

Figurations

Newsletter of the Norbert Elias Foundation

■ EDITORS' NOTES

- This issue marks the tenth anniversary of *Figurations*. The first was produced to coincide with the ISA World Congress of Sociology in Bielefeld in 1994. Stephen Menell has edited *Figurations* since its inception, and Aoife Rickard has been the Assistant Editor since issue number 7 in 1997, the year of the Elias centenary.
- Some things do change, however. The first twenty issues of *Figurations* were published for the Norbert Elias Foundation by SISWO, the Netherlands Universities Institute for Co-ordination of Research in the Social Sciences. As mentioned in the last issue, SISWO is now withdrawing from all its publishing activities, and the present issue is the first to be published by the Foundation itself. Annette van de Sluis, who undertook the layout and design at SISWO, will continue to perform that task on a freelance basis, but Saskia Visser, Secretary to the Foundation, will now handle distribution.
- In January, Ton Zwaan gave evidence for the prosecution at the trial of Slobodan Milosovic at the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. Ton's book *Civilisering en decivilisering: Studies over staatsvorming en geweld, nationalisme en vervolging* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2001 – see *Figurations* 16) was based substantially on a study of the conflict in Yugoslavia, and Ton was the only Dutch expert to be called. He was cross-questioned for two hours by the accused. It is not very common for sociologists to be recognised as expert witnesses in such a high-profile international trial as this, and we may take some pride that Ton's use of the figurational concepts of civilising and decivilising processes was recognised as of great relevance to understanding what happened in Yugoslavia. (See the article 'The Genesis of Genocides' below.)
- And, on a related note, readers who have immersed themselves in the discussions of civilising, decivilising and dyscivilising processes may have been less surprised, if not less shocked, than the rest of the world when they read of the events in Abu Ghraib prison, Baghdad.
- It has been decided that with effect from 1 January 2005 the two leading Dutch sociological journals, the *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* and *Sociologische Gids*, will merge under a new title that is yet to be decided. The board of editors will include Nico Wilterdink, Bernard Kruithof and Jan Willem Duyvendak (Amsterdam), Giseline Kuipers (Amsterdam & Rotterdam), Peter Mascini, Dick Houtman and Stef Aupers and Jack Burgers (all from Rotterdam). The *AST* was always identified with the 'Amsterdam school' of figurational sociology, so it is sad to see it no longer appear under its own title, but the editorial boards of both journals are convinced that the merger will result in a new journal on a stronger basis than its predecessors.
- Anthony Giddens, a contemporary of Eric Dunning's in the star-studded Department of Sociology created by Neustadt and Elias at the University of Leicester in the early 1960s, has been created a Life Peer – that is, a member of the British House of Lords – in the latest Honours List. Tony has, of course, been a prolific writer of sociological theory, a highly successful Director of the London School of Economics, and Tony Blair's ideologist-in-residence for the political 'Third Way'.

- Eric Dunning has been undergoing revision surgery on his left hip – that is, having a replacement of a replacement hip joint. He's doing fine, and should be able to walk without crutches by early June. It all goes to show that sport isn't good for you ...
- Hermann Korte has been elected to the acting board of the German PEN Club, and taken over the office of treasurer. PEN is an acronym for poets, playwrights, essayists, editors, and novelists; founded in 1921 with John Galsworthy as its first president, the club is a major voice of the literary community internationally, seeking to defend the freedom of expression wherever it may be threatened. Hermann was elected a member in 1995. His main task as treasurer will be helping to organise the World Congress of PEN in Berlin in 2006.

■ FROM THE NORBERT ELIAS FOUNDATION

The Collected Works of Norbert Elias in English

Plans are well under way for the publication, over the course of the next eight to ten years, of the *Collected Works of Norbert Elias* in English. A well-attended consultative meeting was held in Leicester on 18 October 2003, and the Board of the Norbert Elias Foundation has now appointed an Editorial Board, the membership of which consists of Richard Kilminster (chairman), Jason Hughes (secretary), Sue Dopson, Eric Dunning, and Steven Loyal. The 18–19 volumes will correspond closely with those of the German *Gesammelte Schriften*, now nearing completion. We are particularly pleased that Dr Edmund Jephcott, the translator of many of Elias's major works – including *The Civilising Process* and *The Court Society* – has agreed now to undertake the translation of all of Elias's writings that have not hitherto appeared in English.

Reminder: Fourth Norbert Elias Prize 2005

To reiterate the announcement made in *Figurations* 20, the Fourth Norbert Elias Prize will be awarded in 2005. The Prize consists in a sum of €1000 and it will be awarded to a significant *first* book by a European author published *between 1 January 2003 and 31 December 2004*.

In order to nominate a book for the award, please send a letter of recommendation to

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

In the case of books written in a language other than English, French or German, nominators are asked to provide an outline in English of the content of the book.

A final call for nominations, as well as details of the international jury, will appear in *Figurations* 22.

Marbach Stipend

The German Literature Archive and the Norbert Elias Foundation, Amsterdam, will once again award a Marbach Graduate Stipend to undertake research for six months (starting early in 2005) on the papers of Norbert Elias, which have been deposited in the German Literature Archive. Applications should be sent not later than 30 September 2004 to Dr. Christoph König, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, D-71666 Marbach-am-Neckar, Germany. The committee of the Archive will meet to decide upon the award of the stipend in November 2004. Informal enquiries may be addressed to Dr König (tel. +49-7144-848432; e-mail MAGG@dla-marbach.de; http: [//www.dla-marbach.de](http://www.dla-marbach.de)).



Planning for the *Collected Works*: round the table from the left: Norman Gabriel, Chris Shilling, Farhad Dalal, Henrietta O'Connor, John Goodwin, Richard Kilminster, Steve Quilley, Sue Dopson, Ivan Waddington, Eric Dunning, Johan Heilbron, Nico Wilterdink.



Dr Edmund Jephcott

Translations and Copyrights

The Norbert Elias Foundation is the legal owner of the copyright to all of Elias's work. The Board has never refused anyone permission to make translations of his books and essays, but it would appreciate it very much if translators and publishers would seek approval in advance, so that appropriate provisions can be made about copyright. Please contact the Foundation's literary agent, Ruth Weibel, Liepman AG, Maienburgweg 23 CH-8044 Zürich, Switzerland (e-mail: Ruth.Weibel@liepmanagency.com; tel. +41-1-261 7660; fax +41-1-261 0124).

Figurations on the Web

At the request of the Foundation, Robert van Krieken has made PDF images of the earlier issues of *Figurations* – the ones that were published before Adobe Acrobat was in use, so that we only had the Word files, without the published layout. The quality is inevitably less good than the later ones made directly by the typesetter, but they are perfectly legible images of issues 1–12 as they were actually published. They are now downloadable from Robert's website at the University of Sydney and from the Foundation's own website:

<http://www.usyd.edu.au/su/social/elias/figsframe.html>

http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/index_FS.htm

Elias-I: The Electronic Discussion List

We notice that not since *Figurations* 11 have we given details of the Elias e-mail discussion list. So here they are again:

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.

The list-owner is Kitty Roukens, and for help with subscribing, unsubscribing or any other problem with the list, contact her at roukens@siswo.uva.nl

Messages intended for distribution to all the members of the list should be sent

to: ELIAS-I@nic.surfnet.nl

The archive of all previous contributions to the list is available in html format at the address:
<http://listserv.surfnet.nl/archives/elias-i.html>

■ THE GENESIS OF GENOCIDES

At the request of the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague, Dutch sociologist and anthropologist Ton Zwaan has written a report on the genesis of genocides. In his report, Zwaan, who is a member of the new Centre for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the University of Amsterdam, devoted the first sections to the conceptualisation of genocide and other mass crimes targeting specific groups, and to the differences between situations of war, civil war, and genocide. Other sections are organised around the themes of crisis and genocide; political leadership and the state; the process of genocide and its planning; and on the role of ideology. A last section is about the victims of processes of persecution and genocide. Examples are taken from the Armenian genocide, the Shoah, and the recent genocides in Cambodia and Rwanda. Throughout the report Weberian and Eliasian viewpoints concerning the role of the state play a prominent role. Zwaan argued especially that the continuation of civilised standards and conduct is dependent to a high degree on the maintenance of a stable and lawful monopoly of force. It follows that political elites who succeed in hijacking the state and start to use its power resources for genocidal ends are also the ones who are mainly responsible for processes of persecution and genocide.

