

Newsletter of the Norbert Elias Foundation

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■ PEOPLE

- Matt Clement has been appointed Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Winchester, Winchester, UK
- Adrian Jitschin has been appointed head of the Frankfurt Division of the German Open University (FernUniversität in Hagen). Adrian's research on Norbert Elias's family history appeared in *Figurations* 39, and he reports another discovery, a short unfinished play, 'Marriage and career', in this issue.
- John Lever has been appointed Lecturer in Sustainability in the Business School at the University of Huddersfield; see www.hud. ac.uk/ourstaff/profile/index. php?staffuid=sbusjbl
- The University of Leicester, as part of the celebrations of 60 years since it received its royal charter, is featuring Norbert Elias as one of the key figures in 'The legacy of Leicester'. Jason Hughes and Stephen Mennell recently recorded a podcast for the university. It can be found at https://soundcloud.com/university-of-leicester/norbert_elias
- Pieter Spierenburg's book Violence and Punishment (Cambridge: Polity, 2012 – see Figurations 38) was named in Choice's 2014 list

of Outstanding Academic Titles. It is now available as an ebook. Pieter, now a Professor Emeritus of the Erasmus University Rotterdam, is also Programme Leader at Institute for War and Genocide Studies (NIOD), under the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study.

In November, at the Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Stephen Mennell gave a seminar on 'The American civilising process: a sceptical sketch' and a graduate workshop on 'Power, knowledge and civilisation: Norbert Elias's anti-Kantian sociology'. (Photos by Ruben Flores.)



■ FIGURATIONS: ELECTRONIC VERSION

To repeat the announcement that appeared in *Figurations* 39, we are now able to email the newsletter to readers who would prefer that to the printed version. If you would prefer to receive *Figurations* by email, please send an email – stating your postal address as well as your email address to: figurations@norberteliasfoundation.nl.

Readers are reminded that PDFs of all earlier issues of *Figurations* – right back to the first issue in 1994 – can be downloaded from: http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/figurations.php

■ FROM THE NORBERT ELIAS FOUNDATION

The eagle-eyed will notice than on the page of the Foundation's website that lists members of the Board (www. norberteliasfoundation.nl/foundation/index.php), Joop Goudsblom is now described as Chairman, Hermann Korte as Treasurer and Stephen Mennell as Secretary. This arises because we have discovered a certain fiscal advantage under Dutch law for members of the board having designated responsibilities. In fact, nothing much has changed – these titles correspond



roughly to the informal division of labour that has existed for many years. Hitherto, the title of Secretary has belonged to our paid administrator in Amesterdam. That post is to be redesignated 'Executive Secretary'. We are sorry to report, however, that Esther Wils has resigned from that post — although her resignation had nothing to do with the amended titles.

Jason Hughes has taken over from Stephen Mennell as Administrator of the Foundation's blog (see http://norberteliasfoundation.nl/blog/).

■ INTERVIEWS: LAST BUT ONE VOLUME OF COLLECTED WORKS PUBLISHED

Norbert Elias, Interviews and Autobiographical Reflections, edited by Edmund Jephcott, Stephen Mennell, Richard Kilminster and Katie Liston (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013 [Collected Works, vol. 17]). xx + 332 pp. ISBN 978-1-906359-11-9. €60, but 20 per cent discount if ordered directly from the publisher's website, www.ucdpress.ie.

In the last decade of his life, Elias gave many interviews in which he

discussed aspects of his work, rebutting many common misunderstandings of his thinking and further developing ideas sketched out in his writings. Besides a selection of these 'academic' interviews, the book contains his essay in intellectual autobiography and a long interview in which he talks about his own life. Vol. 17 of the Collected Works can serve as an excellent introduction to Elias's thinking overall.

The contents are as follows:

Norbert Elias, 1897–1990 Note on the text AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY 1 Notes on a lifetime

INTERVIEWS

- 2 Norbert Elias's story of his life (1984) – interview with Arend-Jan Heerma Van Voss and Bram Van Stolk
- 3 'Sociology ... done in the right way' (1984–5) interview with Johan Heilbron
- 4 An interview in Amsterdam (1969)
 interview with Johan Goudsblom
- 5 *'On the Process of Civilisation'* revisited (1974) – interview with Stanislas Fontaine
- 6 Sociology as the history of manners (1978) interview with Heiko Ernst
- 7 'I use historical studies to clarify certain universal human problems' (1981) interview with Didier Eribon
- 8 Knowledge and power (1984) interview with Peter Ludes
- 9 The Janus face of states (1982)
 interview with Peter Ludes, Frank
 Adler and Paul Piccone
- 10 *'We are the late barbarians'* (1988) interview with Nikolaus von Festenberg and Marion Schreiber
- 11 'We need more empathy for the human difficulties of the process of civilisation' (1989) interview with Ulfried Geuter
- 12 'Perhaps I have had something to say that will have a future' (1989) – interview with Wolfgang Engler 13 A 'Jewish Portrait' (1989) – interview with Herlinde Koelbl

APPENDICES

I Selected poems

II On re-reading my doctoral dissertation

III Editorial note on Erich Kallius and

the Gumbel Case
IV List of interviews and
conversations with Norbert Elias

Bibliography Index

The interviews numbered 3 and 9 have not previously been published in any language. Numbers 6, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13 have not previously been published in English; number 7 has been translated from the French by Stephen Mennell, and the rest from German by Edmund Jephcott, as also were Appendices II and III.

■ EU HORIZONS 2020

Major new possibilities for research funding for process sociology

The EU has announced the outlines of a new funding programme (Horizon 2020) that will support collaborative research (on to which funding for doctoral students could be bolted) on various fields including what have been described as *Societal Challenges*. They are cross-EU research programmes that extend previous Framework Programmes. They will promote research collaboration on a multi-institution basis, involving at least three institutions.

One of the specific topics listed under *Societal Challenges* is of special interest to readers of *Figurations*, and not least because of the explicit reference to the need to understand 'the process of civilisation in modern Europe'. The EU's description of the programme is as follows:

'Topic 12: Individual reactions to the crisis and challenges to European solidarity

'Specific Challenge

'The crisis has put the Europeans under even more strain. Many commentators have observed that beyond the appearance of hyperchoice, our modern world dictates our behaviours and leaves people with little meaningful freedom, hence new types of pathologies. The combination of various 'cultures' and 'lifestyles'

which enhance at the same time control on individuals and boundless self-realisation, the urgency to do well in a competitive environment together with the many frustrations of individualism, lead towards a deficit of symbolisation and the development of discontent.

'In this context it is not surprising that the notion of solidarity comes back to the fore either between individuals or groups or even between people/nations/ States. 'Solidarity' is one of the Union's values mentioned in Article 2 of the Lisbon Treaty (TEU). It was originally closely associated with the notion of fraternity, and later on class struggle. Today it refers to a special social relationship which seems contingent on a shared political perspective. Showing solidarity is a political act. It connotes a preparedness to share resources with others.

However, how can the discontent be tackled and solidarity enhanced? This is a challenge that will require innovative thinking in political philosophy, clinical psychology and psychoanalysis, as well as sociology and law.

'Scope

'Research will explore the links between the meta-social frameworks and the meta-psychic frameworks in modern societies in Europe and the likely translation of these links at psychic level. It will thus explore the development of symbolisation and the 'processes of civilisation' in modern Europe. It will cast light in particular on new psychopathologies in modern life and analyse whether and how the current crisis actually influences these pathologies. It should combine theoretical and empirical work in this endeavour. Research should also explore solidarity both as an intellectual concept and its more practical expressions. This requires a comprehensive reappraisal of the history of the concept, the evolution of its conceptualisation as well as the various guises of solidarity. It will assess and test the conditions of acts of solidarity by individuals generally and investigate to what extent the crisis has influenced citizens' preparedness to show solidarity with others, in particular with those hit worst by

the crisis, both within and between member States. It will explore the conditions necessary for solidarity to be successfully invoked to make a difference to European governance, and address how the relationship between solidarity, human rights and EU citizenship can be elucidated, what 'responsibilities' lie within solidarity as a principle and where are their limits, what kind of events or policies are specific loci for solidarity investigations which test the point at which solidarity exists or fails.

'Expected Impact

'Research is expected to expand and deepen the knowledge base both conceptually and empirically on the discontent expressed by individuals in modern societies. It should help to point to the cultural shifts that combine social and psychic transformations which would be necessary in order to address the deepest manifestations of crisis in Europe. Projects should also provide sophisticated historical and theoretical conceptualizations of solidarity, while simultaneously exposing the practical implications of its contemporary expressions. Research is expected to provide a critical assessment of what kind of policy responses have in the past jeopardised or even undermined European solidarity generally or negatively impacted upon individuals' preparedness to show solidarity. Projects should develop a coherent vision of policy responses which are prone to instilling solidarity within the population. Research should also assess what kind of shared political perspective is required to facilitate solidarity and acts of solidarity within the EU.

Instrument: Collaborative projects (100%) – Single stage'

As you can see, the description creates real opportunities for promoting process sociological investigations of the social and political change in Europe. Some of the language that has been used in the description has a clear process-sociological tone. The reference to 'processes of civilisation' in modern Europe almost demands a bid for research funding from the 'figurational family' – a bid that explores, *inter alia*, connections between process

sociology, International Politics and European Studies, and might consider, amongst other things, Elias's analysis of the civilizing process as well as specific reflections on 'we-feeling' and 'the scope of emotional identification', the significance of the 'drag effect' of nation-state loyalties and the role of 'unions of states' in the context of rising levels of human interconnectedness. It is clear from the EU's description of the research area that there is a strong interest in work that reflects on the 'European project' and the prospects for 'solidarity' given the social and political effects of the financial crisis.

