

# Figurations

## Newsletter of the Norbert Elias Foundation

### ■ FROM THE NORBERT ELIAS FOUNDATION

#### The late John L. Scotson, 1928–1980

Can any readers of *Figurations* assist the Foundation in contacting the heirs of the late John L. Scotson, co-author with Norbert Elias of *The Established and the Outsiders*? We should like to talk to them about copyright in the book, and also to ask them whether they still have a copy of his MA thesis on 'Winston Parva', which gave rise to the book and which is not to be found either in the Library or the Department of Sociology at the University of Leicester.

#### Fourth and Fifth Norbert Elias Prizes

The fourth Norbert Elias Prize, awarded to Jason Hughes for his 2003 book *Smoking*, was presented at a half-day conference on the future of sociology organised by Johan Heilbron and his colleagues at the Erasmus University Rotterdam on 31 March 2006. Speakers were Johan Goudsblom, Bent Flyvbjerg (University of Aalborg, Denmark) and Godfried Engbersen (Rotterdam) and, after the presentation of the prize by Stephen Mennell, Jason himself. Jason is pictured with his fiancée Beata talking to Joop.



The Fifth Norbert Elias Prize will be awarded in 2007.

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 2005 and 31 December 2006. When reading, please bear this in mind; nominations for the next prize will be invited in *Figurations* 26.

### ■ PEOPLE

- John Goodwin of the University of Leicester, who has twice visited the Elias archive at Marbach am Neckar in connection with his and Henrietta O'Connor's work on the Young Worker's Project, has written some notes for non-German speaking visitors, and they are included in this issue. We hope they will prove valuable for many readers of *Figurations*.
- Gordon Fyfe has donated notes on three postgraduate seminars that Norbert Elias taught at the University of

Leicester in 1967–68. Other participants included Nick Jewson, Phil Virden, Dan Han and Ivan Waddington. Topics include the then-recent controversy over the 'convergence' of the West and the USSR between Goldthorpe on the one hand and Dunning and Hopper on the other, social processes *versus* 'history', Gerth and Mills's *Character and Social Structure*, Parsons and power. The originals have been deposited in Marbach.

- Congratulations to Angela Perulli, who has been promoted to Professor at the University of Florence.

- Deborah Reed-Danahay (University of Texas at Arlington) writes that she was struck by the comment in *Figurations* 24 – in relation to the book *Norbert Elias et l'anthropologie* edited by Sophie Chevalier and Jean-Marie Privat – about English-speaking anthropologists not being as open to Elias as the French. She says she is an exception ('and of course not the only one, at least in the USA'). She includes some remarks about Elias's relevance to the anthropology of education in her recent book *Locating Bourdieu* (Indiana University Press, 2005).

## ■ NORBERT ELIAS – LOST AND FOUND

On 22 April 2004 Maria Goudsblom and I went to visit the gravestone marking the spot where the ashes of Norbert Elias are buried at the Westergaarde crematorium in Amsterdam. It was a matter of concern for us, yet something that we had nevertheless put off for some years. In Westgaarde we asked an official where to find the place. Equipped with a plan and a marker we carried out a thorough, but unsuccessful, search. Back in the office an employee was awaiting us with a big envelope containing copies of several letters to the Foundation that had gone unanswered because of being wrongly addressed. From 1995 on they had asked every year what to do with the gravestone and the urn, since the Foundation had only paid for five years. Finally in 2003 they had removed both.

Saskia Visser contacted the office, and fortunately both urn and gravestone were found in storage. They were replaced, now for 20 years. Anyone who wants to visit the place can now do

so. (Details are: grave 175A, Begraafplaats en Crematorium Westgaarde, Ookmeerweg 275, Amsterdam, [www.westgaarde.nl](http://www.westgaarde.nl)). Maria Goudsblom and I went there on 3 January 2006 and took the photo. This time it was difficult, because the gravestones were covered with snow and the numbering of the graves is not in a strict order. But with a marked plan you will find the place.

*Elke Korte*  
Münster

## ■ NOTES FOR NON-GERMAN SPEAKERS VISITING THE ELIAS ARCHIVE – DEUTSCHES LITERATUR-ARCHIV MARBACH AM NECKAR, GERMANY

### *Before your Visit*

You are required to inform the Archive before your visit about the purpose and duration of your visit. It is advisable to refer to the Elias archive explicitly, as the staff will have the relevant Catalogues ready for you on arrival.

### *On Arrival in Stuttgart*

Take the S4 S-Bahn to Marbach. The archive is a 25-minute walk from the station. If you prefer, there should be taxis at the station.

### *Accommodation*

The most convenient place to stay is the Parkhotel, Schillerhöhe – a 2-minute walk from the archive. From the hotel turn left and the archive is across the grass (where there is a famous statue of Schiller). The Parkhotel provides free wireless internet access, so you can check your e-mail etc.

Parkhotel Schillerhöhe

Schillerhöhe 14

71672 Marbach a. N.

Tel: +49 71 44 90 50

Fax: +49 71 44 9 05 88

E-Mail:

[info@parkhotel-schillerhoehe.de](mailto:info@parkhotel-schillerhoehe.de)

### *Arrival at the Archive – Registration*

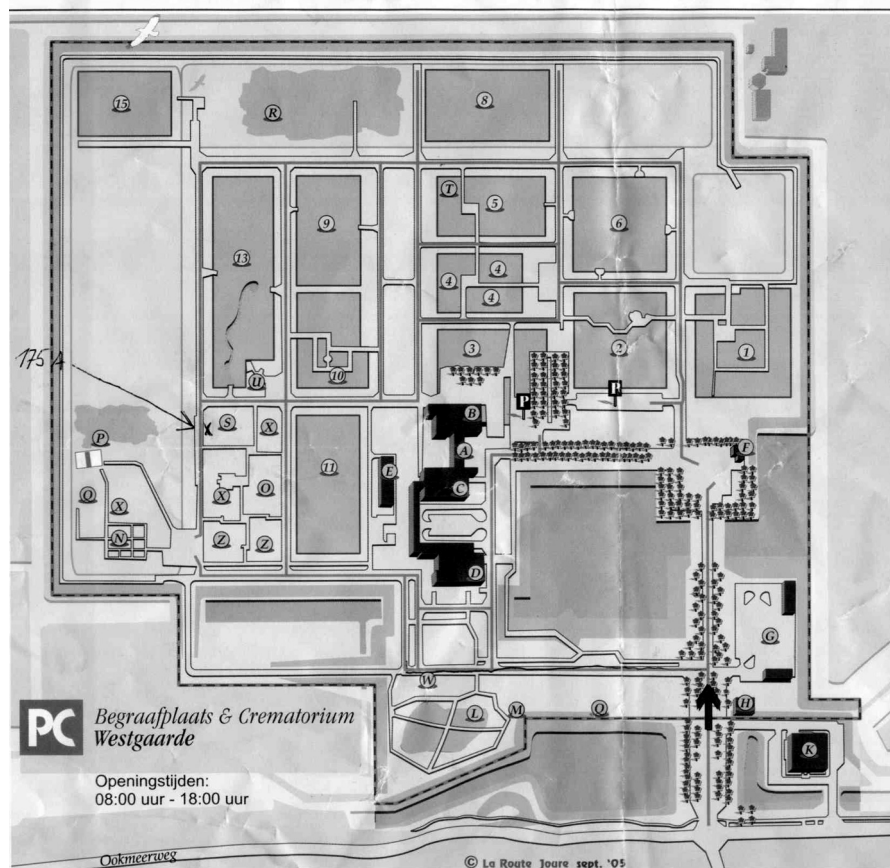
Report to reception and have any correspondence relating to your visit handy. The staff will direct you to put coats and bags in a locker downstairs (1 euro refundable). You will then be directed to a registration desk through double doors to the right of the reception. Here you will have to complete a 'Benutzungsantrag' or registration form. You will then be given a 'Benutzerausweis', a user's card. You have to show your passport for registration. You will then be taken to the room where you can work.

In line with standard archive practices you can take only pencils, a notebook and/or a computer into the reading/work room.

The reading room where you will work, and where you can access the materials, is downstairs (on your first visit you will be directed). You have to sign in each day in the reading room. The room is staffed all day and the staff are very helpful – they deal with requests, photocopying etc. When you leave each night pass any documents (in their folders), plus the catalogue, back to the staff and state whether you wish to use the materials again – otherwise all material will be returned to the archive store.

### *Catalogue/Inventory*

There are four red folders and one black



The map of Westgaarde indicating the gravestone of Norbert Elias

ring binder listing all of the documents archived. Two of the red folders 'Teil I and Teil III' provide a useful guide to materials such as letters, memos, manuscripts, appointments and so on. Each item is allocated a number and title, for example '129. Lists of N.Elias's manuscripts. n.d. 5 documents'. This information can be used for requesting the documents you wish to view (see below).

