

Newsletter of the Norbert Elias Foundation

■ FROM THE NORBERT ELIAS FOUNDATION

Third Norbert Elias Amalfi Prize 2003

The Norbert Elias Foundation, in co-operation with the Academic Committee of the European Amalfi Prize for Sociology and Social Sciences, announces the Third European Prize dedicated to Norbert Elias. The Prize consists in a sum of €1000 and it will be awarded to a significant *first* work by a European author published in Europe between 1 January 2001 and 31 December 2002.

The Prize is awarded 'in commemoration of the sociologist Norbert Elias (1897–1990), whose writings, at once theoretical and empirical, boldly crossed disciplinary boundaries in the social sciences to develop a long-term perspective on the patterns of interdependence which human beings weave together'. Norbert Elias was himself the first recipient of the European Amalfi Prize for his book *Die Gesellschaft der Individuen*. Now the Norbert Elias Prize is intended to draw attention to a promising young European scholar who has published a first book in sociology or a related discipline. The first Norbert Elias Prize was awarded in 1999 to David Lepoutre for his book *Coeur de banlieue* and the second in 2001 to Wilbert van Vree for *Meetings, Manners and Civilisation*.

In order to nominate an author's first book for the award, please send the enclosed form to

Saskia Visser Secretary, Norbert Elias Foundation J.J. Viottastraat 13 1071 JM Amsterdam The Netherlands

In the case of books written in the 'smaller' European languages, please also include a brief summary in English.

The Foundation's new Website

As many readers will have discovered, Norbert Elias Foundation's former website proved unreliable, and we decided to discontinue it. Saskia Visser has spent much of her time in 2002 working with consultants to create a greatly improved and more ambitious website. By the time you receive this issue – or certainly very shortly after that – you should be able to find us once more at a new address:

www.norberteliasfoundation.nl

We shall include a description of the website's contents in *Figurations* 19.

■ THE ELIAS COLLECTED WORKS

Two more volumes of the *Gesammelte Schriften* are published:

Norbert Elias, *Frühschriften* (Collected Works in German, Volume 1). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2002. 191 pp. ISBN: 3-518-58317-4

The Frühschriften comprise minor texts and academic manuscripts written before the magnum opus, Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Not included in this volume, but forthcoming in a later one, is the text of Elias's Frankfurt Habilitationsschrift, Die höfische Gesellschaft. The earliest writings stem

from the time when he was member of the famous Zionist 'Blau-Weiss' group in Breslau, which was part of the German youth movement. In these texts, we find Elias a sociologist of knowledge right from the beginning. Everything, so he teaches in the small text 'Vom Sehen in der Natur', is

dependent of time and cultural meaning. In his doctoral thesis, published here for the first time, he tried to come to grips with the ahistorical discipline of philosophy. His teacher Richard Hönigswald was not amused and his challenge cost Elias the philosophical career to which he had thitherto been attracted. After a short interlude when he tried to earn his living as freelance writer (see the 'Anekdoten' reprinted here from the Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung), he turned to Heidelberg, where he found his scientific destiny in the new discipline of sociology. Working with Alfred Weber (see 'Zur Entstehung der modernen Naturwissenschaften' in this volume) and strongly influenced by Max Weber and Karl Mannheim he found his own way, as we can trace through the texts collected here, including his contributions to the Soziologentag 1928, and 'Zur Soziologie des deutschen Antisemitismus' in 1929 (see Figurations 9). In his sketch "Die Wolke" oder "Politik als Wissenschaft", frei nach Aristophanes', written in honour of Karl Mannheim when he left Heidelberg, he shows a good measure of irony.

Just after he had completed the manuscript of Die höfische Gesellschaft in 1933 he had to leave Frankfurt and fled to Paris. From the French period we have two texts. 'Kitschstil und Kitschzeitalter', a piece on art and society in history, dealing with the delicate question of taste and social class. Here he creates the term 'good society' as a taste setting class. It was originally intended for publication in the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, but when Horkheimer declined it, it was published in Die Sammlung edited by Klaus Mann. The last text of this collection is 'Die Vertreibung der Hugenotten aus Frankreich'. It shows the other side of Louis XIV, the ugly face of an ageing monarch, who became religious and tried to expel the Protestants from France for the sake of cultural homogeneity. It is a text that has to be read as commentary to the racist terror in Germany and shows the brute treatment of the marginalised. It was published in a refugee journal, Der Ausweg, published by a Jewish reform movement, called 'Renouveau', with prominent contributors like Franz

Oppenheimer. The title is telling: it points to what questions the exiles of the 1930s were asking.

Reinhard Blomert École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

Note: The following essays from the *Frühschriften* volume are already available in English translation:

'On the Sociology of German Anti-Semitism', *Journal of Classical Sociology* 1 (2) 2001: 219–25

In *The Norbert Elias Reader: A Biographical Selection* (eds J. Goudsblom and S.J. Mennell, Oxford: Blackwell, 1998):

'Idea and Individual' (brief except from Elias's Breslau DrPhil dissertation), pp. 5–7

'On Primitive Art', pp. 8–11 'The Expulsion of the Huguenots from France', pp. 18–25 'The Kitsch Style and the Age of Kitsch', pp. 26–35

Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson,

Etablierte und Außenseiter (Collected Works in German, Volume IV). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002. 325 pp. ISBN: 3-518-58318-2.

Responsibility for this volume of the new standard edition in German of the works of Norbert Elias was taken on behalf of the Editorial Board by Nico Wilterdink. Not untypically, the history of the book is a little complicated. The Established and the Outsiders was originally written in English, and published in 1965 by Frank Cass, London. The substance of the book is an empirical study of the tensions and power balance between working-class neighbourhoods near Leicester. Elias's co-author, John Scotson, as a teacher and youth club leader, was intimately familiar with the area. Later, as an introduction to the Dutch translation of the book published in 1976, Elias wrote a substantial new introduction, entitled 'A theoretical essay on established and outsider relations', but this text remained unpublished in English until the revised edition from Sage in 1996. Later still, the original book, together

with the 1976 Introduction, was translated into German by Michael Schröter, and Elias made a further addition to the text. Writing now in German, Elias returned to the general principles of established—outsider relations in an essay on what the called the 'Maycomb Model', published in the first German edition in 1990. This was not included in revised English edition, and it is still not available in English translation.

