

Figurations

Newsletter of the Norbert Elias Foundation

■ EDITOR'S NOTES

I remarked, nearly a year ago in the first issue of *Figurations*, that it was "far from the intention .. to foster a cult of the dead". As it happens, this third issue contains two biographical articles about Norbert Elias himself - Paul Nixon's report of his first visit to the Elias archive at Marbach, and Jörg Hackeschmidt's account of recently unearthed evidence of the young Elias's Zionism (which the old Elias preferred not to dwell upon). But the more general purpose of the newsletter is to keep readers informed about each other's work, to report on relevant books and theses, and to publicise forthcoming conferences. New in this issue is a section on work in progress, to which a few brave souls have sent notes about their as-yet-unpublished writings. I hope that for future issues both established figures and graduate students will contribute such notes, as one way of fostering discussion and making contacts elsewhere among people with shared interests.

Our "lead story" this issue is Annette Treibel's account of the explosion of process-sociology in Germany since Elias's death in 1990. She lists many varied publications and theses which will probably be as yet unknown to most non-German readers. Hermann Korte has remarked that "The theory [of civilising processes] has become, in the 1990s more than ever before, a



Stephen Mennell

fixed part of the repertory of German sociology. This had partly to do with the fact that, following Elias's death, his theory can be taken into the canon, *without the danger of finding oneself publicly corrected by its author*". Elias himself would probably have seen the humorous side of that remark - though one is not quite sure! What I *am* sure about is that the surge of citations of Elias and the spreading interest in and use of his ideas by social scientists and historians is profoundly to be welcomed. Nearly all his work is now available in English and German, and much of it also in other languages, so it must now take its chance in the global intellectual market place. This will undoubtedly involve some people misunderstanding key ideas of the

figurational approach, and lead in some cases to bizarre syncretisms with notions of very different provenance. But so be it. Major misunderstandings and misrepresentations will attract criticism in the ordinary public sphere of academic life. But the old stagers (like myself) who were attracted to Elias's ideas when they were not at all widely known will do well to remember Hermann Korte's remark; we must be careful not to offer too zealous public correction of every minor point. It is wholly good that the ideas, and the continuing research tradition to which they led, are being noticed, used and debated.

Stephen Mennell

■ NORBERT ELIAS IN GERMANY: Central debates, conferences and publications since 1990

Elias' death on 1 August 1990 marked a turning point. It is hard to picture how the reception of his work in Germany would have developed without it, but it goes without saying that Elias's death drew more attention to him and his work. Obituaries and appreciations were published, conferences took place - all of them on the one hand making Elias's name better known and giving fresh impetus to the appreciation of his work, and on the other hand promoting discussion

about figurational theory. This article is intended to sketch the most important events and recent publications in Germany over the last few years, though my survey is certainly not complete.

First of all, I want to mention a masters thesis written by Andrea Hellbach at Marburg University (Faculty of Social Sciences and Philosophy). The title is *Die Rezeption des soziologisch-politischen Werkes von Norbert Elias in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Marburg 1995). This thesis gives an impressive survey of the reception of Elias in the Federal Republic of Germany. Hellbach's approach to studying Elias's influence, which - even for insiders - is so difficult to grasp, is unconcerned with any loyalties and rivalries within the Elias community or communities. The central chapter is titled "Rezeptionsräume" and deals with the academic reception (specialized periodicals, textbooks, citation analysis), the public reception (mass media; prizes) and the "enemies" of Elias (H. Esser, V. Bennholdt-Thomsen, H.-P. Duerr). The bibliography is especially valuable, listing Elias's publications in German, German publications on Elias and further literature. (Author's name and address: Andrea Hellbach, Königsberger Str. 4, D - 61440 Oberursel; Tel. 06171/78798.)

Conferences

1. From 16 to 19 October 1991 the Memorial Conference for Norbert Elias (*Gedenktagung für Norbert Elias*) took place in Essen. This lively and interesting meeting was hosted by the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut within the Wissenschaftszentrum of Nordrhein-Westfalen, in cooperation with the sociology of culture and sociological theory sections of the German Sociological Association (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie*) and Essen University. The panelists came from Germany, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Austria and Switzerland. Most of the contributions to this conference are soon to be published in Karl-Siegbert Rehberg (ed.), *Norbert Elias und die Menschenwissenschaften: Studien zur Entstehung und Wirkungsgeschichte seines*

Werkes [Norbert Elias and the Human Sciences: Essays on the Origins and Influence of his Work] (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp 1995. ISBN 3-518-28749-4).

2. From 5 to 7 May 1994 a conference on *Modernität und Barbarei: Soziologische Zeitdiagnose am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Modernity and Barbarism: Sociological Diagnoses of the Age at the end of the Twentieth Century] was held in Hamburg. It was organized by the sociological theory section of the German Sociological Association and the Hamburg Institut für Sozialforschung. Some of the contributions (given by Ulrich Beck, Jan Philipp Reemtsma, Hans Joas, Lars Clausen) were published in the August/September 1994 issue of the institute's periodical, which is named after the institute's address, *Mittelweg 36* (editorial address: Mittelweg 36, 20148 Hamburg). Another conference in the same institute was entitled *Zivilisationstheorien und Destruktivitätsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* [The Theory of Civilising Processes and the History of Destructiveness in the Twentieth Century]; it focused on psychoanalysis, Critical Theory and Elias's theory of civilising and decivilising processes. Contributions can be found in *Mittelweg 36*, No. December 1994/ January 1995.

3. From 18 to 24 July 1994, the XIII World Congress of the International Sociological Association took place in Bielefeld. *Figurations* No.2 contains a detailed report on the five Ad hoc-sessions on Figurational Sociology which took place during the congress.