The EU has announced that final decisions on Horizon 2020 will be made over the next two months, and that final decisions on proposals will be announced on 11 December 2013. On the envisaged timetable final first year proposals will have to be submitted between May and August 2014.

My understanding is that research bids will be difficult to coordinate, organise and write, but that the rewards will be huge (around 2.5-3 million Euros may be allocated to each successful applications).

As far as the initial coordination is concerned, could anyone who is interested in the project, please contact Stephen Mennell (Stephen.Mennell@ucd.ie), Jason Hughes (jh528@leicester.ac.uk) and Andrew Linklater (adl@aber.ac.uk). It will be valuable to have expressions of interest in being part of such a bid, and to reflect on how to take the discussion forward.

Andrew Linklater
Aberystwyth University

■ IN THE MEDIA

James C.Scott, reviewing Jared Diamonds's latest book (*The World until Yesterday: What Can We Learn from Traditional Societies*, London, Penguin 2013) in the *London Review of Books*, 21 November 2013, writes:

'In a passage that recapitulates the fable of the social contract, Diamond

implies that it was explicitly to end this violence that subjects agreed to found a sovereign power that would guarantee peace and order by restraining their habits of violence and revenge.

'Maintenance of peace within a society is one of the most important services that a state can provide. That service goes a long way towards explaining the apparent paradox that, since the rise of the first state governments in the Fertile Crescent about 5,400 years ago, people have more or less willingly (not just under duress) surrendered some of their individual freedoms, accepted the authority of state governments, paid taxes and supported a comfortable individual lifestyle for the state's leaders and officials.

'Two fatal objections come immediately to mind. First, it does not follow that the state, by curtailing 'private' violence, reduces the total amount of violence. As Norbert Elias pointed out more than half a century ago in The Civilising Process, what the state does is to centralise and monopolise violence in its own hands, a fact that Diamond, coming as he does from a nation that has initiated several wars in recent decades and a state (California) that has a prison population of roughly 120,000 – most of them non-violent offenders - should appreciate.

'Second, Hobbes's fable at least has nominally equal contractants agreeing to establish a sovereign for their mutual safety. That is hard to reconcile with the fact that all ancient states without exception were slave states. ...'

■ ELIAS PUBLICATIONS IN RUSSIAN

Polina Kolozaridi and Alisa Maximova, both PhD student at the Faculty of Sociology, National Research University – Higher School of Economics, have compiled a bibliography of Elias's writings that have been translated into Russian. That can now be found on the Foundation's website at www.norberteliasfoundation. nl/elias/bibliography.php. They also drew up a list of articles about Elias or using his ideas, which is printed below. Our thanks to Polina sand Alisa.

Vadim Volkov, 'The concept of kul'turnost': notes on the stalinist civilising process', in Sheila Fitzpatrick (ed.), Stalinism: New Directions (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 21031.

Руткевич А. М. Историческая социология Норберта Элиаса // Норберт Элиас. О процессе цивилизации. т. 2. (СПб.: Университетская книга, 2001). [Rutkevich A. M. 'Istoricheskaja sociologija Norberta Eliasa' // In Norbert Elias, *O processe tsivilizatsii*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Universitetskaya Kniga, 2001).]

Козловский В. В. Фигуративная социология Норберта Элиаса // Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии. Т.3, №3. 2000. С.40–59.

http://www.jourssa.ru/sites/all/files/volumes/2000_3/Kozlovsky_2000_3.pdf

[Kozlovsky, V. V., 'Figurativnaja sociologija Norberta Eliasa', *Zhurnal sociologii i social'noj antropologii*, 3: 3 (2000), pp. 40–59.]

Меннел, Стивен, Даннинг, Эрик. Элиас о Германии, нацизме и холокосте: о балансе пивилизации и децивилизации в социальном развитии Западной Европы. Пер. А. Максимова // Интернет-журнал Гефтер.py. http://gefter.ru/archive/6627 [Eric Dunning and Stephen Mennell, 'Elias o Germanii, natsizme i kholokoste: o balanse tsivilizatsii i detsivilizatsii v social'nom razvitii Zapadnoj Evropy', Internet-zhurnal Gefter.ru. [Translation by A. Maximova of Eric Dunning and Stephen Mennell, 'Elias on Germany, Nazism and the Holocaust: On the Balance between "Civilizing" and "Decivilizing" Trends in the Social Development of Western Europe'.]

Меннел, Стивен. Элиас и контр-эго: личные воспоминания (отрывок). Пер. А. Максимова // Интернетжурнал Гефтер.ру. http://gefter.ru/archive/6307 [Stephen Mennell, 'Elias i kontr-ego: lichnyje vospominanija (otryvok). *Internet-zhurnal Gefter.ru*.

Translation by A.Maximova of part of Stephen Mennell's article 'Elias and the counter-ego: personal recollections'.]

Меннел, Стивен. 'История, национальный харктер и американская цивилизация', Прогнозис [Prognosis] 3 (15) 2008: 59–77 [Stephen Mennell, 'Istoria Natzionalnyi Character I Amerikansaya Tzivilizatsiya, translation of 'History, National Character and American Civilisation', Sociologie 4: 2–3 (2008), pp. 285–303.]

■ ELIAS ALMOST AN AMERICAN SOCIOLOGIST?

'I hope soon to go to the United States', said Norbert Elias in a letter to Raymond Aron dated 22 July 1939 (see Figurations 35). Little more seems to be known about that particular episode, but it may have been only the latest in a series of attempts to 'go West'. Andrew Linklater reports that he 'borrowed a copy of Ira Katznelson's Desolation and Enlightenment (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), which refers on pp. 76 and 78 to efforts to recruit Mannheim to the New School in 1933. Around that time Mannheim applied to the Rockefeller Foundation for a large grant to undertake a comparative project on the cultural crisis in modern democracies and autarchies. Elias was one of the potential collaborations along with Hans Gerth and Sigmund Neumann. The source for this is David Kettler and Volker Meja's Karl Mannheim and the Crisis of Liberalism (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1995). The grant was not awarded!'

■ NORBERT ELIAS – SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS BY PETER SEGLOW

I suspect I must be one of the few remaining people who knew Norbert Elias well from those early days before he joined the staff of Leicester University in 1954. In fact there is a sense in which my association with him pre-dates my earliest memories. Before I was born, my mother had sought his advice when she was student at Frankfurt University in about 1931. As a former actress she had embarked on a piece of research with the purpose of discovering why the status and prestige of theatres in Germany was unrelated to the size or importance of the cities in which they were located.

My parents and Norbert became good friends and remained so till my mother's death in 1984. He was also a good friend of various aunts and uncles of mine on both sides of my family. In her memoirs my mother recounts how, being a well-known member of the Communist Party in Frankfurt, she and my father fled from the city within a few days of Hitler's seizure of power in January 1933. They went first to Saarbrücken. Saarbrücken was safer because it was not formally part of Germany at that time but governed under League of Nations administration till 1935. In her memoirs my mother recalls: 'I thought I could come back. Every few days I rang Norbert in Frankfurt to ask if I could come home. He told me that I was completely mad "Don't you know what's going on in the world?"' From Saarbrücken, my parents went to Paris where, after he also arrived in the city, their friendship was renewed.

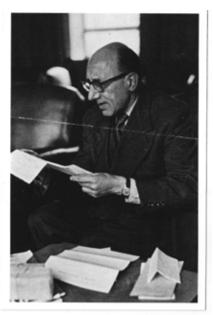
What follows however, are a few of my own unrelated personal reminisces.

- Like so many German refugees during the early days of the war he was classed as an enemy alien and interned. He told me that one day in June 1940 a British officer came into the internment camp on the Isle of Man and announced that he had good news for the inmates. The news was that France had just announced its surrender. He added that while this was good news for the German internees, it was, of course, bad news for the British. The officer could not understand why the internees, the great majority of whom were Jewish, also greeted the news with profound dismay.
- 2 After his release from internment in 1941 Norbert found a small furnished room or perhaps flat in King Henry's Road near Swiss Cottage, the centre









of German refugee life in London. He stayed there until he moved to a slightly larger flat in Primrose Gardens, literally across the road from my uncle and aunt. I recall it was hard to get into the flat because it was so crammed with books. Not only social science books, but also detective stories that Norbert clearly read with enjoyment.

3 During the immediate post war days my mother and I used to have a regular 'date' with Norbert for lunch on Saturdays in Lyons Corner House in Tottenham Court Road. He had been working in the British Museum library just down the road. I recall the lunch cost about 1/6 (just over 7.5p or a tenth of a Euro). We always really wanted to go the Salad Bar (another restaurant in

the same building) where you could eat unlimited quantities of salad for 1/11 (nearly 10p or approximately .12 of a Euro) but neither he nor my mother could afford it. What he could clearly always afford were cigarettes. During that time at least, he was a very heavy smoker. I don't remember when he gave up.