'Further Facets of Established-Outsider Relationships: The Maycomb Model', was written in the last months of Elias's life, in May-June 1990. In it, as Michael Schröter has reported and as I remember it 'from the horse's mouth', Elias finally completed his old plan of using Harper Lee's famous book To Kill a Mocking Bird (1960), on the relationship between Negroes and Whites in Maycomb, Alabama, as another paradigmatic model of established-outsider relationships. This served as a stepping stone toward broadening the implications of his English study to all unequal relationships. Other pointers to this – besides the contents of this new essay itself – are the deletion of the two definite articles in the book's title (Etablierte und Außenseiter instead of The Established and the Outsiders) and the omission of the original subtitle of the book 'A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems'. An earlier step in this direction had been his 'Theoretical essay on established and outsider relations', written in 1976 for the translation of the book into the Dutch language. At the time, in discussions of these relationships and of such topics as Black Power, Elias often referred to Harper Lee's novel, but it did not surface in the 'theoretical essay' (which is also included in the new German edition). The translation of this book into the German language offered him another chance to use this novel as a peg in showing that so-called 'race relations' are understood far more properly as established-outsider relationships. This is how the essay on 'Further Facets' or 'The Maycomb Model' originated (for further details, see Schröter's Erfahrungen mit Norbert Elias, Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp, 1997: 251-2, 321). Its characteristic opening sentences are: 'Inequalities between groups and individuals belong to the recurring

characteristics of human societies. Why they are, is an open question.'

Cas Wouters Amsterdam

■ AND SEE ALSO ...

Norbert Elias, *Écrits sur L'Art Africain* (translated into French by Jean-Bernard Ouédraogo and Françoise Armengaud). Paris: Editions Kimé, 2002. 167pp. ISBN: 2-84174-273-3.

This book consists of two parts. The first is a translation of the catalogue to the exhibition of 'African Art from the Collection of Norbert Elias', held at the Leicester Museum of Art Gallery from 24 April to 14 June 1970. It includes Elias's comments on a selection of items from his collection, together with numerous photographs (which strangely, however, do not correspond exactly with those in the original 1970 catalogue, and are not always easy to relate to Elias's commentary). But of particular importance is Elias's introductory essay on African Art, which appears here (pp. 9-23) in French for the first time.

The second part of the book (pp. 115–63) comprises an essay on 'Stages of African Art, Social and Visual', which Elias wrote in English but never published. The typescript, now lodged with the rest of his papers in Marbach am Neckar, shows the typical signs of having been reworked and revised by Elias and for that reason the Board of the Norbert Elias Foundation decided to authorise its publication.

Michael Schröter, 'Was lacht kann nicht beißen: Ein unveröffentlichter 'Essay on Laughter' by Norbert Elias. *Merkur*, 56, 2002: 860–73.

Michael Schröter, who worked with Elias and edited many of the books that appeared late in Elias's life, here outlines the argument of an ambitious but unfinished typescript dating from an earlier phase of Elias's career. It can be found in the Elias archive at Marbach, and dates from 1956. It sketches a whole theory of the civilising of laughter, and characteristically crosses the conventional boundaries of many disciplines. Schröter makes the interest-

ing point that, while from about 1965 onwards Elias rarely made detailed reference to earlier writers (and he has often been criticised for that), this essay shows that earlier in his career he conformed much more closely to the academic ideal.

■ A NOTE ON 'HABITUS'

There has been some discussion about the question of who first used the term habitus in its current sociological sense – Bourdieu or Elias. I think Elias was first chronologically, but when Bourdieu started using the concept he did so independently of Elias.

Partly to show how futile such discussions can be, let me mention a passage that I recently read in a book by the Dutch historian Jan Romein (In opdracht van de tijd: Tien voordrachten over historische thema's (Amsterdam: Em. Querido, 1946, pp. 178-79). According to Romein, the Dutch legal philosopher Hugo de Groot or Grotius (1583-1645) made a comparison, in the Brevarium of the third book of his Parallelon rerumpublicarum, between the customs and the character of the Athenian, the Roman and the Batavian (that is, Dutch) peoples [de moribus ingenioque populorum Atheniensium, Romanorum, Batavorum in which he raised the question of whether there exists a certain quality of an entire people which he calls έξις (hexis) or habitus, and, if so, from where that quality originates. In Romein's interpretation, the way Hugo de Groot used the term habitus comes remarkably close to current sociological usage.

Johan Goudsblom University of Amsterdam

■ LOST AND FOUND: ELIAS'S WORK ON THE NAVAL PROFESSION

In 1950 Norbert Elias published the first of three studies into 'the Genesis of the Naval Profession' in the *British Journal of Sociology* [1 (4): 291–309]. Elias at that time was not the established scholar that he was to become later. In the 1950s the work on the naval profession was not well received by the audience even though all the major themes of the 'civilising process' were

interwoven in the article. The two other studies were never published in English journals (one of them was published in a Dutch journal but it received no international attention). Yet the material in the Norbert Elias archive in Marbach am Neckar, Germany, shows that the project on the naval profession is larger than just the three proposed articles in the *BJS*. The outline given of the project shows a structure for a small book of at least 120 pages.

The unpublished articles form a coherent whole, whose contents - in a nutshell – deal with the social origins of one of the key institutions in British society, the Royal Navy and its officer corps. In general the work is built on the strife between nobility and commoners and in this sense the 'Naval Profession' continues Elias's earlier researches in civilising processes. The rivalry between nobility and commoners was the engine of change, contributing to the institutionalisation of a new occupation, the naval officer. Comparisons with Spain and France demonstrate that the rivalry was essential to England's gaining a competitive edge and establishing its dominance over the world's seas. The conflict was suppressed in Spain and in France, with detrimental results to nautical skills and military competence. Military competence – in the logic deployed by Elias - stems from the values and norms associated with noblemen (courage, fighting spirit, collaboration, hierarchical command structures). Nautical skills originate from seamen or 'tarpaulin commanders' who have learned the tricks of the trade as young apprentices at sea. Only the rivalry between the two socially divergent groups could result in a fusion of military and nautical skills or, in other words, in the genesis of the naval officer. One of the leading questions formulated by Elias in one of the unpublished papers (cover 505 in the NE-archive) himself is: 'How could a gentleman become a tarpaulin without loosing caste, without lowering his social status?'