After the report was formally accepted by the Court for use in the case against Mr. Milosevic, Zwaan was cross-examined as an expert witness for two days last January by the prosecutor, the judges, and the defendant. The defendant, who is denying all charges against him, tried systematically but unsuccessfully to criticise and undermine the report and the witness. Had Elias lived, he might have appreciated the fact that his insights have shown themselves quite useful for such a practical

end. The trial of Mr. Milosevic, who is indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, will reopen with his defence on 8 June. Whether the defendant will ultimately be convicted for genocide is of course a matter for the Court to decide.

■ HOBBSAWM REMEMBERS ELIAS

Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life*. London: Abacus, 2003. xiv + 447 pp. ISBN: 0-349-11353-X. [Originally published in hardback by Allen Lane, 2002.]

In his autobiography, the great British historian Eric Hobsbawm gives a rare glimpse of Norbert Elias in his earliest days in London in the 1930s. In his old age, Elias talked relatively little about that difficult period in his life, so Hobsbawm's vignette is quite striking. On page 121 he writes:

'The LSE, or at least its main building in Houghton Street, Aldwych, is still recognisably what it was some sixty years ago, even down to the survival of the small snack-bar immediately to the left of the main entrance, which in those days was known as Marie's café, where the student activists used to discuss politics or try to win converts, usually observed by a silent lone central European rather older than ourselves, apparently one of those "eternal students" who hang around inner-city campuses, but who was in fact the totally unknown and unconsidered Norbert Elias, just about to publish his great work on *The Process of Civilisation* [sic] in Switzerland. Britain in the 1930s was extraordinarily blind to the brilliance of the central European Jewish and anti-fascist refugee intellectuals unless they operated in conventionally recognised fields such as classics and physics. The LSE was probably the only place where they would be given house-room. Even after the war, Elias's career in this country was marginal, and the worth of scholars such as Karl Polanyi was not recognised until after they crossed the Atlantic.'

■ ELIAS'S ASSISTANTS: A PROVISIONAL LIST

From the early 1960s, but then more continuously from the late 1970s and in the 1980s, Elias had many Assistants who helped with his work. As his eyesight deteriorated, he came to write almost exclusively by dictating to an assistant. One of them, Willem Kranendonk, has attempted to compile a list of these Assistants, many of whom – but by no means all – were students at the time. The list of names printed below is almost certainly incomplete, and in Willem's original file most of the dates and some of the places have question marks against them. Readers who can fill in gaps or supply supplementary information are invited to e-mail Saskia Visser (elias@wxs.nl). We may print a corrected list in due course. As of now, we have the following names:

King, Mrs Hazel, 1962–4,
University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
Krumrey, Horst-Volker, one semester
1964–5, and again in 1968–9 (?)
Korte, Hermann, 1965–6, Münster
Speed, Bebe (Elisabeth) 1974?
Leicester
Middleton Smith, Gill, mid-1970s,
Leicester
Berckel, Marguerite van, 1976
Leicester
Nagbøl, Søren, 1976, Frankfurt
Choe, Jae-Hyeon, details unknown
Godschalk-Hessenauer, Hes, ca. 1978,
Bielefeld.
Kunze, Petra, 1980? Bielefeld.
Schröter, Michael, 1981, Assistant only
briefly, subsequently played major role
in editing and translating Elias's late
publications, including *Studien über die
Deutschen*.
Backer, Erik, 1981 Bielefeld/
Amsterdam
Knijff, Rudolf, 1981–90 Bielefeld/
Amsterdam
Lissenberg, Anneke, 1981 Bielefeld
Israëls, Han, 1981 Bielefeld
Bogner, Artur, 1982–4 Bielefeld
Bogner, Sylvie, 1983–4 Bielefeld
Iterson, Ad van, 1984 Amsterdam
Hermelink, Gottfried, 1984–6
Amsterdam
Pavadarayan, Rani, 1984 Bielefeld
Oosterhuis, Robert, 1985 Amsterdam
Bottenburg, Maarten van, 1985
Amsterdam
Gerritsen, Jan-Willem, 1986 Amsterdam

Gevers, Anne M., 1987 Amsterdam
Visser, Saskia, 1988 Amsterdam
Rijnders, Kyong, 1989–90 Amsterdam
Rijnen, Angela, 1989 Amsterdam
Kranendonk, Willem, 1989 Amsterdam
Stigt, Mieke van, 1990 Amsterdam

It would be tempting to propose a reunion of Elias Assistants, were it not for the fact that – apart from the Amsterdam coterie of the 1980s – many of them would never have met each other before.

■ NORBERT ELIAS IN JAPANESE SOCIOLOGY

According to a bibliography of Norbert Elias contained in *Norbert Elias and the Twenty-First Century* (see under 'Recent Books and Articles' below) only three Japanese authors referred to Elias in their books prior to November 2003. One of the three books, which was published in 2001, treats Elias at full length and has the distinction of being the first substantial study of Elias in Japan. This is Takashi Okumura's *Norbert Elias: Enquiries into Violence*, 2001 (see *Figurations* 16). The other two were published in 1995 and 1996, but, judging from the short treatment given to Elias (18 pages and 1 page respectively), they do not seem to cover his sociological paradigm adequately. As regards doctoral dissertations, four researchers wrote their theses on Elias's early theory, his theory of the civilizing process, his general sociological theory, and on civilisation and violence, in 1999, 2000, 2002, and 2003 respectively.

The Bibliography also enumerates a considerable number of papers, articles, book reviews and introductory remarks that treat a variety of topics related to Elias's argument about civilisation in general, psycho-sociogenesis of manners and etiquette, court society, sport, figuration and interdependence, time, *homo clausus*, the established and the outsiders, etc. They also include such interesting themes as 'Weber and Elias', 'Eliasian sociologists in Holland', 'Elias's criticism of Kant'. Their total number, though it is much less than that of European and English speaking countries, is approximately 40 (from 1985 to 2002). It goes without saying that the study of Elias in Japan has been strongly promoted through the

translation of Elias's works. Most of his major works – the exceptions being *The Established and the Outsiders* and *The Symbol Theory* – have been published in translation by Hosei University Press in Tokyo, and *The Civilising Process* is one of its best-selling books.

This enterprise has given more incentive and opportunity to Japanese readers who wish to have access to Elias's works more widely and extensively, not only from a sociological view but also from other views of history, literature, nationalism, and gender. In this sense, the publication of *Norbert Elias and the Twenty-First Century* will show the general public the future possibility of Elias studies in Japan, in that the book was completed in collaboration with some British scholars teaching at Japanese universities. It is hoped that innovative sociological perspectives initiated by Elias will be applied more positively to the analysis of Japanese society through conferences, seminars and publications.

Akira Ohira
Waseda University, Tokyo

■ THE CHESTER CENTRE FOR RESEARCH INTO SPORT AND SOCIETY (CHESTER CRSS)

The Chester Centre for Research into Sport and Society has now been established at University College Chester, England, with an avowedly figurational perspective. It is based in the Department of Sport and Exercise Sciences. The full-time staff includes Professor Ken Green, Daniel Bloyce, Katie Liston and Andy Smith, but Visiting Professors Ivan Waddington, Eric Dunning and Patrick Murphy – all of course former members of the CRSS at the University of Leicester – are also making substantial contributions to teaching and research in Chester. The Centre is offering an MSc in the Sociology of Sport and Exercise this coming September on a part-time and full-time basis. It is envisaged that full-time fees will be in the region of just under GBP3000.

Further details on the content, organisation and structure of the MSc can be



CCRSS staff, left to right:
 Ivan Waddington, Eric Dunning, Patrick
 Murphy, Katie Liston, Daniel Bloyce,
 Ken Green, and Dr T.J. Wheeler,
 Principal of University College Chester.

obtained from the newly launched website – www.chester.ac.uk/ccrss. In addition, this website contains details on the latest news from the CCRSS, staff publications (including some downloadable articles) and activities as well

as an extensive Sports Resources/Links page. The site also displays some nostalgic late nineteenth-century photos of eminent Chester College sports teams. We would be grateful for staff and student visitors to this website as well as

any comments or suggestions regarding improvements.

