

Figurations

Newsletter of the Norbert Elias Foundation

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■ OUTGOING EDITOR'S NOTE

Alex, Leon and I have supposedly edited this issue of *Figurations* jointly, but in practice I have done little except given bits of advice and done some copy-editing (that being now my default setting). I thank them for their enthusiasm and the renewed vigour they bring to the enterprise.

The then Board of the Norbert Elias Foundation – Joop Goudsblom, Hermann Korte and Bram van Stolk – asked me to edit a twice-yearly newsletter not long after my arrival in Dublin following a sojourn in Australia. The first, very slim, issue appeared in time for the 1994 ISA World Congress of Sociology in Bielefeld. Little did I imagine that I would still be editing it 28 years later. Nor how thick it would grow to be. Nor, of course, did I foresee the full impact of the Internet, which was then in its infancy. For most of its history, *Figurations* was printed and posted, expensively, by means of what we now refer to as 'snail mail'.

The Elias sessions at the 1994 World Congress were extremely well attended, and had something of the atmosphere of a revivalist meeting. That may have been in part because, as Hermann Korte memorably put it, four years after Elias's death 'his theory can be made part of the canon, without the danger of finding oneself publicly corrected by its author'.

The extent to which Elias has since then entered the canon, however, is still hard to credit. When I first encountered him in about 1970, he seemed scarcely to be known by sociologists who (like me) were outside the circle of his personal acquaintance, mainly in Leicester and the universities such as Münster and Amsterdam where he had begun to hold visiting professorships. Now the network of sociologists – but also historians, psychologists, criminologists, political scientists and many others – using his ideas in their research spreads across the continents. It has become quite difficult to keep track of all the resulting publications: one of the articles listed under ‘Bibliographical Retrospect’ dates back to when we missed it 25 years ago, though our policy is generally only to attempt such catch-ups for about the last five years.

In my editorial in the first issue of *Figurations*, I stressed that it was not our intention ‘to foster a cult of the dead’. Elias certainly would have disapproved of any tendency towards ancestor worship. He always wanted to see his ideas *applied* in social research and in ‘improving the human means of orientation’. That, I think we have achieved, to some extent, in our collective endeavours across the world.

I wish finally to thank my three Assistant Editors over the years: Aoife Rickard Diamond, Katie Liston and Barbara Górnicka. Barbara, of course, rose through the ranks to be Managing Editor, and finally Editor herself. Without them, we would not have reached issue 56.

Stephen Mennell

■ INCOMING EDITORS’ NOTE

It has been an absolute pleasure to work with Stephen on this issue and to learn how the newsletter comes together. We have been amazed by the amount of information that is sent to us for inclusion. We would like to express our appreciation to the hard work that has gone into editing the newsletter for the past few years.

The *Figurations* newsletter chronicles a multidisciplinary, multigenerational intellectual exchange. It is also a communications conduit that assists a diverse range of readers to connect with each other, and with the Norbert Elias Foundation, through learning about people, events, and recent or past publications. The wide variety of research reported in the newsletter shows some exciting possibilities to expand our scholarship and readership.

As new editors, we are keen to engage with as many readers as possible, and looking forward to continually reporting your research achievements in forthcoming issues.

Best Wishes,

Alexander and Wai (Leon)

■ PEOPLE



Angela Perulli has been promoted to full Professor in the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Florence.

Matt Clement has joined the Department of Law and Criminology at Royal Holloway University of London as a Senior Lecturer in Criminology.

■ FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Long-Term Processes in Human History: A Tribute to Johan Goudsblom

Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), Kloveniersburgwal 29, 1011JV Amsterdam, 17–19 March 2022.

Throughout his scholarly life, sociologist Johan Goudsblom (1932–2020) was occupied with the study of long-term social processes. For him, ‘historical sociology’ was not a special branch of sociology, but at the core of sociology in general. Recognizing the work of Norbert Elias as providing the foundations for a new, dynamic, processual and developmental approach in sociology and elaborating on Elias’s theory of civilizing processes, Goudsblom also aimed to go ‘beyond Elias’ by extending the scope of study from a focus on European developments since the Middle Ages to human history as a whole. In *Fire and Civilization* (1992), he identified the control of fire as the first great ‘ecological transformation’ in human history, which gave human groups a decisive power advantage over other animals and was basic to two subsequent great ecological transformations – the transition from gathering and hunting to agriculture and pasture, and the invention and spread of mechanical industry. In this and other work, he synthesized sociology, anthropology and history, transgressing disciplinary boundaries. In later publications he extended the empirical and theoretical scope of study even further by linking human sociocultural developments to the biological evolution that preceded and accompanied these developments. Here, Goudsblom combined historical social science with insights from the natural sciences, particularly evolutionary theory.

In this endeavour, Goudsblom’s work can be regarded as part of an intellectual movement to integrate history, the social sciences and the natural sciences in order to enhance our understanding of human social life from a long-term perspective.