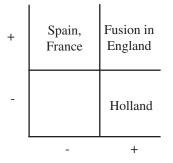
But many social conditions have to be fulfilled if new institutions are to arise. Elias does not want only to give an insight in the institutionalisation of a profession, but also to describe Amalgamation/ openness of classes

Yes	Holland (regents dominant)	England
No	Spain, France	
	Yes	No

Rivalries subdued

political and modernisation processes in England and compare them with continental developments. In Elias's words: 'The history of a profession is part of the social and economic history of its country' (taken from a note from Cover 518). The social conditions are dependent on the political structure. When the political structure (through Elias's famous 'royal mechanism') permits a

Military skills



Civilian skills

healthy antagonism between nobility and civilians, modernisation processes (modernisation leading to new institutional arrangements such as the fusion of noblemen and seamen into the profession of naval officers) are stimulated. The diagrams above illustrate the social conditions favourable to the rise of England as a maritime power. In the project that I am undertaking, the

research question is directed at gaining insight in the project 'Studies in the Genesis of the Naval Profession'. We want to ascertain the relevance of the naval studies for sociology in general and more specifically for military sociology. The project 'Genesis of the Naval Profession' is connected to the main body of the work of Norbert Elias. Subsidiary questions are how the work on the naval profession fits in with the work on civilising processes and why the work on the naval profession was never published in full. The ultimate goal of this project is to arrive at publication of Elias's studies on the genesis of the naval profession.

René Moelker Royal Netherlands Military Academy Breda

e-mail: r.moelker@mindef.nl

■ REFLECTIONS ON MAPPAE MUNDI

B. De Vries and J. Goudsblom

Mappae Mundi: Humans and their Habitats in a Long-Term Socio-Ecological Perspective: Myths, Maps and Models. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002. 446 pp. ISBN: 90-5356 535 3

This beautifully produced book was published to mark the 250th anniversary of the foundation of the Royal Dutch Society for the Sciences, and a copy of it presented to HM Queen Beatrix on 25 May 2002 (see Recent Conferences below). The sheer scope and ambition of a book co-authored by a sociologist and a natural scientist provokes reflection on the state and the scope of the social sciences today.

The idea of a human science is a contested domain, subject to interdisciplinary turf wars. Outside sociology, this contest is often productive. Clashes of scientific paradigm and perspective cross-fertilise, engendering interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks and even new disciplines. Evolutionary

approaches to human ecology, archaeology, anthropology, psychology and linguistics jostle with developmental biology, the brain sciences, psychoanalysis, demography, history, population genetics, physiology, human geography, and an array of other disciplines, in cacophonous debates about the nature of humanity, and its relationship with non-human nature. Unfortunately, over the last three decades, sociologists

have written themselves out of these debates. The social scientific cul-de-sac is the result of two intellectual failures, namely: (1) the retreat from the idea of what used to be known as social evolution, but is better described as *long-term processes of social development*; and (2) the retreat from *biology*.

Social Development: Over-reacting to the excesses of nineteenth-century



evolutionism, sociologists and social anthropologists have made the study of long-term processes of social development synonymous with western imperialism and Eurocentric assumptions of superiority. The self-evident insight that there are path-dependencies associated with the sequence of development and with the scale and intensity of social processes, has been rendered invisible and effectively unsayable. The historical observation that agrarian societies have displaced hunter-gather societies, only themselves to be displaced subsequently by industrial societies, rarely provides a point of departure for sociological enquiries because of the perceived normative equivalence of evolution and progress.

Biology: The retreat from biology is more complex and relates to (i) human evolution ('phylogeny'), (ii) individual human growth and development ('ontogeny') and (iii) the evolutionary ecology of human development. In relation to human nature, the acceptance of human evolution as a scientific fact has rarely engendered sociological enquiries about the extent to which human behaviour may or may not be circumscribed or conditioned by our genomic inheritance. The possibility of a 'stone-age mind' has been flatly rejected, whilst the alternative proposition of an infinitely malleable human nature conceived as a 'blank slate', has been elevated to an article of faith. Sociologists seem to agree with their biological antagonists that sociological perspectives are unlikely to be able to make any original contribution to our understanding of the process of human evolution. And although long consigned to the intellectual dustbin in developmental biology, the outdated opposition between nature and nurture continues to inform sociological injunctions against 'biological determinism'. Processes of individual socialisation are rarely acknowledged as instances of biological and neurological growth and development.

However the retreat from biology does not only find expression in relation to human nature and social behaviour. It is also evident in relation to human ecology. The evolution and subsequent long term development of our species has occurred in tandem with the evolutionary transformation of the biosphere. Thousands of species have become extinct whilst many thousands of others have entered into a state of permanent ecological symbiosis with humanity.

The problem for human science is to develop an encompassing theoretical framework, which can reconcile social, psychological, ecological, and evolutionary processes operating simultaneously, but over different timeframes. The recent evolution of our species requires a time-horizon of a hundred millennia or more, while the most significant transformations associated with symbol emancipation and the evolution of a capacity and compulsion for language and culture probably occurred between sixty and forty thousand years ago. The evolutionary ecology of what Goudsblom dubs the 'anthroposphere' operates at several overlapping scales. Human fire-culture has been shaping eco-systems for hundreds of thousands of years. Agrarianisation and the domestication of the biosphere have accelerated and expanded across the earth over a much shorter period of ten thousand years – a time-frame which also encompasses those longterm processes of social development that have seen a steady increase in the scale and intensity of human social and economic interdependencies. Human history, measured in centuries, brings

more specific processes of state formation into view. In this regard, Norbert Elias was almost unique among social scientists in recognising that the history of the state formation process was simultaneously a history of distinctive personality structures. With its emphasis on psychogenetic and sociogenetic processes, The Civilising Process advanced an historical sociology of the unconscious, historicising ideas only partially developed by Freud

in *Totem and Taboo* and *Civilisation* and its *Discontents*. Implicit in Elias's analysis is the realisation that long-term social and psychological developments