Katie Liston
 CRSS, University College Chester



■ RECENT BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Norbert Elias, *Kitschstil und Kitschzeitalter*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004. 56 pp. ISBN: 3-8258-6854-0

This charmingly tiny little book, a pocket book in the most literal sense even though it is a hardback in Lit's *Kleine Bibliothek* series, reprints Elias's 1935 essay of the same title. In his afterword, Hermann Korte situates the essay in the context of Elias's life

and work. It was written in Paris, after hopes of a German academic career had been wrecked, but before the tragedies and disappointments that were to follow in the 1940s. 'Kitschstil' was written about the same time as the essay on the expulsion of the Huguenots from France, but is quite different in style, and its immediate inspiration in the experience of exile is less obvious. It is a key text, though, in the thread of

concern with literature and the arts than runs through Elias's career from his schooldays and his 1928 comments on 'primitive art' through to his much later collection of African art and his posthumous book on Mozart.

The text of the essay can also be found in *Frühschriften*, volume 1 of the *Elias Gesammelte Schriften*, pp. 148–63 (see *Figurations* 18) and, in English trans-

lation, in *The Norbert Elias Reader: A Biographical Selection* (edited by Goudsblom and Mennell, Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 26–35.

Helmut Kuzmics & Gerald Mozetič:

Literatur als Soziologie: Zum Verhältnis von literarischer und gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit. Konstanz: UVK, 2003. v + 346 pp.

This book will have taken some courage to write, and finding its subject in congruences between two such massive (if hardly monolithic) areas of reflection and text-production, it has the courage not to be frightened of banalities. For without banalities, by the time everything has been adequately qualified and embedded in provisos, nothing at all would be said. Furthermore, while there are books on subjects of this breadth which are better in detail than in overview, with individual chapters of greater interest than the overall argument, this book is – for all the interest of individual sections – better than its parts. The reason is perhaps that the study constantly convinces by its firm, solid and very readable scholarship – meant in the sense of breadth of knowledge, clarity of understanding and firmness of argument – whereas its individual discussions invariably interest the reader, but do not always convince. Of course this is not because the argument is in any way poorly conducted, or the issues out of focus: rather because there seem to be no answers to its questions. How can Heinrich Mann's *Untertan* swing the scales of an argument between Wehler and Nipperdey about the protofascist nature of the Second Reich? Can literature (which participates in certain discourses only through mediation, through interpretation) give answers to such questions? How can there be any answer to a search for a sociology which best suits literary scholarship, or a literature which meets the professional requirements of sociologists? The questions are fascinating, but they cannot be answered, the devil is in the detail. In eleven chapters the authors explore aspects of the relationship between sociology and literature – initially at a theoretical level, then increasingly focused on individual authors, among these Germans and Americans, and naturally Austrians too. Few readers

able to read this book in the original will fail to be familiar with figures such as Nestroy, Fontane, Musil or Heinrich Mann, or to be grateful for the chapters on Innerhofer or Rosegger. Perhaps it will be the literary historians who most enjoy the chapter on the links between Chicago School empiricism and literary text production (odd that ethnocriticism is not more foregrounded here) and sociologists will enjoy having their range of *Belletristik* increased. But both sides will profit from the reading. Perhaps the discussion of the limitations of the concept of 'realism' in both disciplines will please sociologists less.

In all, however, the real achievement of the book will be found both – as I said initially, not faintly praising – at the macro-level and in the unanswered, sometimes problematic uncertainties within individual arguments. To illustrate this, we return to Heinrich Mann, and take three characteristic remarks from the first of the chapters on *Der Untertan* (Mann's great satirical novel on pre-1914 German society):

i) the differentiation between 'begriffliche Einsichten ... , die wir gewöhnlich "soziologisch" nennen und die im Alltag nicht so häufig sind, dass sie als Selbstverständlichkeiten allen bekannt wären' (p. 150) and the insights of novelists. Having seen – if not dwelt long on – the way in which in the nineteenth-century literature and sociology fed off each other (and suggested that the need for legitimation was involved on both sides of this process) the authors seem anxious here to make 'sociological' concepts so absolute that they separate from the everyday. Yet the separation is presentational: surely that does not devalue the concepts, it is merely true. And if the second half of the remark implies that there is a kind of hierarchy (rather than a chronological sequence, which would be the normal view: today's chance insight is tomorrow's axiom – a view echoed on p. 148 when, we read, Mann sees something long before the sciences of sociology and social psychology had identified it) then the answer is: some writers are very clever, they not only howl like dogs because they feel earthquakes coming long before scientific instruments register the fact (Börne's

metaphor), they think like sociologists. And the converse – that something is only 'sociological' – is nonsense. Mr Jourdain can speak prose, without knowing that he does. (Even to focus, as an Elias reading would, on power structures, is incredibly difficult to implement as an integrative strategy between literature and sociology – how does power appear in literature, other than in description? – This is no Pilate question: it's another point where provisos and qualifications would submerge statement);

ii) at the end of this section we read (p. 164) that Heinrich Mann understood too little of the macrostructural interweaving of the processes of state-building and the economy and that here the limits of novels' presentation (*die Grenzen der romanhaften Darstellung*) become visible. *Wie bitte?* How do these limits exist, in what do they consist? How do they evolve, to what extent have they to do with genres within the novel? Literary scholars can't answer the question either, but they can be disturbed by answers offered elsewhere;

iii) a final remark: 'What we need, is such an exact description and observation of feelings [i.e. those induced by a particular political system, HR] ... that one might be able to produce the detail needed for comparisons with other nations'. This is a truly lovely thought, characteristic of the generosity of spirit behind the whole book: that at a macro-level we could experience and describe, analyse and feel, that our two disciplines could complement one another, both working with an analytical and an intuitive antenna (Kuzmics and Mozetič very properly realise that literature – not just the rationalist Heinrich Mann of 1910 but his 'irrational' brother, Thomas, who speaks of 'putting feelings on ice' – is no less distancing to feeling than a scientific discipline). Whether this idea in fact connects literature and sociology – as the concept of *Affektmodellierung* might imply – or whether, as Kleist believed, it was really the last, non-neurobiological chapter of the history of the world and therefore properly the subject of neither, readers will have to decide for themselves.

Questions of this type constantly arise because of the book's huge and undefined categories. Sociology includes those sensitive and open-minded enough to find these questions important, and others who aren't, who might use literature to prop up a wobbly table; while literature includes those who have studied sociology and economics before writing, alongside those who believe that a shadow falling on their manuscript is more important than the universe. And how these divergent views get united in the broad categories of literature and sociology, has (as Kuzmics and Mozetič suggest) most to do with the challenges to and the self-confidence of their discipline at given moments. If sociology is at present no longer 'first violin' in the scientific concert (p. 1), perhaps literature and the national philologies which feed on it are further back in the wind section: but, as the book shows, the best conversations take place under the platform.

I would have had one request of the book, its authors being so obviously widely read and sympathetic enough to judge: it would be good to know where the literary historians went wrong when – in attempting to understand literature – they wrote sociology. For there have been times when authority came from that side (was that authority well placed?) There's a fascinating account of the relationship between Adorno's *Authoritarian Personality* (1950) and the empirical studies which preceded it, but what of others (in German Studies the names are legion, to say nothing of American Studies, with its more profound dependence on sociological models, or Hoggart)?

Those sociologists and literary historians who admire Norbert Elias will be pleased by the last chapter. Sociologists will be amused by a member of the literary guild (in the false pride which habitually befalls our discipline) asking whether the fact that Elias's sociology was 'friendly to literature' (which literature?) is more important than the question as to how good it was as sociology. Of course there is a point, as the previous paragraph implied, in that those involved in literature will tend to use the sociology they like and above all feel they understand: but we don't like

to admit it. We prefer to see ourselves involved in an overall interpretative activity, we start on our patch, but we aim wider. So for us 'appropriate' sociology is 'good' sociology. And on that score Elias, and Kuzmics and Mozetič, are gratefully received.

Hugh Ridley
University College

Helmut Kuzmics, 'Neue Moral im neuen Europa: Europäische Einigung, nationale Mentalitäten und nationale Gedächtnis am Beispiel der "Sanktionen" gegen Österreich', pp. 233–62 in Karl Acham and Katherina Schgerke, eds, *Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der Mitte Europas*, Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2003.

Helmut Kuzmics here draws upon not just the work of Elias but on the broad 'figurational' research tradition – to which Kuzmics himself is of course a major contributor – in commenting on the European Union sanctions against Austria when the right-wing leader Jörg Haider entered the Austrian government. But he sets the episode in a broad comparative–historical context.