Teil II is an inventory of Elias's own library, i.e. books by others that Elias owned. Those books in which he made notes are deposited here.

The black ring binder provides a listing of all the people with whom there is a record of Elias having corresponded – each has a number, e.g. Freud, S. – 36.1.3. This number can then be used to request the selection of correspondence relating to that person – however, please bear in mind the rules regarding correspondence with persons who are still alive (see <http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/>)!

#### *Requesting Materials*

Find the relevant materials you wish to view. You will then need to complete a yellow slip/form (available on the desk in the reading room)

1. In the section 'Verfasser', write 'Norbert Elias'
2. In the section 'Standort/Signatur' you write: A: Elias
3. In the section 'Titel' write the material you wish to view – eg. '129. Lists of N. Elias's manuscripts. n.d. 5 documents'
4. Write your own name in the section 'Name' and the date in the section 'Datum'.
5. Hand the yellow slips to staff, who will action your request (it is advisable to make a number of requests at a time using different slips, as this will save time later).
6. When the document arrives you will be asked to sign the yellow slip to acknowledge receipt.
7. When finished, hand the document/folder back (also see copying).
9. Once completed you will be given a copy of the yellow slip as a record of the files you have examined.

Requests can be made up until 4.30 pm. Any requests made around lunchtime will not be delivered until 2pm.

Material from the inventory of Elias's own library (i.e. books by others that Elias owned which are deposited here listed in Teil II) will need to be requested from the main archive desk using a *white* request slip.

#### *Photocopying*

Within the laws on copyright etc, visitors are allowed to photocopy some of the materials viewed. For this you have to request a photocopy from 'Xerokopierauftrag'. The staff in the reading room will provide this. On the form you need to specify what you wish to copy, but remember the rules relating to publication of this material (see <http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/>). In the folder where the materials are held you will also be asked to insert markers 'Start Here' and 'End here' to highlight the extent of the material you wish to copy. The staff in the archive will tell you if you try to copy too much! There is a charge for each sheet copied. The materials and 'Xerokopierauftrag' form are taken away by the staff and the copies delivered to your desk later.



#### *Archive Canteen*

There is a canteen at the archive but the canteen staff do not speak a great deal of English. There is a self-service coffee machine and a wide selection of breads, cheese, yoghurts, and soft drinks. If you require hot food at lunchtime it has to be ordered in advance (forms on board to left of cash register).

#### *Marbach*

The town itself is quiet. There is an attractive old-town area with many restaurants. However it is very quiet in the evening and, if you want something a little more, then a trip into Stuttgart is required.

#### *John Goodwin*

University of Leicester

## ■ JACK LONDON AND 'DECIVILISATION'

In *Figurations* 24, we mentioned a reference to Jack London's use of the word 'decivilisation'. Richard Kilminster has tracked it down. Here is what he writes:

'Thanks to that nice man Mr. Google, I've found where Jack London uses the word "decivilisation". It's in chapter 2 of his book *The Call of the Wild* from 1903. Here is the passage:

Not that Buck [the sledge dog hero of the novel] reasoned it out. He was fit, that was all, and unconsciously he accommodated himself to the new mode of life. All his days, no matter what the odds, he had never run from a fight. But the club of the man in the red sweater had beaten into him a more fundamental and primitive code. Civilised, he could have died for a moral consideration, say the defence of Judge Miller's riding whip; but the completeness of his decivilisation was now evidenced by his ability to flee from the defence of a moral consideration and so save his hide. He did not steal for joy of it, but because of the clamour of his stomach. He did not rob openly, but stole secretly and cunningly, out of respect for club and fang. In short, the things he did were done because it was easier to do them than not to do them.

He's basically saying (I think) that the dog had been domesticated but became more brutal as his tasks became more harsh and demanding. Not having read the whole thing I can only surmise that that is the point. A kind of analogy of human civilisation ...'

## ■ 'CARDS FACE UP ON THE TABLE': ELIASIAN THEORY AS A 'CENTRAL THEORY' FOR THE HUMAN SCIENCES

**Stephen Quilley and Steven Loyal**, 'Eliasian Sociology as a "Central Theory" for the Human Sciences', *Current Sociology* 53 (5) 2005: 807–28.

**Arpad Szakolczai**, 'Elias and the Refounding of Social Theory: A Com-



ment', *Current Sociology* 53 (5) 2005: 829–34.

**Nidhi Srinivas**, 'Cultivating Sociological Detachment through Reflexivity: Response to Quilley and Loyal', *Current Sociology* 53 (5) 2005: 835–44.

**Stephen Quilley and Steven Loyal**, 'Science, Cumulative Knowledge, Secondary Involvement and Synthesis: A Reply to our Critics', *Current Sociology* 53 (5) 2005: 843–50.

'In opposition to the "spirit" of our times', writes Arpad Szakolczai, Stephen Quilley and Steven Loyal have 'had the courage to put their cards face up on the table'. Another metaphor would be that they have nailed their colours to the mast. At a time when most sociologists appear to find it embarrassing to express anything bordering on a strong preference for one view of their discipline over another, in the major essay in this symposium they make a strong claim for Eliasian sociology's capacity to serve as a 'central theory' for the human sciences as a whole.

When they speak of the 'human sciences', Quilley and Loyal emphatically include the biological as well as social sciences. They begin by asserting that 'all scientific disciplines tend to be carried along by the twin forces of sub-disciplinary disintegration on the one hand, and somewhat rarer moments of integration and synthesis on the other'. For epistemological realists at least – an embattled minority it sometimes seems among contemporary sociologists – the accumulation of scientific knowledge is an unbroken process stretching down the millennia. Although much earlier science is discarded, a point that Kuhn imprinted perhaps a little too successfully in the minds of those who lean towards relativism, 'the growing object congruity of ... knowledge is evident in the concomitant growth in the human capacity for manipulation of non-human nature'. Quilley and Loyal then briefly survey the course of debates over reductionism and holism in biology, culminating in the current 'Darwin wars', but demonstrating that they have gone hand in hand with cumulative theoretical refinement. They predict 'not that the new paradigm waiting in

the wings will consign the last hundred years of scientific endeavour in biology to the dustbin', rather

the re-emergence of holism in biology and the recognition of complexity and different integrative levels is significant for sociology for two reasons. First, the imperialist explanatory logic of early socio-biology, which would reduce sociology to biology, has been undercut by developments *within* the life sciences. And second, by the same token, in this recognition of emergent levels, there is space for sociology alongside genetics, ecology, biochemistry [etc.]

And of course, long ago Elias advocated such a model of relatively autonomous levels of integration, including social processes.

In contrast with these trends in the life sciences, Quilley and Loyal speak of a 'cumulative disarray in sociology', quoting the answer given to the question 'What is sociology?' on the British Sociological Association's website: 'From its original purpose as the "science of society", sociology has moved on to more reflexive attempts to understand how society works'. That may be more a reflection of the lamentably low intellectual level of the BSA than of sociology as a whole, but it is sad none the less.

The main bulk of the essay is then occupied by a highly competent exposition of key points of Elias's writings – and of Eliasians, notably Goudsblom – that are relevant to the strong claim that they provide a 'central theory' for the human sciences. We shall not summarise this part here, but there is much to learn even for readers already familiar with Elias's ideas.

In his response, Arpad Szakolczai, though expressing admiration for the strength and clarity of Quilley and Loyal's argument, is also sceptical about whether sociology can be a science: his argument, though stated in a nuanced way, comes down to the problem of prediction. Was the body of sociological knowledge about Soviet society really reality-adequate when it failed to predict the abrupt change in that reality that made the knowledge redundant?

And although he agrees that 'Elias offers one of the most thought-provoking reference points to overcome the legacy of the "short" twentieth century', he goes on to say that 'it is not *the* foundation of a central theory' and 'neither should there be such a theory'.

Nidhi Srinivas too, in keeping with the *Zeitgeist*, feels uncomfortable with the idea of 'science', at least as the word is used by Quilley and Loyal, but in a thoughtful article concentrates on the idea of the involvement–detachment balance.

In their reply, Quilley and Loyal correct what they see as misunderstandings on the part of the two commentators. They are puzzled by Szakolczai's reference to the USSR: would his argument not mean that we have to forgo all attempts at understanding ancient civilisations too? That much 'knowledge' about the Soviet Union was very much fantasy-laden was a point specifically made by Elias himself. Second, Szakolczai elides biological evolution and social development, and the routine and unthinking 'charge' of 'evolutionism' shows how high is the barrier to sociologists thinking seriously about the implications of the galloping modern advances in evolutionary theory. Third, Szakolczai and Srinivas are both preoccupied with individual actors and consciousness – Szakolczai going so far as to make the odd claim that Elias is not concerned with them – and in so doing replicate the problem of *homo clausus* that bedevils conventional sociology.

