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Dear Dr. Moscovici:

This letter is to inform you of our plans to hold a Festschrift conference in honor of Muzafer Sherif on July 27-29, 1986 here at the University of Missouri and to publish an associated collection of original essays. The date of the conference will coincide with Muzafer's 80th birthday, and also it is the 50th anniversary of the publication of Muzafer's first book, The Psychology of Social Norms.

Many people with whom we have explored these possibilities have agreed that such a way of conveying our respect and admiration for one of the giants and pioneers in social psychology is entirely appropriate, if not overdue.

We realize that although the conference and the edited volume will be linked, there may be some people who would be willing to contribute an essay to the Festschrift volume, but who, for one reason or another, will be unable to attend the conference. And we assume that there will be others who will want to attend the conference but who will not feel inclined to write an essay for the edited Festschrift volume.

By this letter, you are being invited to join in this project first of all by agreeing to contribute one of the essays to be published as part of the Festschrift. We would like to have these papers to be roughly in the 15-25 page double-space typing length using the latest version of APA format. I have used the Festschrift for Gardner Murphy, published in 1960 by Harper and Row as a rough guideline. It consisted of 26 essays averaging about 15 printed pages in length. It was, as you may know, a wide-ranging set of essays, some reporting empirical data and others more theoretical and speculative. That is, I think, as it should be. Of course, the nature of Muzafer's style and contributions has been very different from that of Gardner Murphy's. We feel that the essays in the Festschrift for Muzafer should have some discernible link or bearing on the problems, concepts, theories, or methods Muzafer used in his approach or orientation in social psychology. That does not seem like a severe stricture, given the breadth of Muzafer's work. On the other hand, perhaps it goes without saying that we want essays written by independent and creative scholars, and in no way do we want it to appear that the contributors are a bunch of sycophants joined only in their admiration of Muzafer Sherif. We would like to have these papers submitted in final form not later than October 1, 1986. Please give

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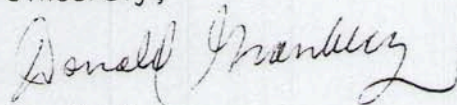
this some thought and let me know your reaction concerning this possibility and whether you think you will be able to join with us in this project, and, if so, what topic or tentative title you are thinking about.

In your case, anything further you might care to write on the individual-group relationship or the social influence process would be a welcome addition to this project. Or perhaps you would have some other topic in mind; that would be fine too, so long as it is within the domain of social psychology and related in some way to Muzafer's work. You should also feel free to include a coauthor on this paper if you choose to do so.

Second, given the distance involved, I assume it is not practical to try to arrange for you to be at the conference in person. I wish I could tell you I have access to a fund to pay your expenses and an appropriate honorarium. Unfortunately, that is not the case.

In closing, thanks in advance for your consideration of these possibilities, and I'll look forward to hearing from you in this regard. I hope you will be able to join us in this salute to Muzafer.

Sincerely,



Donald Granberg  
Professor of Sociology

DG/cll

P.S. I'm not sure I should make this a dual-purpose letter, but I guess I will anyhow. Last summer when I visited Muzafer in Iowa, he gave me a copy of a review of his Social Interaction book which was written by you and Gerard Lemaine (from Bulletin C.E.R.P. volume 17, 1968, 299-302). The version I was given had been translated into English by his wife, Carolyn Wood Sherif (as you may know, she died, unfortunately, in 1982). Since then, I was with Muzafer in Washington, D. C. in August for a convention, and he has visited here in Missouri twice, for a week in November, 1985 and then again for a week recently in March, 1986. Each time he has urged me to write to you to "set the record straight" on some matters in the review.

My reaction was to demur, commenting that the review had to be regarded by any objective observer as about 95% favorable, that the review was written very thoughtfully and knowledgeably, and that above all, the review was now nearly 20 years old! All this had absolutely no impact on Muzafer, and he continued to insist that I ought to write to you. (The obvious question was why doesn't he write to you himself.

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Well, quite frankly, I think the turning point in Muzafer's writing was in 1969 when, in close succession, he had a serious car accident followed by a stroke (cerebral hemorrhage). Shortly after that, he officially retired in 1972, suffered some rather serious bouts with depression, and came to depend more than ever on his wife and collaborator, Carolyn, to get anything written.

So I will use this occasion to convey Muzafer's reaction, but I will do so while adding some thoughts and observations of my own. The paragraph from the review that Muzafer wanted most to comment on was (translated):

". . . the writings of Sherif . . . are often polemical and at times unjust with regard to social psychologists who have worked on the same problems. The little attention that he pays to Leon Festinger, to John Thibaut, to Kurt Lewin, to Asch, is evidence. To be sure, science is polemical, a conflict of ideas, but it need not be mutual ignorance and, at times, scorn. Why reserve all affection for humanity in general and so little for his colleagues in particular?"