Eberhard Firnhaber and Martin Löning, eds, *Norbert Elias: Bielefelder Begegnungen*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003, 129 pp. ISBN: 3-8258-7298-X.

Elias was in residence at the Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Forschung (ZiF) at the University of Bielefeld for six years, from 1978 to 1984. Eberhard Firnhaber was the university's Academic Registrar (*Kanzler* in German) from 1969 to 1995 and Martin Löning is Director of the University Archive. Together they invited Bielefeld professors (including Reinhart Kosellek, Franz-Xavier Kaufmann, and Peter Weingart), Assistants of Elias like Artur Bogner and Petra Kunze, friends like Peter Gleichmann and Hremann Korte, and non-academics like Friedbert Penke (driver) and Dragica Evers (ZiF housekeeper) for their recollections and experiences of Elias years in the ZiF. The transcripts of their conversations give a vivid impression of the atmosphere and lifestyle of the Bielefeld years. This readable book is illustrated with many unfamiliar photographs and with

sketches by Bielefeld Professor of Education Theodor Schulze. Copies can be ordered from Lit Verlag (www.lit-verlag.de); e-mail: lit@lit-verlag.de).

Eric Dunning and Stephen Mennell, eds, *Norbert Elias* (Sage Masters of Modern Social Thought). London: Sage, 2003. 4 vols: i: xxxvii + 334 pp.; ii: 406 pp.; iii: + 391; iv: 385 pp.

The arrival of Norbert Elias on the world stage of sociology is mainly due to the originality and richness of his thought across a wide range of topics and also, of course, for having come up with a unique explanation of how we came to be the way we are. However, his stature as a leading figure in sociology is also due to the dedication of his many loyal followers. He was a great sociological hunter and gatherer of texts, but was not so good at publishing them. If it were not for persistence of his friends and colleagues, one suspects that a good deal of his work would have been born to blush unseen at the bottom of some cupboard or box. It has been their efforts in editing, organising and translating his work which brought the wealth of his writings to the attention of the sociological world. But another reason for the gradual emergence of the significance of Elias's thought has been the number of scholars who have used his theories, concepts and method to reveal the processes and figurations of social life.

Elias had two loyal colleagues in Eric Dunning and Stephen Mennell. They have done him proud in producing this edited collection of works about him and his work which comprises 1,500 pages over 4 separate volumes. It is made up of the writings of a vast range of scholars who have in different ways and to varying degrees incorporated Elias's theories and ideas into their own work. Looking through the table of contents one is struck by the dominance of English and Dutch writers. Indeed more than a third of the essays include contributions from four people: Dunning, Mennell, Goudsblom and Wouters. This suggests, more than anything else, the ongoing struggle to establish Elias's reputation in the rest of Europe and the United States.

The first volume begins with a brief but thorough overview of his life work by the editors – including various critiques and tests that have been made of his theories. The first part then situates Elias within world sociology. There are interesting chapters here on the connections between Elias and Weber, Freud and Huizinga, the Frankfurt School, Karl Mannheim, Foucault, Goffman and Parsons. What is interesting of course is why Elias has never been embraced within American sociology. Goudsblom addresses this absence without coming up with any definitive explanation. What he makes clear, however, is that lack of recognition and appreciation that American sociologists have for Elias's work was matched by the disregard he had of American sociology in general and Talcott Parsons in particular. This is interesting for, although Elias rarely referred to Parsons, Goudsblom argues that he 'came to regard him as his most important opposite number in sociology' (vol. 1, p. 99). The second part of volume 1 deals with general theoretical-empirical orientations and contains important contributions from Bogner, Dunning and Chartier. The final part has essays on Elias's theory of knowledge and the sciences.

The second volume is dedicated to Elias's conception of long-term processes, the thing for which he is most well known. The first part is divided into three sections the first of which has essays on civilising, decivilising and dycivilising processes. This contains already well-known contributions from Mennell himself as well as from Van Benthem van den Bergh, De Swaan, Sznajder and Zwaan. The second section focuses on state-formation processes and while there are important essays in here, particularly by Kapteyn, Van Benthem van den Bergh, Blok and Blomert, I was struck by the paucity of works which have dealt with Elias's unique theorisation of the way states came to be formed and the application and testing of this theory through various empirical studies. The final section of this part is devoted to informalisation processes, a concept which Wouters, Brinkgreve and others have developed and used extensively to describe transformations in Western society during

the last century, particularly since the 1960s.

The fifth part deals with Established-Outsider Figurations/Communities and is spread over the end of volume 3 and the beginning of volume 4. If Elias tended to see himself as a producer of middle-range theories rather than as a grand theorist then, besides long-term processes, the concept of established and outsiders may well be the one which will gain most currency. Eric Dunning has two important essays which demonstrate how the concept can be used to explain diverse phenomena such as power and authority in public schools and black-white relations in the United States. But there are other interesting essays on the changing balance of power between men and women, self-respect and marriage.

The sixth part focuses on contributions to 'special' sociologies. There are sections on the body and emotions with essays by Mennell, Maguire and Wouters. This section should perhaps have had sex and love in the title as the most interesting and perhaps controversial essay is Wouters' on 'Balancing Love and Sex since the 1960s Sexual Revolution'. The next section deals with leisure, sport and the arts. Besides the expected essays by Dunning and Maguire, there is an interesting one by Adrian Franklin 'On Fox-hunting and Angling' and by Kenneth Sheard on boxing. The final section contains a couple of essays by Bax and Goudsblom on the sociology of religion which are interesting, given that Elias never had much to say about being religious.

The final volume continues the contributions to 'special' sociologies and includes sections on professions and organisations, crime and punishment (including important essays by Spierenburg on violence and by Wouters on the sociogenesis of a 'third nature'), medicine and psychoanalysis, and a final section on drugs, alcohol and tobacco use – this last section includes a fascinating essay by Hughes on tobacco use in the West. The final part of the four volumes is devoted to critiques and counter critiques. It is unfortunate that this section is the strangest and perhaps weakest of the four volumes. It

is strange in that – with the exception of Layder's essay on social reality as figuration (which is itself weak as it is confined to a critique of *What is Sociology?*) – there is a marked absence of a full-blooded critique of Elias's life work. One is left to wonder if the editors considered that no worthy critique has yet been produced. The section is also strange because of the absence of Duerr's critique and yet the inclusion of a response to him by Mennell and Dunning. Finally, there is a wonderful essay by Richard Kilminster on Giddens which is odd not only because there is hardly any reference to Elias in the essay – except that he and Giddens spent some time together in Leicester – but because Giddens seems to have completely and deliberately ignored Elias's contribution to sociology.

Nevertheless despite the oddity of the final section, Dunning and Mennell have done a wonderful job in gathering together these essays on and about Elias. The four volumes are a lasting testimony to the originality of Elias's work, to his contribution to modern sociological thought and to the fertility of his theories and ideas in explaining social life.

Tom Inglis
University College Dublin

Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley, eds, *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. x + 289 pp. ISBN: 0-521-82786-8 (hardback); 0-521-53509-3 (paperback)

This collection of new essays from a most prestigious publisher – published only as *Figurations* goes to press – is edited by two members of the Department of Sociology at University College Dublin. The contents are:

1. Stephen Quilley and Steven Loyal, 'Towards a "central theory": the scope and relevance of the sociology of Norbert Elias'

Part I: Sociology as a human science: Norbert Elias and the sociology of knowledge

2. Richard Kilminster, 'From distance to detachment: knowledge and self-knowledge in Elias's theory of involve-

ment and detachment'

3. Stephen Quilley, 'Ecology, "human nature" and civilising processes: biology and sociology in the work of Norbert Elias'

4. Barry Barnes, 'Between the real and the reified: Elias on time'

Part II: Processes of stratification: figurations of race, class and gender

5. Eric Dunning, 'Aspects of the figurational dynamics of racial stratification: a conceptual discussion and developmental analysis of black-white relations in the United States'

6. Loïc Wacquant, 'Decivilising and demonising: the remaking of the black American ghetto'

7. Steven Loyal, 'Elias on class and stratification'

8. Christien Brinkgreve, 'Elias on gender relations: the changing balance of power between the sexes'

Part III: The formation of individuals and states

9. Stephen Mennell, 'Not so exceptional? State-formation processes in America'

10. Paul Kapteyn, 'Armed peace: on the pacifying condition for the "co-operative of states"'

11. Cas Wouters, 'Changing regimes of manners and emotions: from disciplining to informalising'

12. John Pratt, 'Elias and modern penal development'

13. Thomas J. Scheff, 'Elias, Freud and Goffman: shame as a master emotion'

Part IV: Religion and civilising processes: Weber and Elias compared

14. Bryan S. Turner, 'Weber and Elias on religion and violence: warrior charisma and the civilising process'

15. Johan Goudsblom, 'Christian religion and the European civilising process: the views of Norbert Elias and Max Weber compared in the context of the Augustinian and Lucretian traditions'

A review will appear in the next issue of *Figurations*.