Introductions to Elias, Textbooks

Recently Elias's theory has been represented in sociological textbooks, which either deal with Elias exclusively or deal with him as a classic in the history of sociology and/or contemporary sociological theory. The books include:

Hans-Peter Bartels, *Menschen in Figurationen: Ein Norbert Elias-Lesebuch* [People in Figurations: A Norbert Elias Reader]. Opladen: Leske und Budrich 1995. ISBN 3-8100-1343-9

Ralf Baumgart and Volker Eichener,

Norbert Elias zur Einführung [An Introduction to Norbert Elias]. Hamburg: Junius 1991. ISBN 3-88506-862-1

Hermann Korte, *Geschichte der Soziologie* [History of Sociology]. Opladen: Leske und Budrich 1994 (2nd ed.). ISBN 3-8100-0966-0

Annette Treibel, *Einführung in soziologische Theorien der Gegenwart* [Introduction to Contemporary Sociological Theory]. Opladen: Leske und Budrich 1994 (2nd ed.). ISBN 3-8100-1325-0

Bernhard Schäfers (ed.), *Grundbegriffe der Soziologie* [Basic Concepts in Sociology]. Opladen: Leske und Budrich 1992 (3rd ed.). ISBN 3-8100-1053-7

Monographs, Anthologies and Essays

Reinhard Blomert, Helmut Kuzmics and Annette Treibel (eds.), *Transformationen des Wir-Gefühls: Studien zum nationalen Habitus* [Transformations of We-Feelings: Essays on National Habitus]. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp 1993. ISBN 3-518-28673-0

Stephanie Ernst, *Machtbeziehungen zwischen den Geschlechtern im Prozeß der Zivilisation am Beispiel der Ehe* [Power Relations between the Sexes in the Civilising Process with reference to Marriage]. Münster 1993 (Masters Thesis)

Hans-Joachim Heuer, *Geheime Staatspolizei: Über das Töten und die Tendenzen der Entzivilisierung* [The Gestapo: On Death and Decivilising Tendencies]. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter 1995. ISBN 3-11-014516-2

Friederike Kautt, *Etablierte und Außenseiter: Eine Untersuchung zur figurationssoziologischen Forschungsperspektive* [Established and Outsiders: An Investigation of Figurational Sociological Research Perspectives]. Erlangen 1993 (Masters Thesis)

Gabriele Klein, *FrauenKörperTanz: Eine Zivilisationsgeschichte des Tanzes* [Women, Bodies, Dance: A History of Dance in Civilisational Perspective]. Weinheim & Berlin: Quad-

riga 1992. ISBN 3-88679-194-7 (paperback Heyne 1994)

Hermann Korte, *Blicke auf ein langes Leben - Norbert Elias und die Zivilisationstheorie* [Glimpses of a Long Life: Norbert Elias and the Theory of Civilising Processes]. Wien: Picus 1993. ISBN 3-85452-323-8

Hermann Korte, *Norbert Elias and the Theory of Civilisation*. In Bernhard Schäfers (ed.), *Sociology in Germany: Development - Institutionalization - Theoretical Disputes*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich 1994, pp. 164-176

Hermann Korte (ed.), *Gesellschaftliche Prozesse und individuelle Praxis: Bochumer Vorlesungen zu Norbert Elias' Zivilisationstheorie* [Social Processes and Individual Activities: Bochum Lectures on Norbert Elias's Theory of Civilising Processes]. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp 1990. ISBN 3-518-28494-0

Elcin Kürsat-Ahlers, *Zur frühen Staatenbildung von Steppenvölkern: Über die Sozio- und Psychogenese der eurasischen Nomadenreiche am Beispiel der Hsiung-Nu und Göktürken mit einem Exkurs über die Skythen* [Early State-Formation among the Peoples of the Steppes: On the Sociogenesis and Psychogenesis of the Eurasian Nomadic Empires, with reference to the Hsiung-Nu and with a Digression on the Scythians]. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1994. ISBN 3-428-07761-X

Gabriele Overlander, *Die Last des Mitfühlers: Aspekte der Gefühlsregulierung in sozialen Berufen am Beispiel der Krankenpflege* [The Burden of Compassion: Aspects of the Regulation of Feeling in the Caring Professions, with reference to Nursing]. Frankfurt/M.: Mabuse 1994. ISBN 3-925499-90-3

Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, *Norbert Elias - ein etablierter Außenseiter* [Norbert Elias - An Established Outsider], in *Merkur*, no. 4, 1992, pp. 348-353

Hasso Spode, *Die Macht der Trunkenheit: Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Alkohols in Deutschland* [The Power of Drunkenness: Cultural and Social History of Alcohol in Germany]. Op-

laden: Leske und Budrich 1993. ISBN 3-8100-1034-0

Annette Treibel, *Migration in modernen Gesellschaften: Soziale Folgen von Einwanderung und Gastarbeit* [Migration in Modern Society: Social Consequences of Immigration and Guest-Working]. Weinheim, München: Juventa 1990. ISBN 3-7799-0385-7

Hans-Peter Waldhoff, *Fremde und Zivilisierung: Wissenssoziologische Studien über das Verarbeiten von Gefühlen der Fremdheit - Probleme der modernen Peripherie-Zentrums-Migration am türkisch-deutschen Beispiel* [Strangers and Civilising Processes: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge on Overcoming Feelings of Foreignness: Problems of Modern Periphery-Centre-Migration with reference to the German-Turkish example]. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp 1995. ISBN 3-518-58196-1

Hans-Peter Waldhoff, Dietrich Fürst and Ralf Böcker, *Anspruch und Wirklichkeit der frühen Raumplanung: Zur Entwicklung der Niedersächsischen Landesplanung 1945-1960* [The Claims and Consequences of Early Development Planning: The Development of Provincial Planning in Lower Saxony, 1945-68]. Hannover: Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung 1994. ISBN 3-88838-223-8

Reiner Wild, *Literatur im Prozeß der Zivilisation: Entwurf einer theoretischen Grundlage der Literaturwissenschaft* [Literature in the Civilising Process: Outline of a Theoretical Basis for Literary Theory]. Stuttgart 1992

