

Given this brief summary of the contents of the volume and their authors, several comments can be made. First, it is evident that the multilevel or hierarchical linear model framework is a workhorse for many of the chapters, which seek to adapt this model to the nature of ILD designs. Second, there are not many major topics in contemporary statistical analysis that are missing from the volume, but there are a few. These include event-history models, counterfactual causal inference, and techniques of variable reduction. Third, the editors and authors in the volume come from statistics or psychology departments. None are from applied statistics in sociology. Yet there is much that sociologists can learn from the chapters of the volume, which tend to be nice, self-contained, up-to-date, and fairly comprehensive overviews of statistical tools that many of us will want to know something about and/or have occasion to use from time to time. Thus, it is the kind of volume that professionals will want to keep on their shelves to study and reference. In addition, it could be quite useful for graduate seminars to be organized around the volume. In brief, I recommend it highly and hazard the opinion that sociologists, demographers, and related social scientists will develop their own companions to this volume in future years.

Goffman Unbound! A New Paradigm for Social Science. By Thomas J. Scheff. Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publishers, 2006. Pp. xiii+229. \$27.95.

Jeffrey J. Sallaz
University of Arizona

The year 2006 was a good one for devotees of the late Erving Goffman. We were treated to Greg Smith's *Erving Goffman* (Routledge, 2006), an expert exposition of Goffman's theoretical project as it evolved over his career. Now comes Thomas Scheff's *Goffman Unbound*. As its subtitle implies, this is no mere summary or synopsis of Goffman's writings; rather, it is a pioneering attempt to resuscitate the Goffmanian tradition so as to revitalize social science generally. Scheff dedicates several chapters to reviewing Goffman's signal contributions, notably *Asylums*, *Frame Analysis*, and *Interaction Ritual*. But Scheff states clearly, early, and often his original argument concerning Erving Goffman's work: Contemporary sociology is too cognitive in orientation and its methods too geared toward the study of social structure. Goffman's genius, meanwhile, derives from his astute exploration of the "microworld of emotions and relationships ([the] ERW)" (p. vii). Reading Goffman remains epiphanic today insofar as it forces us to break with the natural attitude of everyday life ("trope clearing," Scheff labels this phenomenon). By adopting a Goffmanian lens, we become aware of the ERW and its ongoing relevance for the production—indeed, the performance—of social reality.

Ongoing interest in Erving Goffman is remarkable given the oft-heard

lament that he failed to spawn a coherent research program. Goffman, in this view, is like a Weberian prophet. His highly original vision proved a boon insofar as it inspired many but also a bane insofar as it has been difficult to duplicate. Scheff offers two specific hypotheses on why Goffman's sociological charisma has proved so resistant to routinization. First, Goffman's research methods were idiosyncratic. His books, for instance, combined data gathered from his own covert ethnographies of closed institutions (asylums, casinos, small villages, etc.) with anecdotes casually clipped from popular newspapers and magazines. It is hard to imagine systematizing such techniques, let alone teaching them in a graduate seminar. Second, each of Goffman's books represented a highly original though theoretically discontinuous strand of argumentation. As Scheff points out, it was as though Goffman started from scratch with each new work. We are left with a series of brilliant though discrete monographs, making the whole of Goffman's opus less than the sum of its parts.

It is here that Scheff lays the foundation for a Goffmanian research program. One element of this program consists of concrete research strategies for linking the realms of the "micro" and the "macro." Goffman confined his analyses to the former, always bracketing the larger context in which interaction occurs. Scheff, however, proposes a "method [that] could lead the way to showing, in the moment, how the microscopic world of words and gestures is linked to the largest social structures" (p. 92). This method involves situating local frames within a larger chain of frames that constitute the context within which interaction occurs. A second element of the program entails looking at the full range of emotions that constitute human experience. Drawing upon a content analysis of Goffman's writings, Scheff demonstrates that Goffman considered embarrassment (more precisely, the desire to avoid it) to be the primary "driver" of interactional behavior. Goffman was here following in a social psychological tradition of emotional analysis rooted in the writings of Charles Cooley and Norbert Elias (I would add Jean Paul Sartre as well). Yet Scheff argues convincingly that focusing on embarrassment neglects the importance of more positive emotions, such as love and solidarity. Taken together, these two extensions (from the micro to the macro, and toward a broader conceptualization of emotions) are applied in a series of illuminating chapters to a range of empirical topics, including authoritarianism, family conflict, and nationalism.

Most rewarding for this reviewer was the way in which Scheff weaves his theoretical arguments around his personal experiences with Goffman. Goffman was an intensely private individual; consequently, much of what we know of his life has come down through intergenerational gossip and disciplinary folklore. Scheff was Goffman's advisee at the University of California, Berkeley, and the two shared a great deal of time together. The picture that emerges of Goffman the mentor, however, is not flattering. Erving mercilessly teased and embarrassed the young Scheff, a process that Scheff today views as a form of occupational "hazing." Yet

rather than dwell on old wounds, Scheff tries to situate his mentor's harsh demeanor in relation to the insecurities Goffman may have felt in his personal life (including his short stature). Goffman's overarching concern with avoiding embarrassment and demonstrating masculine "character" colored not only his sociological writings on interaction, but also his interactions with sociological students and colleagues.

If pressed for a critique of *Goffman Unbound!* I would draw attention to Scheff's argument concerning the historical evolution of the emotional microworld. For Scheff, modern American society represses emotions in and through its obsession with material goods, while "in traditional societies, the ERW was virtually the only world there was" (p. ix). But I would argue the opposite. As Goffman himself argued, the very idea of a unitary self possessing a set of discrete, malleable emotions is a modern invention. It emerged as a byproduct of the modern psychiatric profession, has been propagated by the pharmaceutical industry, and is now firmly enmeshed within our larger therapeutic culture. In fact, as Andrew Lakoff argues, psychiatric knowledge is now exported to the "traditional" societies that Scheff views as bastions of authentic emotion (*Pharmaceutical Reason: Knowledge and Value in Global Psychiatry* [Cambridge University Press, 2006]). While it may distract, this aspect of Scheff's argument does not detract from his larger contribution to the ongoing debate over Goffman's legacy for modern sociology.

Charles Horton Cooley: Imagining Social Reality. By Glenn Jacobs. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006. Pp. xv+304. \$39.95.

Hans-Joachim Schubert
Potsdam University

Glenn Jacobs's "aim in this book is to explain the sources of inspiration and influence shaping the theory of Charles Horton Cooley (1864–1929)" (p. 1). Cooley was a prominent member of the founding generation of American sociologists. He created a general sociological theory of social action, social order, and social change, a project he eventually accomplished with his trilogy *Human Nature and the Social Order* ([1902] Schocken, 1964), *Social Organization* ([1909] Schocken, 1963), and *Social Process* ([1918] Southern Illinois University Press, 1966). Cooley's exceptional position in early American and European sociology lies in his point of origin—communication theory. Cooley's theoretical "concept of the social," according to Jacobs, is "based on the properties of communication" (p. 12). Men must—due to the plasticity of their nature—communicate with the help of standardized or significant symbols to coordinate actions and to develop a self. "The social organism," according to Cooley, "coheres by communicating" (p. 107). Jacobs clarifies that Cooley, in the term *communication*, means not only the rational resolution of validity claims (con-