Dunning, Eric, Dominic Malcolm and Ivan Waddington. *Sport Histories, Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports*. London: Routledge, 2004. vii + 207 pp. ISBN: 0-415-28665-4 (hb).

For anyone with a serious interest in the emergence and development of modern sports – be they student, academic or sports enthusiast – *Sport Histories* is a must read. The chapters in the volume were written by 'teachers, students or visiting scholars' from the University of Leicester's recently defunct Centre for Research into Sport and Society (CRSS). It would, however, be a mistake to describe the book as the culmination of a body of very influential work on sports histories from CRSS sociologists – not least because the internationally renowned 'Leicester School' has recently been reincarnated as the Chester CRSS at University College Chester (UK). It would also be a mistake in sociological terms because to describe it in such a final and static way would be to contravene a central tenet of figurational or process sociology: that of history as a process. It is probably more appropriate to view the book as another stage in the growing body of figurational analyses of modern sports that gathered pace with the publication of Dunning and Sheard's (1979) *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* a quarter of a century ago. In this sense, the book is, as the editors' claim, 'striking testimony to the continuing interest of process sociologists (figurationalists) in long-term social processes' (p. 197).

By possessing a unified and pervasive theoretical perspective, the book neatly circumvents one of the major shortcomings of edited collections, namely the tendency towards a lack of theoretical consistency between the contributions. The volume consists of a collection of essays upon aspects of the emergence and development of 10 sports, ranging from those already well researched both historically and sociologically (such as football, rugby, cricket, boxing and baseball) to those seldom approached from either discipline (such as tennis, motor-racing, martial arts, gymnastics and clay-pigeon shooting).

A major strength of the collection is the disciplinary and theoretical consistency of the contributions therein. Figurational sociologists such as those that have contributed to this volume pride themselves on a commitment to what might elsewhere be labelled 'histori-

cal sociology' but what figurationalists themselves refer to as process-sociology in which emphasis is placed – or should be placed – upon the need for a developmental understanding of social processes and interdependencies or 'figurations'. In this vein one of the 'guiding threads' running through the volume is the relationship between sociology and history and, especially, the study of long-term developmental processes, such as those to be found in the particular development of the rules of particular games and sports. As the editors put it in the conclusion: 'an understanding of the development of the rules of sporting contests is central to an adequate understanding of the development of modern sport' (p.194). And tracing the development of the rules in particular games provides a neat illustration of the pleasure to be found in the detail of this book. Who, for example, would have known that the technical adjustments to gymnastic equipment, modified in line with safety concerns, would have enabled and encouraged athletes 'to perform more exciting and spectacular movements with even greater associated risks' (p.188).

Another recurring theme in the collection is the significance of what sociologists refer to as the unintended consequences of purposive social action; that is, how the increasing complexity of the web of human social relations, or interdependence, results in a situation where power is never possessed wholly or exclusively by one individual or group, to the exclusion of all others (Elias, 1978). One consequence of the interweaving of the goal-directed behaviour of people is unplanned or 'blind' social processes; in other words, 'outcomes that no one has designed and no one has chosen' (p. 200). Therefore, the intentional actions of one group of people can have unintended consequences for others by virtue of the network of interdependent social relations or 'figurations' between human beings. Such unintended consequences are neatly illustrated through developments ostensibly intended to bring about improvements in the safety of gymnastics (e.g. women's apparatus) and boxing (protection for the hands), for example, which may, and paradoxically for some,

have made these sports *more* dangerous. Similarly, in an unintended way, British hostility towards motor racing played an important role in saving the sport from extinction in its early years.

In this way, the contributors to this volume help us think beyond more individualistic tendencies often perpetrated by sports historians towards accounting for developments in sport as the outcome of one or two individuals 'whose actions are said to have been decisive for subsequent development' (p. 201). Nowhere, perhaps, is this tendency towards 'great man' or *homo clausus* histories better illustrated than the William Webb Ellis and Abner Doubleday myths in rugby union and baseball respectively. Therefore, in attempting to account more adequately for social processes such as the development of modern sports, White (rugby union), Bloyce (baseball) and others argue that several different social developments, including what Elias referred to as 'blind' or 'unplanned social processes', contributed to the emergence of modern sports. For example, Bloyce's account of the development of baseball is located in the broader context of commercialisation and nationalism.

A commitment to 'systematic, detailed, empirically-grounded' (p. 198) analyses of long-term processes in the development of sport has become a hallmark of the work of many sociologists of sport, especially figurational or process-sociologists of sport. Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, the book consists of rich and detailed historical studies ranging from the more conventional socio-historical studies of sports like football and baseball through to the more esoteric (and, for some, debatable) 'sports' such as bird-watching - an activity which, it is convincingly argued, is undergoing a process of sportisation: a process by which the rules of game-activities became increasingly precise and comprehensive and also came increasingly to be written down and standardised nationally and internationally, thereby providing more fair and equal competition.

One final theme throughout the volume that is worth mentioning is the way in which the various contributors focus

on different aspects of the relationship between civilising processes and the development of sport. In chapter 2, for example, Sheard convincingly demonstrates how Elias's theory of civilising processes can help to explain and shed light on the development of what he describes as 'one of the more physically damaging and violent of contemporary sports': boxing (p. 15). The diversity of emphases placed on the explanatory role of civilising processes throughout this volume reflects the depth and breadth of figurational analyses of sport and the ways in which various aspects of Elias's work on the civilising process contribute to a more adequate understanding of the complex social processes associated with the development of modern sports. This is a gem of a book, which, to coin a phrase, we hope represents the end of the beginning of figurational sociologies of sport rather than the beginning of the end!

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Andrew Linklater. 'The "Civilising Process" and the Sociology of International relations', *International Politics* 41, 2004: 3–35.

Abstract: Norbert Elias's sociological analysis of 'the civilising process' – the process by which modern European societies have been pacified over the last five centuries and emotional identification between the inhabitants of each society has increased – has much to contribute to historical-sociological approaches to international relations. Elias analysed dominant attitudes towards cruelty and suffering in different phases of human history in his study of the civilising process, his central purpose being to demonstrate the existence of a long-term trend to lower the 'threshold of repugnance' against public acts of violence within

modern states. His observations about international relations were principally Hobbesian in nature, although Grotian and Kantian themes also permeated his writings. The latter are evident in his reflections on whether cosmopolitan emotions are stronger in the modern era than in earlier epochs. An empirical analysis of dominant global attitudes towards cruelty in world politics and an investigation of levels of emotional identification between different societies can extend Elias's study of the civilising process. This form of inquiry can also contribute to the development of Martin Wight's pioneering essays on the sociology of states-systems and enlarge the English School's analysis of 'civility' and the 'civilising process' in international relations. More broadly, new linkages between historical sociology and international relations can be developed around an investigation of the dominant responses to cruelty and suffering – and levels of cosmopolitan identification – in different state-systems.

René Moelker, 'Norbert Elias, maritime supremacy and the naval profession: on Elias's unpublished studies in the genesis of the naval profession', *British Journal of Sociology*, 54 (3) 2003: 373–90

Abstract: In 1950 Norbert Elias published the first of three studies on 'The Genesis of the Naval Profession' in the *British Journal of Sociology*. At the time Elias was not the established scholar that he was to become in later days. In the 1950s his 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 other two studies were never published in English journals (only one was published in a Dutch journal but received no international attention). A perusal of the Norbert Elias Archive in Marbach-am-Neckar in Germany shows that the 'Naval Profession' project is larger than the intended three part series of articles for the *BJS*. From an outline to the project found in the archive it can be concluded that Elias intended to write a book with six to seven chapters. The key to the studies is a sketchy theory of institutions, which

proposes that conflict promotes institutional development. Through the conflict between two occupational groups, sailors and soldiers, the naval officer becomes institutionalised as a new profession. During the period this process takes place England acquires maritime supremacy, secures the passages to the colonies and becomes an empire.

Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002. xv + 201 pp. ISBN: 0801440165 (hb); 0801487781 (pb).

Entering the shady world of what he calls 'violent entrepreneurship', Vadim Volkov explores the economic uses of violence and coercion in Russia in the 1990s. Violence has played, he shows, a crucial role in creating the institutions of a new market economy. The core of his work is competition among so-called violence-managing agencies – criminal groups, private security services, private protection companies, and informal protective agencies associated with the state – which multiplied with the liberal reforms of the early 1990s. This competition provides an unusual window on the dynamics of state formation. Elias's model of 'elimination contests' plays a key role here.

Violent Entrepreneurs is remarkable for its research. Volkov conducted numerous interviews with members of criminal groups, heads of protection companies, law enforcement employees, and businesspeople. He bases his findings on journalistic and anecdotal evidence as well as on his own personal observation.

Volkov investigates the making of violence-prone groups in sports clubs (particularly martial arts clubs), associations for veterans of the Soviet–Afghan war, ethnic gangs, and regionally based social groups, and he traces the changes in their activities across the decade. Some groups wore state uniforms and others did not, but all of their members spoke and acted essentially the same and were engaged in the same activities: intimidation, protection, information gathering, dispute management, contract enforcement, and taxa-

tion. Each group controlled the same resource – organised violence.

Mark Cooney. 'The Privatisation of Violence', *Criminology*, 41 (4) 2003: 1377–406

Abstract: Norbert Elias's 1939 work on 'the civilising process' highlighted the long-term decline in violence within Western societies. A substantial amount of more recent anthropological and historical evidence suggests that violence has evolved not just quantitatively but qualitatively as well. In particular, the social characteristics of the parties to violence have changed over time. Drawing on Donald Black's theoretical ideas on conflict management, the present paper proposes that as intimate social ties weakened and the state strengthened, collective and non-intimate forms of (non-political) violence declined significantly. Consequently, violence increasingly became less public, more private. Pockets of residual public violence can, however, still be found within modern state societies. Privatisation varies, then, across time and social space.

Akira Ohira, ed., *Norbert Elias and the Twenty-First Century*. Tokyo: Seibundo, 2003. 246 pp. ISBN: 4-7923-6079-X.

This book is published mainly in Japanese, but with English abstracts. Two final chapters, by native speakers of English who now work in Japanese universities, are published in English. The book also contains forewords by both Johan Goudsblom and Eric Dunning. The chapters are:

1. A Life of Norbert Elias (Akira Ohira, Waseda University)
2. Elias as Sociologist (Shuichi Wada, Waseda University)
3. Norbert Elias as Poet (Akira Ohira)
4. Elias – Sceptic of Modernism (Keisi Saeki, Kyoto University)
5. Elias's Views on Science (Hiroshi Kamemoto, Kyoto University)
6. Norbert Elias's *The Germans* (Masaki Aizawa, Waseda University)
7. Elias as a Jewish Intellectual (Kunishige Hori, Nihon University)
8. Elias's views on Gender (Akira Ohira)

9. Japanese Sport in the Civilising Process (Akira Ohira)

10. Ekiden and the Modernisation of Japan (Julian Manning, Nihon University)

11. Norbert Elias – Seeking and Being Found (Paul Snowden, Professor, Waseda University)

In an appendix Keiso Katsura (Surgadai University) provides a bibliography the first section of which covers bibliographical resources in Japanese referring to the works of Norbert Elias and/or applying his theoretical frameworks to their own studies. It is subdivided into: 1 Elias's Works Translated into Japanese; 2 Japanese books on Elias; 3 Japanese Ph.D. Dissertations; 4 Japanese Journal Articles. The second section covers materials in English published in the West.

Hermann Korte, *Soziologie*. Konstanz: UVK. 2004. 194 pp. ISBN: 3-8252-2518-6

This is an attractively designed and (as always with Korte) elegantly written introduction to the discipline of sociology. An extraordinary amount of information is packed into such a short book (in contrast, for example, with doorstops on the scale of Tony Giddens's textbook favoured in Britain and the USA). It is divided into three sections. The first deals with the history of sociology, and does not compress the story just to the Holy Trinity of Marx, Weber and Durkheim – others get a look in too (including Comte, whose significance Elias was keen to stress in *What is Sociology?*). The second part deals with important theoretical positions – systems theory, critical theory and the Frankfurt School, action theory, gender studies – and how they fit together. The third is concerned with current sociological debates, from among which Korte chooses to dwell on: classes, strata and social environments; individualisation and globalisation; and empirical social research.

Lynda Mugglestone *Talking Proper: The Rise of Accent as a Social Symbol*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 354 pp. (ISBN 0-19-925061-8)

It was the 'Excursus on the Modelling

of Speech at Court' in *The Civilising Process* that drew me to this book. And although Mugglestone does not cite Elias – one short section in his writings does not make him an obvious point of reference for a scholar of social linguistics – this book is indeed a study of the modelling of speech in British society. It is also, in effect, a study of a rather specialised genre of 'manners books' that describe the socially correct pronunciation of English. Mugglestone's historical starting point is even much the same as Elias's, in the late Middle Ages. Yet the creation of a single prestigious 'Received Pronunciation' (also known in the twentieth century as 'Oxford' and 'BBC' English) only began in earnest in the late eighteenth century, and until the late nineteenth many famous people retained their regional accents. 'RP' was a class accent, as opposed to a regional one, and was even perceived as the *absence* of accent. Mugglestone's final chapter, however, is entitled 'The Rise (and Fall?) of Received Pronunciation', and discusses the cockneyfied accent known as 'Estuary English' that has spread widely beyond its origins in the south-east, and which is surely a marvellous example of the 'trickle up' of lower-class characteristics that Elias associates with functional democratisation and 'diminishing contrasts, increasing varieties'.

Many other languages have a more or less well defined central or standard accent (the *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands* discussed by Goudsblom is one example), but for much of the twentieth century Britain was especially notorious for its snobbery about accents. In that, it differed strikingly from the USA. Mugglestone (p. 41) quotes Noah Webster, the pioneer American dictionary-maker and spelling reformer, who perceptively wrote: 'While all men are on a footing and no singularities are accounted vulgar and ridiculous, every man enjoys perfect liberty. But when a particular set of men, in exalted stations, undertake to say 'we are the standards of propriety and elegance, and if all men do not conform to our practice, they shall be accounted vulgar and ignorant', they take very great liberty with the rules of the language and the rights of civility.

Non-native speakers of English may find

Mugglestone's book a bit hard going in parts, as indeed did a native speaker like me whose grasp of the International Phonetic Alphabet is a bit shaky, but it is a thoroughly worthwhile read.

SJM

Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson, *Strategie dell'esclusione*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004. 280 pp. ISBN: 88-15-09627-2 (pb).

After a substantial delay, Il Mulino have now published the Italian translation of *The Established and Outsiders*. Angela Perulli and Elisabetta Cioni, of the Università di Firenze, used the second English edition published by Sage in 1994, and the text therefore includes 'Un saggio teoretico sulle relazioni tra radicati ed esterni', the important essay extending the scope of his theory of established-outsider relations that Elias wrote for the 1976 Dutch edition of the book. As a further consequence it does not, however, include the much later essay on 'The Maycomb Model', inspired by Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*. That has so far been published only in German, in *Etablierte und Außenseiter* (now in print as volume 4 of the *Gesammelte Schriften*, Suhrkamp, 2002) – as a result of an oversight in connection with the 1994 English edition for which I must share the blame.

A direct translation of the title into Italian must have proved too difficult. To my ears, 'strategies of exclusion' sounds a bit too reminiscent of something consciously planned rather than of a blind social process. But the main thing is that this important item in Elias's *oeuvre* is now available in Italian.

SJM

Ellen Gallagher, 'Joking Apart: Processes of National Identification in War-time Ireland:

Dublin Opinion, 1922–3 and 1936–46', unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2004.