- From time to time Norbert joined us for Passover at my uncle's house. Every year in Jewish homes families put out an extra glass of wine. This is the Elijah's Cup (Kos Eliyahu in Hebrew) as part of the Passover meal. The cup is filled with wine and children eagerly open a door so that the Prophet Elijah can come in and join the celebrations. I must have been in my late teens before I realised that this was not intended for Norbert. Before then even when he did not come, I expected him to arrive, albeit a little late. Perhaps it was not altogether foolish. After all the Hebrew for Elias is Elijah! (In German, the language we often spoke at family gatherings, Elijah and Elias are pronounced very similarly.)
- 5 During those post war years I became interested in cricket, and often went to Lords cricket ground to watch matches. Norbert was interested too, though I don't recall him ever coming to Lords. More than once I tried to explain the rules of cricket to him. However, after a while we both gave up. I recall Norbert eventually saying that if he understood the rules of cricket and the nuances of their interpretation, he would no longer be able to understand the game!
- 6. In the early 1950s, I used to frequent a jazz club at 100 Oxford Street (still a popular music and jazz venue today). Once, Norbert asked to accompany me. He seemed not very taken by the music. However the dancing fascinated him. He explained that, when dancing (or jiving at it was called at the time), couples no longer held each other as close as in conventional ballroom dancing, because already in the early 1950s prohibitions on public displays of intimacy outside the dance floor were being progressively relaxed.

- 7. Yet Norbert lost friends as well as making them. For many years he attended a special Christmas party given by my aunt. One year he got into a serious argument with her about some aspect of the political situation in Eastern Europe – a subject about which my aunt, being a journalist specialising in East European politics, was particularly knowledgeable. At times, Norbert could be surprisingly intolerant of people who argued with him, especially if they were also well informed. The following year my aunt felt she was at the receiving end of a quite deliberate insult. He was never invited again.
- 8. In part I owe to Norbert my early understanding of the Holocaust. As he later recounted in Reflections on a Life, he told me about how his parents had come to visit him in London in 1938. He recounted how hard he had tried to persuade his father not to return to Germany. However, his father firmly believed nothing could possibly happen to him. 'I have never broken the law. What have I ever done?' Gradually I came to realise how irrelevant those questions were.
- 9. I last saw Norbert in late 1988 in Amsterdam. I wanted to introduce him to my then newish girlfriend – a doctor. I had told her a lot about Norbert. At first I hardly recognised him. It was the first time I had seen him without spectacles. My partner asked him why, all those years ago, he had stopped studying medicine and decided not to practice as a doctor himself. Norbert paused to think. (Uniquely of all the people I have known, it seemed as if you could actually see Norbert think!) After a pause he replied that he had given up medicine when he realised how little he could do.

Norbert was a sort of honorary member of my family for nearly 60 years. He was also a good friend to me - someone to whom I could (and did from time to time) turn to for advice, especially in my mid-teens after my own father died in 1949 aged only 46. Moreover I never left him without having learnt something new and interesting. Although he could certainly be difficult, he was also a warm, generous, kind,

and thoughtful human being, as good at listening as at talking. He was a genuine Mensch. As Leo Rosten notes in his book The Joys of Yiddish, being a *Mensch* is 'the finest thing you can say about a human being'.

■ A DISCOVERY: **'MARRIAGE AND** CARFFR'

Adrian Jitschin FernUniversität, Frankfurt

A new play of Norbert Elias has been found. After exploring his family background, it became clear that he has living relatives. His first cousin twice removed reacted kindly to my contacting. On 20 July 2013 we met at her home near London.

Together we went through the documents that she had inherited from her mother. In her attic we found several signed books by Norbert. And among other exciting documents of the family, we discovered a previously unknown piece by him.

On the occasion of the marriage of Norbert's first cousin Lilli Platau, he presented a play. He called it 'Ehe und Beruf' [Marriage and Career]. The play is five pages long, followed by a two-page letter.

The play is dated 23 July 1921. This makes it the second oldest example of his handwriting.1

It is written on two big sheets of paper of uncommon size. Norbert folded

them to have eight pages, of which he left one blank. He began writing with pencil, switched to ink and back again. Quite obviously it was written in the course of several days.

The contents:2 Lilli Platau was a pioneering female doctor. She had settled down in her gynaecologist's practice in Breslau. While studying she had met a fellow student, Paul Berg, with whom she fell in love. They had decided to marry. In the play Norbert discussed the question of whether marriage or career should have priority in their future life. How could his cousin Lilli remain a doctor after starting a family? He analysed the dilemma through a dialogue between a personalised Marriage and a personalised Career. Both present their advantages and demand full commitment from Lilli.

The play itself is unfinished. Norbert interrupts it, stating that 'the muse' has left him. He tells about his hike along the rivers Main and Rhine and that he is currently at the Lorelei. He finishes with best wishes to the newlyweds.

The style of writing is very loose. Norbert makes saucy remarks and refers to two popular songs.3 He tries to be amusing, as in 'The clouds'.4 Despite 'Marriage and Career' not being Elias's most important writing, it gives us an impression how he was developing. It shows the involvement of a very young Norbert in matters of gender relations, and gives us some impressions of a young man in his private life, a side of him, which was

Beruf Ehe

Steh' mir Antwort dann und Rede Nur im Berufe tätig wär Eh' sie gänzlich mir entronnen Mit Dir kämpfen mit Dir streiten.

Darum schleuder' ich Dir der Fehde Du redest wirklich unvernünftig weissen Handschuh ins Gesicht Bedenk, wenn jede Frau nur zünftig Hast Du oft bisher gewonnen Wo kriegte man sag nur zukünftig Heute will um diese beiden Für Dich die neuen Menschen her?

unknown so far. *Ehe und Beruf* has been generously given by his relatives to the Deutsche Literaturarchiv Marbach.

Notes

- 1 The oldest are three letters from him to Martin Bandmann, which Jörg Hackeschmidt found. They have been published in Hackeschmidt, *Von Kurt Blumenfeld zu Norbert Elias* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlaganstalt, 1997), pp. 327–42.
- 2 Thanks to Tabea Dörfel-Mathey for helping to decrypt many hard-to-read passages of the handwriting.
- 3 'Wütend wälzt sich einst im Bette', by August Schuster (text) and Karl Friedrich August Hering (music), 1887, and 'Du Schwert an meiner Linken' by Theodor Körner, 1813. Both songs were widespread students' songs.
- Were Widespread students songs.

 4 See Elias: "The clouds' or 'Politics as Science", Henk E.
 S. Woldring, Karl Mannheim:
 The Development of his Thought:
 Philosophy, Sociology and Social
 Ethics, With a Detailed Biography
 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1986), p.
 391–403 [written, in collaboration with others] in 1930].

■ REVIEW ESSAY

Nathalie Heinich, *De la visibilité: Excellence et singularité en régime médiatique* (Paris: Gallimard, 2012). 608 pp. ISBN 9782070123377.

Robert Van Krieken, *Celebrity Society* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012). xii +186 pp. ISBN: 978-0-415-58149-3 (hbk), 978-0-415-581450-9 (pbk), 978-0-203-11634-0 (ebk).

Florence Delmotte
FRS-FNRS research associate,
University Saint-Louis Brussels

One day I was complaining about the fact that a young, well published French colleague I do not personally know had written that I was 'not afraid of being ridiculous' in some of my assessments. It was about the way I had summarised in a paper the importance of Nazism and holocaust in Elias's work. By the way, he was completely right, because my commitment to the subject made me use (and assume!)

lyrical style bordering on exaggerations and anachronism. Fortunately ridiculousness does not kill even if it sometimes hurts. Anyway, my English Pygmalion, to whom I told this anecdote to get some sympathy, kindly reassured me as so often with a realist touch that I should not worry about X's remark: it meant at least that I had been *noticed*, which is good!

Although humorous, this anecdote illustrates that the academic realm does not escape from the rules of the 'celebrity society', where visibility is (more and more?) required as a sign of excellence and distinction. But to what extent is it so? And why? Is it new, or could such a trend be related to others that go back far beyond the invention of the television, or even of the press? By exploring these questions, Nathalie Heinich's and Robert van Krieken's books offer two major contributions to a better understanding of the society we live in and of one of its major features. Both rediscover some classics such as C. Wright Mills's Power Elite (1957) and, most of all, refuse to adopt the standpoint of moral judgment that has for a long time framed cultural studies, within which celebrity has traditionally been studied. At the same time, without presenting major sociological or ethicalpolitical disagreements, Robert van Krieken and Nathalie Heinich adopt appreciably different methodological and sometimes theoretical perspectives. enough to make their books particularly complementary and their teachings

Having discovered the theme of celebrity by chance - 'I normally write about, well, weightier subjects' he notes ironically in the preface – Robert van Krieken proposes a global approach of the celebrity that quickly captives the attention even of the most neophyte and sceptical reader. Just like Nathalie Heinich, Van Krieken is very aware that most of the intellectuals and the social scientists despise or are not interested in such a subject. Celebrity is undoubtedly first and foremost associated with celebrities' life, showbiz, politics or reality TV, and to a world cult of superficiality, money and vulgarity. All that indeed

cumulative.

entails business and voyeurism that we are just bored with, and which we, as intellectuals, don't want - officially anything to do with. Going over such a vision and its massive evidence, Robert van Krieken gives back to the phenomenon its structuring importance for social life, which allows him to speak about a 'celebrity society' (instead of the 'celebrity culture', used ever since Boorstin's analysis in The Image (Penguin, 1962)) – for similar reasons to those that made Elias to write about the 'court society'. If it is to be questioned that our society is totally shaped by the celebrity, at least 'you can learn a lot about a society by whom it chooses to celebrate' (Woody Allen, Celebrity, 1998, quoted p. 1), and it is not only true about present times.