Johan Goudsblom in Conversation with Andrew Linklater. This photo was taken during one of the lunch breaks at the December 2018 Global Interdependencies conference in Brussels. In part, it represents what has been lost in the time since, not only Joop himself but also the chance to converse and exchange ideas face to face. You cannot hear the conversation, yet from the expressions on the faces you can feel the exchange. Alexander Mack.

As a tribute to Goudsblom's work, an international conference will be held in Amsterdam 17–19 March 2022, which will deal with basic problems concerning the explanation and understanding of long-term social processes. The approach will be theoretical, aiming at generalisations and explanations, rather than descriptive. Yet we prefer contributions in which the theorizing is firmly grounded in empirical data.

A selection of papers will be published in a special journal issue, which is planned to appear at the end of 2022.

The conference will start in the afternoon of 17 March, which marks the second anniversary of Johan Goudsblom's death. The first part of the conference will be devoted to Goudsblom's life and work. Stephen Mennell will give the opening address, to be followed by other contributions. On the next two days, Friday 18 and Saturday 19 March, various topics

related to the conference theme will be discussed, both in plenary and in parallel sessions. Invited keynote speakers are, among others, David Christian, Randall Collins Richard Sennett and John McNeill.

The conference will be held in the Trippenhuis, home of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), in the centre of Amsterdam. The closing date for offering papers has now passed. So has the official date for registering simply to attend the conference, but if you missed earlier announcements and would still like to come along, please email contact@goudsblom-conference.com. Provided that Covid-19 social distancing rules permit, we shall endeavour to accommodate late registrants. It will also be possible for unlimited numbers to follow the proceedings online, but you must register (via the same email address) in order to do so.

'Norbert Elias and...' – On the 125th Birthday of a Classical Social Scientist

Classroom event at the University of Passau, 24–25 June 2022

Organised by Thorsten Benkel and Matthias Meitzler

Norbert Elias's rank as a sociological classic is undisputed. The 125th anniversary of his birth falls on 22 June 2022. This anniversary will serve as the occasion for a workshop dedicated to the sub-disciplinary connectivity of Elias' thought. The event 'Norbert Elias and...' will serve to exchange views on various aspects of Elias's oeuvre, which ranges from the first philosopher's works to the late sociological studies of knowledge. No doubt, *On the Process of Civilisation* is Elias's most influential book, but this is contrasted by numerous thematically heterogeneous publications, without whose consideration the sociologist

Elias cannot be fully grasped. This applies not least to the experiences and upheavals in his biography.

Lectures with subsequent discussion are planned that take up various aspects or discourses that are of particular relevance in Elias's work and contextualise them in terms of their general sociological significance or their current social status. Thus, for example, it can be about Elias and the state, Elias and the body, Elias and sport, Elias and gender, and so on.

Proposals are invited that can be theoretical, methodological or empirical in nature and take their starting point in the work of Norbert Elias. The event will take place on 24/25 June 2022 at the University of Passau. Unfortunately, costs cannot be covered.

Please send your proposal (approximately half a page outlining the topic and its relation to Elias) to the following addresses by 31 January 2022: thorsten.benkel@uni-passau.de or matthias.meitzler@uni-passau.de.

Feedback will be given promptly.

Postponement: The Fantasy–Reality Continuum: Science, Religion, Politics, Culture

This conference, for which a call for papers appeared in *Figurations* 55, was due to take place at the University of Warsaw on 1–3 September 2022. But in view of the continuing Covid-19 pandemic and other uncertainties, we have decided to postpone it until a later date, probably in December.

The format is still to be decided. It may be hybrid or online.

We are aiming to be able to announce more definite arrangements at the close of the conference on long-term social processes on commemoration of Joop Goudsblom in March.

We believe this topic remains extremely important, both highly relevant to the crises of the contemporary world and central to Elias's thinking. Below

we reprint our basic rationale for the conference.

Please bear this in mind and stand ready for when, we hope before too long, we are able to announce a new date and revised arrangements.

Marta Bucholtz, Katie Liston, Stephen Mennell

The topic

The idea of the fantasy–reality continuum plays a key part in Elias's sociological theory of knowledge and the sciences. The struggle to achieve relatively more 'reality-congruent' knowledge has been closely bound up with long-term civilising processes, and notably the gradual reduction of levels of everyday danger and corresponding fears. In Europe at least, the gathering pace of the natural sciences involved breaking the church's historic monopoly over the means of orientation. At the same time, the social organisation of the sciences brought with it relatively strong controls over the scope of fantasy. Elias recognised that the curbs on emotion and fantasy were relatively weaker in the realm of politics, and weaker still in the field of cultural creativity. Among the human fantasies investigated by Elias were utopias of politics, science, and literature. They were, he argued, 'desired or feared fantasy representations' of possible solutions to social problems, social tensions, and conflicts. And each utopia had a function. He said that he sought his own outlet for fantasy in his poetry. If he wrote less explicitly about religion it was, as Andrew Linklater has argued, because he subsumed it under culture – or, less statically, the group means of orientation – and the use of symbols in human life more generally.