unfold together. He was also unique amongst contemporary sociologists in recognising the critical importance of the link between individual processes of socialisation and long-term processes of social development, recognising that there was a link between this sociological problem and the controversial relation between ontogeny and phylogeny in biology. But at the heart of Elias's contribution is an epistemological framework which, at least potentially, reconciles the social and biological sciences within an integrated theory of knowledge. This unified framework, developed in The Symbol Theory and *Involvement and Detachment*, is not an exercise in theoretical semantics but offers a serious rationale for understanding the nature of the autonomy of social processes, whilst at the same time recognising their foundations in the biological realm. Perhaps most suggestively, outlining a hierarchy of disciplines and subject matters at different 'levels of integration', Elias alludes to the possibility of higher-level processes, reacting back and 'channelling' lower level processes. Elias referred to the emergence of humanity as a species with a biological predisposition for language and culture as 'symbol emancipation'. Goudsblom's concept of the anthroposphere, located 'within the biosphere', refers precisely to the most glaringly obvious example of such a channelling effect. Symbol emancipa-



tion, which started out as a falteringly evolved cognitive capacity for symbolic communication, has led to the ecological explosion of the human species. This in turn has engendered an evolutionary transformation of the biosphere as great as that which saw the creation of an oxygen environment by cyanobacteria, or the much later extinction of the dinosaurs. Clearly the evolution of symbolising hominids has turned out to be an evolutionary-ecological event of rather epic proportions. In short, social processes, which are the object of sociology and anthropology, have in this case channelled and steered the biological evolution of both of our own species and all those associated with the humanised ecosystems upon which we depend.

If sociology and social anthropology are to rejoin the fold and contribute constructively to the development of an interdisciplinary human science, Elias's insistence on the importance long-term social processes would be a good place to start. Likewise his theory of knowledge, which draws attention to the intimate autonomy of the social and biological realms respectively, provides a firm basis for an engagement by social scientists with the research programmes in neighbouring scientific

disciplines. Mappae Mundi, edited by Bert de Vries and Johan Goudsblom, is a superb demonstration of the enormous scope for such an engagement. Bringing together physical scientists, biologists, and social scientists from a range of disciplines, the collection explores the relationship between the long-term processes of social development and broader ecological transformations of non-human nature. Goudsblom's concept of the anthroposphere establishes the timeframe and demarcates the pathdependent sequence of human development, starting with the emergence of fire-culture among early hominids, through processes of agrarianisation and later industrialisation. Subsequent chapters review in more detail: human responses and anthropogenic transformations associated with climate change during the Holocene; the process of agrarianisation; the long-term trend towards increasing social complexity; the socio-ecological dynamics of the Roman empire; demography and environment in Asia; and the twin processes of industrialisation and globalisation of the last two centuries. In the concluding chapter, Goudsblom speculates as

to a possible fourth post-industrial ecological regime that might yet emerge in response to environmental crisis and the depletion of fossil fuels.

From the perspective of many of the contributing disciplines, this volume is useful and timely, but perhaps not earth shattering. Physical geographers, archaeologists, climatologists, demographers, and biologists are more easily able to shake off their disciplinary shackles in the spirit of co-operation. To a green-eyed sociologist, they seem to enjoy a research culture driven by questions rather than 'topic-areas'. For a sociologist it is rare indeed to see a colleague involved in such fruitful collaboration. Mappae Mundi should be read as an open invitation to our discipline to re-establish a series of much longer, overlapping time-frames to guide our enquires. It should also serve to demonstrate the great contribution that sociology could be making to the inter-disciplinary science of humanity.

Stephen Quilley
University College Dublin



■ RECENT BOOKS AND ARTICLES

John Pratt Punishment and Civilisation: Penal Tolerance and Intolerance in Modern Society. London: Sage, 2002. 213pp. ISBN: 0-7619-6209-3 (hb); 0-7619-6210-7(pb)

Because we received a copy of this important book only shortly before *Figurations* 18 went to press, we print below the publisher's blurb. A more detailed note may appear in a future edition.

Punishment and Civilisation examines how a framework of punishment that

suited the values and standards of the civilised world came to be set in place from around 1800 to the late twentieth century. In this book, John Pratt, of the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand draws on research about prison architecture, clothing, diet, hygienic arrangements and changes in penal language to establish this.

The author demonstrates that this did not mean, however, that such a framework of punishment was 'civilised'. Instead it meant that punishment could be largely unchecked by a public that did not want to be involved. In the last few decades it has become clear that civilised societies have to tolerate new boundaries of punishment. This is not because of any development of 'civilised punishment'. Instead this is due to a shift in public mood and power: from public indifference to public involvement in penal development.

Throughout this text theoretical ideas and concepts are accessibly introduced and illustrated with a wide range of examples from the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It will be essential reading for students and academics of punishment, prisons and social theory.

Mieke Komen, 'Dangerous children: Juvenile delinquency and judicial intervention in the Netherlands, 1960–1995', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 37, 2002: 379–401.

In the continuing controversy in academic circles over the rise in reported juvenile violent delinquency, some scholars attribute it largely to the increase in the actual number of offences while others emphasise changes in registration and intervention practices. This article reviews changes in the way justice workers try to control the behaviour of delinquent juveniles in the Netherlands in the period 1960–95. The study is based on an analysis of files on adolescents and children placed in the Dutch juvenile justice system by judges during each decade from the 1960s to the 1990s. Comparing the older and recent files reveals that the interventions of juvenile justice workers became less harsh. This process has coincided with a rise in the severity of violence and crimes committed by the youngsters. As a result, from the early 1980s onwards, juvenile justice workers in fact intervened more frequently, but still in a less punitive way. The external constraints in the Dutch judicial system are rather gentle and prudent, while the youngsters commit more severe violence and serious crimes, suggesting further inquiry into the degree of autonomy of, and interaction between, adult socialisation among professionals and youth socialisation.

Robert van Krieken, 'Reshaping Civilisation: Liberalism between Assimilation and Cultural Genocide', *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 29 (2) 2002: 215–47 (in English).

