EDITOR’S NOTES

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 New in this issue is a section on work in progress, to which a few brave souls have sent notes about their as-yet-unpublished writings.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

Our "lead story" this issue is Annette Treibl's account of the explosion of process-sociology in Germany since Elias's death in 1990. She lists many varied publications and theses which will probably be as yet unknown to most non-German readers. Hermann Korte has remarked that "The theory [of civilising processes] has become, in the 1990s more than ever before, a fixed part of the repertory of German sociology. This had partly to do with the fact that, following Elias’s death, his theory can be taken into the canon, without the danger of finding oneself publicly corrected by its author". Elias himself would probably have seen the humorous side of that remark - though one is not quite sure! What I am sure about is that the surge of citations of Elias and the spreading interest in and use of his ideas by social scientists and historians is profoundly to be wel-comed. Nearly all his work is now available in English and German, and much of it also in other languages, so it must now take its chance in the global intellectual market place. This will undoubtedly involve some people misunderstanding key ideas of the figurational approach, and lead in some cases to bizarre syncretisms with notions of very different provenance. But so be it. Major misunderstandings and misrepresentations will attract criticism in the ordinary public sphere of academic life. But the old stages (like myself) who were attracted to Elias’s ideas when they were not at all widely known will do well to remember Hermann Korte’s remark; we must be careful not to offer too zealous public correction of every minor point. It is wholly good that the ideas, and the continuing research tradition to which they led, are being noticed, used and debated.

Stephen Mennell

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

Elias's death on 1 August 1990 marked a turning point. It is hard to picture how the reception of his work in Germany would have developed without it, but it goes without saying that Elias's death drew more attention to him and his work. Obituaries and appreciations were published, conferences took place - all of them on the one hand making Elias's name better known and giving fresh impetus to the appreciation of his work, and on the other hand promoting discussion.
about figuralional theory. This article is intended to sketch the most important events and recent publications in Germany over the last few years, though my survey is certainly not complete.

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

Conferences
1. From 15 to 19 October 1991, the Memorial Conference for Norbert Elias (Gedenktagung für Norbert Elias) took place in Essen. This lively and interesting meeting was hosted by the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut within the Wissenschaftszentrum Nordrhein-Westfalen, in cooperation with the sociology of culture and sociological theory sections of the German Sociological Association (Deutscher Gesellschaft für Soziologie) and Essen University. The panelists came from Germany, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Austria and Switzerland. Most of the contributions to this conference are soon to be published in Karl-Siebert Rebieg (ed.), Norbert Elias and the Sociology of Culture (in preparation).

2. From 5 to 7 May 1994 a conference on Modernist and Barbarian: Sozio- logische Zeitdiagnose am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts (Modernity and Barbarism: Sociological Diagnosis of the Age at the end of the Twentieth Century) was held in Hamburg. It was organized by the sociological theory section of the German Sociological Association for Social Research. Some of the contributions (given by Ulrich Beck, Jan Philipp Roemer, Hans Joas, Lars Claussen) were published in the August/September 1994 issue of the institute’s periodical, which is named after the institute’s address, Mittelweg 36 (editorial address: Mittelweg 36, 20148 Hamburg). Another conference in the same institute was entitled Zivilisationstheorien und Destructivitätsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts [The Theory of Civilizing Processes and the History of Destructiveness in the Twentieth Century], it focused on psychoanalysis, Critical Theory and Elias’s theory of civilizing and de civilizing processes. Contributions can be printed for the Association for Social Research.