This has suddenly become of great contemporary practical and political relevance. The curbs on the free exercise of fantasy have seemed suddenly to be much weaker. As indeed so have, in politics especially, the curbs on untruthfulness: it is now more possible to get away with consciously telling lies, possibly with the intention of promoting fantastic beliefs for other people. The Trump presidency and Brexit are examples of world events in which it has not been as possible as before to take for granted

the effectiveness of social controls over standards of evidence and truth in debates. Even scientific expertise has been affected, as witness, for example, the denial of climate change and the strength of 'anti-vax' fantasies.

In all this, the new social media have apparently played a decisive part. At first seen as a possible step towards greater 'democracy', they now appear to have fostered in some quarters an extreme individualistic belief that 'anything goes'.

We hope this topic will stimulate the wide range of people working under the inspiration of Norbert Elias. It is anticipated that there will be five streams: on science, religion, politics, culture, as well as a general stream.

Call for Papers, Special Issue of Historical Social Research: Law and (De) Civilisation

In this thematic issue, we will be challenging the 'naively functionalist' view of law, which prevails in continental socio-legal studies. It consists in thinking of law as 'normally' beneficial for social integration and individual well-being, with any effects to the contrary being regarded as 'pathologies': If law is associated with inequalities increasing, minorities being excluded, levels of aggression rising, or democratic institutions failing, this is understood as a malfunction of law's normal operation, which simply requires correcting. However, evidence now abounds for more ambiguous cases in societies thus far seemingly moving towards more regulation and pacification, which have been displaying a rise in violence against minorities, police brutality, hostility to strangers, and general insecurity. While some of these phenomena are related to failures of the legal order, in many cases law seems in fact instrumental in their facilitation. The aim of this special issue is to explore such cases.

An invaluable, and yet little tapped into, resource for understanding these situations is Norbert Elias's concept of the co-existence of civilization as an

internal pacification of society resulting from increasing complexity and strength of internal interdependencies between social actors and decivilization resulting from the breakdown, reversal, or contradictory operation of processes of civilization (van Krieken 1999; Delmotte 2010): There are times and societies in which law appears to be playing a central role in processes of decivilization as well as civilization, and this special issue aims at taking this ambiguity seriously. To that goal, it will feature a selection of the more innovative research projects that draw attention to these developments and what they mean for theorization in law and society research more broadly.

Our main focus will be on what Norbert Elias referred to as the ‘Janus face’ of the state as a default lawmaker of modernity, as well as on the regional (e.g., European) and global frames in which new forms of law emerge and clash with the state regulatory power, with ambiguous civilizational outcomes. Moreover, while the main framework of the proposed thematic issue is inspired by Eliasian sociology of social processes, we invite authors representing various disciplines and research approaches to the problem of law and civilization to cover a broad range of research questions from different theoretical angles and historical contexts. These include the question of how the interrelationships of processes of civilization and decivilization are bound up with expanding the legal regimes of international law and human rights, commercial, labour and welfare law, and constitutional law. We also invite contributions on the development of the legal professions and institutions, on legal integration and disintegration, as well as the entanglement of law with colonialism and genocide. We particularly invite papers offering novel theoretical insights and empirical approaches to the long-term processes of socio-legal change; comparative studies are especially welcome.

The deadline for submission of abstracts (approx. 3,000 characters / 500 words) is mid-March 2022. In late March 2022, the authors of the abstracts selected by the guest editors will be

invited to submit their full papers (35,000–65,000 characters / 6,000–11,000 words) by the end of August 2022. Guest editors will comment on the articles and, if need be, ask for revisions/corrections. To that aim, an online authors’ workshop will be held in September 2022 in order to discuss the papers, and to ensure maximal coherence and cross-referentiality of the individual contributions. After the workshop, revised submissions will be due by 15 October 2022 to be sent out to the reviewers. Final versions of all accepted submissions will be due by 15 January 2023.

For more information, please read the official Call for Papers. Should you have any questions, please contact Marta Bucholc (bucholcm@is.uw.edu.pl).

Please submit your proposal (max. 3,000 characters) by mid-March 2022 by e-mail to either Marta Bucholc (bucholcm@is.uw.edu.pl) or Hugo Canihac (hugo.canihac@usaintlouis.be).

■ RECENT EVENTS

Nestar Russell, (2021). ‘Stanley Milgram’s Obedience to Authority Experiments and Norbert Elias’s Civilizing Process: A Disconcerting Connection to the Holocaust’, *Social Psychology and the Holocaust*, University of Toulouse, 2–3 December 2021. <https://sph.hypotheses.org/rereading-milgram>

■ FIGURATIONAL JOURNALS ONLINE

Human Figurations – Long-term Perspectives on the Human Condition Volume 9, Issue 1 (Summer 2021) https://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/humfig/11217607.0009.1?*rgn=full+text Although this latest issue of *Human Figurations* was mentioned in [Issue 55](#). The actual URLs were not finalised at the time. We are pleased to report that all of the articles are now online and can be read at your leisure. Many thanks to Co-Editors Barbara Górnicka, Russell Ó Ríagáin, Ryan Powell, and the article authors for all of their efforts.