Robert van Krieken's first aim is thus to overcome common obstacles - some of which he has personally shared – to explain celebrity's central character in contemporary society. So he analyses the crucial and often ambivalent functions it fills in many domains, be it politics, art or business. How ancient and complex is the process of 'celebritisation' of society? - were not Elizabeth I or Henry VIII real stars, embodying the main features of 'celebrities'? How far nevertheless did techniques and technologies play a great role in transforming the forms and roles of the celebrity? How multilevelled, constrained and constraining are the 'economics of attention'? How deeply 'political', too, is the global phenomenon particularly crucial, for example to enforcing imagined communities such as nation states by a shared experience of 'long distance intimacy': those are among other major points that Robert van Krieken's book succeeds in elucidating. Finally, this short and clever volume proposes much more than an unfinished introduction to the sociology of celebrity society, as its author modestly pretends. Rather, it brilliantly fulfils the demands of an historico-sociological approach, never abandoning a nuanced detached and though critical perspective: chapters 5 ('Celebrity in politics, diplomacy and development') and 7 ('Celebrity's future') illustrate this amazingly.

Confronting the general and concise

socio-political and processual approach of 'celebrity society' as a whole, Nathalie Heinich's recent research aims, successively, to conceptualise, to describe, to paint and to dissect what she considers as the original aspect of celebrity in current societies, where faces have replaced names: visibility. In that she partly continues to explore themes that have structured her major contributions on art in democracies (see notably *L'Élite artiste*. *Excellence* et singularité en régime démocratique (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), which find in this recent book a sort of very impressive completion.1 While taking into account the perspective opened by cultural studies, particularly the asymmetrical relation that partly characterizes celebrity, she too revises the concept of celebrity culture. Visibility is here considered as a 'capital' based on four criteria, which in combination attest the originality of the phenomenon (part I). The first is an extended (cognitive, interactional, hierarchical and emotional) recognition to which only celebrities can pretend and which is based on the diffusion on the largest scale of the celebrity's picture. The second criterion is the asymmetry or fundamental inequality between the recognised and those who recognise - also underlined by Robert van Krieken - which fully justifies talking about 'capital'. It entails, thirdly, a kind of aristocracy breaking with the traditional forms of domination and, as a fourth criterion, aiming at reconciling, the democratic equality principle with the need for models to admire and imitate.

And yet, more than establishing that innovation, in her own socio-historical approach, Nathalie Heinich is also interested in investigating elements of continuity related to celebrity. She especially underlines the links with even the most ancient forms of religious cult and the social (and psychological) functions it has long fulfilled, notably in the fields of identities and social cohesion, which Robert van Krieken questions too in a more socio-political way. Without neglecting any dimension of the phenomenon studied, Nathalie Heinich thus proposes a complete panorama of this 'total social fact'. At the same time,

this 'summary book' is perfectly served by a kind of ethnographical description, giving the floor to the people, stars and fans themselves, which makes the demonstration particularly living. She envisions the evolution of visibility (part II) and its distribution (part III) as a form of capital among different categories (royal families, politicians and sportsmen, creators and thinkers, singers, actors and models, TV stars, without forgetting faitsdivers (anti-)heroes. She continues with an analysis of economical and juridical management of the visibility capital (part IV), before envisioning a broad psycho-socio reflection on the meanings of visibility as an experience that is at the same time individual and collective, sensitive and imagined, affective and detached. The sixth and last part, 'Axiology of visibility', presents a challenging analysis of the ambivalences of visibility in terms of moral (anti-)values.

Once again, a critical approach requires reconsidering rapid, accepted but vain moral judgments. Both the phenomenon of the celebration of 'grace' (as distinguished from merit), for whatever reason be grace considered as such, and the un-assumed nature of the fandom phenomena have to be seriously taken into account. For at least one reason: as Robert van Krieken points out, there is even 'a thread of a particular kind of democratic ethos running through the accounts of reading and talking about celebrity gossip' (p. 91), and it is equally undeniable that celebrity watching is more and more providing part of the 'equipment of living' in a complex world - however we, as intellectuals, consider celebrities – be they politicians or 'teachers'.

In conclusion, both books demonstrate perfectly that an uncompromising, cold and lucid confrontation with the logics and mechanisms of the celebrity society can be highly stimulating intellectually. Let me add, following Robert van Krieken, that such deconstructions of a global and inescapable phenomenon are also potentially enabling and politically empowering, for the members of the celebrity society we all are.

Note

1 To find one's way around this big book, the reader may also refer to the 'Grand résumé', published by the author in the online journal *Sociologies* (http://sociologies.revues.org/4282).

■ FIGURATIONAL JOURNALS ONLINE

Special Journal Edition of *Human Figurations*,' Everyday practices and long

term-processes: Overcoming dichotomies with the work of Norbert Elias', vol.2, no.3, November 2013 is now online: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/humfig/11217607.0002.3*?rgn=full+text

Rineke van Daalen and Giselinde Kuipers, Editors' introduction: 'Everyday practices and long term-processes: Overcoming dichotomies with the work of Norbert Elias'

Nathalie Heinich 'Sublimating resentment: Following Elias along Five Paths toward Another Sociology'.

Abstract: My hypothesis is that the key position of most of Elias' works is: sublimating resentment. In order to sustain this hypothesis, I develop five key intellectual positions which both define his intellectual style and account for such a sublimation of resentment: the stress on interdependence rather than on domination; on relations rather than on substance; on contexts rather than on general entities; and on analytical description rather than on value judgment. Those five paths may lead us far from present time major trends in sociology.

Marta Bucholc 'Polish political refugees in Norway: Between the Established and the Outsiders'.

Abstract: The model of established and outsiders proposed by Norbert Elias is a useful analytical tool for comparing and contrasting different types of habitus. In this paper, I apply this model in a 2010-11 study based on twenty in-depth biographical interviews with Polish Solidarity refugees in Norway who left Poland as a result of the Martial

Law of 1981. In this qualitative, biographical research we managed to initiate extensive narratives on the imagery of the immigrant group. The key notion of my analysis is the "moral circle", an expression used by one of the interviewees in order to describe the differences in the scope and intensity of personal relations in Poland and Norway, as well as the standard of self-control applicable inside and outside it. My aim in this paper is to expand Elias' perspective by discussing the role which social imagination and cultural differences may play in the dynamics of relations between established and outsiders.

Rineke van Daalen 'Classroom preoccupations: The shadow of the past in Dutch vocational training'.

Abstract: This paper outlines the relevance of history for the understanding of everyday life at a lower vocational training school (VMBO) in Amsterdam in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Ideas, symbols and culture of the past remain alive as social memories, and they are employed and reconstructed by students and teachers alike. Echoes of the past loom large in the outsider

position of these schools and their students, resonating in their classroom interactions, in their thinking, feeling and acting. By combining Norbert Elias' process sociology with Erving Goffman's symbolic interactionism, I aim to show that these two perspectives complement each other and require each other to fully understand everyday social practices.

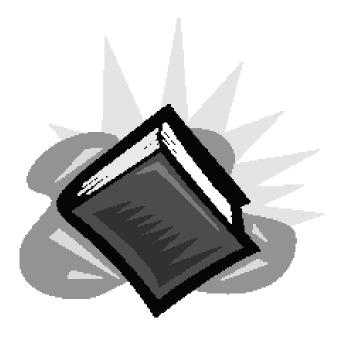
Don Weenink 'Decontrolled by solidarity: Understanding recreational violence in moral holidays'.

Abstract: This paper seeks to develop an understanding of 'recreational' youth violence against strangers in 'moral holidays'. These are enclaves in which youth seek to enjoy disorder and disruption. Drawing on Eliasian theory and Collins's micro-sociology of violence, it is argued that violent moral holidays share features of decivilization. First, youth positively sensitize one another towards violence. Second, absorbed in the group action, they become 'decontrolled by solidarity': their behaviour is guided much more by the group (social constraint) rather than by internal monitoring (self-restraint). Third, a process of desidentification was

identified, in which the identity of the victims was seen as merely futile, rather than bad or evil.

John Lever 'The postliberal politics of halal: new directions in the civilising process?'.

Abstract: This paper examines the emergence of postliberal halal politics in European societies. Building on research undertaken during the EU funded Dialrel project, it examines how the Malaysian state is inserting hegemonic claims into transnational space in order to dominate the international halal market. Moving beyond the idea of horizontally aligned networks of transnational power as the dominant framework for understanding social and economic change, the paper explores the complex interweaving of the large-scale macro processes and everyday micro practices underpinning the rise of Malaysia's postliberal halal strategy. It is argued that the processes of social and economic differentiation emerging as a result of these processes have the potential to be an important step in the global civilizing process. In conclusion, the paper discusses the implication of these developments for figurational sociology.



■ RECENT BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Reinhard Blomert, Adam Smiths Reise nach Frankreich oder die Entstehung der Nationalökonomie (Berlin: Die Andere Bibliothek, 2012). 311 pp. ISBN: 978-3-8477-0335-8

Adam Smith is seen as historical figure, a classic economist whose most quoted phrase is the 'invisible hand' as symbol for the functioning of 'the market': The Free Market, so the myth goes, delivers the best results in a society through the processes of buying and selling. Like an invisible hand the (free) market steers the interests of the participants of the economic processes to the general wealth. So he is positioned as the first economist of the bourgeois period, the age of capitalism.

