervention in social and economic issues. Focusing on *Folkways* (1906), this book examines Sumner's fundamental work as a comparative ethnographer with an appreciation for the rules and rituals that regulate everyday behavior. In *Folkways*, Sumner developed classifications and an array of sociological concepts that continue to influence the discipline today. This new book presents key excerpts from *Folkways* as well as three of Sumner's other classic essays. It also includes five original essays by contemporary authorities that explain and explore Sumner's importance and influence. By linking Sumner's work to contemporary research about social control, the sociology of law, and sociological theory, these new essays confirm his status as a foundational thinker in the field. Sumner offers an elegant conceptual schema with which to analyze the moral codes of in- and out-groups. His extensive use of comparative anthropological data demonstrates a qualitative methodology that can easily be applied to the analysis of contemporary American society. This volume includes contributions by Jonathan B. Imber, Howard G. Schneiderman, and A. Javier Treviño.

*The New Black Sociologists* follows in the footsteps of 1974's pioneering text *Black Sociologists: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, by tracing the organization of its forbearer in key thematic ways. This new collection of essays revisit the legacies of significant Black scholars including James E. Blackwell, William Julius Wilson, Joyce Ladner, and Mary Pattillo, but also extends coverage to include overlooked figures like Audre Lorde, Ida B. Wells, James Baldwin and August Wilson - whose lives and work have inspired new generations of Black sociologists on contemporary issues of racial segregation, feminism, religiosity, class, inequality and urban studies.

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