APOV: Who are you looking at?
Tom Shakespeare
Professor of Disability Research at the International Centre for Evidence in Disability, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.102>

What does disability bring to sociology?
Dan Goodley and Katherine Runswick-Cole
iHuman, University of Sheffield
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.103>

Gossip, Control and Community: Figurational Explorations in Sociological Criminology
Rachel Swann
School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University
Steve Meredith
independent scholar
Gordon Hughes
School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.104>

Turning Against Neighbours: The Fortification of the United Kingdom in Representations of Internalised Movements by Non-UK EU Citizens During the Early Twenty-First Century
Alexander Mack
Independent Researcher, Brisbane, Australia.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.105>
The Redefinition of Legitimate Violence in Combat Sports: The Case of MMA in the USA and Europe
Raúl Sánchez García
Universidad Politécnica de Madrid-INEF
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.106>

More than a single footnote: Connecting Alexis de Tocqueville and Norbert Elias
Wiebren J. Boonstra
Department of Earth Sciences, Uppsala University
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.107>

Foreword to William H. McNeill

(1986) *De pest in de geschiedenis*, trans. Tinke Davids. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderpers, pp. 7–10.

Johan Goudsblom (†)

University of Amsterdam

Translated by Robert van Krieken

University of Sydney/University

College Dublin

[http://hdl.handle.net/2027/](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.108)

[spo.11217607.0009.108](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.108)

Raúl Sánchez García (2019) *The Historical Sociology of Japanese Martial Arts*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Reviewed by Dieter Reicher

Dept. of Sociology, University of Graz, Austria.

[http://hdl.handle.net/2027/](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.109)

[spo.11217607.0009.109](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0009.109)

■ RECENT BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Jocelyne Cesari, *We God's People: Christianity, Islam and Hinduism in the World of Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021). ISBN:9781108554466. <http://www.cambridge.org/9781108429290>

From the Publisher: Cesari argues that both religious and national communities are defined by the three Bs: belief, behaviour and belonging. By focusing on the ways in which these three Bs intersect, overlap or clash, she identifies the patterns of the politicization of religion, and vice versa, in any given context. Her approach has four advantages: firstly, it combines an exploration of institutional and ideational changes across time, which are usually separated by disciplinary boundaries. Secondly, it illustrates the heuristic value of combining qualitative and quantitative methods by statistically testing the validity of the patterns identified in the qualitative historical phase of the research. Thirdly, it avoids reducing religion to beliefs by investigating the significance of the institution-ideas connections, and fourthly, it broadens the political approach beyond state-religion relations to take into account actions and ideas conveyed in other arenas such as education, welfare, and culture.

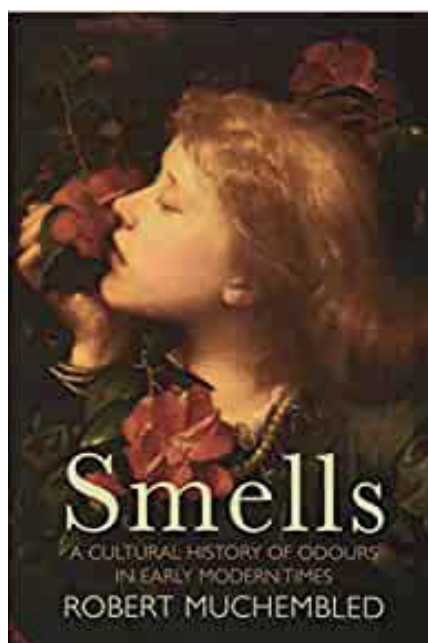
Robert Muchembled, *Smells: A Cultural History of Odours in Early Modern Times*

Trans. Susan Pickford.

(Cambridge: Polity, 2020). ISBN:

978-1-509-53678-8.

From the Publisher: In this major new book Robert Muchembled restores smell to its rightful place as one of our most important senses and examines the transformation of smells in the West from the Renaissance to the beginning of the nineteenth century. He shows that in earlier centuries, the air in towns and cities was often saturated with nauseating emissions and dangerous pollution. Having little choice but to see and smell faeces and urine on a daily basis, people showed little revulsion; until the 1620s, literature and poetry delighted in excreta which now disgust us. The smell of excrement and body odours were formative aspects of eroticism and sexuality, for the social elite and the popular classes alike. At the same time, medicine explained outbreaks of plague by Satan's poisonous breath corrupting the air. Amber, musk and civet came to be seen as vital bulwarks against the devil's breath: scents were worn like armour against the plague. The disappearance of the plague after 1720 and the sharp decline in fear of the devil meant there was no longer any point in using perfumes to fight the forces of evil, paving the way for the olfactory revolution of the 18th

