EDITORIAL

We have reached issue 10 of Figurations. It doesn’t sound very many, but, at only two issues a year, it means that we have been going for nearly half a decade. We have received many favourable comments – some people have gone so far as to say that they look forward to the next issue! But perhaps it is time for some brief reflections.

In the editorial comment in the first issue, I wrote that “it is far from the intention of the Norbert Elias Foundation, in initiating this twice-yearly newsletter, to foster a cult of the dead.” That has, at times seemed hard to avoid, partly because the centenary of Norbert Elias’s birth fell in 1997, and much space has been taken up first with anticipating and then reporting on the numerous conferences that were held in many parts of the world to mark the occasion. Besides, recent research by Jörg Hackenschmidt, Paul Nixson and others has turned up interesting new information about Elias’s life, including the long involvement with Zionism which, for whatever reasons, it later preferred to deny or at least disguise. So we have reported all that.

The more general purpose of Figurations, however, could be defined as being to make known events and research which are likely to be of interest to people who find the work of Norbert Elias interesting. That, if one reflects upon it, gives us a rather broad remit. It means that some of the books and articles to which we draw attention may not have been written under the direct influence of Elias’s writings, may indeed scarcely mention him at all, but tackle topics cognate with those raised in his work. Thus, to take five random examples, we have carried discussions of William McNeill’s Keeping Together in Time, of Risto Ilgner’s The Taming of the Samurai, of John Powelson’s Narratives of Economic Endeavour, of Richard Evans’s Ritual of Retribution, and a brief note on this issue of J.L. Watson’s Golden Anchor East.

The paradigmatic potential of Elias’s writings is so broad that even the events and publications which are explicitly driven by ideas derived from his work are amazingly diverse. Again, to take some random examples from past issues of Figurations, we can mention the conference on Tango organised in Oxford by Enid Castro, Paul Kepner’s book The Stateless Market about the development of the European Union, Barbara Walter’s article in this issue on ‘Legitimacy and Civilisation’, and Cos Wouters’s critique of Dietz’s Der soziologische Forscher in der wohltätigen Welt. But the sixties’ Left is the most recent example of how much they have contributed to our thinking about history, culture and society, and not only in the USA. But in any case, the editors of this journal need to be careful not to promote a monolingual discourse on the past which is simply a translation of the previous generation’s work into English. Instead, we need to be careful to provide readers with a more balanced and nuanced understanding of the complex social processes that have shaped modern Europe.

I should like to thank all those who have contributed to Figurations so far, they have generally responded well to the editor of the various volumes. And I should like to encourage many others to submit contributions, or just to alert us to events, articles or books that we may otherwise overlook. We need a network of stringers – as journalists say – to fill in the gaps in our rather limited volume of intelligence-gathering operations. Don’t hesitate to e-mail us – better to be alerted several times to the same thing than not at all.

Stephan Mennell

NORBERT ELIAS AMALFI PRIZE

The Trustees of the Norbert Elias Foundation, in association with the Amalfi Prize organisation, are pleased to announce the establishment of the Norbert Elias Amalfi Prize.

The prize is to be awarded for a distinguished first book in Sociology published in Europe by a European author. It will be awarded for the first time in 1999 for a book published in the preceding three calendar years and thereafter every second year. The prize is awarded in recognition of the sociologist Norbert Elias (1897-1990), whose writings, at once theoretical and empirical, boldly crossed disciplinary boundaries in the human sciences to develop a long-term perspective on the patterns of interdependence which human beings weave together.

The winning author will receive DM 5,000, and with his or her partner will also be invited to Amalfi at the Foundation’s expense for the prize-giving ceremony.

REVIEW SYMPOSIUM


The publication of Robert van Krieken’s book in the ‘Key Sociologists’ series of Routledge indicates that Elias is finally receiving the widespread attention he deserves. To some extent, as Van Krieken points out, responses to Elias have tended to vary be...
Robert van Krieken tells us that if you look at his new book Noelrit Eltis in the Routledge 'Key Sociologists' title page, you’ll see the 'Key Sociologists' is actually a sticker over 'Key Socialists' - a little Freudian slip on the typesetter's part. Or has someone discovered the secret of Noelrit’s true political views?

The Noelrit Eltis Foundation has a new e-mail address. It is: morhor, eltis, foundation@swt.nl

Congratulations to Arpad Szokolay on his appointment to the chair of sociology at University College Cork. Arpad, Agnes and the family moved to Ireland from the EU in Fiesole over the summer. We are looking forward to reading Arpad’s forthcoming work on Noelrit in the context of a whole clutch of twentieth-century theorists - Weber, Foucault, and Vögelein among them.

Richard Kilmartin’s book The Sociological Revolution has been published by Routledge. A review of this very important work will be published in Figures 11. In the meantime, if you wish to order it the ISBN number is 0-415-02920-4.

In April 1998, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Amsterdam Sociologisch Tijdschrift was celebrated at a gathering of past and present editors and contributors. For a quarter of a century, the journal has maintained consistently high academic standards, with a strong though not exclusive emphasis on the ‘process’ or ‘figurational’ way of doing sociology. Contributions are accepted in English by non-Dutch authors, though the bulk of the journal is in Dutch (with English abstracts). To subscribe, write to the publishers, Wolters-Noordhoff, Postbus 567, 9700 AN Groningen, Netherlands.

Perhaps our policy on reviews requires some explanation. Figures is a newsletter, not a learned journal, and we don’t have the resources to organise independent reviewing of all books in which readers may be interested. If authors send us copies of their book, we try to arrange for it to be independently reviewed. But sometimes it is easier to ask the author to write a brief descriptive and informative note about his or her own work. The main objective is to keep readers’ awareness of the latest books and articles, by whichever means.

For the first time, this issue of Figures carries a paid advertisement. The immediate reason for this innovation was that the Editor did not feel equal to braggling about his own book. Our policy on advertising is as yet a little halting, but it others would like to place ads in future issues, they are welcome to make proposals.

The winner of the competition, announced in Figures 9, to find the best English translation of the title of Imran de Swan’s book Memmening- schap is Imran de Swan. He came up with the title Human Arrangements. Since there were no other entries, the result was a foregone conclusion.
Two further chapters then summarise the main arguments of Elias's most important empirical studies: The Court Society, The Civilizing Process, and The German, as well as his contributions to the sociology of knowledge, sports, community relations and children. Throughout, Van Krieken never limits himself to presenting Elias's views and accepting them uncritically. On the contrary, he highlights some of the more problematic aspects of his work: the fact that his theory of civilization and state-formation seems to clash with the anthropological evidence about earlier states, pre-industrial societies the unresolved problem of 'civilised barbarians', or 'civilising processes', the possibility that he overemphasises blind, unintended processes over intentional action, or 'civilising offensives', the lack of clarity about what exactly are his ethnological criteria for 'object-adequacy' or 'reality-congruence', as well as the ambiguity surrounding the ethical or political standpoint of his sociology, i.e. who gains control over whom through the achievement of emotionally 'detached' knowledge?