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

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


Monographs, Anthologies and Essays
Stephanie Emms, Machtebezüge zwischen den Geschlechtern im Prozeß der Zivilisation am Beispiel der Ehe [Power Relations between the Sexes in the Civilizing Process with Reference to Marriage]. München 1993 (Master’s Thesis)
Gabriele Klein, FrauenKörperTanz: Eine Zivilisationsgeschichte des Tanzes [Women, Bodies, Dance: A History of Dance in Civilizational Perspective]. Weinheim & Berlin: Quad-
Norbert Elias - Zionism and "Bundisch" Activism

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

Hermann Korte, in his 1989 biography of Norbert Elias ("Über Norbert Elias: Das Werden eines Menschen-wissenschaftlers") and in his article "Norbert Elias in Breslau: ein biographisches Fragment" ("Zeitschrift für Soziologie 20, 1991), voiced his suspicion that...
Elia became a member of Blau-Weiß in 1918 "as a reaction to his experiences as a soldier in the First World War". As a result of my research for a PhD thesis in contemporary history dealing with young German Zionists (Youth Culture and Zionism: German-Jewish intellectuals in search of a new national identity during the crisis of modernity, 1900-1925, forthcoming 1996), I discovered a short article by Niebert Elia printed in the Blau-Weiß-Blätter: Mitteilungen des Jüdischen Wanderbundes "Blau-Weiß", vol. 1, no. 11, Februar 1914, p. 6. This short "travel report" (Fahrtberichte) proves that Elia was an active member of the Zionist Blau-Weiß almost from the very beginning—beginning from school and becoming a soldier. From what the young Elia writes, this hiking trip must have taken place during the autumn—probably October or November— of 1913. The report reads as follows: "Die dreitägige Riesengebirgsfahrt


Dies unter Weg; wen er besonders interessiert, such ihn auf der Karte. Ich will nicht erschrecken, was man Erzählungen; was man außer der Feder kommt. Als wir von Agentendorf ausflogen, merkten wir, daß die Natur schön ist, selbst wenn man nicht sieht. Ein dichter Nebel lag über uns, oben schwarz. Dieser Nebel, der wir an den Eibtag kamen, da lag es unter uns wie ein wogendes, waldloses Meer. Über uns war der Himmel weiß, da der Nebel nach klärte, unser Blick unten lag der Nebel.


Schalom! Niebert Elia, Breslau

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

Jörg Hackeschnitz
Münsterstraße 11, D-53111 Bonn, Germany; tel. +49-228-6906920

ELIAS-I: THE ELECTRONIC DISCUSSION LIST

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

All you need to participate in this international network is an e-mail address.
You subscribe to the ELIAS-I list simply by sending a message to:
LISTSERV@nic.surfnet.nl
With this text in the BODY of the message (not in the subject heading space):
subscribe ELIAS-I your full name.
LISTSERV is a computer program, so please mail the listserver for help with subscribing, unsubscribing or any other problem with the list.
verrips@siowu.uva.nl.
Messages meant to be distributed to all the members of the list should be sent to:
ELIAS-I@nic.surfnet.nl

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

RECENT CONFERENCES

Stephen Mennell gave his inaugural lecture in the Chair of Sociology at University College Dublin on 9 April 1995, entitled Civilisation and Deci- sualisation, Civil Society and Violence. On the following day, in the rathaus surrounding of Newman House on St Stephen's Green, a small informal conference was held on Civilisation and Decivilisation: Recent
Trends in Research. Speakers were: Tom Ingles (UCD) on "The Irish Civilising Process" - Revisted; Pieter Spierenburg (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam) on Civilisation and Decivilisation: Key-Word Violence; Tim Dunning (University of Leicester) on "The Germans" and Godfried van Botthem van den Bergh (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague) on "The Concept of Nation." Other participants included Hermann and Elke Korte, Richard Klimkin, Zdzislaw Mach, Ken Fishon, Kitty Verrijn, Cas Wouters, Nico Wilfredink and Ali de Regt.

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

Papers presented were: Stephen Mennell (Dublin) Process Sociology: Where do we go from here? Helmut Kuzmics (Graz) From the Habsburg Monarchy to "Austria": Empire Patriotism, "Habsburg Myth" and nationalism in the novels of Joseph Roth. Randall Collins (UCAL Riverside) in atheism through the voice of Richard Klimkin: German-bashing and the Theory of Democratic Modernisation. Eric Dunning (Leicester) Elias on State Formation and Civilisation with special reference to Germany and the Holocaust.

Monica Greco (UIE, Florence) Homo Clausus and the Question of Inner Truth: Elias and Foucault on the historicist conception of Western subjectivity.