This article is part of Robert van Krieken's wider project which is destined to result in a book provisionally entitled *Reshaping Civilisation: Citizenship, Civility and Governance under Settler Colonialism.* The author argues for a more nuanced understanding of different meanings of the concept of 'civilisation', through an examination of the relationships between processes of civilisation and settler-colonialism under liberal political regimes. The particular example used is that of the

history of the Australian 'stolen generations' - those Aboriginal children removed from their families in the course of the twentieth century – and its current political and normative reassessment, which provides an important stimulus towards critical reflections on the nature of liberal politics and practices in a settler-colonial context. The paper focuses on the linkages between the historical development of liberalism and changes in what is understood and experienced as 'civilisation', beginning with the contrast between the reliance on the concept of 'civilisation' both to remove Aboriginal children families up until the 1970s, and to support the subsequent critique of removal policies and practices. He observes that the concept of 'civilisation' has been used by social scientists in at least three different ways, and argues for the need to keep in view the relationship between civilisation and colonialism in order to support a more reflexive understanding of civilisation which can encompass all three meanings and pay due heed to the paradoxical possibilities of violence and barbarism coexisting alongside and within processes of civilisation.

Robert van Krieken 'The paradox of the "two sociologies": Hobbes, Latour and the Constitution of modern social theory', *Journal of Sociology*, 38 (3) 2002: 255–73.

So far there have usually been only two answers to the question of what to do with dichotomies in sociology, either embrace them or attempt to synthesise them. However, this has produced merely an endless vacillation between the two positions, and a paradoxical constant reproduction of dichotomous thinking rather than transformation. This paper works towards a 'third answer' to the question, first, by outlining how the concept of the 'Hobbesian problem of order', as proposed by Talcott Parsons, underpins all sociological dichotomies, and why it is important to re-read Hobbes and revisit the so called 'problem of order'. Second, it explains how Bruno Latour's model of the 'constitution' of modern thought helps us to understand the dynamics of oppositions like nature/society or agency/structure, and how the problems with dichotomies derive from only perceiving part of the constitution, rather than all of it. The paper concludes with a discussion of one example of a type of sociology that does operate across all of Latour's Constitution because it is based on a different conception of what is problematic about social order – Norbert Elias's 'figurational sociology' – and with some observations about what we might do with sociology's constitution from this point onwards.

Jauregui, Pablo, Europeanism versus Africanism: "Europe" as a symbol of modernity and democratic renewal in Spain', pp. 77–100 in Mikael af Malmborg and B. Stråth (eds), *The Meaning of Europe*, Oxford, Berg, 2002. ISBN 1-85973-576-2 (Cloth); 1-85973-581-9 (Paper)

This chapter adopts Norbert Elias's approach to the study of national we-images and we-feelings, in an attempt to understand the emergence of 'Europe' as a symbol of renewed prestige and an emotive source of collective pride in Spain. It argues that in the aftermath of the Franco dictatorship, membership of the European Community/Union was widely viewed as the culmination of Spain's successful transition to democracy, and hence as the recovery of a respectable status on the international stage. In this sense, Spain's enthusiastic entry into 'Europe' exemplifies a macrosociological version of Elias's theory of established-outsider relationships: for Spaniards, becoming 'European' was (and is still seen today) as a way of wiping out a shameful source of 'group disgrace' (the humiliating exclusion from 'Europe' during the Françoist dictatorship), and therefore as a strategy for achieving and maintaining a sense of 'group charisma' by becoming respectable members of the 'modern', 'democratic', and 'civilised' sphere of European nations. It is the author's conviction that this Eliasian approach can shed much light on attitudes to the European Union not just in Spain, but in all other current and applicant member states of the EU.

Alain Garrigou, 'Un jeu presque parfait pourquoi les régles sportives changent', *Revue Jurdique et Economique du Sport*, 62, 2002: 7–26.

Taking Elias and Dunning's *Quest for Excitement* as his point of departure, Nanterre's rugby-playing political scientist elaborates an Eliasian interpretation of how the rules of sport come to change.

Helmut Kuzmics, 'Regioni (Europe) tra (Dis) Integration ed Identitá/ (Europäische) Regionen zwischen (Des-) Integration und Identität', *International Review of Culture and Regional Transition Studies* 1, 2001: 5–18

Published simultaneously in German and Italian, this article examines the distinction between 'homeland' and 'region' in the context of the history of the European system of states and European unification as an unplanned long-term process. Drawing on his comparative studies of Austria and Britain, Kuzmics poses the question of how national and regional habituses are related. He then discusses the development of we-identity in the context of European integration, and finally asks whether it is to be understood as Europeanisation, Americanisation or regionalisation.

Cas Wouters, 'The Quest for New Rituals in Dying and Mourning: Changes in the We-I Balance', *Body and Society* 8 (1) 2002: 1–27.

Wouters begins by observing that in most Western countries, particularly in northern Europe and North America, recent decades have brought significant change in dying and mourning. The dying are now generally informed of their condition and with their intimates, are thus able to go through a process of 'anticipatory mourning'. And funeral show many of the symptoms associated with informalisation in other areas of life. In the 1960s and 1970s, mourning became increasingly privatised and individualised, but more recently a quest for new rituals has become apparent. Mourning is 'posed between a highly institutionalised social obligation and a highly individualised and personal feeling, respectively a public and a private process.

Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosm: Portrait of a Central European City*, London: Jonathan Cape, 2002, 585 pp.

This book deals with Breslau as a focus of Central European history. Chapter 7, on 'Wrocław: Phoenix from the Ashes, 1945–2000' contains the following paragraph on Norbert Elias:

'Norbert Elias (1897-1990), one of the pioneers of historical sociology, stayed long enough in his native Breslau to complete both his schooling and his medical studies. Driven out of Germany, like Cassirer, by the Nazis, he had the misfortune to publish his masterwork Über den Prozess der Zivilisation (1939) in German and in an obscure Swiss edition, at the very outbreak of war. As a result, he did not gain his academic post in England until he was near retiring age, and did not gain worldwide recognition until his prolific retirement. He is considered the founder of 'Figurational Sociology'. As befits an exile and a sociologist, the established anthology of his work is prefaced by his own verse:

How strange I am How strange we are'.

Johan Goudsblom Amsterdam

Yoshifusa Ichii, 'Towards Combining the Sociological Theories of Norbert Elias and Anthony Giddens', *Ritsumeikan Studies in Language and Culture*, 13 (4) 2002: 199-207.