The author also suggests that, in Elias, one still finds a misguided continuation of the Hobbesian opposition between 'nature' and 'society', despite his conscious effort on the socio- culturally 'revised' restrictions which have to achieve aggressive human techniques. With regard to this issue, however, I think that Van Krieken is mistaken, at least for some of the worlds which he does not discuss, such as the case on Human Beings and their Emotions, as well as The Symbol Theory. Elias specifically argues that the classic dichotomy between 'nature' and 'society', or 'nature' and 'culture', is totally inaccurate, and must be replaced by conceptualising human life as an ongoing process in which natural capacities and tendencies continuously interlock with social learning experiences. According to Van Krieken, Elias's own theoretical position is that human habitus is socially constituted (p. 133). But a more accurate statement of his position would be to say that the Habitus evolves out of the intertwining of biological and social processes. Elias stated that there was no opposition between 'nature' and 'society', since newborn human beings cannot survive outside of a social unit in which they are fed, protected, loved, and taught how to orient themselves by others, through the acquisition of symbols. The Van Krieken's fundamental conclusion, in any case, is that Elias's views are by no means settled, but that on the contrary, there is much room for refinement and correction through further research. In the end, this is undoubtedly the best homage one can pay to a true giant in our field, one who always stressed that, like all scientists, we simply one link in a long historical chain of human generations, who are gradually accomplishing and improving their knowledge about the world through constant investigations and revisions.

**Pablo Mazzucchelli**
Department of Social and Political Sciences
European University Institute Florence

This timely small volume appears in the Routledge series 'Key Sociologists' and is intended as a basic introduction and contextualisation of Elias's approach. As such it is comprehensive and concise, as one would expect, while containing elements of originality. For example, Van Krieken chooses an order of presentation where the substantive themes of Elias's work, the most notable of which is, of course, the civilising process itself - though theory was clearly 'self-consciously presented as such', and to the format that previous introductions have tended to adopt. After an 'Intelectual Sketch' (chapter 2), it moves on to elucidating Elias's position in relation to classic sociological problems (e.g. the structure/agency dichotomy, the 'problem of order') and introduces key concepts such as 'process', 'figuration', 'interdependence', 'habitus', and 'object-adequacy'. Van Krieken here stresses the originality in Elias's approach is perhaps not so much the concepts themselves, as the synthesis he achieved through the consistent reference to a historical dimension; this synthesis, in turn, translates into a specific attitude set of concerns, orientations or visions in relation to both social and sociological problems (this attitude, if I may call it so, becomes the object of a broader critical assessment in the final chapter of the book). This format - where Elias's language is explicitly considered against the wider background of sociological thought - allows the reader to see at once both the embeddness and the particularity of his approach, and to appreciate the full significance of the terms he chose in preference to more conventional ones. Only at this point does the book move on to the theme of 'civilising processes' (chapter 4) and its extension into the sociology of knowledge, of sport and leisure, and of childhood (chapter 5). The concluding section of each chapter is devoted to a lucid discussion of 'critiques', usefully summarised into a number of key points. These include a review of the challenges posed by Hans-Peter Duerr - especially useful since they are still mostly not translated - and a discussion of Elias's understanding of the politics of knowledge. Especially in this last domain, addressed again in the concluding chapter. Van Krieken rightly detects permitting ambiguities and unresolved tensions in Elias's thought; as a result, the author mentions the two most back an explicitly gender-conscious appraisal of Elias, which may draw out hitherto neglected features of his arguments. The book closes with a note on 'reading Elias' that will guide newcomers to his vast body of work. To conclude, in my view Van Krieken thoroughly succeeds in providing a 'critical understanding' of the work of Elias, fair to both Elias and his critics, that points to the singularity of his approach and to the wide applicability of his concepts, without glossing over any of the difficulties that remain. For this reason, the book is to be welcomed not only by those who know little of or Elias's ideas, but also by those who seek a guide to problematic aspects of his theory that call for further consideration, development, or correction. The focus on these critical aspects, I believe, will draw more readers to Elias rather than the contrary.

**M aryca Greco**
Goldsmiths College
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**Recent Books and Articles**


After having translated a significant part of the writings of Anna Freud, Michael
Schröter came to work as a translator and soon also as an editor for Norbert Elias. They first met in Berlin in 1976, when Elias died, her identity that she used to envy. They had lengthy arguments, they strengthened the social regulation with and other friends) Norbert could not end a conversation by praying to disagree, by saying, "No, you cannot understand", or simply by softly changing the subject. She would not talk that with his translator and editor. In the course of this relationship, Schröter developed an intimate knowledge of both the work and the person of Norbert Elias. This is demonstrated in the two parts of this book: the first part Schröter applies and discusses Elias's theory and analysis of civilizing processes; in the second part she gives an account and a psychoanalytical interpretation of his experiences with Norbert Elias as a person. In both parts, she contributes original findings to the theory in a style of writing that is exceptionally clear and often exciting.

The chapter in the first part can be read as an extension of Schröter's book on medieval marriage (Wus zwis zusammenkommen in seiner Ehe, Schriften 1981), a book that is, in view of its 1976 publication, the famous one by George Duby. The first chapter of the present book deals with changes in the social regulations of intimate behaviour from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, using new sources that show how fruitful it is to focus on the connection between state forming and the subject of the control. Whereas early mechanisms of control mostly centred on direct guarding in medieval society this mainly meant the supervision of women - later the "social constraint towards self-constraint" intensified. From examples of "The Wife's Tale" and "The Erotic Look among German Nobility in the Thirteenth Century", the second chapter presents a new and interesting demonstration of a change in this direction, establishing and enforcing inhibitions between the "stimulus" of erotic look and sexual activity as a "response". The third chapter takes issue with Hans-Peter Dürer, who in all four volumes of his The Myth of the Civilizing Process describes similarities through time and place in standards of shame, without taking any notice of differences between and developments in the relationships of power and dependency between men and women, or more generally between established and outsiders, nor of the processes of social change affecting them in these relationships. An example of the significance of these processes is that in figuring

nations with an uneven balance of power where, accordingly, the principle of mutual consent is not valid, while in the marriage, women do not aspire to look at men who are strangers to them, and certainly not at their eyes, as in so much with women as an open invitation to sexual advances. Schröter clearly shows in his fourth chapter that empirical demonstrations of civilising change are possible, in a detailed study of "the initiation of wedding nights". The last chapter of the first part consists of three short articles - on marriage, fatherly love and abortion - in which the same perspective is fruitfully used to understand some actual developments.

The second part of this book consists of three chapters in which Schröter aims at establishing connections between the work of Norbert Elias, the author, and the personality or better the processes of Norbert Elias as a human being. It is richly sprinkled with various personal observations, connecting them to drivers and motives in Elias's work. He observes, for instance, how Elias was pressured by his astute conscience constantly to revise his manuscripts, leaving many unfinished and habitually failing to meet deadlines, while at the same time the process of going over and over the same manuscript also had a creative aspect as it enabled him to keep in touch with deep and precise layers, allowing associating productive ways of thinking. From the example of Elias, Schröter makes some significant and more general observations on the productive processes (including sublimation). The last chapter, longer as well more personal than the others, is centered on the question why Elias needed an editor. While the other chapters represent revised reprints of earlier publications, this one was especially written to conclude the book. Of its three chronological sections, the first one (1972-76) describes how and why Schröter came to work with Elias. The next section (1976-78) deals with the rapid transition from translator to private assistant. Although he experienced the latter position to a large extent as being a living diapause, Schröter was at the same time fascinated by the tragic creativity, which in Elias had a certain playfulness. The third section (1982-90) is proudly entitled "Nine Books in Eight Years". To produce these books, Schröter had to invade Elias's habitual privacy, which put the latter's confidence and self-esteem to the test. The story of how these books arose from the co-operation and opposition between the author and his editor I found fascinating. Schröter presents this book as an contribution to the Elias centenary and, at the same time, he presents a summation of what he calls the "Elias chapter" of his professional life. After Elias died (in 1990), Schröter wrote The Elia's book on Mozart, but he and the Norbert Elias Stichting could not come to an agreement about continuing this kind of work. He then handed over this old interest and today he has also made a name for himself as an historical sociologist of psychoanalysis. In this way, he continues at middle age Elias's empirically oriented synthesis of sociology, psychoanalysis and history.