But was Adam Smith really the hero of the market myth? Was he the founding father of bourgeois economics? Inventor of the liberal market principle of *laisser faire*? Of the dogma of egotistic motives leading to the common good?

A closer look shows that he was none of these. Belonging to the gentry and to the Scottish *noblesse de robe*, his ideas never transcended this social status; he was no free trade globalist, but a glowing patriot and euphoric

defender of the Navigations Act, the strongest contradiction to free trade, and a successful British measure in competing against the dominance of the Dutch maritime trade. Free trade for him was not a principle, but one of many political instruments to forming markets for the national good.

As a personal trait, egotism was something that disgusted him deeply as socially objectionable. He admired the French court society, teaching civilised manners and the gentleman-ideal of bipartisanship and social justice to his aristocratic audience, which had to be educated for political leadership.

So Adam Smith was anything but the propagandist of free market. He was a Professor of Moral Philosophy, who took his economic views mostly from the perspectives of his much admired French colleague François Quesnay, from whom he took basic insights, when he spent time in Paris as mentor of the Duke of Buccleuch on his tour to France, visiting the salons, where he met the proponents of the enlightenment from Diderot to d'Holbach, and also Quesnay and his 'sect of *économistes*'.

Adam Smith belonged to the court society, belonged to the circles of noblemen and their families (which included merchants and businessmen, as in Britain only the first son inherited the title), who gathered in Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, and looked in admiration to Paris as the centre of fashions, literature, philosophy and culture.

Especially interesting is the figure of the 'impartial spectator', which Adam Smith used to make clear that our behaviour is not simply egoistic, but compromised with empathy. We have an instance of this inside – the impartial spectator, or sometimes he calls it the inner judge, which constrains us to look at our behaviour from outside. It is an early notion of what Freud called the superego, used in the sense of Elias, who not by chance traced a crucial stage of its development to the court society. Adam Smith as a classical figure does not belong to bourgeois society – a society without aristocracy and general ethics, engaged in class struggles – but to the court society. He was a man of the Enlightenment, as he thought all men created equal, but knew also that social ways make people: there is no 'blue blood' and the biological endowment of people is

not different – the difference is made through the social ways of people in the society.

This also means that people's morals are different: merchants do not have the same education, and no impartial spectator inside, and their behaviour is egoistical and does not yield the general social interest, as Smith points out time and again. The market might be a good thing, as long as markets were framed by rules and directives set out by educated gentlemen. And merchants are not able to lead a country, because they look only for their profits, never for the general social interest. Society and economy are best regulated by kings (Smith was monarchist) and parliaments, where the general interest is located: with the gentlemen of the court society. That is because the social control of the court society - as we know from Elias – is very narrow: no one is less controlled than the king, and gentleman are observed all the time in this closely connected society.

Christian Postberg, *Macht und Geld: Über die gesellschaftliche Bedeutung monetärer Verfassungen* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2013). ISBN: 978-3-593-39863-1.

'What is the real use of the fork? It serves to lift food that has been cut up to the mouth. Why do we need a fork for this? Why do we not use our fingers? Because it is "cannibal" ... Why is it "cannibal" to eat with one's fingers? That is not a question; it is self-evidently cannibal, barbaric, uncivilised or whatever else it is called. But that is precisely the question. Why is it more civilised to eat with a fork?'

This excerpt from Norbert Elias's *On the Process of Civilisation* (2012 edn, p. 126) points to the difficulties in addressing objects and practices that have become self-evident for us. We regard them as 'natural' and do not come up with the idea of questioning their social function and meaning. In a similar way to the case of the fork, we could ask the function of money. This is useful because the examination of money follows clear principles: money has always been an undoubted component of the human life. In

connection with this, it is no wonder that Christian Postberg starts his work with a myth: 'Money is power'. The social significance of money seems not to be a question but a matter of course. Christian Postberg confronts this undoubtedness with the questions of 'why' and 'to what extent'. So he draws readers' attention to the point that money does not carry a constant social meaning in itself. He expresses the conviction that the power of money is not universally fixed. The power of money depends on different historical constitutions. In order to examine the relevance of money the author turns to perspectives of power, and takes a critical look to the different power approaches. He concludes that the theories of power from Weber to Foucault already suggest a mystical and transcendental use of power, because they regard power as a separate entity or as an available resource. The author pits a relational and processual idea of power against these conceptions. Since many theories of power attribute to it the character of a substance, they are not suitable for a consideration of the varying social significance of money. In the emphasis on the relational and process-related character of power by Norbert Elias, Postberg recognises a suitable approach to describe the meaning of money in his historical expressions.

With Elias, the author understands power as the balance of power or 'power ratio'. He places power balances in a tension between dependence and autonomy. At first, this tension leads Postberg to the various relationships of people and groups of people within a figuration. He calls the complex power relations among people a 'figurative balance of power'. Afterwards the author spells out Elias's approach on the relative autonomy of social processes, established in his sociology of knowledge, and integrates this link to the conception of power. In consequence, balances of power not only span the people of a figuration, but also between the figuration itself and the social process. Postberg designates this balance of power a 'process-related balance of power'. With this theoretical capacity, the effect of the two types of money that emerged over time

- namely plain money (in the thirteenth century) and credit money (in the twentieth century) is illuminated. It is asked: 'To what extent have there been significant shifts in the process-related balance of power, and how do these affect the figurative power relations within the network of interdepended people?' (p. 57). In compact chapters, the significance of plain money and credit money for figurations are drawn. Postberg describes the invention of plain money and credit money as changes of the process-related balance of power and works out the effect on the figurative balances of power. The exciting examination arrives at the conclusion: 'There were and are "winners" and "losers" in the respective monetary systems. In the thirteenth century, however, the figurative power shifts went together with a processrelated winning of autonomy for the figuration. Today's figurative power shifts are, in contrast, the cause and consequence of a loss of process-related autonomy' (p. 179).

Christian Postberg's book is an important book for two reasons. First, it offers an important figurational contribution to the issue 'money'. Until now, there have been only a few attempts to examine the question of the social significance of monetary orders. Secondly, it provides a theoretical discussion by making a promising differentiation of the Eliasian concept of power, which seems be also important in other contexts of meaning.

Hendrik Claas Meyer University of Bayreuth

Marta Bucholc, Samotność Długodystansowca: Na Obrzeżach Socjologii Norberta Eliasa ['The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner: On the margins of the Sociology of Norbert Elias'] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2013), 291pp. ISBN: 978-83-01-17350-0.

Marta Bucholc has written the best available introduction to the work of Norbert Elias in Polish, and it is the indispensable guide to the core of Elias's sociological work and beyond. Author's witty captions to each chapter leave the reader curious just from reading the list of contents of the book. Gems such as 'The bikini and fox hunting: entertainment', 'Swamps and garden fountains: ecology', 'Euthanasia and terrazzo: dying' and many more, leave the Polish reader curious and absorbed.

Not only does Bucholc present the corpus of Elias's main work concisely, but she also provides her readers with elaborations of some 'marginal' ideas that might prove to be more inspiring to the generations of young sociologists. The book explores the relevance of some of the Elias's ideas that might be considered more marginal, or not as profound as his main concepts, yet as the author argues, prove to be very relevant to current debates within sociology, and the new fields it engages with.

In her book, Bucholc pays homage to those areas of sociology that were once considered trivial and frowned upon as an object of study by 'serious sociologists'. As we all know, today the opposite trend is taking place, hence the emphasis on the importance of marginal interests of Norbert Elias by the author. This book revives topics such as dying, gender, entertainment, space or nature and places them in the mainstream sociology where they had always belonged.

Marta Bucholc writes with great wit and style, which makes what she has to say interesting and truly original. Her erudition and writing style makes this book extremely engaging and an essential reading for Polish speaking scholars and students of sociological theory.

Barbara Górnicka

Lar-Bo Kaspersen, *Denmark in the World* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel, 2013). 2812 pp. ISBN: 978-87-412-5535-4.

In his preface, Lars-Bo Kaspersen asks, 'Why publish a book in English about the development of the Danish state?' One possible answer, which he refrains from giving, is that with the recently discovered taste of the British for 'Scandinavian *noir*' television series, with BBC4 providing English subtitles for dramas in Danish including *The Killing* and (even more unexpectedly) *Borgen* – about fictionalised coalition politics in Denmark – there is a considerable curiosity about that country. For the notoriously insular, blinkered and xenophobic British, that is quite remarkable.

But there are also more staid and academic reasons for publishing the book. Kaspersen remarks that 'Denmark is an example of a small state that has developed quickly from a poor state and society based on a feudal agricultural structure with an absolutist and militaristic regime, to a developed, elaborate welfare state with an extended democracy ...'. Moreover, it recovered from a deep crisis in the 1970s and 1980s to respond very successfully to the exigencies of globalisation.

Denmark in the World covers Danish development from 1815 to the present. The book's thesis, inspired by Elias's notion of 'survival units', is that a state always develops in relation to the states with which it interacts. Rather than reflecting a particular Danish mentality, the so-called 'Danish model', with its comprehensive welfare system and solutions based on political consensus, reflects the conditions of existence created by the outside environment as well as the internal response.