This thesis examines a form of national critical reflection, that of published humour, and shows that it can serve as a rich source of evidence about wider processes of social change, identity formation, and nation building. Hith-

erto, the potential use of humour as a research vehicle for explicating processes such as these has not been recognised. *Dublin Opinion*, Ireland's first national humorous journal is analysed over two critical historical periods (1922–23 and 1936–45). A reflexive qualitative approach to the research is employed. Aspects of the works of Pierre Bourdieu and Norbert Elias have been drawn on and developed, facilitating a concentration on the dynamic processes and interrelationships with which this work is chiefly involved. *Field* analysis (Bourdieu) is used to explicate the emergence and significance of humour as a form of critical reflection in processes of national identification. The analysis also offers a *we-image* (Elias) processual discourse – who 'we' are and who 'we' want to be at different stages in the decolonisation process as it is discussed, negotiated and reflected upon. In other words, the way in which national identity was conceived and understood, post-independence, is revealed.

The emergence of *Dublin Opinion* as a player of key importance within the *field of cultural production* is unveiled. Its position within this field was constituted by the fact of the producers' possession of quality *cultural capital* (artistic and educational competencies) and their acquisition of *symbolic capital* (recognition, prestige). A consequence of their game was a contribution to the constitution of a class (the urban bourgeois intellectual class) and to the field of nation building. National identification emotions were changing during the decolonisation process and key components of the *we-image* and *we-feelings* of the Irish in the earliest stages of this process can be understood, through the critical reflection of *Dublin Opinion*, in terms of a mixture of pride, shame and ambivalence. The historical influence of the *old-established* is deeply entrenched in the national *habitus*, and the process of growing into an independent nation produces struggles between old and new *we-feelings*. Collective fantasies and fears are to be found tied up within the layers of *we-images* and *we-feelings* throughout. An increased sense of *mutual identification* characterises the later period as 'civilisation' is problematised. Mutual identification is con-

sidered in terms of its contribution to nation building.

Alex Twitchen, 'The Body, Sport and Risk: An Historical Sociology of Motor Racing', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Portsmouth, 2004.

Abstract: The main aim of this study is critically to examine the extent to which the present 'culture of safety' in motor racing is directly attributable to actions and legacy of Jackie Stewart. By undertaking an historical analysis of safety in motor racing a number of themes are established, and the extent to which the sport has been transformed into an immeasurably safer activity is demonstrated. The popular assumption that Jackie Stewart is principally responsible for this development is then critically challenged. This is achieved by analysing the social processes that are able to explain more adequately the reasons why motor racing has become such a safer and less life threatening sport in which to participate.

By drawing on the theory of civilising processes, and by focusing on the development of motor racing as a popular televised spectacle, along with shifts in the power chances between different masculine identities and the consequences that can be associated with the emergence of a more extensive consumer culture, it is argued that individuals have developed a more acute moral tolerance which no longer accepts serious and fatal injuries amongst racing drivers as the unavoidable cost of a dangerous sport. Instead, and as the reaction to the deaths of Ayrton Senna and Roland Ratzenberger in 1994 can demonstrate, individuals within Western societies now express a heightened degree of sensitivity to the deaths of racing drivers, a process that has contributed to the governing organisations of motor racing implementing and embracing a far more extensive 'culture of safety' that now attempts to entirely eliminate the chances of racing drivers being killed or seriously injured in motor racing accidents. Thus, simply identifying Jackie Stewart as the person who made motor racing a safer sport typifies a mono-causal explanation that reduces a complex social process to the actions of a 'prime mover'.

■ FROM THE AUTHOR

Christien Brinkgreve, *Vroeg mondig, laat volwassen* [Early Maturity, Late Adulthood]. Amsterdam: Augustus, 2004. 206 pp. ISBN: 90-457-0022-0

Vroeg mondig, laat volwassen explores the increasingly porous boundary between youth and adulthood. Today's children and teens can put in their 'twopenn'orth' and take part in decision-making much more than previous generations of young people could. At the same time, children today are not as well shielded from images of war, violence and sexuality. In this respect children mature much earlier, and childhoods end much earlier than they used to. On the other hand, young people are postponing adult responsibilities – a job, marriage and children – until even later in their lives. They do not want to put an end to their 'playtime', their period of experimentation. They are

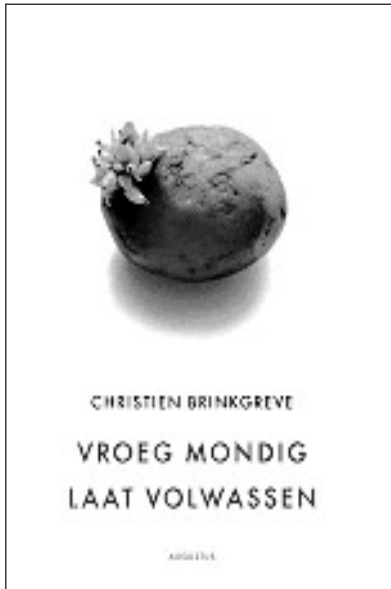
afraid to commit themselves and want to be able to reconsider their choices, because they are trying to get the most out of life.

To explore how young people today perceive childhood and adulthood, I interviewed thirty young people from all strata of society. In addition, I analysed the letters that children sent to 'Achterwerk', a regular column for young people on the back cover of a widely read Dutch television guide. I specifically looked at three areas in which the boundaries between childhood and adulthood are shifting. For many children, the divorce of their parents often means an abrupt end to childhood and a reversal of roles, in which they are frequently given responsibilities once the province of the adults. School no longer forms a clear-cut dividing line between childhood and adulthood, either: 40 per cent of secondary school students in



Christien Brinkgreve

photo: B. Nienhuis



the Netherlands have a part-time job after school, and working adults quite often go back to school for retraining or refresher courses. And because of the widespread access to media such as television, videos and Internet, adults can no longer protect children from exposure to images meant for grown-up eyes only.

In all of these areas, a shifting and blurring of boundaries is taking place. Furthermore, the authority of legislators and other regulators is eroding, and codes for controlling behaviour and feelings have become less stringent. External rules have diminished in importance; self-determination and self-guidance are the order of the day. This places significant demands on people, necessitating not only general knowledge (the ability to orientate and select) and self-knowledge, but also insight into one's own ambitions, possibilities and limits, as well as self-control. It calls for a more complex command over emotions, and a more subtle game of mutual acceptance and understanding.

People are constantly underestimating how involved these demands are, how much they ask of young people in this day and age, and how unevenly distributed are the abilities necessary for meeting these modern demands on behaviour and emotions. This book builds on the work of Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens.

Christien Brinkgreve

Philip W. Sutton, *Nature, Environment and Society*. Cambridge: Palgrave Press, 2004.

Environmental issues are widely recognised as key contemporary social problems and there is a recognition that understanding changing nature-society relations is becoming increasingly important. This situation presents sociology with the 'ecocentric challenge' of bringing the natural world back in to sociological theories and research programmes. However, the significance of environmental issues for the practice of sociology remains the subject of vigorous disagreements.

Drawing on a range of contemporary and historical sources, this book provides a comprehensive overview of the main contours of the ecocentric challenge for sociology, exploring the tension between emerging forms of environmental sociology and more mainstream sociological analyses of environmental issues. Chapters deal with environmental ideas and issues, environmental movements, social constructionism, critical realism, ecocentric theory, environmental identities, risk society theory, sustainable development, Green consumerism, ecological modernisation and debates around modernity and postmodernity.

Unlike many other texts in this field, the book adopts a resolutely developmental sociological perspective throughout, which guides readers through the currently competing arguments and contentious debates, pointing towards a more balanced understanding and explanation of modern environmental concerns. The chapters are structured around Elias's stimulating thesis of the 'triad of basic controls' – nature (including human nature), self and society – offering a more comprehensive treatment of environmental issues than the relatively polarised alternatives currently dominating the field. In this way it is hoped that sociologists will in future be able to engage more productively with environmental concerns.

Contents

1. Modern Ideas of Nature and Environment
2. The Development of Environmental Movements
3. Theorising the Social and the Natural
4. The Ecocentric Challenge for Society and Sociology
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6. Environmentalism in a Risk Society
7. Modernity as an Unfinished Ecological Project
8. Postmodernity, Poststructuralism and Ecological Diversity
9. Environment, Self and Society

Phil Sutton

Robert Gordon University
Aberdeen.