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

Paul Nixon (Cambridge) Foucault and Elias.


Billy Ingram (Leicester) 'Mad Dogs and Englishmen'.

Jason Hughes (Leicester) From Pana- ces to Pandemic: Towards a Process-Sociology of Tobacco Use in the Weg.

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

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

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

Culture and Identity: City, Nation, World. Second Theory, Culture and Society conference, Berlin Alexanderplatz, 10-14 August 1995. Previously announced in Figurations 2. For details, contact Mike Featherstone, School of Human Studies, University of Toessea, Middlechurch, Clevel- land TS1 3BA, UK; Fax: +44-642-342296; e-mail: TCS@trees.ac.uk

European Societies: Fusion or Fission?, second conference of the European Sociological Association, Budapest 28 August - 2 September 1995. There will be no any specifically 'figurational' sessions at this conference; the date proves to be highly inconvenient for most of those who might otherwise have attended, so we decided not to proceed with organising the sessions foreseen in Figura- tions 2. Kitty Verrijn will be in Buda- pest, however, and will write a report for Figurations 4.

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

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

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

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

Call for papers: Those interested in presenting a paper are invited to send an abstract describing the subject of the presentation to the Coordinator, Social Science History Network Chair, c/o Dr. Peter Ginzburg, Department of History, University of Melbourne, Parkville, 3052, Victoria, Australia, Fax: 61-3-9347 3106. The deadline for submission is 1 June 1995. For further information on the IIPH conference, contact the conference registrar.
honorable competition and honorable collaboration. The historical roots of this situation can be found in the process of state formation, along very different lines from those seen in Europe at around the same time. The solution that emerged out of the turbulent beginnings of the Tokugawa state was a transformation of the samurai into an hereditary class of vassal-bureaucrats, a solution that would have many unexpected ramifications for the following centuries, including the present.

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

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

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

Paul Kaplinksy’s book The Stateless Market: The European Dilemma of Integration and Civilisation will be published by Routledge, London, in September 1995. We shall convey the details of it in the next issue of Figurations. Paul can be contacted at: Sociologisch Instituut, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Oude Hooistraat 24, 1012 CE Amsterdam, Netherlands.


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

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

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

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

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


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

Susan Elizabeth Dopson, Managing Ambiguity: A Study of the Introduction of General Management into the National Health Service. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1994. The British National Health Service has undergone fundamental reorganisation in recent years. The central focus of this thesis is managing change in the NHS. In particular, it considers the introduction of general management into the NHS, based on the recommendations of a team of businessmen led by Sir Roy Griffiths, then managing director and deputy chairman of the Sainsbury's supermarket chain. More than previous reorganisation of the NHS in 1974 and 1982, the Griffiths changes were a conscious attempt to move away from the "boxes and charts" approach to organisational change towards one which sought to disturb organisational processes and ultimately to change the beliefs and values NHS actors.

The thesis attempts to illuminate the implications of the changes in NHS management in three ways. First, it reviews the existing empirical work on health service management and considers what can be learnt about the difficulties of introducing change in the NHS. Secondly, it reports fieldwork data from 30 NHS districts which explores the actions and priorities of 20 newly-appointed DGMS with a variety of different occupational backgrounds as they sought to implement the agenda for change spelled out in the Griffiths Report. The thesis reports a significant gap between the aspirations of the Griffiths report and what the introduction of general management was able to deliver, and a number of unintended consequences. Thirdly, the thesis draws on the work of Norbert Elias and figurational or process sociology in an attempt to illuminate the fieldwork data further. Elias is not a sociologist one associates with the study of the NHS, or indeed the management of change, yet it is argued that his writings offer much to those wishing to explore organisational and management issues in the NHS.

**RECENT ARTICLES**


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

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

Collins makes no reference to Norbert Elias' Studies über die Deutschen, nor does he dwell upon the twin themes of "power struggles" and "the development of habits" which are central to Elias' account of German development.