In order to explore new directions for sociological theory, Ichii attempts to combine the sociological theories of Norbert Elias and Anthony Giddens. In the field of contemporary sociological theory, it is said that Elias and Giddens are similar in that both have made endeavours to resolve the 'structure-agency' problem. It is true that Elias and Giddens have both tried to reconsider the problem of the human subject in sociological theories. Whereas Elias not only anticipated some of the most important criticisms but also suggested correctives to some of the alternatives,

Giddens has engaged a dominant paradigm that underlies both Marxist and structural—functional theories. Setting out from a critique and reformulation of Elias's figurational-process sociology and Giddens's structuration theory, Ichii develops a concept of habitus and emotion that attempts to restore human subjectivity to social actors in complex societies.

Florence Delmotte, 'Norbert Elias et l'intégration postnationale. *Swiss Political Science Review* 8 (1) 2002: 3–26.

What according to Norbert Elias, is the 'dynamic of the West' (as the second volume of the French translation of *The Civilising Process* was called)? The history of beliefs and the growing complexity of the chains of interdependence between individuals. From this perspective, the development of European society appears since the medieval period to have followed a 'definite direction' or a 'constant bearing' defined by the domination on a successively ever larger scale.

Today, the debates about the constitution of a political union at European level give a new topicality to the works of Elias. Beginning from the distinction between 'objective' functional interdependence and integration that assumes the development of a collective identity. Elias attempts to give an account of the time lag between the appearance of a new 'survival unit' and the unfolding of a new 'we-feeling'. In the case of contemporary Europe, it is a matter of explaining the gestation of national habituses which continue to oppose a process of political integration which is nevertheless seen as inevitable.

To evaluate the originality of Elias's propositions, and their relevance to present philosophical and political issues, the 'post national institutions' of Elias are compared with the most recent theoretical views, including the national-democratic option of Dominique Schnapper and the 'constitutional patriotism' of Jürgen Habermas.

Christien Brinkgreve, 'De tweespalt in het bestaan: Over de autobiografische roman van Bram van Stolk, *S-1*'. *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*,

Special Issue on *Levensverhalen*, 2002, pp. 158-65.

This article is about the autobiographical novel *S-1* by the sociologist Bram van Stolk, who was a founder member of the Board of the Norbert Elias Foundation. It unravels the connections between themes in his life, his sociological work, and his novel, with particular reference to the relations between the established and the outsiders. In S-1, Van Stolk wrote about his longing for love and heroism and writes about homosexuality in a different vein from that found in his sociological work. The book can be seen as a vital act of resistance to the physical deterioration resulting from his illness.

■ BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RETROSPECT

Jos de Haan, Research Groups in Dutch Sociology. Amsterdam: Thesis Publisher, 1994, 282pp. (Proefschrift, University of Utrecht).

Not noticed in *Figurations* at the time, this thesis applies network theory to the main research schools in Dutch sociology since the Second World War.

My first reaction to the table of contents was that it was comforting to find that some of the schools had even sillier names than 'figurational sociology'. For instance in the 1950s a group around Lammers and Van Doom called themselves 'Modern Sociologists', mainly (it would seem) because they modelled themselves on the American sociology of the time. Another group (around Lindenberg and Wippler in the 1970s and 1980s) called themselves 'Explanatory Sociologists'. After such names-as-slogans, it is reassuring to think that the almost meaningless term 'Figurational Sociology' was originally a label stuck on the group around Norbert Elias by opponents of that way of thinking.

More seriously, though, chapter 11 on Figurational Sociology (pp. 155–72) is of great interest. The data for the network analysis is drawn mainly from citations in doctoral theses and patterns of co-authorship. In the diagrams many names familiar to readers of *Figurations* are to be found, and to me – as

a participant in the fun and games for the last quarter century – the links and arrows all seem accurately to match my own impressions of who did what, with which, and to whom.

SJM

Florence Delmotte, 'Sur Norbert Elias: Engagement et distanciation (Contributions à la sociologie de la connaisance)', *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie* (Université libre de Bruxelles), 1997: 207–11.

In this article, not reported in *Figurations* when it first appeared, Florence Delmotte examines Elias's theory of involvement and detachment in the light of the traditional polarity in theories of science between 'epistemological monism' and 'epistemological dualism'

OBITUARY

Siegfried Unseld, 28 September 1924 – 26 October 2002



All who were present at the celebration of Norbert Elias's ninetieth birthday in Amsterdam in 1987 will remember the tribute paid to him by his publisher, Siegfried Unseld, who shared the platform – actually the pulpit in the Oude Lutherse Kerk – with Pierre Bourdieu, Dirk Kaesler and Johan Goudsblom. Unseld's wife, the writer Ulla Berkewicz, also read two of Elias's poems at the celebration.

In its obituary, *The Guardian* (1 November, 2002) described Unseld as the 'guardian of post-war Germany's literary inheritance'. Born in Ulm, Unseld was drafted into the German navy during the war, and then went to university in Tübingen, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation on Hermann

Hesse. It was Hesse who in 1952 recommended him to join Suhrkamp Verlag, a new publishing house founded only two years previously. On Peter Suhrkamp's death in 1959, Siegfried Unseld became the firm's chairman and publisher. He believed in publishing authors, not books, and had a reputation for fierce loyalty to those whose work he valued. Apart from Hesse, his literary list included Uwe Johnson, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Samuel Beckett, Max Frisch, Octavio Paz, Reinhart Kosellek and Mario Vargas Llosa. But Suhrkamp is associated at least as strongly with the books of thinkers such as T.W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, Niklas Luhmann, Hans Blumenberg, Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, and Claude Lévi-Strauss. Above all in the minds of readers of Figurations, Siegfried Unseld will be remembered as a champion of the work of Norbert Elias.

How great a publisher Unseld was can be judged by how decisively he acted when he first encountered Elias. Initially, it had been agreed only to bring out a paperback edition of Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. A press conference had been called to mark its publication. Unseld greeted Elias, but warned him that he had another appointment in half an hour. Elias was on top form, and two and a half hours later Unseld was still standing there listening. He then took Elias to lunch and offered him a lifetime contract to publish *all* his works, past and future; and that indeed is the contract that is still in force today, when Suhrkamp is even now in the throes of issuing the new standard edition of Elias's Gesammelte Schriften. For his part, Elias was immensely grateful to Unseld, and in turn remained as loyal to his publisher as his publisher was to him. That is why in German all of Elias's books unlike the English versions, which are scattered among many separate publishers – are in the hands of a single publishing house.