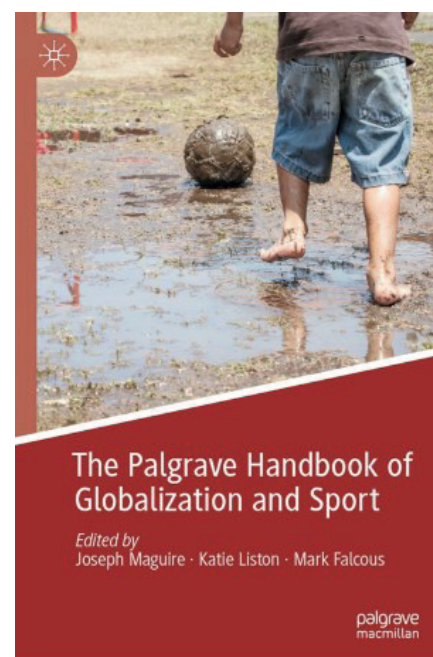


century when softer, sweeter perfumes, often with floral and fruity scents, came into fashion, reflecting new norms of femininity and a gentler vision of nature.

Joseph Maguire, Katie Liston & Mark Falcous eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Globalization and Sport* (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2021).

DOI: [https://doi.](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56854-0)

[org/10.1057/978-1-137-56854-0](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56854-0)



From the Publisher: This handbook illustrates the utility of global sport as a lens through which to disentangle the interconnected political, economic, cultural, and social patterns that shape our lives. Drawing on multidisciplinary perspectives, it is organized into three parts. The first part outlines theoretical and conceptual insights from global sport scholarship: from the conceptualization and development of globalization theories, transnationalism and transnational capital, through to mediasport, roving coloniality, and neoliberal doctrine. The second part illustrates the varied flows within global sport and the ways in which these flows are contested, across physical cultures/sport forms, identities, ideologies, media, and economic capital. Diverse topics and cases are covered, such as sport business and the global sport industry, financial fair play, and global mediasport. Finally, the third part explores various aspects of global sport development and

governance, incorporating insights from work in the Global South. Across all of these contributions, varied approaches are taken to examine the ‘power of sport’ trope, generating a thought-provoking dialogue for the reader.

Featuring an accomplished roster of contributors and wide-ranging coverage of key issues and debates, this handbook will serve as an indispensable resource for scholars and students of contemporary sports studies.

Joseph Maguire, ‘Sport, Globalization, and the Modern World: Zones of Prestige and Established-Outsider Relations. In: Maguire J., Liston K., Falcous M. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Globalization and Sport* (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56854-0_5

Abstract: This chapter outlines a key aspects of the emergence and diffusion of sport. In doing so reference is made to and discussion undertaken concerning the how and in what ways globalization shaped and influenced this diffusion. This diffusion is viewed as a critical case study that provides clues to the making of the modern world. A process sociological perspective informs this analysis and, in so doing, shows how such an approach can help make sense of broader questions concerning globalization and inter-civilizational relations. That is, the study of sport can cast light on the character of and transformations wrought by global processes more generally.

Katie Liston and Joseph Maguire, (2021) Globalization, Sport and Gender Relations. In: Maguire J., Liston K., Falcous M. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Globalization and Sport*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56854-0_10

Abstract: This chapter outlines the integral features of global sportization processes before then considering how power relations between the sexes are represented in these. Thereafter, it draws on sensitizing concepts from process sociology to advance

knowledge about contemporary aspects of gender, sport, and globalization.

The chapter concludes with reflections on future research avenues on the global sport figuration and the need to remain attuned to the varying social consequences that arise from the equalization of power relations between the sexes.

Katie Liston and Joseph Maguire, ‘The “Great Game” and Sport: Identity, Contestation and Irish–British Relations in the Olympic Movement’, *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 00: 0 (2020), pp. 1–21. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2020.1864873>

Abstract: This paper draws on original rigorous research conducted in an extensive range of local, national and international state archives, sporting repositories and personal papers. In focus is the 1948 London Olympic Games, the Olympic movement and a ‘new’ phase in Irish–British relations involving international sport. Here, for the first time, we elucidate the role of nonstate sportive diplomats who, acting as cultural intermediaries, were involved in the production of ideas about the normative rules governing international jurisdiction and identity that prevented nations/states from being recognized on their own terms. The intricate details revealed here are made possible by a rigorous two-way traffic between sensitizing concepts and evidence: specifically, the quest for exciting significance by non-state actors, soft power struggles and ‘patriot games’ via the medium of international Olympic and athletic movements. The paper also makes two other important contributions: to sport in international relations and the politics of Olympic protests.

Andrea Pitasi and Emilia Ferone, ‘Turbulent Convergence: A WCSA Presidential Systemic Agenda Setting for World Order Lawmaking and Policy Modelling’, *Central European Political Science Review* 20: 76 (2019), pp. 17–40.