Car Wouters
University of Utrecht


Farhad Daal is training group analyst and supervisor for the Institute of Group Analytic Psychotherapy at the Institute of Group Analytic Psychotherapy and Psychotherapy in the North East London Psychotherapy and Counselling Association and the Group Analytic Network. In this important book, he offers a critique and extension of the work of J.H. Foucault, arguing that Foucauldian group analysis has yet to construct a coherent group analytic paradigm that gives ontological priority to the idea of a group over that of individuals, and which takes the notion of group seriously. The author draws out two Foucauldian theories, one that is orthodox and restrictive in the individual psychoanalytic frame, and one that is radical and is used as the basis of a radical theory of groups. He proposes that Foucault himself was unable to break free of his Freudian antecedents, and that the basis of a group analytic paradigm is to be found in the work of the sociologist Norbert Elias rather than Foucault.

The book offers the philosophical and metaphysical foundations of a post-Foucauldian group analytic paradigm. Critical in this new approach are the roles given to power relations, the social, and the history of social groups. One outcome of this is that the therapeutic project of group analysis is broadened to take account of notions of ideology and the roles they play in the structuring of the psyche. Drawing from a broad base of

Figure 7. Issue No. 10 November 1998.
material that includes the psychoanalytic theories of Freud, Klein, Matte-Blanco, Winnicott and Fairbairn, the work also incorporates insights from a number of disparate fields – discourse theory, evolutionary biology, philosophy and sociology – which are used to extend and develop the Foucaultian notion of the social unconscious. These ideas are used to reframe a number of central concepts of Foucault for example group processes, the matrix, identity, the unconscious and the super ego. The domains of 'race' and nation are used as a test ground for the ideas being developed, and in this turn sheds fresh light on notions of similarity and difference.

Contents: Foreword by Malcolm Price; Introduction; Chapter 1: Freud; Chapter 2: Foucault; Chapter 3: Interlude between Foucault and Elias; Chapter 4: Elias; Chapter 5: Biology; Chapter 6: A Post-Foucaultian Group Analytic Theory


It is increasingly acknowledged that studying gender also means perceiving the problem of male culture and masculinity. This volume is the result of a symposium on these two issues. It is divided into two parts: the first is an introductory essay by the editor, which provides a useful overview of the main themes discussed in the volume. The second part contains a series of essays by different authors, each dealing with a specific aspect of masculinity and violence. The essays range from historical and sociological perspectives to personal accounts by men who have experienced violence as victims.

The book is structured around four main themes: the historical context of masculinity and violence, the role of culture and society, the psychological aspects of masculinity and violence, and the implications of these issues for contemporary society. The authors provide a rich and diverse range of insights into the complex interplay between gender, honour and ritual in modern Europe and America.

Content: Pieter Spierenszegut, Introduction: Masculinity, violence and honour. The Long Term; Uso Fevert; The burning of the noble ruffian; Male violence and duelling in early modern and modern Germany; Steve Hughes, Man of steel; Duelling; honour and politics in liberal Italy; Robert Nyet, The rise and fall of the modern man the duel; Pieter Spierenszegut, Knife fighting and popular codes of honour in early modern Amsterdam; Daniel Boulo, The historical and knife fighting in Rome, 1845-1914; Amy Greenberg, Fighting/1ncs; Violence in a fourteenth-century American city; Marwin Wimmer, The Victorian criminalisation of man; Stephen Kunitzow, White supremacist justici and the rule of law; Lynching, honour and the state in Jim Sillam's South Carolina; Terence Finnegan, 'The equal of some white men and the superior of others'. Masculinity and the 1916 lynching of Anthony eorstwood in Abbeville County, South Carolina.


The central objective of this book is to address some of the more theoretical issues involved in the analysis of 'managed social change', that is to say, change which has been deliberately initiated with the specific objective of achieving some formally stated policy goal. The vehicle chosen by Davenport to explore these theoretical issues is the introduction of general management in the British National Health Service (NHS) following the publication of the Griffiths Report. Davenport's book is written in an interminable style and process sociologist since it is one of the relatively few books which uses a regional approach to understand the current situation and health care systems.

Davenport's analysis is firmly grounded in a longitudinal and qualitative approach which involved, amongst other sources of data collection, detailed and repeated interviews with a relatively small group of experienced general managers. Her central finding – and it is this which forms the focus of her book – is that the implementation of general management within the NHS did not work out in the way in which its architect, Sir Roy Griffiths, or the government had intended, there were a number of unanticipated consequences of the introduction of general management and, at least in some cases, these were not only unanticipated but were actually the opposite of what had been intended and hoped for by those responsible for initiating these changes. These unanticipated outcomes are perhaps best illustrated by Davenport's case study of the implementation of the Griffiths Report. She suggests that the introduction of general management did not lead to the anticipated improvements in the quality of care, as hoped by Griffiths, but actually had the opposite effect. This is because the new general managers did not have the necessary skills and experience to implement the reforms effectively, and this led to a decline in the quality of care. Davenport's analysis is an important contribution to our understanding of the complex nature of organisational change and the challenges faced by managers in implementing new management systems.
The question then arises of how we can best account for the gap between the intentions and aspirations expressed in the Griffith Report, and what the introduction of gen- eral management was able to deliver. 

Dopson notes that those who have written about managerial change, both within the health service and more generally, have usually chosen to emphasise the degree to which 'effective' managers can manage change so that, within fairly narrowly defined limits, the outcomes are more or less those which were intended. The idea that 'good' managers can effectively control what happens within their organisations is, of course, a longstanding part of management ideology. The reality, however, as Dopson convincingly demonstrates, is that particularly in large organisations, managers are involved in complex and fast-flung networks of interdependence of which they are only partially aware and which they, as individuals, are unable to control.

It is thus important to understand these unantic-ipated outcomes of complex process of change not as outcomes which occur when, apparently, 'something goes wrong', but as the normal outcomes of the processes of policy formation and implementation. In seeking to understand the nature of these unantic-ipated outcomes, Dopson draws upon Elias's work on the complex interrelationship between planned and unplanned processes of change and, in particular, his work on games models. Indeed, application of Elias's games models to understanding 'managed change' is an excellent illustration of how useful the games models can be in shedding light on an empirical problem. In this respect, it can be said that Dopson's book makes a valuable and distinctive contribution both to figuration sociology, and to our understanding of health care management, and indeed wider organisational issues.

Jewson Washington Centre for Research into Sport and Society, University of Leicester.