Throughout the book, the focus is on events that have shaken Denmark and led to fundamental change. These include the crisis of 1864, when the Prussian-Danish war threatened the dissolution of the Danish state, and the two World Wars and the Cold War, during which Denmark, as a small state was forced to take a pragmatic stance in response to outside pressure. And not least was the period after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when increasingly close European co-operation and Denmark's involvement in the supposed 'War on Terror' produced entirely new conditions – possibly creating a crisis for the Danish tradition of consensual political solutions, civil liberties, openness and the welfare system.

Partly because of our longstanding concern with state-formation processes, figurational sociologists and political scientists seem to have cornered the market in studies of what used to be called 'national character'. Kaspersen's book deserves to stand alongside Johan Goudsblom's classic *Dutch Society* (1966).

SJM

Augustine Brannigan, Beyond the Banality of Evil: Criminology and Genocide (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013)

This book is premised on the idea that genocide is a crime, and that it can be comprehended by sound criminological theories and methods. However, in contemporary social science, the first important contribution to genocide studies originated with Stanley Milgram and his experimental studies of obedience to authority in the 1960s. There has been considerable re- evaluation of the original obedience paradigm since then, and a need to develop an approach that is better grounded intellectually. The book describes three paradoxes of genocide for criminology: the inauspicious motivation of the ordinary perpetrator, the frequent conventionalisation of atrocities which often put them beyond the rule of law, and the enormous dark figure of victimisation that resulted from this synergy. The book outlines the problems by which events are labelled, or fail to be labelled, as genocide, and proposes an explanation of them based on Elias's theories of civilizing and decivilising processes. Where Elias attributes the Holocaust to the reversion to barbarism, it is suggested instead that the evidence is more consistent with the development of an ethic of over-control, akin to pathological altruism, as described in Durkheim's typology of suicide. This perspective is applied to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and illustrates over-control through the concepts of administrative and ethnic 'closure'. The balance of the book describes the three legal responses to genocide and analogous behaviours: criminal indictment, civil reparations and truth commissions. Finally, it is proposed

that the key to genocide prevention is a renegotiation of the unbridled power of sovereigns.

Richard Kilminster, Praxis and Method: A Sociological Dialogue with Lukács, Gramsci and the Early Frankfurt School (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013). xii + 334 pp.

Kilminster's first book, first published in 1979, is reissued by Routledge as a facsimile hardback and as an ebook. An eventual paperback is planned.

Matt Clement, 'Criminal justice, corporate government and popular opposition', *Criminal Justice Matters* 93: 1 (2013), pp. 6–7.

Matt Clement has recently been taking a long-term view of the rioting phenomenon. This recent article in *Criminal Justice Matters* reflects upon current sociological debates on precarious employment and its apparent novelty. It contrasts the austere reality of life for the poorest figurations with the corporate security of the richest.

Gert Albert, 'Figuration und Emergenz [Figurational sociology and methodological relationalism], Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 65: 2 (2013), pp. 193–222.

Abstract: The paper reconstructs the methodology of Norbert Elias against the background of his ontology. Thereby Robert van Krieken's thesis, that Elias is a proponent of a 'third sociology', will be defended. His ontology shows that figurations are integrated wholes. Human beings form the parts of these wholes and necessarily build up social relations based upon their 'relational properties'. This model of social wholes builds the finishing part of a mereological ontology of layers of the natural and social world. Physical-chemical wholes can reductively explained, biological and sociological wholes are ontologically and epistemologically irreducible because of phenomena of emergence. This ontology of Elias serves as a background for his methodology, which does not favour individualist but moderate holist or

relationalist explanations. With a new definition of social emergence it can be shown that relations are central factors in the sociological explanations that can be found in Elias's historical—sociological studies.

Earl Gammon, 'The psycho- and sociogenesis of neo-liberalism', *Critical Sociology* 39: 4 (2012), pp. 511– 28

Abstract: This analysis examines the psycho-social pressures that gave rise to neo-liberal subjectivity in the 1970s, drawing insights from the work of Norbert Elias, Sigmund Freud and Georges Bataille. Specifically, it looks to new codes of shame regarding feelings of superiority that were developing with the civil and women's rights movements as pivotal in neo-liberalism's ascendancy. These codes of shame heightened psychical tensions for the normalized Fordist subject by making taboo entrenched registers of social hierarchy. The transition to neo-liberal subjectivity, with its emphasis on hyperindividualism and the increasing mediation of social relations by impersonal market forces, reflected a compensatory strategy for organizing selfhood. The neo-liberal subject, while nominally adhering to notions of political equality, sublimated aggression through a form of economic sociality that reinforced historical inequalities. As the article concludes, neo-liberalism is akin to a narcissistic neurosis, obstructing identification with others, and manifests itself in a dispassionate social destructiveness.

Mark Neocleous, 'The police of civilisation: the war on terror as civilising offensive', *International Political Sociology* 5 (2011), pp. 144–59.

This article deals with two contemporary issues: the return of 'civilisation' as a category of international power and the common refrain that war is now looking more and more like a police action. The article shows that these two issues are deeply connected. They have their roots in the historical connection between 'civilisation' and 'police'.

Through an exercise in the history of ideas as an essay in international political sociology, the article unravels the connection between these issues. In so doing, it suggests that a greater sensitivity to the broader police concept in the original police science might help us understand the war on terror as a civilizing offensive: as the violent conjunction of war and police.

John Connolly and Paddy Dolan

'The amplification and de-amplification of amateurism and professionalism in the Gaelic Athletic Association', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30:8 (2013), pp. 853–70.

Abstract: In this paper we explain how and why a specific ethos of amateurism was portrayed and embodied by various groups comprising the Gaelic Athletic Association in Ireland throughout its history. Interestingly, the discourse pertaining to amateurism has at times been de-amplified, instead being superseded by the vilification of professionalism. Since the 1970s, both amateurism and professionalism have been imbued with new meanings and interpretations by different social groups comprising the organisation. In tandem with this, both the discourses of professionalism and amateurism have been increasingly amplified. We explain how the structure of competitive and cooperative interdependencies, the we-identifications, tensions and insecurities generated by these, between groups at different levels of integration - social class, national, interorganisational and intra-organisational - underpin these social developments.

John Connolly and Paddy Dolan

'Re-theorizing the 'structure-agency' relationship: Figurational theory, organizational change and the Gaelic Athletic Association', *Organization* 20:4 (2013), pp. 491–511.

Abstract: This article illustrates how the figurational sociology associated with Norbert Elias provides an alternative theoretical framework for explaining the relationship between, 'individual—organisation—society' and organisational change, and in so doing transverses what is conceived as a false dichotomy between structure and agency. Through an historical case study of the Gaelic Athletic Association in Ireland, the 'individualorganisation-society' relationship is conceptualised as overlapping figurations and organizational change is explained as figurational dynamics - the shifting social interdependencies between the individuals and groups comprising an organisation, between that organisation and other organisations, between social groups on a higher level of integration and competition. In tandem with this, the article illustrates how changes in the sources of power and identity are connected with these figurational dynamics.

John Connolly and Paddy Dolan

'Sport, media and the Gaelic Athletic Association: the quest for the 'Youth' of Ireland', *Media Culture & Society* 34: 4 (2012), pp. 407-423.

Abstract: Social developments and related dynamic relationships connected with the sports-media complex is a recurrent focus of sociological investigation. However, in explaining developments in the relationship between sports associations and media organisations the specific structure of power relations between them and other related organisations is often given primacy. We argue that this negates how changes in people's social habitus - how people think feel and act - are interconnected with and critical to such explanations. Consequently, in this article we apply the theoretical frame of figurational sociology to demonstrate how the gradual development and expansion of specialist communications and media functions in a national sports organisation were impelled by several intertwined social processes. including changes in people's social habitus. Our empirical case study is based on one of the largest sporting and cultural organizations in Ireland, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). We explain how the GAA felt compelled to increasingly deploy a range of communications, media and marketing specialists in the struggle for media space and as a means to engage. understand and connect with the more nuanced tastes of Irish 'youth'.

Albert Bastardas-Boada

'Sociolinguistics: towards a complex ecological view', in Angels Massip-Bonet and Albert Bastardas-Boada (eds), Complexity Perspectives on Language, Communication and Society (Berlin: Springer, 2013), pp. 15–34. Abstract: As Norbert Elias pointed out, there is a need for new procedural models to get to grasp the complex functioning of human-beings-insociety. An ecological complexity approach could be useful to advance our knowledge. How can we think of a sociolinguistic 'ecosystem'? What elements do we need to put in such an ecosystem and what analogies could be applied? The (bio)ecological inspiration is a metaphorical exercise to proceed toward a more holistic approach in dynamic sociolinguistics. However, a language is not a species and, therefore, we need to make our complex ecology socio-cognitive and multidimensional. We need to create theories and represent to ourselves how language behaviour is woven together with its contexts in order to maintain language diversity and, at the same time, foster general human intercommunication on a planetary scale.

Albert Bastardas-Boada 'General linguistics and communication sciences: sociocomplexity as an integrative perspective', in Àngels Massip-Bonet and Albert Bastardas-Boada (eds), Complexity Perspectives on Language, Communication and Society (Berlin: Springer, 2013), pp. 151–73.