Finally, Quilley and Loyal make a provocative statement. Pointing out that by 'centrality' they do not mean that Elias provides an *exclusive* point of departure for the renewal of sociology and frame of orientation for the human sciences, they say that in some ways Elias's 'value lies, somewhat paradoxically, in his profound unoriginality'. This is not the insult it at first sounds: what they are asserting is that Elias's outstanding skill was in *synthesis* – in establishing strong connections between so many branches and levels of the human sciences. This has given figurational social science its capacity to forge links not just with other reality-orientated varieties of sociology (notably that of Pierre

Bourdieu) but with the human sciences more widely.

Quilley and Loyal's article and the symposium it provoked, appearing in an important journal published by the International Sociological Association, is something a major event for adherents of the figurational approach. Read it!

## ■ REVIEW ESSAY

**Sigmund Loland, Berit Skirstad and Ivan Waddington, eds**, *Pain and Injury in Sport*. London: Routledge, 2006. 268 pp. ISBN 0415357047 (pb)

For readers who are sports enthusiasts or who have an academic interest in sports-related issues, the recent publication of *Pain and Injury in Sport* is a very welcome addition to the growing body of academic literature on sport. It will be of interest to sociologists generally, and figurational sociologists in particular, for three reasons: one, its highly original and interdisciplinary contribution to the social scientific study of what was previously accepted as a bio-medical issue; two, the inclusion of sports and the sports-related experiences of athletes at elite- and non-elite levels; and, three, the contributions of figurational sociologists to this field of study, including chapters by Martin Roderick, Hannah Charlesworth and Kevin Young, Ken Sheard, Dominic Malcolm and Ivan Waddington. The book is the result of a workshop on pain and injury organised in Oslo and it includes 16 chapters in total, 'written by an international group of scholars and offers social and ethical perspectives on pain and injury in sports'. For this reason, despite the interdisciplinary approaches to the topic under investigation, it is a delightfully coherent text in which the chapters complement each other and generate challenging questions for the reader.

There are five discrete sections. The first, on pain and injury in sports, which offers three theoretical frameworks for approaches to the investigation of this issue. This section includes an excellent application of figurational work to the sociological study of pain and injury by Roderick. Section 2, entitled 'pain, injury and performance', focuses on

case studies of 'athletes' experiences of and responses to pain'. Here, the broader definition of athletes includes polar adventurers, along with runners and female athletes. The chapter by Charlesworth and Young is also figurationally-informed and I return to this below. Section 3 focuses on the so-called deliberate or intentional infliction of pain and injury, which raises ethical dilemmas for athletes, their support teams, medical practitioners and some governments, such as the former DDR, who have been involved in sponsoring mandatory doping. This section includes Sheard's chapter, in which he argues that 'boxing over the past 100 to 150 years has become less obviously physically damaging and, in many respects, safer for its participants'. In section 4 – the management of pain and injury – Waddington and Malcolm focus respectively on the provision of medical care in professional football and rugby in England. The final section addresses the meaning of pain and injury in various religious and philosophical contexts.

Of the limited publications that introduce us to approaches to pain and injury, Roderick's chapter entitled 'The sociology of pain and injury' is, perhaps, one of the most adequate introductions to this field of enquiry. This is because of its concise and thorough examination of the more cogent points to be taken from existing work in this area since the 1970s generally, and since the 1990s in particular. As part of his review, Roderick also draws attention to 'areas of interest that are currently under-researched and under-theorised' and, for this reason among others, I strongly recommend it as the 'first course' for all students and academics with a general interest in this area. Because of Roderick's contribution, the two other chapters in this section – by Roessler and Loland on the psychology of pain and ideal-typical approaches to pain in sport respectively – can be usefully located in the existing field of theoretical knowledge in this area. Taken together, the three chapters in section one offer a wide ranging theoretical framework in which to better understand the empirically-informed case studies that form the basis for section two. In this section, I have no

doubt that Bale's observations on 'pain in relation to "non-injured" athletes and to spectators' will be provocative for its ideas and the use of humanistic geography and literary sources. For example, Bale suggests implicitly that our lust for pain, and spectators' admiration for 'suffering' in sport may be read as being even more pervasive than first thought. This poses an interesting question for future empirical studies in this area. Alongside Bales' work, Goksøyr argues that there are specific features of 'polar pain' that warrant further investigation. For example, he suggests that polar adventurers seem to take pleasure from pain to the extent that 'sometimes one can be led to believe that pain is indeed the purpose of the whole thing'. The final chapter in this section – on injured female athletes, by Charlesworth and Young – is of particular interest to me given my own sporting experiences and doctoral research. I hope the readers of *Figurations* and the various authors in *Pain and Injury in Sport* will forgive me for this diversion.

The authors' justification for their chapter is the current lack of research on 'how women experience sports injury'. Previous research has suggested that 'women are often as willing as their male counterparts to take risks with their bodies and to "hide", "deny", "disrespect" and "depersonalise" injury and pain on a routine basis'. Charlesworth and Young seek to offer some cross-cultural comparisons of the experiences of female athletes in Canada and England, some of which were gender-specific, and at one and the same time, gender-independent and part of the culture of risk associated with modern sports. Thus, the authors consider the 'possibility that sports-related pain and injury encounters may be outcomes of *both* sport and gender socialisation processes'. However, as Young had written elsewhere, there is 'no homogeneous experience or set of values on the part of women athletes, no fixed or monolithic "femininity" and that variation and contradiction are common'. From the outset, this raises some fundamental questions about the extent to which such variations in women's experiences can be explained in monolithic terms like 'gender socialisation processes'. Having said this, they found the fol-

lowing: (i) many women are as likely to take physical risks with their bodies as men and not just in so-called 'risk' sport and activities; (ii) concealing pain and injury also appears to be an approach taken by female (and male) athletes that was relatively independent of gender; (iii) many women appear to be less irreverent than men towards injuries but 'it was nevertheless still apparent'; (iv) alongside team-mates, administrators and significant others, coaches are particularly influential in female athletes' decisions to play 'while in pain or to return to play prematurely from injury', and this is also indicative of the reproduction of the culture of risk and qualities such as commitment, character and reliability identified in other work; and (v), female athletes deal with pain and injury in 'an intensely private manner' in order not to be perceived as weak or lacking in character. These findings notwithstanding, Charlesworth and Young argue that these similarities between male and female athletes' reactions to pain and injury are paralleled by some interesting gender differences relating particularly to men's and women's experiences of pain and injury. For example, according to the authors, gendered expectations shaped: 'how women understand and manage pain and injury'; women's responses to pain and injury; the impact of this on women's bodies; and, the availability and use of 'material resources' for female athletes. At face value, these claims appear somewhat to contradict their earlier conclusions and they warrant further commentary as a result.

First, whilst the female athletes in their study may have discussed their injuries more openly with team-mates, peers and so on, this is not necessarily adequate evidence that males and females adopt differing coping strategies, or indeed, that there are 'gendered' coping strategies. Notwithstanding the appeal of this 'gender' argument, one would have to consider the adequacy of existing empirical data on males' experiences before any further conclusions can be drawn in this regard. Thus, we could ask the following questions of the authors' work here as well as existing research in this area: do male athletes share 'pain stories'?; if so, to whom, when, why, and how?; can we establish

qualitative 'gendered' differences in this 'storytelling'?; if so, what are the sociological (and theoretical) criteria that we would use to identify this, and why?; and, finally, how adequate is our current understanding of interaction between men generally, and not just in the field of sport? Here, Norah Vincent's experiences as a *Self-Made Man* offer 'food for thought' about the ways in which feminist and feminist-informed approaches to this last question have, it appears, under-estimated the levels of emotional communication and attachment between males, and their ways of 'storytelling'. Secondly, while the authors suggest that female athletes continue to face ideological and practical barriers to their involvement in sport – for example, facial and body injuries were often perceived by others as 'a marker of gender-ambiguous behaviour' – this is not to say that physical scarring in male athletes is perceived unambiguously by them and others as the opposite, as attractive or sexy. Currently, the state of research on this phenomenon is limited such that it prevents us from drawing any further generalisations about what might be called a 'gendering of injury markers'. Thirdly, according to Charlesworth and Young, there were a number of practical barriers for female athletes that 'cannot be divorced from questions of gender equality'. In their words, 'sports medicine and rehabilitation facilities and services are often far worse for female players'. The key question here is far worse than what or whom? Presumably the authors mean far worse than male players, but the question then arises as to whether the authors are guilty of a generalisation from the experiences of elite male players to all male athletes and, from this, to all female athletes. Moreover, it is the case that some female athletes have adequate access to, and support from, sports medicine practitioners while some male players (at the university level) have what might be regarded as 'poor' sports medicine and facilities and services (see Liston, Reacher, Smith and Waddington, 2006). Therefore, whilst the authors of this chapter are correct to suggest that 'further comparative analysis of treatment for injury among male and female athletes is necessary in order to make any concrete assertions about the gendered

nature of such processes', I would one caveat to this. Currently, there is limited empirical evidence to support their premise about the gendered nature of such processes such that our starting-point might involve a re-evaluation of the balance between processes of sport socialisation and gender socialisation, and the primacy that is often given to the latter in research on female athletes' experiences in particular.