Muzafer's reaction to this was primarily in terms of his relationship with Festinger. If there was a rift, mutual ignorance or scorn between the two, Muzafer's question was, "Who caused it?" He then went on to point out (repeatedly) that he had invited Festinger to the second symposium on social psychology which he organized at the University of Oklahoma and arranged for Festinger to present a paper there and for it to be published in the associated volume ("An analysis of Compliant Behavior," Chapter 10 in Group Relations at the Crossroads, 1953, Harper). I think it is Muzafer's feeling that Festinger never reciprocated this gesture of good will.

I can tell you that by the time I was a graduate research assistant to Muzafer (1963-67), it was not advisable for any of Sherif's students to cite or comment favorably on Festinger's contributions. Frankly, I think Muzafer was somewhat envious of the attention being given to dissonance theory at the time. One of Muzafer's favorite dissertations from that time was by Melvin Rand (abstract enclosed), whose thesis was directed by Arnold Dahlke (out of the Minnesota tradition). Rand attempted to devise something of a critical test between Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory and Sherif's social judgment theory. Needless to say, Muzafer was greatly pleased when the results were more favorable to his theory. However, I might add that the more unique aspects of dissonance theory, pertaining to the attitudinal effects of counterattitudinal behavior and of making a decision or choice from among various alternatives were really not seriously addressed, in any way that I can discern, by Sherif's theory.

On the other hand, I was told by Arnold Dahlke that Festinger was asked over drinks during that time period (c. 1963) what he thought of Sherif. His one word answer was "psychotic."

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The next incident I want to relate occurred when Muzafer received the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the APA (c. 1968). I was not at the party and reception held after that, but I was told by a friend who was there that Leon Festinger came to the party as an uninvited guest, presumably to offer his congratulations, and as a gesture of respect, good will, or admiration, and that Muzafer responded in a way that was not at all gracious.

One of the curious things about Muzafer is that he has not been willing to gracefully accept his position as one of a handful of giants and pioneers in social psychology. As to Lewin, Muzafer did cite Lewin's work favorably in his dissertation book, The Psychology of Social Norms. It is also apparent that the idea of testing his theory of intergroup relations by studying relations between groups of boys was derived, in part, from Lewin's studies of autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire supervisory styles. (Carolyn Sherif had a course with Lewin while doing her Masters Degree at the University of Iowa.)

I have discussed this with O. J. Harvey (who was the camp director of the Robbers Cave Experiment in 1954, a graduate student of Muzafer's at the time, and currently Professor of Psychology at the University of Colorado). O. J. has the impression, which I agree with, that Muzafer was more favorable to Lewin earlier in his career (say 1935-1960) than he was later. Muzafer would say that his negativity to Lewin's work was because of Lewin's use of an analogy from physics (field theory), his use of an equilibrium model, and because of a lack of a necessary or close relationship between Lewin's theory and research. Muzafer told me that he had met Lewin only once briefly, being introduced to him by Gordon Allport at the Harvard club. I have questioned Muzafer about his apparent antagonism to Lewin, Festinger, and Heider. Given their common grounding in Gestalt psychology, I suggested to him that he might be better off concentrating on what he has in common with these people than on where they differ. I said ". . . surely you have more in common with Lewin and Heider than you do with Skinner or Freud." Yes, he acknowledged, that was certainly true.

Muzafer's feeling toward Asch is one of friendship. According to Sherif, Asch's dissertation was not in social psychology, and it was Sherif who influenced Asch to shift toward social psychology. I met Asch at a party at Sherif's home in about 1966, and they certainly seemed to be on friendly terms. If there was an intellectual disagreement between the two of them, it may have had to do with whether, when social influence on perception occurs, it is really internalized. That is, does the person being influenced really come to perceive the physical dimensions differently or is it more a matter of compliance. Given the great difference in degree of ambiguity between the autokinetic situation used by Sherif and the line-judging task used by Asch, I personally don't see any great problem in reconciling their results as they pertain to this question.

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I know nothing of Sherif's relationship with John Thibaut, if indeed there is one. (Muzafer told me he is a close friend of Harold Kelley, Thibaut's collaborator, but that he chooses to almost never discuss social psychology with Kelley - presumably because they would have so little in common.) My hunch is that you know much more about Thibaut's work than I do. However, I recall an important series of articles by Thibaut, his colleagues and students (from about 1968), that dealt with the important topic of the formation of contractual norms. If I am correct, they did so without any reference whatsoever to the pioneering work of Sherif on norm formation. From my vantage point, it is nearly incredible that they would have done so. Important as it is, the topic of the formation of contractual norms can and should be conceived or subsumed under the more generic topic of norm formation.

On to your question, "Why reserve all affection for humanity in general and so little for his colleagues in particular?" There is no question that in his prime, Muzafer could be and was very tough, energetic, demanding, autocratic, and, at times, petty and vindictive in his dealings with his students and colleagues. As an example, out of a cohort of five young post-Bachelors people who began graduate studies under him in 1963, I was the only one who stuck with it and finished under him. I personally saw him deal in an almost ruthless (in the same way perhaps that Bobby Kennedy was regarded by some as being ruthless) and heavy-handed way with some students and also with his wife. I put up with it because I felt I was learning a lot in the process (and it was in dissonance terms, a severe initiation).