Announcement

In 1997, the centenary of Elias's birth will be celebrated. There will be gatherings to mark the occasion, but one conference is being held well in advance and in anticipation of the event: at Hamburg University on 23-25 June 1995, on the subject of *Zivilisierung des weiblichen Ich* [The Civilising of the Female Ego]. Sessions are planned as follows: Historical perspectives, socio-psycho-

logical perspectives, political perspectives, sociological theories in comparison. It is intended to bring together civilising theory and feminist and/or gender approaches. This conference is being organized by Gabriele Klein and Katharina Liebsch (Universität Hamburg, Institut für Soziologie, Allende Platz 1, D-20146 Hamburg, Tel. 040-4123-3525 od. 3565 od. 3830; FAX: 040-4123-3636). Deadline for participants is 15 May 1995 (apologies if this issue of *Figurations* reaches you after that; a full report of the conference will appear in *Figurations* no. 4).

Annette Treibel

■ THE ELIAS PAPERS at the Deutsches Nationalarchiv, Marbach-am-Neckar

A preliminary visit to the sunny heights of the Deutsche Schiller Gesellschaft in August 1994 proved a great pleasure, a tantalisingly short expedition to a friendly and well-managed research centre. Over two intensive days I glimpsed only a few of the riches of Norbert Elias's papers, safely archived and now accessible to scholarly enquiry. Where to begin? What should one look at first from the seven metres of absorbing documents, testament to a long life's accomplishment amidst adversities which would have deterred most?

Bundles of work in progress and thoughts put together for the benefit of diverse academic personages make highly instructive reading. With so much of substantive interest it would be easy to idealize and, it seems to me, Elias's extensive distillations for his own purposes shade into those unstintingly offered to others, thoughts and observations assembled with an abiding commitment to enquiry for its own sake. Limited as was my exploration of the three-volume catalogue and archive, I saw no trace of mean-minded guarding of private fishing rights, no law-giving philosophical absolutism at work. Witness, for example, fruitful communications with Reinhard Bendix (ever responsive, supportively collegial); and con-

cerning Barrington Moore and the late Edward Shils (some readers will know that thanks to Shils, Moore had come to appreciate the merits of *The Civilising Process* around forty years ago). Then there is correspondence with the influential Cambridge historian, E.H. Carr, who, in occasional self-deprecating manner, thanked Elias for clarifying sociological and historical issues and for cutting through unsuspected philosophical snares - though I did not catch sight of any revision of Carr's disposition towards Leninist salvationist structures. And one finds expressions of generous sentiment from Elias towards Anthony Giddens, Ernest Gellner and Zygmunt Bauman, as well as Marxist idealist Tom Botto-

more. Others will know better than I whether the fruits of these associations have always been honoured appropriately but clearly Elias's pursuit of open-ended enquiry and his willingness to share ideas did not diminish with advancing years. From time to time it has been said that he shared goodwill with some who have either suppressed and minimised his intellectual contributions, or somehow misrepresented him. But a sense of humour seems not to have deserted him, it appears, if I appropriately interpret occasional interleaved sketches, fanciful doodles from someone's pen (an assistant or himself?), and the A4 sheet on which is emblazoned nothing except the stark word PURGATORY.

Historians of sociological dynamics may with interest peruse Elias's correspondence with that other non-joiner of former times, Nottingham University's Jack Sprott, with independent-minded Raymond Aron, LSE's and UCL's Morris Ginsburg (who with tact and sensitivity pressed Elias to accept a few pounds to tide him over a particularly austere period in the 1940s), with Donald MacRae (one of Ginsburg's most gifted pupils, according to Elias), with Mannheim, Merton, Parsons, Evans-Pritchard, and with Elias's Bedford College mainstay, Barbara Wooton. Other insights can be culled from thoughts exchanged with C.P. Snow, Conor Cruise O'Brien, Elias's psychoanalyst confidants Sigmund Foulkes, Kate Friedlander, Ilse Seglow, and with the

Group Analytic Society (of which Elias was a founder member in 1952).

Particularly poignant is a letter to his parents dated 6 January 1941, that is, after his release from internment in Britain (is this letter a draft or a copy? or was it undelivered and returned by the authorities?). Writing from 7 Union Road, Cambridge and forwarded from the Red Cross office in the local Corn Exchange, Elias uses the English language possibly to satisfy national censors in time of war, or Red Cross rules. He admits of his parents' disappointment in his not electing to stick with medicine. Sociology really is his vocation, he hopes they can accept, and he is convinced that opportunities will materialise in England. Ginsburg is well-disposed and has involved Elias in a research project (addressing national character and social psychology?). Among other exiles in these parts, 'Uncle Karl' (Mannheim) is still here but is not on good terms with Ginsburg. However, following the dedication to Mannheim of the second volume of *The Civilising Process*, Mannheim is very kind to Elias, as are the Fuchses with whom Elias often enjoys hospitality.

Drafts and redrafts of lectures and articles reveal a careful, cumulative, reflective and altogether unhurried approach to intellectual work. This is salutary. Here I perceive nothing of the rush to publish, nothing of the wish to foist full and 'final' theoretical systems on anyone, nothing of the breathless gospelising, the quest for dominance and moralising which, I believe, disfigures so much social scientific writing these days. Thus he has built up tentative thoughts and extendable lines of enquiry on civilisation and psychosomatics, on the concept of leisure, on West Indian integration in Britain, social medicine, the structure of Jewish society in Germany, on the emergence and consolidation of professions (see exchanges with Moses Finley), on violence and social structure in West Africa, technicization and civilisation (expected to be published in England later this year), psychoanalysis and sociology, sex and civilisation, and much more besides. To behold numerous versions and revisions is to look into the work-

shop, see the array of tools deployed and perhaps to understand how difficult choices have been made concerning material for inclusion and exclusion.