In section 4 of *Pain and Injury in Sport*, Malcolm raises some interesting questions about the 'peculiar' practices of doctors and physiotherapists in elite English rugby union and the related power relations between club doctors and physiotherapists who are appointed in differing ways, usually on a formal or informal basis. In the case of the latter, Malcolm suggests that the power of doctors or physiotherapists (who have been hand-picked, for example) 'relative to others in the rugby union figuration is likely to be low'. Following on from this, Waddington focuses on some ethical problems that can arise in the medical management of injuries in English professional football. These can range from problems of informed consent to dilemmas about quality of care and the limits of medical autonomy. In particular, he draws our attention to 'the dual obligations of club medical staff ... and to the ways in which these constraints on medical staff may be associated with ethical problems', which lend weight to Malcolm's earlier conclusions regarding the peculiar practice of sports medicine. Indeed, if we are to take Mike McNamee's words to heart in the penultimate chapter, then 'there is necessarily no shared ethic between the doctors' cure, the physiotherapists care, in relation to the players' career'. Rather than focusing on the so-called positive or negative dimensions to pain, McNamee suggests that we ask: 'What qualities attend the suffering?' McNamee's question paves the way for Fry's discussion of pain, suffering and paradox in sport and religion. Here, the editors take a provocative decision (in sociological terms) to conclude the text with Fry's exploration of the ways in which 'religion and sport also represent two arenas where one can still find positive appraisals of pain'. Fry argues that religious

voices contribute to our understanding of pain and suffering in sport because religious testimonies have the potential 'for informing and even expanding our moral imaginations when we engage in ethical reflection'. According to Fry, 'sport reciprocates by contributing to religious understanding', and these comments will undoubtedly offer 'inspiration' to graduate scholars and academics to investigate this particular problem for its empirical adequacy. All in all, *Pain and Injury in Sport* is, as

I have said, a coherent publication in spite of the interdisciplinary perspectives of the contributors. The book exemplifies the social and sociological dimensions to the study of pain and injury, and people's experiences of this. Moreover, it is a highly useful resource for students and academics and I, for one, intend to encourage our prospective MSc students at the CCRSS to test the adequacy of the claims made by various authors.

*Katie Liston*  
CCRSS, University of Chester.

#### Reference

Liston, K. Reacher, D., Smith, A. and I. Waddington, 'Managing Pain and Injury in Non-elite Rugby Union and Rugby League: A Case Study of Players at a British University.' *Sport in Society* 9 (3) 2006: 388–402



## ■ RECENT BOOKS AND ARTICLES

**Tatiana Savoia Landini**, Honora, horror e direitos: violência sexual contra crianças e adolescentes no século XX (Sexual violence against children in the twentieth century). Unpublished PhD thesis, University of São Paulo, Brazil, 2005.

Abstract: Sexual violence against children had become a subject of great concern by the end of the twentieth century. Daily newspapers throughout the world publish very shocking news about child prostitution, paedophile priests, rapes inside the family, etc. Social movements claim that this is a social problem that has been invisible up to the last quarter of the century.

Instead of accepting as self-evident that sexual violence was an invisible problem, research was conducted in order to chart the main changes in social sensibility towards child sexual violence in the twentieth century. Articles from a daily newspaper (1900 to 2000) in Brazil and expert discourses were used to analyse these changes. The main argument is that, at the begin-

ning of the twentieth century, child sexual violence was not an invisible problem to lay people, nor to experts such as physicians, police and social workers. Nevertheless, it was seen as an occasional problem related to morality. Towards the end of the twentieth century, sexual violence came to be seen as a very recurrent problem and a topic that should be studied, quantified and scientifically analysed. What was occasionally portrayed in the media became a very common issue, reaching the headlines. Although the newspapers depict a very harsh scenario for deprived children, especially girls, this is not seen as a reverse in the civilising process. On the contrary, the changes portrayed can be explained by: 1) a shift in the balance of power between the sexes in favour of women; 2) an increase in the social distance between adults and children, now understood as people with special needs that should be protected and cared for; 3) a process of scientification, meaning that the expert groups that have come to talk about this subject in the last quarter of the century have tended to present a

more detached view, distancing themselves from moral issues.

**Florence Delmotte**, La question de l'État dans la sociologie historique de Norbert Elias: Enjeux épistémologiques et politiques. Unpublished *doctorat en science politique* thesis, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2006.

This thesis is explicitly not a systematic exposition of Elias's sociology, even in its political aspects. It is rather an exploration of some theoretical (Elias would have hated the word 'epistemological') aspects of his treatment of the state. Florence Delmotte begins by noting that in *The Civilising Process* there seems to be a tacit view that the state is, on balance and on the whole, somewhat ambivalently, a 'good thing'. In chapter 2, she carefully dissects the discussion of the state in Elias's early writings. Chapter 3 discusses the nation-state, democracy and the question of 'post-national integration', a valuable contribution to thinking through how the theory of civilising processes is relevant in the age of globalisation



and the emergence of ‘humanity as a survival unit’. Chapter 4 tackles the vexed question of whether there is an ‘Eliasic epistemology’, focusing on the collapsing of traditional philosophical dualities and the ‘realist’ resolution of a false problem offered by figurational sociology. There is a suggestion of a disappointed epistemological ambition, represented by a return to ‘moderate scientism’, ‘moderate holism’, and ‘moderate evolutionism’. A final main chapter centres on *The Germans* and the problem of Nazism. In conclusion, Delmotte writes that despite himself, Elias’s thought bears a strong normative imprint, in direct line of succession from the Enlightenment: it is a supposedly ‘non-normative’ sociology which nevertheless has an ‘emancipatory’ mission to reveal to people their own world as it is. Negatively, Elias’s sociology advances a strong critique of all national mythologies and social beliefs that appeal to the affects and draw human groups into conflict with each other by stoking up their fears. Positively, its mission is to contribute through the progress of social science to a profound transformation of human figurations based on co-operation. This clearly written and elegantly argued thesis would in some respects have irritated Elias himself, but makes a powerful case for the moral and indeed historic importance of his work. The discussion seems timely; significantly, in the interstices of the recent conference in Leicester (see below), participants were beginning to make the case for a serious discussion of the moral and political implications of Elias’s writings, no matter how implicit Elias would prefer them to remain. [SJM]

**Dominic Malcolm**, ‘The Diffusion of Cricket to America: A Figurational Sociological Examination’. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 19 (2) 2006: 151–73.

This paper examines the historical development of cricket in America and seeks to explain why, despite having a significant initial impact, the game ultimately became culturally marginal. It is argued that class and cricketing relations in England in the mid-nineteenth century had a significant and hitherto unacknowledged impact on the

diffusion of the game to America. For example, whilst American historians of cricket have suggested that one of the reasons why the game could not be adapted to better suit an American ‘national character’ was because cricket was too well established as a sport, evidence from England suggests that in fact the demise of cricket in America occurred at a time when significant rule changes were being contested in England, and when the questioning of the authority of cricket’s ruling body, the Marylebone Cricket Club, was at an all time high. Consequently, it is argued that the game being diffused to America at this time was polymorphous, with Anglo-American immigrants of different classes championing different rules and different cricketing customs. Moreover, the differential popularity of the game in different parts of America depended on neither the social status of those ‘attempting’ to diffuse the game nor the ‘receivers’ of this culture diffusion, but on the specific interdependencies and power balances between these groups. Thus it is argued that this unplanned social process can only be understood in the light of the specific interdependencies between the English and Anglo-American immigrants, between upper and lower class Anglo-American immigrants, and between Anglo-American immigrants and ‘Native White Americans’. Finally, by providing a distinctive re-interpretation of the stilted development of cricket in America, and illustrating a greater level of dependence on the English and English sport than is traditionally attributed, this paper argues for the need to re-evaluate existing explanations of the establishment of baseball as America’s national game.

**Akira Ohira**, ‘On Western Civilisation: D.H. Lawrence and Norbert Elias’, pp. 225–34 in Michael Bell, Keith Cushman, Takeo Lida and Hiro Tateishi (eds), *D.H. Lawrence: Literature, History, Culture*. Tokyo: Kokusho-Kankokai Press, 2005. 501 pp. ISBN: 4-336-04730-8.