■ WORK IN PROGRESS

More about the Young Workers Project

In *Figurations* 17 John Goodwin and Henrietta O'Connor at the Centre for Labour Market Studies at the University of Leicester reported on their exciting research project to reanalyse and to replicate the Young Workers Project on which Norbert Elias and many distinguished collaborators embarked in the early 1960s. In their article they mentioned one Working Paper about the project that had been published by the Centre. Since then, several more have appeared. The full list to date, all authored by John and Henrietta, is:

"I couldn't wait for the day": Young Workers' Reflections on Education during the Transition to Work in the 1960s'. CLMS Working Paper No. 33. (2001)

Abstract: The school and labour market experiences of young workers are a major concern for both academics and policy makers alike. This concern has generated a great deal of research reflecting a wide range of debates around the transition from school to work. One of the first research projects to consider this process was undertaken in the early 1960s by researchers at the University of Leicester, led by Norbert Elias. The data was collected via interviews and whilst 910 interviews were completed, the data was discovered and

an initial analysis suggests that the data provides a significant insight into the transition from education to work in the 1960s. This paper aims to present some of this data for the first time, exploring young workers' reflections on education and their transitions to work and adulthood.

'Forty Years On: Norbert Elias and the Young Worker Project'. CLMS Working Paper No. 35. (2002)

Abstract: Forty years ago, in 1962, fieldwork began on the research project 'Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles'. Using archived materials relating to the little known Norbert Elias project, this paper has two aims. First, to present some background information on the research and introduce this aspect of Elias's work to a wider audience beyond the few who were aware of the project's existence. Second, to explore in detail Elias's contributions to the project by piecing together his ideas and hypotheses from archived materials. During the early stages of the research, Elias suggested that the transition from school to work constituted a 'shock' experience and that young people would experience initial difficulties in adjusting to their new role. He suggested that difficulties would emerge in their relationships with older workers, with family and with their new income. For the first time this paper presents Elias's 'shock' hypothesis, and his thoughts on school to work transitions. Although later analysis suggested that, in the main, young people did not experience 'shock' on entering work (see Ashton and Field, 1976) it is felt that a full exploration of Elias's model is worthwhile as it adds yet a further dimension to the richness and applicability of his other writing. The paper concludes by reflecting on the limitations of the Elias shock hypothesis.

“‘She wants to be like her mum?’: Girls' Transitions to Work in the 1960s”. CLMS Working Paper 36. (2002)
Abstract: In the early 1960s researchers at the University of Leicester carried out a unique survey into the school to work transition experiences of nearly nine hundred young adults. The survey documented most aspects of the school-leavers' lives, however, the majority

of the data from this 'Young Worker Project' has remained unanalysed and unpublished for nearly forty years.

Recently 851 of the original interview schedules were uncovered and, as part of a broader ESRC funded project, re-analysis has commenced.

Little is known about the transition to work at this time and what research does exist has focused on the experience of boys. Using data from the original survey, which included interviews with 260 girls, this paper examines the female experience of the transition from school to work, concluding that gender played a significant role in influencing the way in which the school to work transition was experienced.

“‘They had horrible wallpaper’”: Representations of Respondents and the Interview process in Interviewers Notes’.

CLMS Working Paper No. 39 (2002)

Abstract: The role and content of interviewer notes in social research has traditionally received little attention. This, in the main, is due to the fact that the interviewer notes were often written by the researchers themselves for their own use and have not become available for secondary analysis. However, a secondary analysis of interviewer notes can provide a great deal of insight into the research process and the attitudes, experiences and expectations of those working in the field. Using interviewer notes from a little known research project on youth transitions carried out in the 1960s Leicester, this paper aims to explore the interviewers' experiences of the research process and considers how the interviewers own perceptions and experiences are documented in the interviewer notes.

‘Exploring Complex Transitions: Looking Back at the “Golden Age” of From School to Work’. CLMS Working Paper No. 42 (2003).

Abstract: Using data from a little known project, 'Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles', carried out in Leicester between 1962 and 1964, this paper aims to re-examine the extent to which transitions during this time were complex, lengthy, non-linear and single-step and explores the assumed linearity and uncomplicated nature of school

to work transitions in the 1960s. It is argued that earlier research on youth transitions has tended to understate the level of complexity that characterised youth transitions in the early 1960s and 1970s. Instead, authors exploring transition during this period concentrated on 'macro' or more structural issues such as class and gender. It is suggested that transitions in the 1960s were characterised by individual level complexity that that has largely been ignored by others exploring school to work transitions.

The Working Papers are being gradually made into journal articles, the list to date being:

Goodwin, J. and O'Connor, H., 'Exploring Complex Transitions: Looking Back at the “Golden Age” of Youth Transitions', *Sociology*, forthcoming

O'Connor, H and Goodwin, J (2004) 'She wants to be like her Mum', *Journal of Education and Work*, 17 (1) 2004.

Goodwin, J. and O'Connor, H. 'Entering Work in the 1960s: Reflections and Expectations', *Education and Training*, 45 (1) 2003: 13–21.

Copies of the Working Papers may be requested directly from:

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News about Elias's naval interests

René Moelker of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy at Breda has been working for some time on the Elias's unpublished typescripts about the naval profession, which demonstrate that the project was much more extensive than is represented by the one essay published in the *British Journal of Sociology* in 1950. In the course of his work, he has found translations of the 1950 article in French and Portuguese of which the Elias Foundation was previously unaware. They are:

'Etudes sur les origines de la profession de marin', in *Les Champs de Mars*, 13, 2003 C2SD

'Estudos sobre a gênese da profissão naval: cavalheiros e tarpaulins. *Mana* [online], 7 (1) 2001: 89–16.

Dr Moelker's own publications about the project to date are:

'Norbert Elias, maritime supremacy and the naval profession: on Elias's unpublished studies in the genesis of the naval profession', *British Journal of Sociology*, 54 (3) 2003: 373–90 [see abstract under 'Recent Books and Articles' above]

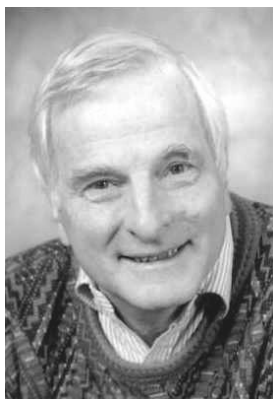
'De militaire sociologie van Norbert Elias: Studies in de genese van het beroep van marineofficier, *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 30 (3) 2003: 330–48.

'Waarom Spanjaarden niet kunnen zeilen! Norbert Elias over de invloeden van slavernij op de ontwikkeling van de professie van marine-officier in Spanje', in D. Houtman, B. Steijn and D. Houtman, eds, *Cultuur telt: Sociologische opstellen voor Leo d'Anjou*. Maastricht: Shaker, 2003, 59–74.

'Beroep: marineofficier: Studies van Norbert Elias en Ger Teitler over het ontstaan van het beroep', *Marineblad*, 113, 2003: 114–23.

■ OBITUARY

Keith Hopkins, Professor Emeritus of Ancient History at Cambridge died on 8 March 2004 at the age of only 69.



Keith had a distinguished record as an undergraduate reading classics at Cambridge, but in 1961 was recruited as an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of Leicester. We may ponder how many Departments of Sociology today would consider it important and relevant to recruit an expert on the classical world, as Ilya Neustadt and Norbert Elias did then. In Leicester, as Keith's literary executor Christopher Kelly wrote in his obituary in *The Independent*, 'under Norbert Elias he learnt sociology on the job and continued to teach it at the LSE and as Professor of Sociology in Hong Kong (1967–69) and at Brunel (1972–85), before returning to Cambridge in 1985'. His books included *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), *Death and Renewal* (1983) and *A World Full of Gods: Pagans, Jews and Christians in the Roman Empire* (1999). Keith remained an ancient historian while nominally a sociologist, and a sociologist while nominally an ancient historian. His books show the mark of process thinking. In 1984 he took part in the conference on long-term theories of development hosted by Elias at the Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Forschung, Bielefeld. Immanuel Wallerstein and William McNeill were among the other distinguished participants, and Michel Foucault (who died just a few days afterwards) had hoped to attend. In Foucault's absence, it was made to seem quite serendipitous that Keith happened to have a paper on sex in the ancient world, which he produced from his briefcase and delivered to great acclaim.

■ CONTRIBUTIONS TO FIGURATIONS

The next issue of *Figurations* will be mailed in November 2004. News and notes should be sent to the Editors by 1 October 2004.

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

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