Loose ends which may repay further investigation concern: British Ministry of Defence and Foreign Office approved projects regarding social-psychological lessons to be derived from research contact with captured Nazis; correspondence revealing the extent of Elias's involvement with the Workers' Education Association teaching programmes during the period 1942-55; copious texts, drafts, booklists relating to teaching at Reading University, London University (for the Diploma in Sociology), initiation of social psychology coursework and students' comments thereon (1947-51). And material relating to classes at the Institute for Scientific Treatment of Delinquency (1945-50); here his contact with analyst and child guidance specialist Kate Friedlander was doubtless important. Then there is a wealth of insight concerning Elias's two-year experience in Ghana, including sociology of medicine, comments from students on local affairs and, most importantly, the challenge to himself of testing what he has been teaching on development sociology. Ever learning, ever reflecting? I believe so.

Paul Nixon

■ NORBERT ELIAS - ZIONIST AND "BÜNDISCH" ACTIVIST

Contrary to what has hitherto been assumed, evidence has come to light that Norbert Elias was already a member of the Zionist youth movement called "Blau-Weiß" before the First World War. It is also clear that he was much more deeply involved in the intellectual debates of this Zionist Jugendbund and its "bündisch" projects than he admitted in later life.

Hermann Korte, in his 1988 biography of Norbert Elias (*Über Norbert Elias: Das Werden eines Menschen-wissenschaftlers*) and in his article "Norbert Elias in Breslau: ein biographisches Fragment" (*Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 20, 1991), voiced his suspicion that

Elias became a member of Blau-Weiß in 1918 "as a reaction to his experiences as a soldier in the First World War". As a result of my research for a PhD thesis in contemporary history dealing with young German Zionists (*Youth Culture and Zionism: German-Jewish intellectuals in search of a new national identity during the crisis of modernity, 1900-1925*, forthcoming 1996), I discovered a short article by Norbert Elias printed in the *Blau-Weiß-Blätter: Mitteilungen des Jüdischen Wanderbundes "Blau-Weiß"*, vol. 1., no. 11, February 1914, p. 6. This short "travel report" (*Fahrtenbericht*) proves that Elias was an active member of the Zionist Blau-Weiß almost from the very beginning - before graduating from school and becoming a soldier. From what the young Elias writes, this hiking trip must have taken place during the autumn - probably October or November - of 1913. The report reads as follows:

"Die dreitägige Riesengebirgsfahrt

1. Tag: Agnetendorf - Schnee-grubenbaude - Elbfallbaude - Panschefall - Schüsselbuden.
2. Tag: Spindelmühl - Keilbuden - Rennerbuden - Fuchsberg - Petzer.
3. Tag: Grenzbauden - Forstbauden - Schmiedeberg.

Dies under Weg; wen er besonders interessiert, such ihn auf der Karte. *Ich* will niederschreiben, was an Erzählenswertem mir grad' unter die Feder lommt. - Als wir von Agnetendorf aufstiegen, merkten wir, daß die Natur schön ist, selbst wenn - man nichts sieht. Ein dichter Nebel lag über uns, oben schneite es sogar. Aber als wir an den Elbgrund kamen, da lag es unter uns wie ein wogendes, waldendes Meer. Über uns war der Himmel wieder klar, vor uns tief unten lag der Nebel.

Und dann stiegen wir wieder in den Nebel hinab, schritten fort, immer am Elbgrund entlang, da tauchten plötzlich hoch oben 3 hohe Bergspitzen aus rötlichem Gestein auf, ein wundervoller Anblick - und wir standen lange standen [*sic*] da - Am nächsten Morgen weckte uns leuchtender

Sonnenschein und wir eilten weiter durch die sonnigen Wälder mit ihren lichten Herbstesfarben und freuten uns. Ein neues Bild: Wir sind auf der Wohnungssuche für die Weihnachtsferien. Wir treten in Bauernhäuschen ein. Die Kinder blicken uns halb verschämt, halb neugierig an, und auch die Bäuerin ist ein bisschen verschämt. Nur das Jüngste kümmert sich nicht um uns; das liegt bar jeglicher Bekleidung auf ein paar alten Decken am Boden und kräht lustig in den Tag hinein. Als wir heraustreten, kommt die Dorfjugend grad aus der Schule. Und sie eilen - wie wir - froh des Zwanges ledig zu sein davon. Ein paar keilen sich herum, andre ärgern die Mädchen (das tun wir allerdings nicht als gesittete Großstädter). - Ich könnte noch viel erzählen, was wir auf unserer Fahrt sahen. Man erlebt dabei in 3 Tagen mehr, als hier in der Großstadt in einer Woche. Doch der Bericht muss fort.

Schalom! Norbert Elias, Breslau"

Hermann Korte, has pointed out that Elias must have been more involved in Zionism and the work of the Jugendbund Blau-Weiß than he confessed as an old man. The results of my research, drawing on hitherto unknown archival material and personal papers of fellow members of the Blau-Weiß, not only confirm Korte's assumptions, but will go far beyond the known facts about Elias's student days between 1918 and 1925 and his involvement in the ideas and aspirations of the Zionist youth-culture.

Jörg Hackeschmidt

Münsterstraße 11, D-53111 Bonn, Germany; tel. +49-228-690602

■ ELIAS-I: THE ELECTRONIC DISCUSSION LIST

Electronic discussion lists are now much used by researchers in many fields for sharing information on research, meetings, grants, and for initiating informal discussion of research topics. A discussion list specifically of interest to readers of *Figurations* has recently been established. Its name is ELIAS-I.

All you need to participate in this international network is an e-mail address.

You subscribe to the ELIAS-I list simply by sending a message to:

LISTSERV@nic.surfnet.nl

with this text in the BODY of the message (*not* in the subject heading space):

subscribe ELIAS-I your full name.