There was also another side to Muzafer which you ought to also know about. He could be and often was warm, affectionate, patient, encouraging, facilitating, generous, and would go out of his way and to great lengths to help people who he thought needed and deserved his help. In short, he was a complex person who was not always easy to deal with effectively. Yet it is noteworthy that shortly before her death, when all was said and done, Carolyn wrote that Muzafer was still the most interesting person she had ever met. (Not everyone would say that about her or his spouse.)

Muzafer also did not have a closed system or closed circle. It was not easy to influence him but, if approached in the right way with ideas or information that could or should be "assimilated," he could be influenced.

At the same time, I think it is safe to say that, as a leader, he influenced others more than he was influenced himself, and that he did more to create the zeitgeist than to follow it. I will enclose a copy of some correspondence from William McGuire and O. J. Harvey which you may find of interest.

There is one incident, in particular, which I only found out about recently which I want to share with you. As I get the story, it

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occurred sometime during World War II, in the 1940s, when Muzafer was on the psychology faculty at a Turkish university, and at a time when Turkey had rather close and positive relations with Nazi Germany. Muzafer intervened on behalf of a graduate student in psychology, Rozet Avigdor, who was going to be dropped from the graduate program for no good reason and for no reason other than that she was a Jew. Muzafer, according to what I was told, warned the other professors, that if they failed her, that he would fail all of their students.

Soon after, Muzafer landed in jail (see Psychology Today, September 1985 for this part of the story) for his anti-racist activity, but was later "rehabilitated," and brought to the U.S. on a State Department Fellowship in 1945. (Then on to Princeton, Yale, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania State Universities.)

The next we hear of Rozet Avigdor is that she became a graduate student at New York University, had a fellowship arranged by Muzafer, and did her dissertation on intergroup relations. Muzafer and Carolyn gave a six page summary of her dissertation in their 1953 book, Groups in Harmony and Tension.

I have tried to contact her through some people in New York City. I would love to hear her version of what happened, but thus far I have not been successful in contacting her. I did learn that Avigdor is a Sephardic Jewish name originating from Turkey. I learned that Rozet Avigdor may have migrated to France in the 1950s. If you know her or know where she could be contacted or located, please let me know that information.

I learned of this matter only within the past year, and, if true, it certainly reflects favorably on Muzafer's character and his concern for individual people and a willingness to act on their behalf. After learning of this incident, I shared it with O. J. Harvey, who worked very closely with Muzafer in the 1950s, and he was "astounded" to learn of it. Even though Muzafer had shared Avigdor's dissertation with O. J., and O. J. had cited it in his own dissertation, O. J. was unaware that there had been any personal acquaintance or connection between Sherif and Avigdor.

Another thing you might be interested in is that one of Muzafer's Ph.D. advisees was an American of Greek ancestry, Nicholas Pollis. Muzafer told me several times that he was especially proud of this because it demonstrated that Greeks and Turks could get along. Also, Muzafer never became a U.S. citizen. (His Turkish passport expired years ago.) This may reflect his identity or affection for humanity and his identity as a world or "planetary" citizen. Muzafer has also told me that at one time he was the only non-Jew on the governing body of Division 9 (S.P.S.S.I.) of the American Psychological Association. Because of his being an iconoclast in almost every respect, I think it's

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safe to say that the awards he received in the late 1960s, including the Kurt Lewin Memorial Award and the APA Distinguished Scientific Citation came to him in spite of, rather than because of, his rather unique personal style.

One more thing regarding your 1968 review. Toward the end, you commented,

"It is evident that we are close to philosophy and it is to Sherif's great credit that he does not evade it, but he does not enlighten us sufficiently. The day when he will do so and when he locates himself in relation to his contemporaries will add to the present anthology some pages we would love to read."

I and several other people have been encouraging Muzafer to write an autobiography. My feeling is that it would be very interesting, but I don't know that he will do it. (I told him I had recently read Fritz Heider's autobiography and Kurt Lewin's biography in order to spur him on.) We'll see.

Please share this letter with Dr. LeMaine, the coauthor of the 1968 review. If either of you have any reaction to it, I would be pleased to hear from you. If you would care to write directly to Muzafer, I'm sure he would enjoy hearing from you. His current address is 2537 J, Cherbough Way, Gastonia, North Carolina 28054. I'm sorry to go on at such great length, but I feel that it would be almost impossible for me to have been brief and accurate in regard to this matter.

In closing, I also want to tell you that I will be in Europe for a year on research leave, beginning in August, 1986. I will be at the Political Science Department at Gothenburg University in Sweden, but I hope to travel around Europe and to attend meetings of European Social Psychologists, if they occur while I am there. If it would be possible to meet you and to visit your lab, I would be delighted and I would be eager to learn more about your current research. I am an admirer of several of your papers on social influence, including the recent chapter in the new Handbook of Social Psychology. I look forward to hearing from you, especially in regard to the opening part of this long letter but also with regard to the latter sections.

*Walter D. M. ...*