Abstract: The paradigmatic revolutions of the twentieth century demand that we reflect on our own paradigms in the light of the great changes in the other disciplines. The elements must not be represented as being outside those of the others, separate and independent, since the interdependencies and integrations are the foundation of reality. We need a dynamic 'ecologization' and 'complexification' of thinking, in order to consider the contexts of phenomena in an integrated manner with the phenomena themselves. We are unlikely to be able to understand human behaviour if we do not bring the mind-brain into the foreground of our analyses, as it is where reality is perceived, processed cognitively and emotively, and where

- consciously or otherwise - the courses of action that an individual takes are decided. A science that sees language not as an 'object' but from a (socio)complexity perspective has a much greater chance of succeeding in the task of making linguistic and communicative phenomena intelligible.

Artur Bogner and Dieter Neubert 'Negotiated peace, denied justice? The case of West Nile (Northern Uganda)', *African Spectrum* 3: 2013: x–xx.

Abstract: 'Reconciliation' and 'justice' are key concepts used by practitioners as well as authors of conflict management and peacebuilding textbooks. While it is often recognized that there may be contradictions between the implementation of justice and truth-telling, on the one hand, and an end to organisded violence, on the other, the ideal of a seamless fusion of these diverse goals is widely upheld by, among other things, the rather utopian concept of 'positive peace' (Galtung). One difficulty arises from the fact that discourses usually focus on post-conflict settings that resemble a victory of one party to a conflict, whereas peace settlements are often negotiated in a context more similar to a military or political stalemate – a more ambiguous and complicated scenario. This essay discusses these problems against the background of an empirical case study of the peace accord between the government and the rebels in the West Nile region in northwestern Uganda.

Bart van Heerikhuisen, 'Ik can het niet alleen' [I can't do it all alone], Sociologie 9:2 (2013), pp. 173-184. Cognitive networks are, just like economic and political networks. crucial for human survival. Time-tested academic cognitive networks will not fall apart under the pressures of innovations like webcams in the classroom, smartphones and tablets in the lecture hall or massively attended courses on the internet. The classic university lecture and the small seminar, where a teacher discusses literature with the students, will not disappear overnight. But contemporary universities should resist the seductive call to discontinue face-to-face

education and to change academic institutions into cost-efficient, entirely digital environments. On the other hand, they will have to develop new educational strategies that are better suited to a world in which some of the limitations of time and space have been lifted. Universities can learn from the example of new institutional arrangements for internet professional, like The London Hub, where the assets of face-to-face interaction are cleverly combined with the unprecedented advantages of the new digital technologies.

■ BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RETROSPECT

Gabriele Scheidegger, Perverses Abendland – barbarisches Russland: Begegnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Schatten kultureller Missverständnisse (Zürich: Chronos, 1993). 327 pp. ISBN: 3-905311-21-6.

Publisher's blurb: The image of the eternally backward Russia, lacking civil rule from the Renaissance, continues to shape thinking in the West and East. The template for this negative interpretation forms the western model, which is hardly ever consciously reconsidered. The author shows that it is possible even to reverse the angle of vision.

In Russian terms, the West is a 'special case', with its own distinctive path of development. So the late medieval and early modern crisis of the West appears in a new light, and the 'process of civilization' described by Norbert Elias acquires an extra dimension through cross-comparisons with Russia.

The book's focus is on concrete encounters between Russians and Western Europeans. Owing to the occurrence of 'cultural misunderstandings, which manifest themselves mostly in apparent trivialities and banal everyday details, the different systems of norms of both cultures are revealed.

An immense, multi-language body of source material is presented carefully, critically and concisely.

[Translation by Stephen Mennell, with a little help from Google Translate. Our thanks to Dr Katja Bruisch of the Deutsches Historisches Institut, Moscow, for drawing attention to this book, which antedates the first issue of *Figurations*.]

■ RECENT CONFERENCES

The civilising offensive (het burgerlijk beschavingsoffensief): prospects for future understanding, or an obsolete concept?

Sheffield Hallam University, 24 October 2013

It is over thirty years since the theoretical concept of the civilising offensive (het beschavingsoffensief) emerged from Amsterdam and the work of Norbert Elias (De Rooy, 1979; Kruithof, 1980). Since then a small but important number of studies, primarily focused on the Netherlands, have applied the concept to various historical civilising projects aimed at bringing about cultural shifts and inculcating lasting habits in working-class populations deemed to be 'immoral' or 'uncivilised'. More recently, a number of UK academics have sought to apply the concept to contemporary concerns related to welfare and social policies aimed at specific 'problematic' populations perceived to be in need of 'civilising'.

In response to these developments this symposium brought together a small number of academics from the Netherlands, the UK, Australia and Ireland who have (or are) engaged with the civilising offensive. The session sought to explore the origins and development of the concept, its relationship to Elias' civilisation process, and assess its continued relevance (or not) in the understanding of historical and contemporary social processes. Historians and geographers added an interdisciplinary angle and the attendance of colleagues from beyond the figurational school made for a diversity of perspectives and viewpoints. The range of participants also reflected the intergenerational development of the civilising offensive concept with a group of younger

scholars building on the existing knowledge base and applying it in new ways.

We were delighted by the positive response to our call. So much so that it was a particularly busy day with 11 papers given in all! After some initial technical difficulties, which were innovatively overcome thanks to Jason Hughes, the first session focused on the origins and development of the concept. Subsequent sessions engaged with the disparate themes of social class and 'problem' populations, childhood and education, and sport and leisure. Here is a list of the day's papers and participants:

Origins and development

Bernard Kruithof (University of Amsterdam)

The birth of a concept: het burgerlijk beschavingsoffensief – the bourgeois civilizing offensive

Ali de Regt (University of Amsterdam) Civilizing offensive: from sociological concept to moral appeal

Stephen Mennell (University College Dublin)

Decivilising processes and civilising offensives: between the emic and the etic

Social class and 'problem' populations

Matt Clement (University of Winchester)

Thatcher's civilising offensive: The Ridley Plan to decivilise the working class

Rob van Ginkel (University of Amsterdam)

Well-intended paternalism or uncivil class containment? The dynamics of cultural anxiety, moral panics, disciplining missions and civilizing offensives in post-war Holland *Gabriel van den Brink (Tilburg University)*

Hidden civilisation in urban areas

Childhood and education

Stephen Vertigans (Robert Gordon University)

Home from home: civilising offensives within residential childcare'? Paddy Dolan (Dublin Institute of Technology)

Balances between civilising processes

and offensives: adult-child relations in Irish primary schools from the mid-nineteenth century Robert van Krieken (University of Sydney)

From civilising offensives concerning children to 'the civilising of adults'

Sport, leisure and health

John Connolly (Dublin City University)
'We are not long-haired hippies ...'
Civilising offensives, doping and professional cycling

Jason Hughes (University of Leicester) 'No smoke without fire'? Moral panics, civilising offensives and the long-term development of tobacco use

This symposium highlighted the multiple meanings of the term in circulation in the Netherlands and its wider dissemination through the media and politics. The three speakers in the first session were in agreement over the need for clarity and caution in its sociological application given this fairly loose use of the term in some quarters. The less militaristic term 'civilising campaign', favoured by Joop Goudsblom in his excellent book *Fire and Civilization*, was preferred by some.

Despite ambivalences, health warnings and caveats the day showcased a sample of the wide range of research making use of the concept and its potential contribution alongside other theoretical tools, such as 'moral panic' and 'advanced marginality' for instance. Its application in understanding different aspects and contexts of childhood socialisation figured prominently, as did the importance of social class and established-outsider relations in the interpretation of civilising projects. The scope for crossnational, comparative research was also a recurring theme and it was hoped that this event may help provide an impetus for such comparative work in the future.

There was also a need to distinguish between the more 'benevolent' civilising offensives (such as that of the Dutch Society for Public Benefit detailed by Bernard Kruithof) and those which are more barbaric (such as that propagated against indigenous Australians as detailed by Robert van

Krieken). Finally, drawing on the work and terminology of Cas Wouters, there was a tentative but emergent consensus that civilising offensives have a greater impact where those 'pushing up from below' are receptive to the ideas of those 'pulling up' from above, and where the latter do not feel threatened by these shifts. Where rising groups are seen as threatening then there is greater scope for social conflict and upheaval and civilising offensives can take on a decidedly different character.

In the evening, after a well-earned drink, we re-convened in the Milestone restaurant in Sheffield's former industrial area of Kelham Island, where Yorkshire delicacies were sampled with delight, by natives and non-natives alike!

We would like to thank the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) for the funding support provided. A special thank you must also go to Emma Smith for her impeccable organisation and administrative support for the conference. Thanks also to Tom Shore for his assistance on the day and for choosing a delightful restaurant. Finally, we wish to thank all the participants for contributing to such an engaging and successful day.

Bernard Kruithof and Ryan Powell

Workshop on Eliasian Perspectives on Early Childhood

School of Management, University of Leicester, 28 November 2013

This workshop was organised by Norman Gabriel and John Goodwin, with the financial support of the School of Management, University of Leicester. Unfortunately, Norman – who was to have been the keynote speaker – was unable to attend because of illness in the family. Nonetheless it was a useful meeting with 12 colleagues in attendance. Professor Eric Dunning shared useful insights into Elias and our work – especially making the point that we cannot consider childhood in isolation of everything else.

We had a day of useful discussions and information exchange including presentations on the significance of Elias's Young Worker project for the study of childhood, a useful discussion of civilising offensives led by Jason Hughes and Paddy Dolan and an excellent paper by Laura Gilliam and Eva Gulløv exploring the civilising aims of child instructions in Denmark. It was also clear there was significant interest in parenting and childhood.