There is much in Col-

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According to a number of critics, the role of religion is underestimated in Elias's *The Civilising Process*. They point out, for example, that many of Emannus's rules for good manners stem directly from medieval clerical sources. Goudsblom examines why the teachings of Christ, as interpreted by the teachings of Christ, Max Weber's study of the Protestant Ethic, and the teachings of the Protestant Ethic, as a secularised version of this tradition, Elias, on the other hand, belongs to the dissenting tradition, represented by Lutheranism, which seeks the development of religious sentiments and ideas as part of the civilising process. After a discussion of the alleged monastic origin of Emannus's rules for good table manners, Goudsblom reaches the conclusion - in agreement with Elias - that 'religion never had itself a civilising or affecting effect'.


The author tries to show that Elias's successful challenge to the idea that the Christian church is the only civilising agent in the Western world does not mean that the church is a second-rate civilizer, only a "means of transport" of civilisation from the court-society to the lower social strata. In order to make the gospel come true, the church had to maintain its power position in the Western society. The main reason for its power at its disposal was imaginary in character: the promise of salvation. Believers could gain this by behaving according to very severe standards.

**WORK IN PROGRESS**

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

Cas Wouters introduces the highly marketable concept of the *lustbalance* in his essay in progress, "Twentieth-Century Changes in the Lustbalance of Modern Love". The main premises of his arguments are as follows:

- The longing for an enduring intimate relationship and the longing for sex are connected, but there is also a tension between the two types of longing, especially as time goes by. Throughout this century, processes of emancipation and informalization have run in tandem with a "sexualization of love" and an "emancipation of sex", but since the Sexual Revolution the traditional lustbalance of a love-dominated sexuality for men and a complementary (romantic) love- or relationship-dominated sexuality for women has come under attack. More and more people have been experimenting with the "lustbalance" in between the extremes of sexualized love (sexual longing subordinated to the continuation of the relationship) and de-personalized sexual contact, provoking new and more varied answers to the question: when or within what kind of relationship(s) are (what kind of) eroticism and sexuality allowed and desired? This paper describes and interprets these developments, focusing on the difficulties accompanying relational and psychical processes that accompanied changes in the dominant perceptions of both genders as to what makes a (more) satisfying lustbalance. Using empirical evidence from the Netherlands (changes in a mid-sized city in mid-century) and relevant research reports, the paper argues that the emancipation of women and their sexuality (coinciding with the accommodation of men and their sexuality) has intensified both erotic and sexual awareness as well as both types of longings. Therefore, feelings of ambivalence have increased and the lustbalance is increasingly experienced as a tensionbalance. (Correpondent: Cas Wouters, Tilburg, 1998 CB Amsterdam, Netherlands.)

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

The second idea comes from Elias's treatment of interdependence, and departures from interdependence (dependence and independence). Goodwin interprets her dialogue as showing gender differences, with the girls more cooperative and less conflictual than the boys. But Scheff's re-analysis suggests that the girls are as conflictual as the boys, but in a mode of dependence (they hide their conflict when face to face).

The boys are conflictual in an independent mode. From these data I suggest a theory of social integration, with independence representing the solidarity and isolation (independence) and engulfment (dependence) both forms of alienation. (Correspondent: Tom Scheff, Department of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106, U.S.A; e-mail: scheff@alishaw.ucsb.edu)

Esteban Castro, too, a sociologist, is in the second year of his PhD programme in politics at St Antony's
College, Oxford. He is working on "The making of citizenship in contemporary Mexico: the case of water supply policies", having previously completed a masters degree focusing on social conflict over access to water, and research on the current process of decolonization in the irrigation districts of Mexico. At the moment he has just finished a draft on the "Pre-Columbian and colonial forerunners". His key propositions in this paper were derived from the following generalizations by Elias:

"The society of what we call the modern age is characterized, above all in the West, by a certain level of monopolization". ... "[N]o matter who the monopolist is, that a monopoly will sooner or later be formed has a high degree of probability, at least in the social structures that have existed so far. In the language of exact science this observation would perhaps be called a 'law'. Strictly speaking, what we have is a relatively precise formulation of a quite simple social mechanism, which, once set on motion, proceeds like clockwork" (The Civilizing Process, Blackwell, 1994, pp. 345, 342).

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

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

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

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