Abstract: “Research determines policy which determines politics” is the key concept and motto of World Complexity Science Academy (WCSA) a think tank providing scenario analysis and

strategic ones – through a complex system process based approach – about transnational, multinational and supranational organizations. This work is focused on a scenario analysis and strategic agenda setting of the Global Player Age (GPA) we began to live in since 1989 at least although (methodological) nationalism is still common sense for most of the uneducated public opinion while the new, acquisitive élite of the GPA is clearly shaped as Hypercitizenship.

Sara Petroccia and Tyler Adams, ‘Civilizations and Globalization’, *Central European Political Science Review* 20: 76 (2019), pp. 41–62.

Abstract: In this paper, globalization is considered as the expansion of human interaction as a global phenomenon above flows and relationships, featured by regularity, systems and structures; a phenomenon where relationships show interdependency features and mutually influence each other on a global scale (Martell 2010: 61), focused on globalization as a process resulted of many processes with the potential of having a type of civilizing influence upon humanity and it may also contribute to the emergence of new forms of identity and the multiculturalism consisting of innumerable global contributions, coming mainly from civilization process. In the mean time civilization is considered as the totality of physical and metaphysical facilities, as the civilizational ideas, practices and contestations have been integral to the constitution and diffusion of international society though their multifaceted role. These definitions lead to the elucidation of today's globalization and its impact on human society in a civilization perspective attempting to establish and homogenize the institutional framework for free market capitalism worldwide. By doing so, it marginalizes many societies and civilizations that have not yet espoused capitalistic freedom, as some modern and affluent societies have done. For these societies and civilizations, communal cooperation for survival is more important than individual emancipation and global relations are not globally inclusive, since

globalization can overcome power relations, inequality and conflicts: cultures of different parts of the world give rise to dynamic hybrids and to the possibility of increasing fusion between different groups.

André Saramago, 'Post-Eurocentric grand narratives in critical international theory', *European Journal of International Relations* 00: 0 (2021), pp. 1–24.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540661211058797>

Abstract: Critical international theory is confronted with a fundamental 'problem of orientation', whose answer defines its capacity to critically analyse world politics. This problem derives from how the capacity for critique is inherently connected with the need to, at least partially, escape time- and space-bound points of view and attain a more cosmopolitan perspective that permits an assessment of the regressive/progressive tendencies of the human past, present and possible futures. The search for this cosmopolitan standpoint of orientation has frequently led to a reliance on grand narratives of human development from the perspective of which critical orientation can be disclosed. However, grand narratives themselves have frequently relied on metaphysical categories and stadial conceptions of history that reproduce forms of Eurocentrism that ultimately undermine their adequacy as means of orientation. A fundamental suspicion of grand narratives and need for 'reflexivity' that discloses forms of exclusion embedded in theoretical perspectives have thus become common topics in the field. However, this growing concern with reflexivity is also associated with a tendency for greater philosophical abstraction and a growing gap between theory and practice. This article considers the role of grand narratives in critical international theory and explores the possibility of post-Eurocentric and post-philosophical grand narratives that provide an alternative answer to the problem of orientation and recover the link between theory and practice. With reference to recent developments in the field, namely, the work of Richard Devetak and Andrew Linklater, the

article considers the possibility of a historical–sociological approach to grand narratives.

Stephen Quilley, 'Liberty in the near Anthropocene: State, market, and livelihood', In: Christopher J. Orr, Kaitlin Kish and Bruce Jennings eds. *Liberty and the Ecological Crisis: Freedom on a Finite Planet* (Routledge: London, 2019).

Abstract: The emergence of the concept of liberty is linked to the co-development of structures of the market and the modern nation-state, and, in turn, to a level of social complexity that has been a function of energy and material throughput. Although juxtaposed as political-economic antipodes, the State and the Market are shown to be mutually dependent, together generating ideational and structural possibility of a society of individuals. Drawing on Elias and Polanyi, the chapter charts the radical contraction of the domain of Livelihood – i.e. kin-centred reciprocity, community obligation, and place-bound production – as a necessary function of both capitalist modernization and liberal democracy. Outlining the dependence of modern political ideologies – conservatism, nationalism, and social democracy – on economic growth, the chapter concludes that the era of degrowth and contraction is likely to see the re-emergence of the domain of Livelihood as a counterbalance to both State and Market. The meaning of liberty in the Anthropocene is likely to depend on the emerging politics and economics of Livelihood.

Stephen Quilley, 'Liberty, energy, and complexity in the longue durée', In: Christopher J. Orr, Kaitlin Kish and Bruce Jennings eds. *Liberty and the Ecological Crisis: Freedom on a Finite Planet* (Routledge: London, 2019).

Abstract: The western idea of liberty depends on philosophical categories that cannot be separated from the complex, energy-rich societies in which they emerged. The historicity of liberal ideas undermines any sense of a universal yardstick of freedom against which long-term developments might be measured. On the timescale of

geological epochs, not only dominant ideas and cognitive categories, but the fundamental structures of psychology and personality are subject to paradigmatic variability. Using Elias's 'triad of controls,' a typology of societal and personality types and material/energy regimes is advanced as a basis for exploring the possibilities for 'liberty in the Anthropocene.'