Michael Krüger researches into the development of the German Turn- movement during the nineteenth century - especially within the period of the Reichs- gründungszeit (1860-1870). Foundation of the German Empire (1871). He deals with the subject of the social differentiation pro- cess of Turners and how the Turn move- ment was involved in the formation of the German nation and state whilst being active as a cultural and political group. The author employs a three stage model of develop- ment as a framework: (1) the early Turn-movement of Jahn including the first Turn-club period (about 1823-1849); (2) politicisation of the Turn-movement culmi- nating during the revolution of 1848-49; (3) adaptation of the Turn-movement to the so-called Restoration and its increasing integra- tion into the Reichs- gründungszeit.

Krüger conceptualizes his historical analy- sis as grounded methodologically on a his- tory of society (Gesellschafts- geschichte). He looks for and emphasises 'models of so- cial relations', oriented towards Norbert Elias's theory of the civilising process, ap- plying this concept as an open method for the interpretation of historical sources. Em- ploying these methodological principles Krüger inquires by means of detailed and systematic analysis into documents, books, contributions to practical and theoretical `concepts of bodily movements' grounded on Turn-activities. The author presents and sums at the results of his studies on two connected levels.

(1) The effects of the Turn- movement relat- ing to nation building in Germany (1860-1870) had been the following (pp. 416-22): Turners established a central so- cial factor of the "bourgeois club character" in general (institutional- ation of corre- sponding value norms); Turn- clubs had been founded as social spaces of affecting national identity ('we feeling'); develop- ment of primarily bourgeois oriented aims of culture and education combined with forms of "civil militarisation"; Turn-clubs offered social spaces to lower middle class persons and craftsmen where they could have experiences based on the "idea of educa- tion" as a "mater for all people"; members of the Turn- clubs and teachers in school's orientate patterns of a national culture, to this end, involved in a programmatic of a 'general education'; in this respect they started and differ- entiated processes of pedagogisation, re- socialisation, scientificization, professionali- sation within the fields of Turners (clubs, schools), Turn- movement institutionalised forms of communication wherein people overcome cultural traditions, and explored advanced possibilities of communication, within this process of personal and social emancipation they created a "national body language" of a peaceful Turners, playing, dancing, and at the same time of "aggres- sive, paramilitary exercises" referring to the idea of a Volltreffor (people's army)

(2) The Turn- movement generated a specific expression of "German Habitus". They formulated and transformed Turn-behaviour towards civilised standards which on the one hand had been grounded on "necessary mili- tary virtue". But during the period of establish- ing the 'German Empire' (1860-1871) the members of the Turn- movement did not maintain its political function which they had realised during the revolutionary phase (culmi- nating in 1848-49). Increasingly they be- came political outsiders, and shifted from a former political opposition to a state support- ing national and cultural group dominated by males. They adapted to the Weltschmerz-Establishment (Rainer Wilhelm.), and did not co-operate with ideologically advancing groups such as the workers' movement (which included Turners and Sports) or politi- cally liberal opposition organisations (1880s, 1890s).

Here I cannot give a more detailed critical acknowledgement of Krüger's study. But I can say that the author makes a major con- tribution to historical, cultural, and social research into the German Turn-movement in the nineteenth century. The work is historically excellent, elaborated and systematically differentiated. But, al- though he refers in outline to Elias's theory of civilisation, Krüger does not conceptual- ise methodological consequences. It is not sufficient to mention and apply sociological process terms at the beginning and end of an inquiry. One has to transform them into theoretically and empirically employable research methods. On the basis of Krüger's historically important contribution to the German Turnsgeschichte. Further sociologi- cal investigation into the social field of sports history ought to be pursued.
work of Michel Foucault. Fans of Elias, however, will find here an entire chapter (chapter 3) devoted to the early Elias and Foucault on the different ways in which each of their approaches may reflect the question. What makes 'psychosomatic illness' a social problem? Figurational perspectives are also discussed in chapter 8, as a way of contextualizing new forms of emotional self-management and pathology.


Stefania Ernst's research topic is the changing power relation between the sexes, which she traces by analyzing an institutionalized form of this relationship: marriage. Her detailed research covers the development of different, partly competing forms of marriage, from the early Middle Ages up to the present. Marriage is Ernst's focus because it 'reflects the inequality between the sexes which is socially embedded in a large variety of institutionalized social world views' (p. 40, translation H.H.). The first chapter serves to establish the theoretical framework of her study; the relationship between the sexes is defined as a changing power balance, using Elias's relational concept after contrasting it with Weber's classic approach and Lukács's more recent concept of power as a medium of communication. This relational concept of power allows her to capture the changes between the sexes, on the basis of Elias's theory of civilizing processes, in interdependence with the social changes, applying a process-sociological method. Chapter 2, as the major part of the empirical study, describes the socio-psychogenesis of marriage from feudal knightly society, to absolutist court society and, finally, bourgeois society, successfully linking the changes in marriage to the social changes of state formation and the intertwined processes of increasing drive and affect control by concentrating on two functions of marriage: marriage as an economic combination and as a relationship serving to organize social and affective needs and behaviour. This makes it possible to bring out the power balances between men and women both on a social and on an intramural level, looking a micro- and a macro-perspective. One of her central themes deals with the ambivalent role of the Church in respect to the position of women: marriage is crucial to the power context between the sexes, and the position of marriage pushed through by the church reduces male sexual privileges and increases the value of married women, yet it also passes on the contempt for women by marking them as more liable to sin and reinforces the subordinate economic and social position of women. Moreover, society allows a strong change of the power balance in favour of women mainly due to the pacification and civilisation of affect; reducing the use of physical violence, yet this is taken back by bourgeois society, where the ideal of love implies the complete devotion of women.

Chapter 3 gives a comparatively short yet comprehensive survey of both emancipatory movements and ongoing discrimination on a social level, and conflicting expectations within the personality structures of men and women. A brief summary and prospective look forward at further developments on the basis of increasing unemployment conclude the study. With her analysis of the changing power balances between men and women, Ernst fills in an almost 'third spot' of Elias's The Civilizing Process, using both his initial thoughts and scattered remarks and his method to give an extensive account of these changes and thus developing further his theory of civilizing processes. She also contributes significantly to feminist theories in conceptualizing the relationship between the sexes as unequal, but non-static, relational power structure, and gives a framework for analysing this power relation and the role of marriage in a civilizing process that is still 'under way'.

Heike Hammert
University of Hamburg


This book is an attempt to break new ground in its appraisal of communist and post-communist figurative arts. It acknowledges complex human inter-relationships bound up in structures surrounding and supporting vernacular imaginative expression; it identifies satisfactions, pleasures and frustrations, the implementation and collapse of authoritarian designs on music-making and dance in changing forms of personal relations, shifting devotional and political values. Since 1989 it is written primarily for process-sociological, anthropological, socio-musico-cultural, and socio-normative specialists, though discussions hold something also for students of other historically-sensitive disciplines.

The author seeks to combine regional investigations with illumination of intricacies emerging from government and international relations. His chief examples of state Folkloristik throughout 1979 led to a sequencing of the dogmatist character of Maeresic-Leninist social policy in general, Romanian isolation from theoretical questions explored elsewhere, and researchers' inabilities to investigate troubled established-and-sectarian legacies between Hungarian-speaking and Romanian-speaking villagers; and between those groups and settled communities of Gypsies, providers of 'entertainment' at dances convened for the pleasure of majority populations.