At the end to the meeting, it was agreed that:

- 1 We should establish a 'Childhood' group within the Figurational Research Network. A name such as 'Eliasian Perspectives on Childhood Group' (EPCG) would be useful. Suggestions welcome.
- 2 That we should meet regularly if possible. Our next meeting might possibly be in Copenhagen.
- That we develop a research agenda around three core activities. First, a proposal for a special edition of a journal (John Goodwin volunteered to start this process and will draft a rationale/call for papers). Second, a small research funding bid. Eva and Laura have agreed to start this process. Third, building on this activity, we look to develop a larger research funding bid to the EU Horizons 2020 initiative. It was suggested that we could explore childhood and parenting as one 'work package' of a much larger research bid from colleagues within the Figurational Research Network.
- 4. We need to establish a central point (such as a wiki or blog) to begin to share and develop our ideas. John Goodwin will explore this and circulate details shortly.

Symposium: 'Wo denken wir hin?'

University of Hanover, 30 November–1 December 2013

In honour of Hans-Peter Waldhoff (HWP), who celebrated his sixtieth birthday on 14 November 2013, a symposium was held in Hannover under the title 'Wo denken wir hin?' It was dedicated to Waldhoff's academic work, in which he has demonstrated how thinking about civilising processes involves the civilising of our techniques of thinking as well. Around 120 colleagues took part in the event.

Hermann Korte brought hearty greetings and good wishes from the board of the Norbert Elias Foundation, which gave financial support to the symposium. In a short laudation, he paid tribute to Waldhoff's wide and thoughtful writings, and thanked him for his collaboration in the Elias Gesammelten Schriften and for his

editing the writings of his teacher, the late Peter Gleichmann, in the book *Soziologie als Synthese* [see *Figurations* 26].

The opening lecture was given by Oskar Negt, one of the icons of the left in Germany. He was a colleague of Peter Gleichmann's, and in his lecture on 'Europe as a learning project' he demonstrated a sound knowledge of the works of Norbert Elias. The theme of 'learning processes' followed that of civilising processes in contributions by, among others, Cas Wouters, Elçin Kürsat, Helmut Kuzmics and Bernd Sommer.

In the evening Hans-Peter Waldhoff's friends and the contributors to the conference had dinner in an outstanding Syrian restaurant, to the delight of the figurati.

On the Sunday, there were intensive discussions on themes related to two further aspedts of Waldhoff's

writings: Group Analysis and migration processes.

Hans-Peter Waldhoff is planning a publication based on the lectures and discussions at the symposium. *Figurations* will report on that in due course.



■ FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

From the Past to the Present and towards Possible Futures: The Collected Works of Norbert Flias

College Court, University of Leicester 20–22 June 2014

Abstracts are flowing in for what promise to be a large conference, but, owing to some difficulties in the submission of abstracts that arose over the Christmas period, the deadline has been extended to 31st January, 2014.

Craig Calhoun, Director of the London School of Economics, will give the opening address at the conference. Other plenary lectures will be given by Behrouz Alikhani, Marta Bucholc, Marc Joly, Johan Goudsblom, Bowen Paulle and Abram de Swaan.

Here is a short version of the call for papers that appeared in *Figurations* 39; for further details, see the full version at: www.eliasconference.com

Call for papers

'One cannot ignore the fact that every present society has grown out of earlier societies and points beyond itself to a diversity of possible futures.'

'Today we have basically lost the ability to think of a future. Most people do not want to go beyond their present – they do not like to see themselves as a link in the chain of generations'

Norbert Elias, 1987

In 2014 the eighteenth and final volume of the Collected Works of Norbert Elias in English will be published by University College Dublin Press.¹

The mammoth undertaking, in association with the Norbert Elias Foundation, Amsterdam, and under the stewardship of Professor Stephen Mennell, has taken a decade to bring to fruition. It brings together the entire corpus of Elias's works, featuring many writings previously unpublished

1 See the list of volumes at the end of this call for papers.

or not hitherto translated into English, faithfully representing his core ideas and his overall sociological position.

The conference marking the completion of the whole project will appropriately be held at the University of Leicester, where Elias lived and taught from 1954 to 1977. It both honours Elias's association with the University of Leicester, and recognises the widespread, international and interdisciplinary interest in his work, and its resurgence within the University and more generally within the human sciences.

Craig Calhoun, Director of the London School of Economics, has agreed to give the opening address.

The conference is organised around some of Elias's key works: On the Process of Civilisation; What is Sociology?; The Established and the Outsiders; Quest for Excitement; and Essays I: On the Sociology of Knowledge and the Sciences.

Despite its focus on the Collected Works of Elias, the spirit of this event is one of openness to, and dialogue with, competing sociological positions. It will pose questions including:

- How might Elias's work be employed to address some of the challenges of the human sciences in the twenty-first century?
- In what different ways have Elias's ideas been employed, extended, revised, critically interrogated and applied, and in relation to which fields?
- To what extent does Elias's work provide a means of redressing the fragmentation of the human sciences and, especially, reintegrating sociologists who have intellectually migrated to different, increasingly diverse, specialisms and sub-disciplines?
- Is Elias's critique of sociologists'
 'retreat into the present' still valid
 today? What role might Elias's
 work have in the more general
 'relational turn' that has become a
 major topic of discussion in recent
 years?
- Is it possible to reconcile Elias's

- 'figurational' sociological practice marked by its emphasis on long-term processes and its caution regarding the intrusion of 'heteronomous values' with the institutional demands for short-term 'impact', 'accountability', and the increasing emphasis on the short-term practical and monetary value of social scientific research for specific 'user groups'?
- Can Elias's approach be squared with recent calls for a more 'public' sociology, and indeed, more explicitly politicallyinvolved and directed 'partisan' scholarship'?

In addition to a series of postgraduate workshops and keynote presentations on these and related central concerns, the conference will feature five parallel streams organised according to Elias's key works as follows:

On the Process of Civilisation Civilising processes, decivilising processes, 'dyscivilising' processes and debates about processual 'directions' Violence, war, terror and international relations in long-term developmental perspective Sociogenetic and psychogenetic relationships Critiques, revisions and extensions to Elias's magnum opus (Contributors may also wish to refer to related works, such as The Court Society, Humana Conditio and Essays II: On Civilising Processes, State Formation and National Identity)

What is Sociology?
Power, figurations, interdependence, and theoretical debates about them Sociogenesis of sociology and the concept of 'society'
Game models and relational thinking Structure/agency and the society of individuals
(Contributors may also wish to refer to related works, such as The Society of Individuals and Essays III: On Sociology and the Humanities)

Essays I: The Sociology of Knowledge and the Sciences Knowledge and scientific establishments The politics of figurational sociology Problems of method and methodology Unplanned long-term processes *versus* planning and policy

Prospects for a grand synthesis of history, psychology and the social sciences

Elias's sociological practice (Contributors may also wish to refer to related works, such as *Involvement and Detachment* and *The Symbol Theory*)

Quest for Excitement
Sport, social bonding and violence
Mimetic and leisure activities
Work, leisure and consumption
Gender, power and identities in the
spare time spectrum

The Established and the Outsiders Community studies and community relations

Blame and praise gossip in the formation of communities Developments in established—outsider relations theory

Ethnicity, migration and locality

Abstracts of no more than **500 words** for the conference should be submitted to john.goodwin@le.ac.uk and jason. hughes@le.ac.uk not later than **31 December, 2013**

Abstracts must:

Specifically address one or more of the conference themes (and specify preferred stream) Include details of institutional affiliation Be written in English, since all presentations will be in English

Abstracts received after the closing date will *not* be considered. Registration for the conference will open 3 February 2014.

Conference organisers: Jason Hughes and John Goodwin, University of Leicester.

Further information about the Collected Works of Norbert Elias
Besides containing many texts never before published in English, or not published at all, the Collected Works contain new editions, extensively amended, annotated and cross-referenced. Intending contributors to the conference are recommended to consult the new editions.

- 1. Early Writings
- 2. The Court Society
- 3. On the Process of Civilisation
- 4. The Established and the Outsiders (with John L. Scotson)
- 5. What is Sociology?
- 6. The Loneliness of the Dying and Humana Conditio
- 7. Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process (with Eric Dunning)
- 8. Involvement and Detachment
- 9. An Essay on Time
- 10. The Society of Individuals
- 11. Studies on the Germans
- 12. Mozart and Other Essays on Courtly Art
- 13. The Symbol Theory
- 14. Essays I: On the Sociology of Knowledge and the Sciences
- 15. Essays II: On Civilising Processes, State Formation and National Identity
- 16. Essays III: On Sociology and the Humanities
- 17. Interviews and Autobiographical Reflections (Autumn, 2013)
- 18. Supplements and Index to the Collected Works (Spring 2014)*

For further information, see the UCD Press website: www.ucdpress.ie.

■ CONTRIBUTIONS TO FIGURATIONS

The next issue of *Figurations* will be mailed in July 2014. News and notes should be sent by 1 May 2013 to the Editors at figurations@norberteliasfoundation.nl.

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Contributions should preferably be e-mailed to the Editor in the form of MS Word (.doc or .docx), Rich Text (.rtf), plain text (.txt) or Open Office Text (.odt) files. Do not use embedded footnotes. Hard copy is accepted reluctantly. Photographs should be submitted in JPEG format

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Graphic Design and Desktop Publishing: Annette van de Sluis. Printed by MultiCopy, Weesperstraat 65, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

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