In this book, published in Japan but entirely in English, Akira Ohira introduces Elias’s work to an audience to which it has in the main remained little known: scholars of the work of

the English novelist D.H. Lawrence (1885–1930), whose most famous works include *Women in Love* and *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*. He points to several interesting parallels between the novelist and the sociologist, notably the impact of the First World War on their views of Western civilisation. ‘Both looked on their own countries with the critical eye of an outsider.’ Lawrence’s novels convey a rejection of the veneer of ‘civilised standards’, and, as Akira Ohira remarks, Elias ‘never celebrates Western civilisation’, and draws attention to decivilising processes: ‘Despite its Freudian premises, which Lawrence opposed, Elias’s theory of civilisation shares with Lawrence an awareness of its internal tendency to destructive outbreak.’

**Sofia Gaspar**, ‘Consecuencias no intencionales y figuración: una incurción crítica en la obra de Norbert Elias’, *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas [Reis]*, 101 (3) 2003: 119–48.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the theoretical centrality of a classic subject in sociology – ‘the unintended consequences of social action’ (UCA) – through an exploration of the work of Norbert Elias. First of all, the paper tries to delineate the analytical bases of the UCA, having as a starting point the critical revision made by Ramón Ramos, who tries to revitalise its operational character in contemporary sociology. Secondly, in line with Ramos’s proposal, the way Elias develops the task of focusing the subject of sociology through the overcoming of certain traditional dualisms – individual/society, action/structure, micro/macro – introducing at the centre of his analysis the concept of ‘figuration’, as a synthetic promise in social theory. This concept integrates two analytical levels – intended and unintended structures – that are frequently differentiated from one another. Elias, in the figurational process postulates (a) the existence of unintended interdependencies between intentional actions; (b) that these unintended interdependencies remain over the intentional actions of the individuals, when one analyses social processes. In this way, intentions and individuals are made by unintended interdependencies in the figurational process. Finally,



the theoretical strengths and weaknesses of Elias's proposal are discussed in view of his persistent attempt of distancing his views from holism and from methodological individualism.

**Enrique Guerra Manzo** (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México), 'The problem of time for Norbert Elias and Fernand Braudel', *Argumentos*, 48–49, 2005: 123–47.

Abstract: The main argument of this work is that Fernand Braudel's work refers to the rhythm of the time, and talks about the different speed in the historical process, but it does not advance any concept of time. Braudel was aware of its multidimensional form, but reduced it to three dimensions (slow time, long-term, fast time). Norbert Elias, on the other hand, had a more solid conception of the time, which never refers to three forms. He understands time as a symbol of social coordination (macrocosms) and personal self-regulation (microcosms). This makes possible the rescue of the multiple experiences of the time in the social and the individual level. Despite the differences between Braudel and Elias, they are complementary to each other in understanding the difficult problem of historical time and in the methods of initiating historical researches.

**Fernando Ampudia de Haro**, *The Civilisation of Behaviour: Civility and Good Manners in Spain since the Middle Ages to the present*. Unpublished PhD directed by Ramon Ramos Torre, Complutense University of Madrid, December 2004.

The aim of this work was the analysis of the Spanish civilising process in its micro level – the development of social codes of good manners – using Elias's theory of civilising processes. The thesis focuses on five basic social codes: medieval courtesy, modern courtesy, prudence, civilisation and reflexive civilisation codes. Each of these codes was reconstructed by using specific empirical materials such as manners handbooks, texts on manners and management of emotions for the courtier, civility schoolbooks, etiquette books and self-help literature. The conclusion proposed a possible development

in the contemporary civilising process – not only Spanish but also Europe-wide – on an analogy between classical good manners handbooks and modern self-help texts, an idea taken from Cas Wouter's 'informalisation process'.

The following articles based on the thesis are in press:

'Una aproximación al proceso civilizatorio español (An approach to the Spanish civilising process). *Praxis Sociológica* 9, 2006.

'Administrar el Yo: Literatura de Autoayuda y gestión del comportamiento y los afectos' (Governing the Self: Self-Help Books and behaviour and passions management', *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas (REIS)*

The aim of this paper is to analyse the 'self-help' books using an analytical approach based on the theory of Norbert Elias. The reconstruction of the code, called here 'reflexive civilisation code', allows us to show its contents and the reasons for its advice and suggestions. Finally, we propose a possible development of the social basis of the code taking as a model a 'neo-Foucauldian' perspective.

'Ética y estética de la conducta en los manuales de buenas maneras españoles' (Ethics and aesthetics in Spanish good manners handbooks), *Política y Sociedad*.

The aim of the article is to convey the established relationships between ethics and appearances in social conduct as they have appeared in various manuals on good social behaviour from medieval times to present. In relation to this, many proposals from varying viewpoints have been presented dealing with the decline of moral conduct in such manuals. Ultimately these manuals propose two comprehensive models concerning the relationship between ethics and appearances, referred to as Aristotelian and Kantian respectively.

**Emmanuel Taïeb**, 'Individuation et pouvoir politique: Une lecture de Foucault et d'Elias', *Labyrinthe*, 'La biopolitique (d')après Foucault', 22, 2005: 37–46

In his article, Emmanuel Taïeb questions the notion of 'individuation', in a cross-reading of the theories of Elias and Foucault. In both of them, the individual is at the same time a product of power, its point of application, and a resistance to it. The Foucauldian discipline, like the Eliasian configuration of interdependency, leads to a self-control which permits the driving of the individual economy of impulses, and favours life in common by limiting interpersonal violence. It is also noticeable in the pattern of the pastoral power developed by Foucault, where power must take into account the individual existence of each of the members of his 'herd'. In the opposite, ascetic conduits are an obedience turned into self-control. Foucault understands these as an anticipation of the disciplinary power, but analyses them as allowing the individual to control himself in order to exist in a complex social universe. The modern biopower and the 'bioreflexivity' oriented towards the health of the body guide the individual embodiment of the medical prerogatives. The medical biopower is a government of the conduits discharged on an individual who must control himself and manage his own body. This valorisation of self-constraint is thinkable only because a process of individuation effectively accompanies the process of civilisation. Once the individual has internalised the medical constraint, the power can disappear as an external constraint, so achieving individuation.

**Bowen Paulle**, 'Culture and ghetto-related behaviour: lessons learned in the Bronx and the Bijlmer', *Sociologie* 1 (4) 2005: 357–81.

This article starts with an identification of a number of heavily culturalist and at times ambiguous arguments entrenched in three of the main streams of research into urban marginality in advanced societies. It then continues with lessons learned from the author's own ethnographic research – as well as the work of thinkers such as Durkheim, Goffman, Elias, Collins and Bourdieu – to articulate what readers might see as a more balanced and ultimately more useful analytic strategy for explaining the (self-)destructive adaptations of adolescents inside and outside the

educational reservations of the new urban poor. The article concludes with a number of questions about further research into the cultural norms and behavioural forms emerging in neighbourhoods and schools of the truly disadvantaged.

**Stefanie Ernst**, 'From blame gossip to praise gossip? Gender, leadership and organisational change', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 10 (3) 2003: 277–99.

Abstract: Women's under-representation in leadership positions in academic and business life has been explained in organisational theory from several perspectives, all of which agree that women nowadays are highly qualified for leadership posts. Women are a relatively new phenomenon in this particular sphere of work life. But long-term figurational approaches provide an explanation for the persistence of women's under-representation. Being an outsider in leadership positions implies ambiguity and an ambivalent fluctuation between stigmatisation and counter-stigmatisation. The present study uses Norbert Elias's Established and Outsiders model to understand the complex polyphony in the movement of ascending and descending groups in leading positions, which are traditionally constructed as a 'Men's World'. Referring to eighteenth-century books on etiquette through to present-day career guides, the author traces behavioural codes in gender and business life.

**Iris van Huis and Ali de Regt**,

'Between constraint and dialogue: "Societal orientation" in introductory courses in Dutch culture', *Sociologie* 1 (4) 2005: 382–406.

In the Netherlands, immigrants from outside the EU are obliged to follow a one-year course, in which they are taught the Dutch language and given an introduction in Dutch culture. In this article, we analyse the contents of the course in Dutch culture. Which norms, values, behavioural standards and identities are seen as 'typically Dutch'? In the lessons, priority is given to the practical knowledge immigrants need to function in Dutch society. Norms and values, however, are implicitly and explicitly part of the lessons.