Johan Goudsblom Hermann Korte Stephen Mennell

■ RECENT CONFERENCES

International Sociological Association XV World Congress of Sociology Brisbane, Australia, 8–13 July 2002

The fifteenth World Congress of Sociology was held in the depth of winter in Brisbane, where the hot sun bore down out of clear blue skies and put to shame what passed this year for high summer in Europe.

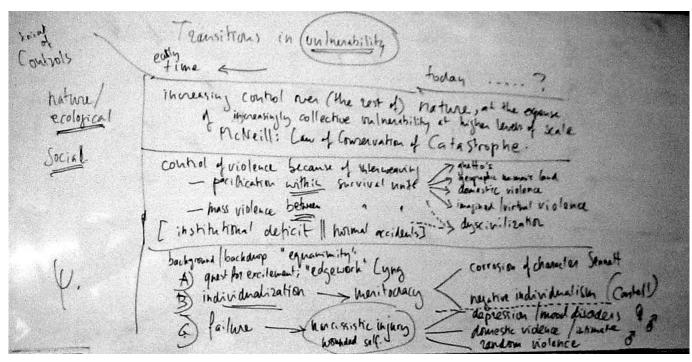
It was a pity that overall attendance at this Congress was noticeably very much smaller than in the previous three held in Madrid (1990), Bielefeld (1994) and Montreal (1998); the great distance and cost of reaching Australia from the northern hemisphere where the vast majority of the world's professional sociologists live was a deterrent. So too would have been the consequent jetlag had they fully anticipated it; many others besides me - and having lived in Australia I knew what was coming – spoke about the sleepless nights followed by irresistible tidal waves of sleepiness rolling over us in late afternoon. It was also striking how few American sociologists, post 11 September, made the trip, although such leading lights as Craig Calhoun, Randall Collins, Neil Smelser, Edward Tiryakian and Immanuel Wallerstein made prominent contributions.

Nevertheless the two sessions on figurational sociology organised by Robert

van Krieken, following on the successful precedents set at Bielefeld and Montreal, were well attended and the papers presented formed unusually coherent and consistent groups. The first session contained papers on gobalisation (at present apparently the most frequently used keyword in the ISI citation indices). Nico Wilterdink spoke about 'Globalisation as a long-term process', pointing out that the most basic constituent components of the globalisation process have been present throughout human history, even if they have come together and gained spectacular momentum in recent decades. Mark Gibson (Murdoch University, Australia) discussed 'International Protocol, Globalisation and Class', Philip Sutton and Stephen Vertigans (Robert Gordon University, UK) tackled Islamic fundamentalism from an Eliasian point of view in their paper on 'Islam, al-Qa'ida and Globalisation: An Established-Outsiders Perspective', and Joe Maguire (Loughborough, UK) added a further layer of insight to his well-established studies of globalisation and the making of modern sport. (Joe was also busy throughout the week as President of ISA Research Committee 27: Sociology of Sport, in whose bibulous company I enjoyed dinner one evening). The first session concluded with Artur Bogner (Bielefeld, Germany) talking about his new research project on a neglected antecedent of modern globalisation, the (at first mainly Protestant) British and

German mission societies that set out to bring Christianity to Africa and, in both intended and unintended ways, in fact brought far more than religion.

The title of the second session, 'Civilisation, Culture and Society' might appear more of an omnium gatherum, but in fact comprised three papers that intellectually fitted tightly together. It was an all-Amsterdam session, although that thought did not strike me at the time. Geert de Vries (Free University) reported on a study of 'Transitions in Vulnerability' undertaken for the Dutch government, reviewing the forms of insecurity faced in modern societies, within a framework based on Elias's famous 'triad of controls'. Geert filled the whiteboard with such a fascinating schema that I photographed it (see picture). Wouter Gomperts (University of Amsterdam, but a psychoanalyst and clinical psychologist rather than from the ASSSR) took up Bram de Swaan's notion of 'dyscivilisation' in the discussion of genocide and man's inhumanity to man, and fascinatingly linked it to the ideas of 'dysmentalisation' and 'psychological equivalence' in trying to explain why periods of social trauma can give rise to children who grow up to have a defective capacity for emotional identification with other humans and their suffering. And finally Bowen Paulle (ASSSR) spoke about his ongoing PhD study of deprived 'black' schools in New York and Amsterdam.



Figurational perspectives turned up in other sessions too. Together with Johann Arnason (La Trobe University, Melbourne) I had organised another well-attended Ad Hoc Group on 'The Comparative Historical Sociology of Empires', and although like the rest of the Congress this was badly hit by no-shows, papers covered the (much neglected) Swedish empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Germany and Russia, and the Safavid and Ottoman empires. My own paper was on 'The American Empire'; I was a little disappointed that my attempt to be as provocative as possible to Americans in the audience fell rather flat because there weren't any!

In Research Committee 01, Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution, René Moelker and Joseph Soeters of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy, Breda presented the first fruits of their work on Norbert Elias's studies of the genesis of the naval profession. The paper that appeared in the *British Journal of Sociology* in 1950 was only a small part of a more extensive study, and Moelker and Soeters have unearthed the rest of his typescripts in the Elias archive in Marbach (see René Moelker's article above).

Ad Hoc Groups are the lowest of the four categories of group in the ISA hierarchy (the others being Thematic Groups, Working Groups, and full Research Committees). Even though we figurationists have got together at three successive World Congresses, we have remained only an Ad Hoc Group, partly through inertia but partly through choice. The very diversity of the topics that figurationists discuss is most easily accommodated within the loose framework of ad hoccery. On the other hand, there are disadvantages. Ad Hoc Groups have to be organised from scratch for each Congress – they are not recognised as having a continuing existence – and are given only two sessions, and they are usually in the graveyard evening shift (as they were in Bielfeld and Brisbane). So, not for the first time, we discussed formalising our existence. Although Robert van Krieken had already collected the necessary signatures and done most of the paperwork for upgrading to Thematic Group,

there are disadvantages. The ISA asked us 'But what is your topic?' - and it is notoriously difficult to define the scope of figurational studies in a few words. One possibility is to apply to become a Thematic Group on 'civilising and decivilising processes', although we are well aware that that does not cover everything that we do. Meanwhile, Johan Arnasson and Willfried Spohn are taking the initiative in setting up a Thematic Group on 'Comparative-Historical Sociology' (it's astonishing that that does not exist already; 'Comparative Sociology' does, but is rather narrow in its focus). At the close of the congress, our thoughts were inclining towards moving to establish Thematic Groups both on comparative-historical sociology and on civilising and decivilising processes, and the two then working in close collaboration. That would give us an immense pool of twelve sessions, into which surely it would be possible with a little ingenuity to fit almost any variety of figurational topic, even though neither heading fits completely.