Kasja Weenink, Noelle Aarts & Sandra Jacobs, "'We're stubborn enough to create our own world": how programme directors frame higher education quality in interdependence', *Quality in Higher Education* (2021), 21 pp.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13538322.2021.2008290>

Abstract: Little is known about how the complex notion of higher education quality is understood and (strategically) handled by a specific group of key university actors: directors of educational programmes. A framing analysis of in-depth interviews was conducted to explore how bachelor-programme directors in Dutch social science departments understand and enact quality, while maintaining multiple commitments. The analysis revealed that directors share a non-problematic, understanding of quality as realising a good educational programme, programme. They enact different quality frames while upholding their programme and position but face issues in practice. Balancing different goals and interests is a recurrent strategy. The directors' room for manoeuvre to enact their quality views, however, is position-dependent. Whereas some directors can play it out in any direction, others experience responsibility without power. Quality's plasticity provides the flexibility to maintain the idea of improvement, even in limiting circumstances, while preventing structural changes at a more fundamental level.

Tatiana Landini, 'Interdependências e civilização em tempos de COVID-19', *Sociologia & Antropologia* 11 :1 (2021), pp. 169-179.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/2238-38752021v11esp10>

Abstract: In March 2020 the World Health Organization declared a state of pandemic by SARS-Cov-2, which required important medical and health measures as well as political stances and actions with acute consequences on the part of all affected countries. Johan Goudsblom addresses the epidemics of leprosy, plague, syphilis, and cholera, discussing possible civilizational changes. Following the same line and adding discussions centred on the Eliasian concepts of figuration, interdependence, I-identity and We-identity, this essay brings some reflections, still being elaborated in the heat of the events, concerning Brazilian society.

Iain Wilkinson and Ari Vaananen, 'The informalization of doctor–patient relations in a Finnish setting: New social figurations and emergent possibilities', *Sociology of Health & Illness* 43: 9 (2021), pp. 1965–1980. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13375>

Abstract: This article features data drawn from interviews with doctors working in the Finnish occupational health-care system. These are used to explore the value of an Eliasian approach towards interpreting and assessing the moral meanings and social dynamics of relationships between health practitioners and their patients. We attend to spiralling 'formalizing' and 'informalizing' processes and how these are operating to reconfigure doctor–patient relationships. We document some of the ways in which Finnish doctors are adapting to these processes. While data drawn from a British context suggest both doctor and patients are inclined to adopt positions of mutual distrust and hostility, by contrast we note that in this Finnish setting more concerted attempts are being made to renegotiate social roles, cultural meanings and individual responsibilities. We propose that this can be taken as an instance where informalization is accompanied by revitalized currents of formalization and new syntheses of moral codes and conduct.

Palgrave Studies on Norbert Elias

Florence Delmotte and Barbara Górnicka eds, *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times: Figural Approaches to the Problems of the Twenty-First Century* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021).

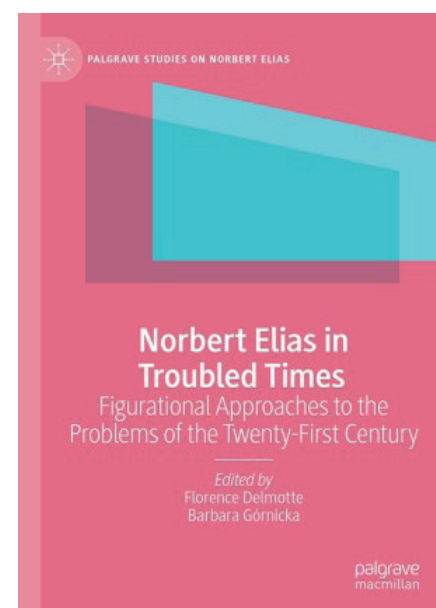
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4>

From the Publisher: This edited collection brings together texts that discuss current major issues in our troubled times through the lens of Norbert Elias's sociology. It sheds light on both the contemporary world and some of Elias's most controversial concepts. Through examination of the 'current affairs', political and social contemporary changes, the authors in this collection present new and challenging ways of understanding these social processes and figurations. Ultimately, the objective of the book is to embrace and utilise some of the more polemical aspects of Elias's legacy, such as the exploration of decivilizing processes, decivilizing spurts, and dys-civilization. It investigates to what extent Elias's sociological analyses are still applicable in our studies of the developments that mark our troubled times. It does so through both global and local lenses, theoretically and empirically, and above all, by connecting past, present, and possible futures of all human societies.