LISTSERV is a computer program, so please mail the listowner for help with subscribing, unsubscribing or any other problem with the list:

verrips@siswo.uva.nl.

Messages meant to be distributed to all the members of the list should be sent to:

ELIAS-I@nic.surfnet.nl

In the short time that ELIAS-I has been operating, a revealing trend has become evident. Several subscribers - such as Eiko Ikegami, Paul Stokes and Esteban Castro - have sent short accounts of their work to the network, asking for responses. But perhaps we should not be surprised to discover that *our* subscribers have such sensitivity in regard to manners, etiquette and other people's feelings that, instead of sending their replies to ELIAS-I and thus to the whole worldwide network, they have sent their comments privately to the individual contributor's own e-mail address. Perhaps such fine feelings have had their day, and the time has come to let it all hang out in public!

■ RECENT CONFERENCES

Stephen Menell gave his Inaugural Lecture in the Chair of Sociology at University College Dublin on 6 April 1995, entitled *Civilisation and Decivilisation, Civil Society and Violence*. On the following day, in the rather grand surroundings of Newman House on St Stephen's Green, a small informal conference was held on **Civilisation and Decivilisation: Recent**

Trends in Research. Speakers were: Tom Inglis (UCD) on *The Irish Civilising Process Revisited*; Pieter Spierenburg (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam) on *Civilisation and Decivilisation: Key-Word Violence*; Eric Dunning (University of Leicester) on *The Germans*; and Godfried van Benthem van den Bergh (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague) on *The Concept of Nation*. Other participants included Hermann and Elke Korte, Richard Kilminster, Zdzislaw Mach, Ken Bishop, Kitty Verrips, Cas Wouters, Nico Wilterdink and Ali de Regt.

Participants came from six countries for the inaugural meeting of the new **Study Group for the Sociology of Human Processes and Figurations** (HPF for short) within the **British Sociological Association**. The meeting took place on 12-13 April during the BSA Annual Conference in Leicester.

Papers presented were:

Stephen Mennell (Dublin) *Process Sociology: Where do we go from here?*

Helmuth Kuzmics (Graz) *From the Habsburg Monarchy to "Austria": Empire Patriotism, "Habsburg Myth" and nationalism in the novels of Joseph Roth.*

Randall Collins (UCal Riverside) *in absentia* through the voice of Richard Kilminster: *German-bashing and the Theory of Democratic Modernisation.* Eric Dunning (Leicester) *Elias on State Formation and Civilisation with special reference to Germany and the Holocaust.*

Monica Greco (EUI, Florence) *Homo Clausus and the Question of "Inner Truth": Elias and Foucault on the historical constitution of western subjectivity.*

Terry Wassall (Leeds) *Science and Ideology in the Sociology of Norbert Elias.*

Joseph Maguire (Loughborough) *Sport and Globalisation: A Process-Sociological Perspective.*

Ann Buckley (Cambridge) *Music, Dance and the Civilizing Process.*

Barbara Altizer (SUNY Stony Brook) *Elias on Mozart: The Magic Flute.*

Wouter Gomperts (Amsterdam) *Memories of the "here-before": ex-reincarnation therapy clients' invention of the past.*

Paul Nixon (Cambridge) *Foulkes and Elias.*

Richard Kilminster (Leeds) *The Sociology Spiral: recent theory in historical perspective.*

Billy Ingram (U. Ulster, Belfast) *Social Changes in Belfast 1737-1851 and their effect on cockfighting.*

Jo Swabe (Amsterdam) *"Mad Dogs and Englishmen".*

Jason Hughes (Leicester) *From Panama to Pandemic: Towards a Process-Sociology of Tobacco Use in the West.*

Abstracts of most of these papers are obtainable on request by e-mail (but not in hard copy) from Stephen Mennell at SMENNELL@ollamh.ucd.ie. Congratulations are due to Paul Nixon and Ann Buckley for organising four sessions packed with papers of such astonishing variety and consistently high standard. It is hoped that the new "HPF" BSA Study Group will now meet at least annually.

■ FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Die Zivilisierung des weiblichen Ich [The Civilising of the Female Ego], Hamburg University, 23-25 June 1995. For details, see Annette Treibel's article above.

Culture and Identity: City, Nation, World. Second Theory, Culture and Society conference, Berlin Alexanderplatz, 10-14 August 1995. Previously announced in *Figurations* 2. For details, contact Mike Featherstone, School of Human Studies, University of Teesside, Middlesbrough, Cleveland TS1 3BA, UK; Fax: +44-642-342396; e-mail: TCS@tees.ac.uk

European Societies: Fusion or Fission?, second conference of the European Sociological Association, Budapest 28 August - 2 September 1995. *There will not be any specifically "figurational" sessions at this conference*; the date proves to be highly inconvenient for most of those who might otherwise have attended, so we decided not to proceed with organising the sessions foreseen in *Figurations* 2. Kitty Verrips will be in Budapest, however, and will write a report for *Figurations* 4.

European Social Science History Conference, Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands, 9-11 May 1996

The International Institute of Social History (IISH, Amsterdam) will organise the first European Social Science History Conference in May 1996. Modelled on the conferences of the American Social Science History Association, the conference aims at bringing together bi-annually scholars interested in explaining historical phenomena using the methods of the social sciences. The conference will be characterised by a lively exchange in many small groups, rather than by formal plenary sessions. Workshops will discuss themes selected by network chairs.

The conference will be a European conference in the sense that it aims primarily at scholars based in Europe. Its subject is not confined to Europe, but is global social history. Scholars from outside Europe are welcome to participate in the conference. The conference language will be English.

Networks: The conference consists of a large number of sessions, organised in networks. Sessions will discuss themes selected by the network chairs. The networks will convene during the conference but the IISH will ask the networks to organise themselves on a more permanent basis as an international network of scholars in their own specialized field. The following networks will be represented at the conference: antiquity; criminal justice; culture; economics; education; environment; ethnicity; family/demography; geography; health; identity; labour; methods; Middle Ages; migration; nations and nation building; political movements; political systems; religion; rural; social inequality; states and societies; technology; theory; urban; women/gender.