This book is an attempt to break new ground in its appraisal of communist and post-communist figurative arts. It acknowledges complex human inter-relationships bound up in structures surrounding and supporting vernacular imaginative expression; it identifies satisfactions, pleasures and frustrations, the implementation and collapse of authoritarian designs on music-making and dance in changing forms of personal relations, shifting devotional and political values. Since 1989 it is written primarily for process-sociological, anthropological, socio-musico-cultural, and socio-normative specialists, though discussions hold something also for students of other historically-sensitive disciplines.
tutes. How far this book advances in ambitious objective in venturing across specialist fields is not something on which critics are likely to agree. It will have done much of its work if it points the way for other non-scientific past-and-present syntheses which address the dynamics of political centralism and monopolistic demands on artistic expression as well as elucidating multi-personal relations at face-to-face level.

Copies of the book may be ordered from the author; Dr. Paul J. Nixson, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cambridge, Free School Lane, Cambridge CB2 8QZ. E-mail: pr20@cam.ac.uk


This book traces the genealogy of intellectual debates about 'civilisation' and 'culture' in Britain, France, Germany and America from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. It includes excerpts from the writings of Kant, Fuston, Jefferson, Toqueville, Schiller, Nietzsche, Simmel, Thomas Mann, Freud, Dullheim and Mauss, Lucien Febvre, Robert Park and Norbert Elias. Perhaps of particular interest is the long 1921 essay by Alfred Weber in which he sketches what was to become Kulturgeschichte, the Kultur-sociology (1935). Remarkably little of Alfred Weber's work has appeared in English translation; the typewritten copy of this essay, translated by Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration in the 1930s, languished unpublicated at Columbia University for more than half a century.


The subtitle of this illuminating study is "The Congo region between modes of competition and logics of destruction." It takes its departure from the 1995 inter-communal massacres in Burundi-Faso but goes on to draw on a wealth of historical and social scientific literature, including the works of Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu, J-C. Passeron and others to throw light on the 'processes of violence' involved. This wide-ranging study represents a major contribution to understanding violence in general, and it is especially fascinating for its application of Elias's work and other views of European development to contemporary Africa.


The Catholic Church in Ireland has played a dominant role in every aspect of Irish society for a very long time. In a brilliant updated version of his classic Moral Monopoly (first published in 1987), Ingles shows how the Catholic Church has been in decline in Ireland especially since the late 1980s.

The first section of the book discusses how the Church came to hold such a powerful position in the first place and the mechanisms it used to maintain this power. Ingles argues that Irish Catholics have higher levels of institutional adherence than their western European counterparts but that this, even combined with the organisational strength of the Catholic Church, is not adequate to explain its power and monopoly over Irish society. One needs to examine how the Church controlled and influenced the social, economic and political aspects of Irish society as well, and here Ingles draws on Pierre Bourdieu's accounts of symbolic power and cultural capital.

Drawing on the work of Norbert Elias, Ingles shows how the Irish Catholic Church was in decline in the Catholic Church. "The church, family, community and with the priest at the head became major power blocs and alliances in Irish society" (p. 152). The priest was the model of a civilised agent in Irish society - what Bourdieu in 1954 called the "mental polemicist". Controlling and regulating sex was central to maintaining the church's power. There were different ways of achieving this such as through penitentials, the education system, parish visitation. But the most important and probably the strongest link the church had in gaining and maintaining control was, according to Ingles, the Irish mother. It was the women who were the main targets of the confessional where the priests would question them on their sexual activities or thoughts and administer suitable penances. The 'sexual ritualisation process became centred upon gaining control of women's sex' (pp. 145-6).

But not only did they control this aspect of women's lives, but also used the Irish mother to spread these beliefs throughout her family. She was a tool in the crafty manoeuvres of the Church to gain power. The ability of the church to control what its members did and said depended on children being brought up in accordance with these teachings and so the indoctrination process had to begin at home. Through parish visitations the priest gained detailed knowledge of the moral and social goings-on of his parishioners, and, since the priest was the most powerful person who regularly visited the Irish mother, a close and trusting relationship built up.

In addition to revising all the earlier chapters, Ingles has written an additional chapter which examines the breakdown of the power of the Catholic Church in Irish society. He believes that the church is no longer the conscience of the Irish people and that Catholics are now more likely to make up their minds on what is right and wrong by what they hear discussed in the media rather than by priests. Ingles found direct evidence of the Catholic Church having declined significantly in the last decade. 'The media have driven a stake into the heart of the institutional Church from which it will never recover, but never fully' (p. 257).

Although there has been a dramatic decline in the Church's power in recent decades, in the last chapter Ingles - returning to Bourdieu - argues that the Catholic Church still has considerable influence in the religious field and also continues to have a certain influence in defining the character of Irish social life in terms of 'people attending social, cultural and symbolic capital' (p. 13).

Annie Richard
University College Dublin

Peter Burke, Civilisation, Discipline and Disorder: Three Case Studies in History
and Social Theory’, *Theoria* June 1996, pp. 21–35.

In this article the prominent socio-cultural historian Peter Burke (University of Cambridge) discusses the relation between his-
tory and social theory with reference to three books by authors who emerged from very different cultures and disciplines: Elias’s *The Civilizing Process*. Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish,* and Balzac’s *Rabaleas* and *His World.* He contends that Elias and Foucault each compensate for the weakness of the other’s; Foucault may be described as turning Elias on his head. *Elias emphasised self-control, Foucault saw the source of social and cultural evolution, while Foucault followed Nietzsche in rejecting it....* Balzac, like Foucault, disliked the discipli- 

nary society...but he preferred to con- 

centrate on disorder,....especially the play- 

ful reversal of the normal order of things.*


Helmut Kuznies writes on authority and Aus-

trian ‘national character’, its continuity and changes from the monarchy to the present.


Eric Jones writes to point out how this col-

lection of essays on the impact of Mcdonalds fast-food outlets in the Far East can be read in the light of Elias’s the-

ory. It shows (among other things) how 

MacDonalds subjects people to Western ‘civilising’ pressures in relation to such matters as queuing, clean toilets, and table 

manners.

P. N. Searls & J. Lewis (eds), *An Emo-

A fascinating collection of recent research on the history of emotions in America, including Cas Wauters’s ‘Etiquette Books and Emotion Management in the Twentieth Century’ (pp. 283-304).


The persistent popularity of the sociology of Norbert Elias (especially in Europe) is largely due to his theory of the Civilising Process. In a critical discussion of this the-

ory, this paper looks first out points that cast doubts on Elias’s claim that his theory can account for developments from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. Above all, the question is raised whether twenti-

eeth-century developments can be ade-

quately understood in Elias’s picture of ‘civilised’ man restricted by a tight super-

ego and increasing barriers of shame and embarrassment; a lack of decrease of vio-

lence as well as processes of pluralisation 

and relaxation of norms of conduct stand in stark contrast to this picture. It is argued that Elias outlined four processes underpinning the development of ‘civilisation’, and that all 

four processes were conceptualised in terms of societal integration and individual restrictions (‘discipline’). However, these processes could be interpreted in different terms (‘distraction’), and thus the one-sidedness of Elias’s account may be overcome.


This paper seeks to synthesise aspects of feminism and figurational (process) sociolo-

ogy. Women’s bodies are viewed as sites for studying interrelationships between power, gender, and identity construction. The be-

havioural and emotional rituals of women in a specific aerobics class are mapped out and located within the ‘exercise-body beautiful’ complex. We explore the way in which so-

cial construct and individual self-control interweave in the naturalised management of women’s bodies. The embodied experi-

ences of these women are intertwined with long term enabling and constraining fea-

tures. Closely disempowering, the ‘exer-

cise-body beautiful complex’ reinforces es-

tablished standards of femininity. The founda-

tional role of femininity is allocated in order to extend the liberti-

nising features of the figuration in question.