In the article these are categorised in various themes: constitutional rights and obligations like discrimination according to sex, sexual inclination and race, freedom of speech, opinion and religion; family and gender values and relations, education of children, political participation and national identity. It was remarkable that the norms and values were brought up in a morally open and relativistic manner, put in a historical and comparative perspective and presented by way of discussion and dialogue. At the same time, newcomers were asked to accept values like tolerance and respect for differences, because these were seen to be indispensable for living in Dutch society. While teachers were averse to tell immigrants how to live or how to behave, they nevertheless tried to teach them self-control, self-reflection and how to manage their emotions in accordance with these demands. In that respect, the courses in Dutch culture can be seen as attempts to 'civilise' immigrants.

**Angela Perulli**, *Dentro la Montagna: Società locali alla prova* [In the Mountains: Local society under test]. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 2005. 218 pp. ISBN: 88-7011-962-9.

In this book, Angela Perulli reports on the impact that the construction of a new high-speed railway line from Firenze to Bologna has had on the communities in the Apennines through which it passes. It is explicitly a study of social change inspired by the sociology of Norbert Elias: real people are studied in the round, in the light of the totality of their social interdependencies, not as 'actors' playing particular 'roles'; the author strives to avoid the static dichotomies that bedevil conventional sociology; and the model of established-outsider relations is central to the whole study; ultimately the concern is with how the social processes unleashed by the construction work affect the habitus of all the people involved.

My Italian is inadequate to read the whole book easily, but I was able to dip into the copious resources included on a CD-ROM inside the back cover (at least I could after a struggle get it out of its plastic envelope!), which contains

maps, statistics, documents and photographs – including dramatic views of the tunnelling work and even ground plans of the camps in which the construction workers lived.

*SJM*

**Hans Abbing**, 'From High Art to NewArt', inaugural lecture as Professor of the Sociology of Art (the Boekman Chair) at the University of Amsterdam.

In his recent inaugural lecture, Hans Abbing drew heavily on the writings of Cas Wouters about informalisation. He argued that youngsters and increasingly even older people are turning their backs on classical concerts. This is not because they do not like classical music or lack the education that enables them to enjoy the music. They simply cannot cope with the classical concert etiquette any more and thus they feel increasingly uncomfortable. The etiquette here has become too formal and too elitist. They prefer the informal concert situations of pop music where there is more space to move around, people can react to the music, and do not have to be quiet for the entire duration of a concert. Dutch society had been undergoing a fundamental process of informalisation since the 1950s. Different art worlds had responded to this process in different ways. The response of the classical music world had so far been one of resistance and denial. Here the code of conduct had actually become even *more* formal over the past 50 years. The current subsidy systems in various European countries enable the classical music world to remain largely unaffected by change. If this situation continues unheeded, the classical concert will lose more and more of its market share.

Besides referring to Cas Wouters's books *Sex and Manners: Female Emancipation in the West, 1890–2000* (Sage, 2004) and *Informalisation* (Sage, forthcoming) and his essay 'How Strange to Ourselves Are our Feelings of Superiority and Inferiority' (*Theory, Culture & Society* 15(1) 1998: 131–50), Professor Abbing also drew upon Nico Wilterdink's essay 'The Sociogenesis of Postmodernism' (*European Journal of Sociology* 2 (2002): 190–216).

## ■ FROM THE AUTHOR

**Jean-Bernard Ouédraogo, Vinay Kumar Srivastava, Nader El-Bizri, Chen Shao-Ming, Leo Marx, Pierre Zaoui, Nadia Tazi (eds),** *Keywords/Nature: For a Different Kind of Globalization*. New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 2005. xiii + 187 pp. ISBN: 8178296179.

The Keyword series is based on a simple yet unique idea. It brings together scholars from six regions of the world representing different disciplines, each of whom explores the meanings and nuances of certain universal concepts writing from their own socio-cultural specificities and historical settings. These books, therefore, present the diversity of cultural traditions in an era characterised by the homogenising effects of globalisation. The series currently comprises five books dealing respectively with Truth, Gender, Identity, Experience and Nature. Each of these concepts is widely used in daily discourse but most of us are unclear about their philosophical and cultural roots; and we are even more unaware of how these same key concepts are viewed in other societies. Designed, therefore, to foster an inter-cultural dialogue, these absorbing books present multiple understandings of concepts that are key to our understanding of the human condition. In short, they are required reading for all those who see themselves as informed citizens of the world.

Contents:

Africa: Human Nature as Historical Process  
The Idea of Nature in America  
The Conceptions of Nature in Arabic Thought  
Zi Ran (Nature): A Word that (Re) Structures thought and Life  
Fables of Nature  
On the Concept of Nature

Jean-Bernard Ouédraogo teaches sociology in Burkina Faso at Université de Ouagadougou and Université Laval. His most recent publications are *Violence et Communautés en Afrique noire* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997) and *Arts photographiques en Afrique: Technique*

*et esthétique dans la photographie de studio au Burkina Faso* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003).

**Peter Heintel and Kurt Broer,** *Hirnforschung als dialektische Sozialforschung* [Brain research from the viewpoint of a dialectical social science]. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005. 392 pp. ISBN 3-8258-8402-3.

Acknowledging many pioneer ideas of Norbert Elias in the social sciences we have positively interpreted many aspects of his writings. We teach at Klagenfurt in a department which combines philosophy and social sciences, and Elias's many criticisms of the philosophical tradition do not detract from our appreciation of Elias's basic ideas. On the one hand, our book analyses the boundaries of the neural sciences (whose present-day attainments could not have been known to Elias, although he was able to define their paradigmatic limits). On the other hand we analyse in what areas the social sciences may contribute essential knowledge about the human brain – or, more exactly, about the human being as a whole as part of a social entity. This means that we look systematically beyond what can be discovered by the neural sciences because of their exclusive reliance on natural scientific methods of measurement.

## ■ BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RETROSPECT

**Richard Bessel,** *Nazism and War*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004.

Eric Dunning draws attention to a short passage on page 10 of this book: 'Shortly before his death in 1990, the great German-Jewish sociologist Norbert Elias reminisced: "I still clearly remember the experience that the war was suddenly over. Suddenly order fell apart. Everyone had to rely on himself. One knew that peace had arrived, Germany had been defeated, which was sad, and then one simply tried to get on with life." The First World War had left Germany a much less civilized, much rougher place in which "to get on with life" ...'

## ■ RECENT CONFERENCES

**Elias in the Twenty-First Century, University of Leicester, 10–12 April 2006**

This conference, held in Leicester as a slightly belated celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Norbert Elias's appointment to the Department of Sociology there, was an immense and enjoyable success. The organisers – Anne Witz, Jason Hughes and Eric Dunning – deserve warm congratulations, but I am sure that they would want to point the spotlight on Richard Courtney, their ubiquitous pointman throughout the conference.

This report on the conference proceedings should be taken as one person's reflections; I couldn't attend every parallel session, but I hope I have captured the essence of the event.

I arrived in Leicester after a rather challenging drive (or should I say crawl) through the ongoing road works at Stoke. I was met individually by Cas Wouters, Stephen Mennell, Eric Dunning and Godfried van Benthem van den Bergh who soon tested my emotional stability even further! What I mean, of course, is that I was immediately entertained and put at ease by their various introductions, their welcoming comments and their openness. Indeed, I suspect that most, if not all, the participants in the conference were struck by the general goodwill that prevailed amongst all, and by the openness of discussions over the course of the three days. The opening session entitled *Remembering Elias* was evidence of this; Chris Rojek was masterful in his chairing of the sometimes exuberant comments made by friends and colleagues of Elias including Stephen Mennell, Joop Goudsbloom, Eric Dunning and Cas Wouters. My notes from this session recorded Elias's friends and colleagues recollections of: his talent for synthesis and his concern with the whole of *la condition humaine*; his mastering of detachment and, at one and the same time, his gift for empathy; the attraction of Elias's work which 'appeals around the edges' to people in liminal situations *vis-à-vis* their own and other disciplines (SJM); and Elias's expertise in demonstrating





*The group.*

how people's autonomous motives are linked to wider and blind social processes. In a delightful way, Chris Rojek also asked some provocative questions of the panel, one of which was whether, as Bauman has alleged, figurational sociology confines us to a retrospective wisdom. (The answer, if I recall, was that that applied at least as much to all other forms of sociology, and that the long time perspectives characteristic of figurational sociology gave it a more reliable orientation to present and future problems than most.)

Not being able to attend everything, and having been charged with Stephen Mennell's camera to the detriment of my note-taking, the rest of my account is necessarily selective and partial, drawing in part on comments that were made to me over the course of the conference.