Call for papers: Those interested in presenting a paper are invited to send an abstract describing the subject of the presentation to the Conference Secretariat. The Secretariat will send on your abstract to the appropriate network chair. Deadline for abstract submission is 1 June 1995

For further information on the IISH, the conference, conference registra-

tion, and abstract submission forms, contact the Conference Secretariat: ESSHC, c/o CAOS, W.G. Plein 475, 1054 SH Amsterdam, The Netherlands; telephone: +31-20-616 5151; Fax: +31-20-689 0981.



BOOKS AND THESES

Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan*: 448 pp. \$ 45.00, ISBN 0-674-86808-0, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, Spring 1995.

Eiko Ikegami, Associate Professor of Sociology at Yale, reports that she has completed her long-standing investigation of the relationship between samurai discipline and Japanese state formation, and her book will soon be published by Harvard University Press. The publishers' catalogue describes it as follows:

"Modern Japan offers us a view of a highly developed society with its own internal logic. Eiko Ikegami makes this logic accessible to us through a sweeping sociological investigation into the roots of Japanese organizational structures. She accomplishes this by focusing on the diverse roles that the samurai have played in Japanese history. From their rise in ancient Japan, through their dominance as warrior lords in the medieval period and their subsequent transformation to quasi-bureaucrats at the beginning of the Tokugawa era, the samurai have played centre stage in Japan until their abolition after the opening up of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century.

This book demonstrates how Japan's so-called "harmonious collective culture" is paradoxically connected with a history of conflicts and struggles. Ikegami contends that contemporary Japanese culture is based upon two remarkably complementary ingredients,

honorable competition and honorable collaboration. The historical roots of this situation can be found in the process of state formation, along very different lines from those seen in Europe at around the same time. The solution that emerged out of the turbulent beginnings of the Tokugawa state was a transformation of the samurai into an hereditary class of vassal-bureaucrats, a solution that would have many unexpected ramifications for the following centuries, including the present.

Ikegami's key notion in putting Japan into a comparative framework is that of "honorific individualism", a characteristic that emerged among the mediaeval samurai and retained its central position during the process of transforming, i.e. taming, the samurai. Since then the interaction between honorific collectivism and honorific individualism has served as a source of dynamics in Japanese society. This inner view of the origins of "logic of modern Japan" draws intricate connections between the process of Japanese state formation and the sense of self-identity in Japan.

Ikegami's approach, while sociological, draws on anthropological and historical methods to provide an answer to the question of how the Japanese managed to achieve modernity without traveling the route taken by Western countries. The result is a work of enormous depth and sensitivity that will facilitate a better understanding of, and appreciation for, Japanese society.

Charles Tilly writes of Ikegami's work: "For once a book exceeds its claims. Ikegami claims only to have contributed to our understanding of the samurai and their place in Japanese history of the last nine hundred years. That she does, and superbly. But she also analyses the Japanese state so sure-handedly that old prejudices fall away and the Japanese path of change, in all its distinctness, becomes available for comparison with other great experiences of state formation. Japanese traits that once seemed peculiarities of an inscrutable culture become, in her deft treatment, understandable

consequences of a vast political transformation."

Paul Kapteyn's book *The Stateless Market: The European Dilemma of Integration and Civilisation* will be published by Routledge, London, in September 1995 - we shall carry more details of it in the next issue of *Figurations*. Paul can be contacted at: Sociologisch Instituut, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Oude Hoogstraat 24, 1012 CE Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Tom Scheff's book *Bloody Revenge* is now available in paperback (Oxford, Westview Press). In it, Scheff uses Elias's theory of varying degrees of interdependence to explain conflict between individuals (four marital quarrels) and nations (the First and Second World Wars). The book also has an extended discussion of Elias's treatment of shame, and his use of what Scheff calls part/whole analysis (see his earlier book *Microsociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990).

Stuart Smith, *Reclaiming Masculinity: A Sociological Study of Running Repairs*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1995.

Using published work and popular culture, but primarily through a series of 48 in-depth interviews with participants, this study seeks to chart the contours of mass, non-elite road running in Britain. It considers those involved in terms of age, sex, ethnic and social class characteristics, as well as the distinctions participants make between each other in terms of ability, commitment and motivation.

The latter differences give rise to discernible groups among participants which they, and the author, refer to as "athletes", "runners", and "joggers". It focuses on the "runners" as the group who comprise the bulk of the field in most events, yet have no readily apparent reason for their involvement since they race and train at levels far above those necessary for basic

physical fitness, yet are never going to win a race. Running, moreover, is not exciting: it does not very obviously fit into Elias and Dunning's category of "mimetic" activities.

Perhaps uniquely among physically demanding sports, middle class men over thirty predominate, and this is linked to the motivations of those involved. Using recent work on "bodies" and highlighting the importance of gender to identity, the study maps more recent social changes (as part of longer-term trends) that may have undermined some of the traditional (some "traditions" being more recent than others) grounds upon which masculine identities have been established. The author discusses the way these changes may have worked to the relative disadvantage of middle class men the "wrong side" of 30.

The thesis advanced is that at the heart of the "urge to do it on a Sunday morning" is, for many, an attempt to "reclaim" masculinity through a particularly public demonstration of physical prowess, through and from which runners feel they derive the respect and admiration of others. Respect, that is, for attributes traditionally associated with the male of the species.

Wim Rasing, "Too Many People": Order and Nonconformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process. Nijmegen, Catholic University of Nijmegen. ISBN 90-71478-29-7.