The next World Congress will be held in 2006 in Durban, South Africa. Especially if we do upgrade ourselves to a Thematic Group, we shall have to issue a three-line whip to make sure that as many members of the figurational network as possible are there, once again in the southern hemisphere (but without the jetlag if you are coming from Europe).

SJM

Symposium: Mappae Mundi: Human Society and the Biosphere Koninklijke Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen Haarlem, 25 May 2002

The 250th anniversary of the foundation of the Dutch Society for the Sciences was celebrated on 25 May 2002 by a symposium attended by HM Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands. To mark the occasion, Joop Goudsblom and Henk de Vries had co-authored the book *Mappae Mundi* (see review above in this issue), and a specially bound copy was presented to the Queen.

Joop Goudsblom gave the first lecture in the symposium, on 'Mappae Mundi:

maps of a changing world'. The other speakers were the world historian David Christian of San Diego State University, Califormia, and P. Harremoës, Professor of Environmental Science and Technology at the Technical University of Denmark.

Past and Present: Long-Term Perspectives on the World Today University College Dublin 18 October 2002

This one-day conference was sponsored jointly by the new Institute for the Study of Social Change and the even newer Humanities Institute of Ireland at UCD. It brought together for the first time in a decade Eric Jones and Joop Goudsblom who, with Stephen Mennell were co-authors of the book *The Course of Human History* (Armonk, NY: M.E.Sharpe, 1996). They were joined by economic historians, economists and sociologists based in Dublin. The full programme was:

Johan Goudsblom (Emeritus, Sociology, University of Amsterdam): 'The Expanding Anthroposphere: Extensive and Intensive Growth Reconsidered'

Eric Jones (Emeritus, Economic History, University of Melbourne) 'Cryptogams [sic]: the Stock of Institutions in the Pre-industrial West'

Morgan Kelly (Economics, UCD): 'Climate and Pre-industrial Population Growth'

Cormac Ó Gráda (Economic History, UCD) 'Adam Smith and Amartya Sen: Markets and Famines in Pre-industrial Europe'

Kevin O'Rourke (Economic History, Trinity College Dublin) 'From Malthus to Ohlin: Trade, Growth and Distribution since 1500'

Robert Holton (Sociology, Trinity College Dublin) 'When did Globalisation start?

The conference was organised by Stephen Mennell, and chaired by Mary Daly (History, UCD), Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Höfische Gesellschaft und Zivilisationsprozeß in interdisziplinärer Perspektive

Katholischen Akademie Stuttgart– Hohenheim Stuttgart, 1–3 May 2003 (Conference Languages: German and English)

Provisional Programme

Thursday 1 May

15.30 Reception and Introduction

16.00–18.30 Session I: Biographical Aspects

R. Blomert: Elias's Habilitation Period in Frankfurt

C. Opitz: Sources for and influences on *The Court Society*

To be announced: 'Court Society' and 'Civilising Process: Similarities and Differences

18.30 Dinner

20.00 Presentation of the Project for the Publication of the 'Norbert Elias *Gesammelte Werke*' and of *Die höfische Gesellschaft*

Friday 2 May

9.00–13.00 Session II: Critical Appreciations

E. Dunning: A Contemporary Reappraisal of 'History and Sociology' R. Asch: Historical Research on Courts and *Die höfische Gesellschaft* R. Kroll: Courtly Romanticism and Research in Romance Literature Today W. Schmale: The Revolution and *Die höfische Gesellschaft*

15.00–18.30 Session III: Cultural Studies Perspectives II

J. Duindam: A Contemporary Example of Court Society Research: The Valois–Bourbon and the Habsburg Courts in Comparison (*ca.* 1550–1780) Eckart Schörle, The Courtisatuon of Laughter

S.Osswald-Bargende: Historical Research on Courts from a Gender-Relations Viewpoint

S. Ruppel, Sibling Relations among the Nobility: A Figurational Perspective

20.00–21.30 Evening lecture: B. Franke and B. Welzel: The Culture of the Burgundian Court

Saturday 3 May

9.00–11.00 Session IV: Cultural Studies Perspectives II

Hans Jürgen Lüsebrink, Court Society and Autobiographies in the Romance Countries

Helga Meise: Court Society and Autobiographies in Germanic Countries
Jutta Held: Elias and the History of Art
Stephen Menell, 'Food, Courts and
Social Emulation'

11.45–12.30 Closing Discussion, followed by lunch

European Sociological Association Murcia, Spain 23-26 September 2003

Theme: Ageing Societies, New Sociology

The sixth conference of the European Sociological Association will be held in Murcia in September 2003, and 'figurational' sessions may be proposed if there is sufficient interest.

Website: www.um.es/ESA E-mail:

congress@viajescajamurcia.com

CONTRIBUTIONS TO FIGURATIONS

The next issue of *Figurations* will be mailed in May 2003. News and notes should be sent to the Editors by 1 April 2003.

Editor: Stephen Mennell Assistant Editor: Aoife Rickard Editorial Address: Department of Sociology, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland. Tel. +353-1-716 8504; Fax: +353-1-716 1125.

E-mail: Stephen.Mennell@ucd.ie

Contributions should preferably be e-mailed to the Editor, or sent on a disk (formatted for PC-DOS, not Apple Mackintosh); WordPerfect (up to 5.1), Microsoft Word, Rich Text and plain text files can all be handled. Do not use embedded footnotes. Hard copy is accepted reluctantly.

© 2002, Norbert Elias Stichting, J.J. Viottastraat 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: www.siswo.uva.nl

Graphic Design and Desktop Publishing: Annette van de Sluis (SISWO).

Researchers, institutes or libraries who would like to receive this newsletter should write to the *Figurations* address file manager: Gudy Rooyakkers, SISWO, Plantage Muidergracht 4, 1018 TV Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Tel. +31-20-527 0660 Fax: +31-20-622 9430. E-mail: gudy@siswo.uva.nl. *Figurations* will be sent to them free of charge.