RECENT CONFERENCES

**EARLY MODERN HISTORY AND THE ‘CIVILISING PROCESS’**

**University of Leicester, 14-16 April 1998**

Over seventy scholars from five disciplines (History, Sociology, Anthropology, Art, Litera-


tory, and Literary Criticism) and seven nations (Britain, Ireland, United States, Holland, Italy, France and Denmark) gathered in Leicester on 14-16 April 1998 to discuss ‘The Civilising Process and Early Modern History.’ Organ-

ised by Leicester historians, the conference was a most rewarding cross-disciplinary expe-

rience, notable for its warm, constructive and exhilarating debates in conference rooms, 

during dinner tables, and in bars. Indeed, the only flicker of tension between disciplines was on the third morning of the conference, when Professor Eric Dunning was seen waving nervously to 

ms disappearing the use of one of the organizing historians as he sped into a parking spot on his way. It must be said, to deliver a most stimulat-

ing and entertaining plenary lecture.

The root-motivation for the conference was the continuing significance of the ‘civilising process’ for the nature of society between 1500 

and 1800, and Norbert Elias’s arguably still under-recognized contribution to the deve-

lopment of sociology at Leicester both as a mem-

ber of staff and a fount of inspiring ideas. The conference was organized around six principal themes, all of which were either closely ad-

ressed in The Civilising Process, or have be-

come subject to its powerful exploratory frameworks. The six areas for consideration were: punishment, personal appearance and grooming, art and culture, domestic relations and self-control. Peter Burke, Martin Althoff, Eric Dunning, and Peter Spreeuw contrib-

uted plenary addresses. Richard Brown deliv-

ered a highly amusing and informative talk af-

ter the conference dinner.

Participants were encouraged to cross disci-

plines, to reflect more generally on the many-sided relations between history, litera-

ture, art, and the social sciences, as well as commenting on their particular aspect of the early modern past. It would be more or less fa-

}
emerged intact from three days of debate. Some speakers felt that it still provided fertile ground for exploring many modern contexts and concepts; others preferred to sample more selectively, and focus on a few main elements. The reviews still others, expressed more caution and, in some cases, a constructed skepticism, testing the limits of applying Elias. The enthusiasm is evident in a large list of papers and other contributions. It was clear that debates had been energized and challenged through fresh perspectives on new and old issues. And these conversations continue.

Following Peter Burke's opening plenary, we began with a keynote address by Isabella Haresna, Armin Shaver, and Peter Spierenburg reminding us of how contested, creative, and complex this long-debated subject has become. The session on personal grooming covered clothing, dressing, costume books and emblems, beards, hair, and the expression of the self (Margaret Pelling, Andrew Gordon, Philip Carter). Texts and visual images were discussed by Mary Hamilton, Warren Beutcher, Colin Kennedy, and Stephen Mennell, a feast of cultures, textiles, styles, and Montaigne. Warren Beutcher raised the question: "Do books civilize?"

We then turned our attention to domestic relations, and we were pleased to see the first full-length paper by Fay Bound on love and the letter in England, 1660-1760, a state of the art review of the early modern family by Keith Wrightson, and a fascinating session on 18th century Elias's ideas for the study of the state and the court examined through various sectors of the economy and society, with early modern and postmodern themes. The focus on the formation of the English state and the connections between absolutism, ideology, and the roots of French intervention (Geoff Quilter, Steve Hindle, Robert Muchembled). Finally, the parting shot was an engaging discussion of mentalities and ideas (Ralph Hirschmann). The session ended on a high note with much food for thought.

The conference was well attended: about 50 participants were expected, but in fact more than 200 people participated from universities all over Colombia. After each lecture there were many questions and some very lively discussions which often led to the tensions and conflicts in Colombian society.

The conference papers were translated into Spanish and have already been published in a fine volume: Vera Weiler (ed.), Figurativeness on Process, Fondation Social, Santa Fe de Bogota, 1996. The many participants and the great interest in the conference book can be seen as symptomatic of the rapidly growing interest among Latin American sociologists of the work in progress. We hope to see there is a kind of barrier in the social sciences between the English and the Spanish speaking parts of the world. The conference was organized as an opportunity to bridge this barrier.

The participants represented a wide range of disciplines, among them many historians and sociologists. Historians especially are showing a great interest. This conference represents the beginning of a new Latin American debate. Historians seem to take a prominent position when it comes to introducing innovative approaches in the social sciences. How does this compare with the situation elsewhere?

Vilma Mastenbroek
Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam

WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY
Montreal 26 July-1 August 1998
AD HOC SESSIONS ON FIGURATIONAL SOCIOLOGY
The Ad Hoc Group on Figurational sociology proceeded smoothly and productively despite the absence of one of its main organizers, Paul Nover (Cambridge). The sessions took place over two afternoons and were both well attended, with a broad range of themes being discussed on each occasion. On the first day, Derrida Smith (Aston University) opened the sessions with a paper on Elias and the new Europe, where he outlined

SOMMES-NOUS CIVILISÉS?
BILAN DU XXe SIÈCLE
Société des Gens de Lettres,
Paris, 10 April 1998

This one-day conference was organized by Alain Garrigou of the Université de Paris X-Nanterre. Presiding at the meeting session was Howard S. Boden (University of Washington). Jack Goody, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, presented a paper on "Civilization and Modernisation: A Critical Assessment", the critical assessment centring on Elias's theory of civilization processes as it applies to Africa, Goody, himself a West African specialist, had encountered Norbert Elias in Ghana in 1962-64. In an earlier paper (The Paradigm of the False Tradition), John Goodenough responded sympathetically to Jack Goody, and one had the sense there was at least a partial meeting of minds. Other speakers included: Alain Garrigou on "The legal sense of history how to recount the twelfth century"; Peter Geylman (Hannover) on "Are humans able to stop killing one another?" (in which he introduced the chilling concept of "anthropogenic industries"); and Stephen Mennell on "Devising processes: the state of the debate", in which he reported on his discussions with Godfried van Aerbetaen van den Berg about that troublesome notion.

Norbert Elias and the Social Sciences at the End of the Twentieth Century
International Symposium in Bucaramanga, Colombia,
24-26 June 1998

This conference was organized by Vera Weiler of the National University in Bogotá. The conference was supported by the Industrial University of Santander in Bucaramanga and the National University of Colombia. Invited speakers were: José Esteban Castro, Peter Geylman, Johan Goudahl, Emil Spierer, Peter Spierenburg, Willem Maatbroek and Cas Wouters. The conference was well attended: about 50 participants were expected, but in fact more than 200 people participated from universities all over Colombia. After each lecture there were many questions and some very lively discussions which often led to the tensions and conflicts in Colombian society.