This study aims at gaining a better understanding of the social, mental and criminal problems that plague Inuit (or Eskimo) society at present. Combining anthropological and historical research methods, this processual analysis is effectuated using the "figurational approach" which has as yet been almost exclusively used in studies of Western society. The study traces the complex, interwoven process of social, economic, political, religious and mental change. Although it demonstrates the fruitful use that may be made of a figurational perspective in studies of non-Western society, its empirical findings contradict the current figurational stance that increasing social integration and differen-

tiation concurs with, even presupposes, increasing levels of self-control.

Susan Elizabeth Dopson, *Managing Ambiguity: A Study of the Introduction of General Management in the National Health Service.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1994.

The British National Health Service has undergone fundamental reorganisation in recent years. The central focus of this thesis is managing change in the NHS. In particular, it considers the introduction of general management into the NHS, based on the recommendations of a team of businessmen led by Sir Roy Griffiths, then managing director and deputy chairman of the Sainsbury's supermarket chain. More than previous reorganisations of the NHS in 1974 and 1982, the Griffiths changes were a conscious attempt to move away from the "boxes and charts" approach to organisational change towards one which sought to disturb organisational processes and ultimately to change the beliefs and values NHS actors.

The thesis attempts to illuminate the implications of the changes in NHS management in three ways. First, it reviews the existing empirical work on health service management and considers what can be learnt about the difficulties of introducing change in the NHS. Secondly, it reports fieldwork data from 20 NHS districts which explores the actions and priorities of 20 newly-appointed DGMs with a variety of different occupational backgrounds as they sought to implement the agenda for change spelt out in the Griffiths Report. The thesis reports a significant gap between the aspirations of the Griffiths report and what the introduction of general management was able to deliver, and a number of unintended consequences. Thirdly, the thesis draws on the work of Norbert Elias and figurational or process sociology in an attempt to illuminate the fieldwork data further. Elias is not a sociologist one associates with the study of the NHS, or indeed the management of change, yet it is argued that his writings offer much to those wishing to explore organisational and management issues in the NHS.

RECENT ARTICLES

Randall Collins, "Germany and the Theory of Democratic Modernisation", *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 24 (1) 1995: 3-21; *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 21 (4) 1995: 3-28.

Collins points out that German society is often considered non-democratic and militaristic because of failure to undergo its own modernising revolution; as a late moderniser, it has been antagonistic to advanced Western societies, and prone to anti-civilising impulses manifested in Nazism. Collins contends that the theory underlying this view reduces four dimensions of modernisation to a single transition, allegedly typified by Britain, the USA, and to a lesser degree France. On two dimensions, bureaucratisation and religious secularisation (especially in education), Germany led the modernisation process from the eighteenth century; on the third, capitalist industrialisation, long-term differences were relatively minor; on the fourth, democratisation, Germany did not lag as much as Anglo-orientated theory claims, as we see by examining separately the expansion of parliamentary power and of the voting franchise in each country. England and France were also in many respects undemocratic and authoritarian societies until the turn of the twentieth century. The image of Germany as an anti-modernist society came from geopolitical causes; the reversal of alliances leading to the First World War; and war defeat which laid the basis for fascist seizure of power.

Analytically, concludes Collins, the roots of militaristic movements of extreme ethnic violence are found in all societies; whether such movements become dominant depends on conditions independent of the modernisation process. Given future conditions of geopolitical crisis and ethnic struggle, fascist-like movements are possible in any society in the world.

Collins makes no reference to Norbert Elias's *Studien über die Deutschen*, nor does he dwell upon the twin themes of "power struggles" and "the development of habitus" which are central to Elias's account of German development. There is much in Col-

lins's thesis which is compatible with what Elias argues. On the other hand, Collins's conclusion appears to lean towards the view of Zygmunt Bauman who, in *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Polity Press, 1988), contended that genocide was endemic in the condition of modernity, paying little attention to the particular conjuncture of part-processes in Germany. It will be good if the publication of the translation of *The Germans* later this year provokes a lively debate among anglophone sociologists.

Johan Goudsblom, "Civilisation and Religion: On the Role of Religion in Norbert Elias's Theory of the Civilising Processes", *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 21 (4) 1995: 90-101.

According to a number of critics, the role of religion is underestimated in Elias's *The Civilising Process*. They point out, for example, that many of Erasmus's rules for good manners stem directly from medieval clerical sources. Goudsblom examines that view critically. Two contrasting traditions in European thought are distinguished. The established tradition, represented by St Augustine, holds that all "true" civilisation is inspired by the teachings of Christ. Max Weber's study of the Protestant Ethic forms a secularised version of this tradition. Elias, on the other hand, belongs to the dissenting tradition, represented by Lucretius, which sees the development of religious sentiments and ideas as part of the civilising process. After a discussion of the alleged monastic origin of Erasmus's rules for good table manners, Goudsblom reaches the conclusion - in agreement with Elias - that "religion never has *in itself* a 'civilising' or affect-subduing effect".

Meerten B. ter Borg, "Church, Power and Civilisation: Some Mechanisms", *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 21 (4) 1995: 102-115.

The author tries to show that Elias's successful challenge to the idea that the Christian church is the only civilising agent in the Western world does not mean that the church is a second-rate civilizer, only a "means of transport" of civilisation from the court-nobility to the lower social strata. In order to make

the gospel come true, the church had to maintain its power position in Western society. The main means of power at its disposal was imaginary in character: the promise of salvation. Believers could gain this by behaving according to very severe standards.