John Goodwin and Henrietta O'Connor's presentation on their ongoing work with the 'Lost Young Worker Project' introduced this largely unknown project. They also explored, in some detail, Elias's contributions to the project by piecing together his ideas and hypotheses from archived materials, one of which was his hypothesis regarding the 'shock' experiences of young people in the transition from school to work. One of most interesting dimensions of Goodwin and O'Connor's more recent work is their addition of longitudinal data to the earlier fieldwork carried out in the 1960s

and they have published some material related to this. In the same stream, Eric Dunning drew attention to the state of British sociology at the time of Elias's employment at Leicester, particularly the anti-developmental ideology of many sociologists and anthropologists, and their resistance to Elias's advice to jettison only those aspects of earlier theories that had been falsified by empirical research. In the second stream (10 April) Nico Wilterdink focused on the direction in the development of social and psychical processes and the movement towards higher levels of self-control. Here, he challenged the adequacy of Freud's identification of that which is controlled and that which is controlling. Following on from this, Elias's discussions of organic and social needs, and the social standards by which these needs are satisfied

challenge the notion of an unsocialised human being existing in a social state. In the first plenary session, Tim Newton challenged us to consider 'Elias on nature and society' and offered some thoughts on 'hourglasses (Elias's story of the Athenian hourglass was pertinent here), child television viewing, quarks (not of Star Trek dimensions), viruses, anti-dualism and difference'. Here, Newton suggested that the perceived stability of nature is a social construction and that natural temporality cannot be collapsed into social temporality. Indeed, all three plenary sessions were appropriately provocative, the other two being Chris Rojek's 'Decorative Sociology and a Locational Matrix for Figurational Sociology' and Ian Burkitt's discussion of 'Elias and Rationalisation: dealing with the ambivalence of Civilisation'.



*The panel from left to right Chris Rojek, Stephen Mennell, Eric Dunning, Cas Wouters and Joop Goudsblom*

Monday's events closed with a reception hosted by Bob Burgess, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leicester, himself a distinguished sociologist, and the conference dinner. After dinner, a group photograph was taken, with the specific objective of enabling Joanna Tegnerowicz, from Wrocław to demonstrate to her fellow citizens in Norbert Elias's home town how great a following a son of Breslau has attracted.

The second day of the conference, 11 April, was the busiest with 29 papers in total. In his discussion of Elias as an ontologist, Richard Kilminster suggested that the trace elements of this in Elias's work dissolves the problems of individualistic approaches. Indeed, he argued that the intellectual affinities and the aversions to Elias's work can be explained by looking at the networks of people involved. In some cases, Kilminster suggested that the similarities between various academics can explain the hostilities that arose between them. I also attended Shirlene Badger's presentation on 'the problem with excess' and the relationship between the emergence of genome scans and genetic diagnosis of obesity over the past 25 years and the socio-historical conditions in which these have been developed. According to her, historic and current fascination with the obese body has tended toward a rather murky discussion about cause and effect, and scientific claims pivot uniquely between a biological ideal of famine and feast to explain the biological problem of 'fleshy excess'. She also described the ways in which scientists and families are engaging with the emotional and biological fears of excess. Daniel Bloyce's presentation was on the adequacy of Elias's theory of established-outsider relations as a means of analysing the dynamics of power. Indeed, given the increasing popularity of this aspect of Elias's work and its application in a wider range of areas, Daniel's forthcoming article with Patrick Murphy should be of interest to those researchers engaged in the application and testing of established-outsider relations. Bloyce and Murphy suggest that while the argument developed in *The Established and the Outsiders* was a laudable attempt

to advance and simplify our capacity to understand human figurations, in the context of this study its application was based on too narrow and partial interpretation of the evidence. The paradox, for them, is that Elias had already developed a set of more sophisticated and flexible tools for analysing the dynamic complexities of human figurations in his longer-term studies.

The stream on Elias and Gender on the morning of 11 April included my own paper as well as original contributions by Tegnerowicz and Hadas. Tegnerowicz identified the ways in which Elias sought to theorise a marked change in the position of women from the upper social strata in ancient Rome. However, she pointed out that Elias devoted his attention mainly to the evolution of the relationships between the two sexes in later epochs. Indeed, according to Elias, women belonging to the families of feudal barons played an essential role in the civilising changes of behaviour that took place in the medieval courts. The related papers in the session focused on revisiting aspects of the theoretical exchange between feminists and figurational sociologists in the sociology of sport (by myself) and Hadas's discussion of 'Hungary in the civilising process: masculinity and modernity'. Here, Hadas focused on the ways in which hunting man became football-playing man in Hungary in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. As part of this, masculine dispositions were changed and channelled in the course of the civilising process and across diverse areas of practice including what Hadas calls pre-sports and modern sports, for example duelling, fencing, hunting, horse-racing, rowing, gymnastics, athletics, cycling and football.

The afternoon sessions included Canniford's presentation on 'civilising subcultures', in which he provided a very useful summary of recent theoretical developments in the area of subcultures, including neo-tribal work, new social movements and subcultural legacies. As part of his paper, he argued that some subcultures are driven by hedonism rather than the Birmingham's School identification of the primacy of class resistance. And this can be seen particularly in a number of formalising directions within surf culture that has transformed a deviant subculture into a globalised sport and a fashionable neo-tribal scene.

Godfried van Benthem van den Bergh explored the global spread of nuclear weapons in a developmental perspective and the possible domestication of these weapons. Given his experiences as an advisor to the Dutch government, Van den Bergh's observations are current, informed, astute and extend Elias's perspective on the inexorable global spread of technical knowledge to the



Andrew Linklater



acceleration of nuclear research. In the penultimate presentation that I managed to attend, Cas Wouters elaborated on his current project that focuses on post-war changes in the social codes and practices concerning bodily curiosity and the sexual longings of children and adolescents. Data from sexology studies and reference books on sexuality suggest changes in the codes of behaviour (and feeling) regulating the

to testing sociological propositions. Thus, in his paper, Chris's locational matrix involved a set of propositions or questions by which we can utilise Elias's work on involvement-detachment. These included: on-location observation – how have we got to this particular set of affairs; embodiment – consider how people embody a sense of vulnerability, for example; emplacement – how humans are situated in spatial and cul-

ing debate between social constructionists and critical (or environmental) realists demonstrates the need for a more comprehensive theoretical perspective. In essence, for Sutton the problem here is not necessarily the desire or the need to move beyond dualisms but rather the question of a more coherent starting point to this. As part of this, he provided what was, for me, one of the more cogent summaries and dismissals of the fractured lineage of social knowledge. That is, the ways in which 'old' sociological concepts are made to sound 'new' which gives the impression that 'something is happening' in theoretical terms. In his case, Sutton pointed to the reproduction of generations of sociologists who think that they are contributing to an advancement in scientific knowledge. According to Sutton, this is often confused for the fracturing of, and within different academic disciplines, and within this, a fracturing between so-called realists and constructionists. Following on from this theme, Sutton argued that Elias's work on the triad of basic controls and an involvement-detachment balance in human knowledge offers some significant advantages over and beyond the current theoretical resources dominating this field of enquiry. The second paper in this session by Steve Quilley focused on the contributions of Aldo Leopold's 'land ethic' to the self-understanding of the environmental movement. Quilley attempted to reformulate this and the emergence of an ecological conscience in terms of an ecological civilising process. Here, he draws from Elias's concepts of the triad of basic controls and second nature, and Wouters's elaboration of a correlative 'third nature'. In the final paper session of the conference, Michael Atkinson put forward the case for an extended application of figurational sociology as both a general and integrative explanatory theory of crime, criminality and deviance. In so doing, Atkinson argued that a figurational approach bridges seemingly dissonant existing theories of crime into a conceptually comprehensive and unified theory of rule-breaking behaviour, or what E.O. Wilson refers to as achieving consilience in theory building. My final involvement in the conference culminated, rather appropriately, in attendance at Joop Gouds-



Richard Kilminster and Steve Loyal

relationships between the generations, the sexes and the classes, and in the socially demanded control and regulation of sexual impulses and emotions. Finally, on Tuesday, I attended Jason Hughes's discussion of emotional intelligence, informalisation and the management of affect. Jason argued that the growing interest in emotional intelligence signals and constitutes increasing demands for emotional labour in the workplace. Furthermore, he suggested that the ascendancy of EI exemplifies a more general trend involving the ostensible 'emancipation' of emotions within the workplace which accompanies, and indeed is premised upon, shifting (and perhaps) increasing demands for individually-nuanced affect management and display.

Chris Rojek's plenary focused on a four-fold matrix for seeing personal and life issues in a more detached way. Indeed, Rojek and Turner had previously lamented the disappearance of testable theories and the commitment

tural locations of scarcity; and, context – the spatial, cultural, economic and historical location in which emplacement occurs. Day two concluded with a short presentation by Steve Quilley on a proposal for a journal entitled *Anthroposphere* – of which we hope to say more in *Figurations* 26, followed by a presentation by Richard Kilminster and Stephen Mennell on the first two volumes of the Elias *Collected Works* being published by UCD Press.