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how The Court Society might help us understand the socio-genesis of the European movement. He was followed by Chris Shilling (University of Portsmouth) with a paper on ‘Sensual sociologies and the embodied bases of knowledge’, discussing the sociological tradition in relation to a conceptualization of sensual embodiment. Catelene Akkermans (University of Amsterdam) presented a paper written and researched by herself and Wouter Comptol, on developments in municipal health care in Amsterdam between 1933 and 1998. The paper was based on the study of clinical archives and discussed the apparent changes in clinical presentations over this medium-term period. Patricia Mulready, one of the chairs for this session with Monica Green, presented her ongoing research on fashion. They were concluded by Joseph Maguire (Loughborough University) with a paper on ‘Sport, identity politics and national identity’, illustrated to great effect with examples from the recent World Cup among others. The second session was opened by Monica Green (Goldsmiths College, London) with a paper on ‘elektronymy as “life” without words for emotions’, on pathogenic normality, which discussed the rise to prominence of this clinical phenomenon in recent medical/psychiatric literature. Stephen Menzies (University College, Dublin) followed, on ‘Network theory and the social constraint towards self-constraint’, during which he introduced Elias’ diagram for a figuration – allegedly in the shape of ‘false teeth’ – to those of us who had not come across it before. Bram de Swaan (University of Amsterdam) discussed mass externalization in modern societies and proposed a revision of Elias’ account of the Holocaust, by introducing the notion of dyadic equivalence. Robert van Krimpen (University of Sydney) closed this session with a close discussion of the critical positions of Hans-Peter Duven.

At the end of the two sessions signatures were collected to upgrade the Figurations Group from an Ad Hoc to a Working Group of the International Sociological Association.

Monica Green
Goldsmiths College

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

On Time: History, Science, Commemoration

The Royal Historical Society announces a conference entitled On Time: History, Science, Commemoration, to be held on 16-19 September 1999 at the Merseyside Maritime Museum in the historic Albert Dock in the heart of Liverpool.

Thirty-minute papers are invited on ‘many aspects of the history and science of time’, including: creation stories, calendars and time-tables, commemorations, work time and other units of time, the scientific realism and time, religion and time, nostalgia, the past and the future.’

Brief proposals should be sent to Dr Roger Quinlan, Honorary Secretary, Royal Historical Society, University College London, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT. Telephone: +44-171-387 5732.

This conference would appear to be highly relevant to anyone pursuing research under the influence of Elias’s Time: An Essay.

European Sociological Association
Fourth European Conference of Sociology

WILL EUROPE WORK?
18-21 August, 1999, Amsterdam

The European Sociological Association hosts its fourth conference on 18-21 August, 1999, at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. The conference theme is ‘Will Europe Work?’. The theme will be explored focusing particularly on the issues of work and inequalities, constructing identities and institutions, and Europe’s working in the world in the process of the unification of Europe.

Call for papers: Abstracts of papers (not exceeding 250 words) should be sent not later than 15 January, 1999 to the conference secretariat: SESWO Plantage Muidergracht 4
1018 TV Amsterdam
The Netherlands

XV World Congress of Sociology
Brisbane 8-12 July 2002

This is looking a long way ahead! At the close of the World Congress in Montreal in July 1998, it was decided that instead of having an Ad Hoc Group on Figurational Sociology as at Bielefeld and Montreal we should request that two new Thematic Groups be established within the International Sociological Association. One will be on ‘Civilisation’, the other on ‘Historical Sociology’, and we hope that the two groups will be able to collaborate in promoting sessions at the next World congress in Mombasa in 2002.

Besides this we hope that the ISA will agree to having a Symposium on ‘The Comparative Study of Empires’. Johann Damous of La Trobe University (Melbourne) has offered to act as co-ordinator of the symposium.

He writes: The comparative analysis of imperial formation is one of the most strikingly underdeveloped themes of historical sociology. S.N. Eisenstadt’s pioneering study, published in 1963, has not been followed by any work of comparable scope. In the context of Eisenstadt’s own project, The Polity System of Empires was the transitional text, followed by the development of a civilizational theory whose potential for the topic in question has yet to be fully utilised. Other schools in the field have failed to confront the problem in a systematic fashion.

In particular, the seminal contribution of figurational sociology to the analysis of modern empires has so far had a limited impact in this area.

The symposium should take stock of recent work in the field and explore some key themes; if possible, it should include historians and/or area specialists. It would focus on the big questions which are at some point or another believed to be important.

On the theoretical side, these questions would seem most significant: The study of empires from the viewpoint of the comparative analysis of civilisations, the importance of imperial formations for the relativisation or deconstruction of the distinction between tradition and modernity, and the problematic of imperial state formation, with particular emphasis on the figurational paradigms.

On the substantive side, the most obvious examples to consider would be the Roman, Chinese, Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian empire, as well as the European overseas colonial empires, with regard to the dynamics of state formation at home as well as overseas.

Readers interested – even at this early stage – in taking part in the proposed Symposium on ‘The Comparative Study of Empires’ should contact

Issue No. 10 November 1998

Figurations
CIVILISATION AND VIOLENCE

Although violence should be prominent among the central themes of the social sciences, it does not play a major role in most important contemporary social theories. The problem of violence is either considered solved (legal state monopoly of violence) or is peripheral to the edge of society (it is a relic of pre-modern times or something pathologically).

Correspondingly there has occurred an opposition between modernity and violence: Western civilisation in its self-enclosure is regarded as a non-violent modernity despite the fact that the warring century in particular has been a century of violence.

At present I am investigating the relationship between civilisation and violence and the various decivilising processes of this century, and I intend to finish that investigation in a forthcoming article in the political sciences journal in spring 1999. After an introductory discussion of the sociology of violence and of the terms civilisation, culture and modernity under the impact of violence, I focus on the different approaches of classical civilisational theories. I have therefore chosen to compare the theories of Simmel, Freud, Marx and Althusser, Weber, Norbert Elias and Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno systematically under the following aspects: What do these persons mean by civilisation or culture and what distinction do they make of the process of civilisation? What is their understanding of violence? What is their understanding of the relationship between civilisation and violence? Are they able to integrate violence logically into the system? Which are the conclusions of their theories and, if not, what are the contradictions and ambivalence resulting from this? What kind of relationship exists between their approaches and the manifold and repeated processes of decivilisation in the twentieth century? Of special interest for my study is the question of how to and what extent these authors contribute to an understanding of the macro-events of the century (the two World Wars, the Holocaust, the Ogaden system in the former Soviet Union) as the most important test cases for the rationality of civilised behaviour among mankind. In the case of these authors who did not experience these events in their lifetime, I will look for possible explanations for these notions that might emerge from their theories in a critique. By systematically reconstructing their approaches I will attempt to explain the considerable differences among them, including specific justifications for their arguments. I shall also take into account the theoretical debates resulting from these theories.

Simmel and Freud acknowledge in his cultural writings the specific fragility of modern culture and consider a recession to barbarism to be possible at any time. If one reads Max Weber in an evolutionary manner, it becomes clear that he tends to an optimistic view with respect to violence (increasing pacification of societies and the decline of social conflict via monetisation of the central means of violence). His terminology offers various possibilities for explicating and theoretical integrating a phenomenon like National Socialism and its violent character.

Althusser Weber is one of the few sociologists who concerned himself both with the World War and totalitarian rule in the diagnosis of his time. His highly positive human culture against the more or less arbitrary processes of civilisation and of societal development does not at all ignore the perceived cultural crisis of his era. If one disregards the ideological and irrational aspects of his theory, explanations for the phenomena of collective violence can be found in his external rationalisations of successive bureaucraticisation and the coming of the so-called 'fourth man'.