■ WORK IN PROGRESS

Abram de Swaan has written a paper entitled *Rational Choice as Process*, building bridges between process sociology and so-called rational theory. A request to summarise its argument in 500 words for this issue of *Figurations* defeated him, so anyone who would like a copy of the paper should write to: Professor Abram de Swaan, Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, Oude Hoogstraat 24, 1012 CE Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Cas Wouters introduces the highly marketable concept of the *lustbalance* in his essay in progress, "Twentieth-century Changes in the Lustbalance of Sex and Love". He summarises his argument as follows:

"The longing for an enduring intimate relationship and the longing for sex are connected, but there is also a tension between the two types of longing, especially as time goes by. Throughout this century, processes of emancipation and informalization have run in tandem with a 'sexualization of love' and an 'eroticization of sex', but since the Sexual Revolution the traditional lustbalance of a lust-dominated sexuality for men and a complementary (romantic) love- or relationship-dominated sexuality for women has come under attack. More and more people have been experimenting with the 'balance' in between the extremes of desexualised love (sexual longing subordinated to the continuation of the relationship) and depersonalised sexual contact, provoking new and more varied answers to the question: when or within what kind of relationship(s) are (what kind of) eroticism and sexuality allowed and desired? This paper describes and interprets these developments, focusing on the difficulties accompanying relational and psychical processes that accompanied changes in the dominant perceptions of both genders as to what

makes a (more) satisfying lustbalance. Using empirical evidence from the Netherlands (changes in a popular feminist monthly and relevant research reports), the paper argues that the emancipation of women and their sexuality (complement of the accommodation of men and their sexuality) has intensified both erotic and sexual awareness as well as both types of longings. Therefore, feelings of ambivalence have increased and the lustbalance is increasingly experienced as a tension-balance. (Contact: Cas Wouters, Hogeweg 8HS, 1098 CB Amsterdam, Netherlands.)

Tom Scheff, in a forthcoming paper entitled "Children's Talk: Toward a Theory of Social Integration", applies two of Elias's ideas to actual data. The first idea is that human understanding requires relating "least parts to greatest wholes" (Spinoza). Scheff re-analyzes some of the findings in an excellent study by Marjorie Goodwin, *He-Said-She-Said* (1990). He shows that the study could be expanded, micro-macro, by investigating the smallest parts of children's dialogue (not only the verbal parts, but also the non-verbal ones), and also the greatest wholes, social institutions such as social class and race, which are implied in the dialogue.

The second idea comes from Elias's treatment of interdependence, and departures from interdependence (dependence and independence). Goodwin interprets her dialogues as showing gender differences, with the girls more cooperative and less conflictful than the boys. But Scheff's re-analysis suggests that the girls are as conflictful as the boys, but in a mode of dependence (they hide their conflict when face to face). The boys are conflictful in an independent mode. From these data I suggest a theory of social integration, with interdependence representing the solidarity mode, and isolation (independence) and engulfment (dependence) both forms of alienation. (Contact: Tom Scheff, Department of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106, USA; e-mail: scheff@alishaw.ucsb.edu)

Esteban Castro, though a sociologist, is in the second year of his PhD programme in politics at St Antony's

College, Oxford. He is working on "The making of citizenship in contemporary Mexico: the case of water supply policies", having previously completed a masters degree focusing on social conflict over access to water, and research on the current process of decentralization in the irrigation districts of Mexico. At the moment he has just finished a draft on the "Pre-Columbian and colonial forerunners". His key propositions in this paper were derived from the following generalizations by Elias:

"The society of what we call the modern age is characterized, above all in the West, by a certain level of monopolization". ... "[N]o matter who the monopolist is, that a monopoly will sooner or later be formed has a high degree of probability, at least in the social structures that have existed so far. In the language of exact science this observation would perhaps be called a 'law'. Strictly speaking, what we have is a relatively precise formulation of a quite simple social mechanism, which, once set on mo-

tion, proceeds like clockwork" (*The Civilising Process*, Blackwell, 1994, pp. 345, 342).

He is trying to grasp the relation between the process of accumulation of natural resources, particularly water, and the twin processes of state formation and the formation of citizenship as a social identity. His next chapters will be on the period between the Mexican Independence (1821) and the Revolution (1910-1917), and then finally the contemporary scene.

Besides his thesis topic, Esteban Castro has an interest in music and dance. He is organizing a seminar in Oxford 3 June 1995 on "Tango and Bolero: the musical culture of Latin America". He is keen to make contacts among readers of *Figurations*, and anyone interested in either of his different fields of interest should contact him at: St Antony's College, Oxford OX1 6JF, UK; e-mail: jecastro@vax.ox.ac.uk

■ CONTRIBUTIONS

The next issue of *Figurations* will be mailed in early November 1995. News and notes should be sent to the Editor, Stephen Mennell, in Dublin, by 1 October 1995.

Editorial Address: Department of Sociology, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland.

Tel. +353-1-706 8504; Fax: +353-1-706 1125.

E-mail: SMENNELL@ollamh.ucd.ie

© 1995, Norbert Elias Stichting, J.J. Viotta straat 13, 1071 JM Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Figurations is printed and mailed by SISWO: The Netherlands Universities Institute for Co-ordination of Research in the Social Sciences. Graphic Design and Desktop Publishing: Peter de Kroon (SISWO).

Researchers, institutes or libraries who would like to receive this newsletter should write to the *Figurations* address file manager: Judith van Rooyen, SISWO, Plantage Muidergracht 4, 1018 TV Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Fax: +31-20-622 9430. E-mail: rooyen@siswo.uva.nl
Figurations will be sent to them free of charge.

We should like to have on file not only an accurate and comprehensive mailing list, but also our readers' telephone and fax numbers and their e-mail addresses. Please fill in the form below and return to Judith van Rooyen, SISWO, Plantage Muidergracht 4, 1018 TV Amsterdam, Netherlands.

NAME

Was this issue of *Figurations* correctly addressed to you?
If not, please insert the correct details below:

ADDRESS:

Street

District

City Postcode

Country

TELEPHONE (Day) (Evening)

FAX

E-MAIL ADDRESS

Would any of your friends and colleagues like to receive copies of future issues of *Figurations*?

Please give their names and addresses below:

NAME

ADDRESS

NAME

ADDRESS

NAME

ADDRESS

1
157
32
27
213
15
228
22 2508 258