Day three included two paper sessions and the closing plenary by Ian Burkitt. I began the morning in the stream on nature/culture, which included papers by Phil Sutton and Steve Quilley. In the first paper, Sutton argued that the introduction of environmental issues into sociology has led to a reassessment of existing sociological traditions and theoretical resources in the search for either an 'environmental sociology' or a 'sociology of the environment'. Although this reassessment has produced some useful research, the ongo-



blom's discussion of the key moments in the expansion of the anthroposphere (the growth in the human population, industrialisation which was preceded by the rise of agriculture, and the domestication of fire), and Andrew Linklater's discussion of whether Elias's writings contain the resources for developing an account of the relationship between 'domestic' and 'international' civilising processes. Central to this, Linklater posed the question of whether modern international societies contain measures to regulate harm which distinguish it from its predecessors.

I hope this gives a flavour of the papers presented at the conference. It can be seen that there is an evident increase in the variety of ways in which Elias's work is being tested, applied and extended in the search for a greater fund of social knowledge about the world. I, for one, was reminded that my interests lie as much in sociology at large as they do in the sociology of sport. The variety of ways in which Elias's work is now being utilised spans interests in art; international relations; sport; psychoanalysis; power conflicts; human bodies and health; gender relations; the cross-fertilisation and synthesis of theoretical ideas between Elias and Bourdieu, Foucault and others; national identities; state formation and interstate relations; industrial sociology; nature and the environment; war, violence; and, overall, human beings and human needs.

It will be clear from my account that the conference was solely an academic affair; I would not wish to give the impression that there was any socialising in the bar; or at any rate, if there were, it was of course appropriately restrained, and did not involve the consumption of excessive amounts of alcohol, as befits the social constraint towards self-constraint among figurational sociologists.

A full list of the papers presented at the conference is included below.

**Atkinson, M.:** Building consilience in deviancy research: figurational sociology as an integrative theoretical framework

**Badger, S.:** Give us this day our daily

bread: the problem with excess

**van Benthem van den Bergh, G.:** The global spread of nuclear weapons in developmental perspective

**Bertschi, S.:** Civilisation as an aesthetic conception of society: learning from Elias

**Bloyce, D.:** Exploring the Theory of Established-Outsider Relations as a Means of Analysing the Dynamics of Power

**Canniford, R.:** Civilising Subcultures

**Cavaletto, G.:** The Genesis of Elias's Concept of the Historical Psyche

**Clement, M.:** Bristol's Civilising Process in the labour market of the inner city

**Delmotte, F.:** Citizenship, democracy and post-national integration in Elias's sociology of the state

**Depelteau, F.:** A critical evaluation of the fundamental differences between Elias and Bourdieu

**Dunne, S.:** The Outsider and the Other

**Dunning, E.:** Elias at Leicester

**Ernst, S.:** Condensed work, flexible work and self marketing: the handling of emotions in highly trained and precarious areas of employment

**Evers, B.:** Established-Outsider figurations in Weimar Germany

**Filmer, P.:** The Kitsch style and dissociation of sensibility: Elias and T.S. Eliot on modernity as 'incessant interpenetration of structure and disintegration'

**Gabriel, N.:** Playful-excitement: comparing Norbert Elias and Walter Benjamin's views on mimesis

**Gebara, A., De Lecca, E. and Pilatti, L.:** Figurational Observations on the formation of national identity in Brazil

**Goodwin, J. and O'Connor, H.:** Norbert Elias and the lost Young Worker Project

**Goudsblom, J.:** The Expansion of the Anthroposphere

**Hadas, M.:** Hungary in the Civilising Process: masculinity and modernity

**Hogenstijn, M. and Middelkoop, D.:** Established and Outsiders Revisited: methodological tools for studying local power conflicts

**Hughes, J.:** Intelligent Hearts: emotional intelligence, informalisation and the management of affect

**Kilminster, R.:** Elias as an ontologist

**Korte, H.:** Elias at the University of Leicester

**Kyrstis, A.:** Redefining networks and games: figurational sociology and the critique of static interactionism

**Lake, R.:** Established and Outsider Relations in British Tennis Clubs: a history of children's social exclusion

**Lacassagne, A.:** An Eliasian reconstruction of co-determinist theories of international relations: going beyond the agency-structure debate

**Lever, J.:** Regenerating Civilisation: inclusive partnership working under New Labour

**Linklater, A.:** Civilising Processes and International Societies

**Liston, K.:** Revisiting the feminist-figurational sociology exchange

**Martinez, F.:** Civilisation, health and medicine

**McCormick, M.:** Norbert Elias, horse-racing and the development of 'animal rights'

**Memmi, D.:** How to read history: comparing Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault (the case of contemporary biopolitics)

**Mulcahy, T.:** Established-Outsider Theory and Catholicism in Ireland, 1700 to the present

**Nagbol, S.:** Elias and Freud on childhood socialisation

**Nitins, B.:** The 'Well Constructed and Stately Engine': self-discipline in mid-Victorian popular success literature

**Postles, D.:** Winston Parva: considerations for 'community'

**Powell, C.:** Genocidal civilisation: deconstruction, figuration and violence

**Pugh, V.:** Researching access to development opportunities in British basketball: the value of adopting a figurational approach

**Quilley, S.:** Aldo Leopold's Land Ethic and the Ecological Civilising Process: Charles Darwin, Norbert Elias and Environmental Philosophy

**Sand, H.:** The reception of Elias in the Nordic countries

**Spencer, C.:** Designing the person: a study of the sociological assumptions embodied within the architecture of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Le Corbusier

**Stock, M.:** The 'fourth dimension': taking space seriously in figurational studies

**Stokvis, R.:** The Commercial Civilising Process: obesity and the slender body

**Sutton, P.:** Elias and the environment: beyond realism, constructionism and their alternatives?

**Tegnerowicz, J.:** Changes in the social position of women in the light of Nor-

bert Elias's work

**Vera, H.:** Time, money and measures in the civilising process

**Eladhoff, H.:** Unthinking the closed personality: Elias as a group analyst

**Weiler, V.:** Elias and the 'Historic-genetic theory of culture' of Gunter Dux: a comparison

**Wouters, C.:** Sexuality under the age of 16 since 1945

It can be seen what an international conference this was: there were participants from the following countries at a minimum: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, United Kingdom, USA.

*Katie Liston*

#### **X Civilising Process Symposium 24–26 November, 2005 – Ponta Grossa, Brazil**

The theme of this ninth Brazilian symposium was 'technology and civilisation', in keeping with the university that hosted the meeting, the Federal Technological University of Ponta Grossa. Technology was the main subject of some of the round tables. It was also the subject of this year's invited speaker, Cas Wouters, who entitled his opening address 'Technology and the lust balance of sex and love'. In front of an audience of various backgrounds, Cas presented his argument that 'the pill' did not cause the 1960s sexual revolution, but that the biggest change had already occurred in the generations that lived before that revolution.

Another subject that raised an interesting discussion during the conference was the concept of 'decivilising process'. A quite heated discussion that arose after one of the presentations led the organisation to add an 'open forum' about the matter to the programme. For about two hours, Cas Wouters answered questions from the audience and talked about the different levels of the civilising processes, the recurrent misinterpretations of the civilising process as linear and teleological, the breakdown of civilisation, etc.

On the whole, this year's symposium kept its eclectic spirit, with varied sub-

jects being presented. The main subjects discussed in round tables and thematic sessions were: science; technology; engineering; psychology; sports; history; religion; education; indigenous people; body and leisure; and theory. This year's novelty was the workshops, an opportunity for postgraduate students to discuss their research with an expert in the field.

It is very pleasant to notice that the interest in Elias's theory has been growing in the country. What started years ago as a symposium focused on sports now reaches varied areas and unites people with diverse backgrounds, at different stages of their academic career, from undergraduate students to internationally-acclaimed experts.

*Tatiana Savoia Landini*  
University of São Paulo

#### **■ FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

##### **X Civilising Process Symposium, University of Campinas, Brazil, 2–5 April 2007**

The tenth Brazilian symposium on civilising processes is scheduled to be held on 2–5 April 2007 (the week before Easter). Fuller details will be given in *Figurations* 26, but anyone interested in attending should email Ademir Gebara ([am\\_gebara@yahoo.com.br](mailto:am_gebara@yahoo.com.br)) or Tatiana Savoia Landini ([tatalan@uol.com.br](mailto:tatalan@uol.com.br)), requesting to be added to the mailing list about the conference.

#### **■ CONTRIBUTIONS TO FIGURATIONS**

The next issue of *Figurations* will be mailed in November 2006. News and notes should be sent to the Editors by 1 October 2006.

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Contributions should preferably be e-mailed to the Editor, or sent on a disk (formatted for PC-DOS, not Apple Mackintosh); 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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