The Frankfurt School explicitly deals with the dialectics of enlightenment by using numerous historical-philosophical constructions. Horkheimer and Adorno explained explanations for the realisation of violence in the twentieth century by examining authoritarian personality structures and the moral justifying principles of capitalists. Their pessimistic view of history becomes evident in their regarding the principles of enlightenment (instrumental rationality and technical rationality) and the very instabilities of modernisation as decisive preconditions for the Holocaust.

How does Norbert Elias fit into this context? Norbert Elias was not only the author, in his sixty years, of one of the most profound and far-reaching (and least optimistic) models of civilisation. Perhaps he is also the sociologist who contributes most to an understanding of individual and collective violence, the rise of National Socialism and other forms of group violence. Although the means of control of violence is of great importance for him, Elias' terms prepare the ground for understanding and interpreting various aspects of National Socialism and genocide in Germany. But I do not believe violence to be the great theme of his life's work, nor do I consider The Civilizing Process to be one of the great intellectual mutations to the rise of Nazi- (as Peter Eisemeister suggests and Hermann Kurek argues). Nor do I think that it is easy possible to integrate his later work on violence (especially The Germans) into his earlier vision of the civilising process and the categories and terms used there, as recently Jonathan Bate has conceded in his chilling introductory work on Elias Violence and Civilisation, Polity Press, 1997 — see Figures 9 and 10. And in most Elias scholars have done the past. Contemporary the work in accordance with Robert van Kriek is, I don't assume that Elias' work forms a unified whole, but consider that — especially with regard to violence — it reveals contradictions and tensions between different parts of his writings. The neglect of this tension was responsible for some of the persistent controversies and misunderstandings of the civilising process.

In general I intend to contribute to an adequate understanding of the relationship between modernity and violence, and I am trying to provide differentiated reasons to justify the thesis that modernity is highly ambivalent with respect to violence.

Peter Hofschabus
Institut für Soziologie, Philosoph. Univer.
Marburg, Wilhem Röpke-Str. 6, K 35032
Marburg

FIGURATIVE

In the Royal Touch, Mie Bloch — famous historian and contemporary work in Elias — placed his finger on the historical pulse when he linked the imposition of Roman over Gallican liturgy by Pepin III to the consecration 'Royal Touch' of legitimacy. The Fitzwilliam kings, Pope III, followed by Charlemagne, were the first Kings to receive this —, i.e. abbatial, by virtue of kingship, in contrast to the earlier Merovingians who, even in the case of Clovis, received the title prescribed by the Gallicans for all free men. Thus Pepin, enacted an 'song of history' by coupling his 'sacralisation of legitimacy' with imposition of the Roman liturgy and even more so, by an adaptation of an Old Testament relic preserved for Hebrew chiefs.
Stephen Mennell's Norbert Elias: An Introduction is now available again.

"Stephen Mennell's book on Norbert Elias simply simulates the need for a full-scale, integrated, and comprehensive grasp of the work of this imaginative social theorist. It also provides an introduction to the research program set in motion by the figural sociology that Elias developed ... The book is a pleasure to read." - Contemporary Sociology

"Stephen Mennell's magisterial Norbert Elias - Times Literary Supplement

"Reading this comprehensive introduction to Norbert Elias is not only an excellent guide to the richness of Elias’s thought, it is also an important contribution to the future directions of the sociological enterprise" - Joanne Kohnsteiner - Sociology

"this marvelous book ... one, clear and erudite" - Choice

"Elias has finally been lucky: he has found a writer capable of understanding his ideas, of communicating their importance to the lay, non-sociological reader and of showing how they link up with the concerns pursued in at least two other disciplines." - Journal of European Studies

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the Carolingians. In this context cultural pro-
duction in the form of music theory and new
liturgical forms flourished. The dominant the-
ory to emerge during and after the ninth cen-
tury was that of mode. Not surprising, given
the initial goals, this was largely a theory of
musical grammar and syntax characteristic of
Roman chant, that enabled rapid classification,
organisation and recollection of the re-
cieved repertory. This pragmatic work like-
wise gave rise to an emendation of existing
chants, as well as to a proliferation in compo-
sitions that 'borrowed line' Roman chant. The
most popular genre to emerge was the
rhymed numerical office.

The rhymed numerical offices represent an
expression of the Canonical Hours, or Divine
Offices, which, with their seven daily prayers,
proper to the day, underscored the organisa-
tion of time in the cloistered orders. Most of
the nearly 1500 newly composed offices rep-
sent the application of a formulaic ritual to
plug a story, an historic at a local level for the
purpose of evoking recognition, the sanction of
a deceased person as a saint. Upon papal
recognition, the Offices of newly recognized
saints were added to the Sawtoller, or the Lit-
urgy proper to a feast day.

Even more significant were those rare addi-
tions to the Temporal, or that part of the litur-
gy year relating to the life of Jesus on earth.
The Feast of Corpus Christi was one of six and
symbolically the most important of these addi-
tions. Initially celebrated in 1246 in the clo-
ister of Liege, the geographical locale of Auch
'capital' of the Carolingian empire, it was
adopted for the universal church in 1263 by
a Papal bull of Urban IV, formerly Jacques
Parlebécq of Troyes and Bishop of Liege. While
'mastication' has traditionally been as-
signed to his chief theologian, Thomas Aqui-
nus, Julian of Liege, an Augustinian nun,
most likely placed an earlier version together
from existing material.

Three or four Pseudo Peter with vernacular
poems and illuminations, as well as extra- Vul
cus from the period, give witness to the origins of
the Feast, in a movement originating from an
excess of deaconry women in Liege. The excess of
women and their relationships to male prin-
cipal do's identified by Elna as rooted in the ex-
cess of second-born sons deprived of ancestral
inheritance as a consequence of Capncian pri-
macies. Both the movement and the 'scars
character of the original version by Juliana
constitute another story of history. The feast
celebrates that symbolic capital which func-
tioned to keep women both within the religious
fold and powerless, i.e. transubstantiation of
the Host and sacramental authority, even while
incorporating the Marian Tree of Jesse.

The delicate and hidden mechanisms of
debt and exchange at play in the organization
of the Rite of Corpus Christi and the result
canonicalising Louis IX, Christo-
copious king and protector of the Roman
priest, merit careful examination. These
two ceremonies received the requisite papal
recognition at approximately the same
place, if different. What Pope is still un-
der a holy see (Sedeb) to the French not
least through favours to Urban IV. More-
over, both functioned to fortify the
hierocratic monopoly on ceremonial trans-
formations while simultaneously rationalising
a Gentilichiorum. The rationalisation
process at work might best be described as
a set of organisational mechanisms that sim-
ultaneously absorb and 'quantify' irra-
tional ideas that have the virtue of logical
consonance with a broader political agenda.

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This article, revised from a presentation at the
AD HOC: Figurational Sociology section at ESA
in Montreal, summarizes a book project, Mono-
theanrds and Fine Amour: The Corpus
Christi Movement in Thirteenth-Century Liege,
by Barbara Walters and Peter T. Wicklows of
the University of Birmingham. Thanks to Stephen
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Marshall Batterci for comments.

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Robert van Krocken has re-organised the Syd-
ney web site; incorporating frames. This
means that you need a reasonably up-to-date
web browser. The new URL is http://www

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO FIGURATIONS

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Contributions should preferably be e-mailed to
the editors, or sent on a disk (Guidelines for
PCDOS and Apple Macintosh WordPerfect
pg 951). Microsoft Word and ASCII can be
done. Disks are recommended (Max. Disk
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