Florence Delmotte and Barbara Górnicka, 'Troubled Times: Editors' Introduction', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_1

Abstract: How can we understand the times we live in now in 2020, which for us appear more than ever in the grip of various 'troubles', however unexpected, yet in many ways predictable? The editors' introduction evokes the very particular context of the preparation of this book, during the COVID-19 pandemic. The authors then return to the ambition that gives the book its unity, beyond the diversity



of disciplines and themes: to revisit the theses of Norbert Elias's historical sociology in tackling with some of the thorniest problems of 'our time', such as the rise of populism, the crisis of the rule of law model, the setbacks of democratisation, the transformation of the faces of violence, and the reproduction of 'established-outsiders' figurations. In the end, the contributions thus aim to continue to develop new means of orientation, less ideological and more 'reality-congruent', and which our 'troubled times' need more than ever.

Renewing Classical Themes

Nico Wilterdink, 'The Question of Inequality: Trends of Functional Democratisation and De-democratisation', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_2

Abstract: This paper discusses Elias's concept of 'functional democratisation' and its counterpart, 'functional de-democratisation'. It deals with the question of how to assess trends of functional democratisation and de-democratisation and applies these concepts to historical developments. While functional democratisation has been a dominant trend in Western state-societies from the nineteenth century

until the last quarter of the twentieth century, tendencies of functional de-democratisation came to the fore in recent decades. This, however, is not an all-inclusive global trend. It is argued here that in the present-day world, processes of both functional democratisation and de-democratisation are taking place on different integration levels and along different axes and that current issues of inequality and democracy should be understood in this light.

Matt Clement, 'Vox Populi Then and Now', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_3

Abstract: The term 'populism' is now widely and somewhat confusingly used when discussing various political tendencies that have surged into prominence in the wake of the global financial crash of 2007–2008. Rather like the concept of 'radicalism', populism as an idea is distorted by the tendency of much mainstream commentary to regard it as a largely negative phenomenon. This chapter looks at the historical roots of the term and argues that there are examples from ancient Rome to nineteenth-century America where populism has taken a 'progressive' form, that is, genuinely advocating for wider democracy as a counter to oligarchy and authoritarianism. The failure to recognise that such measures can take the form of a genuine progressive force tends to lock mainstream political thinking into a cynical straitjacket that restricts the possibilities of genuine popular and democratic renewal emerging from the crises of twenty-first-century capitalism.

Marta Bucholc, 'Figurational Sociology of the Rule of Law: A Case of Central and Eastern Europe', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_4

Abstract: The rule of law is a juristic concept implying an image of an

orderly society respecting the rights of individuals enforced by stable institutions. This image proved attractive in many parts of the world which have known little respect for individuals' rights, notably in the Eastern and Central Europe after 1989. However, since 2010 in some of these societies, political forces have recently come to power whose actions challenge or undermine the rule of law. The crisis in Hungary and Poland is flagrant, but it is also imminent, for example, in Bulgaria and Romania. In this chapter, it is argued that Norbert Elias's theory allows us both to theorise the rule of law as part of long-lasting social processes and to explain its crisis. The author proposes using Central and Eastern Europe as a laboratory for figurational sociology to make the case relatable for researchers studying the rule of law in other regions that have undergone systemic transformation.

Ludvine Damay and Florence Delmotte, 'Transformations of Human Rights Within Ruptures and Continuity: A Historico-Sociological Approach', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_5

Abstract: Can the 'human rights' be considered the 'last utopia' of our epoch? Do they have nothing in common with the 'Rights of Man' of the eighteenth century, or is there a continuity between the first and the latter? This chapter aims to shed light on these theoretical and political or even philosophical questions from a historical-sociological standpoint. Sociology has long displayed a certain scepticism regarding human rights. The chapter reviews some works in contemporary sociology nonetheless devoted to human rights. Then it explores the path opened up by the long-term approach of Norbert Elias. For him, in an era of globalised interdependencies, the development of human rights constitutes an indicator of the construction of a political community on the scale of humanity, yet this process is fragile. More broadly, the claims related to these rights reveal both certain continuity and profound transformations

since the eighteenth century, which are also related to the transformation of the role played by the state.

Adele Bianco, 'Civilising Digitalisation: In Search of a New Balance with Today's Technological Innovations', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_6

Abstract: This chapter aims to develop Elias's reflections on technology and the civilising process in the light of today's processes of digitalisation. Elias's contribution can offer interesting indications to find a new balance with the diffusion of digital technologies. The first section of this chapter deals with Elias's category of decivilisation (*Entzivilisierung*) and whether the negative impact of digitalisation on the labour market could be considered decivilisation. The second section is devoted to the relationship between technisation and civilisation. According to Elias, technological development requires a learning and adaptation process, so that people develop a self-regulating behaviour and use technology correctly. The third section deals with how the digital skills could be considered the 'sociogenesis' and the social abilities the 'psychogenesis' of the digitalisation process. Finally, the chapter concludes with the question on whether Elias's 'sociogenesis' and 'psychogenesis' enable the digital worker to interact properly in the new organisational context.

Alexander Mack, 'Confronting Uncertainties: Process Sociology Converges with the Ecological Risk Sociology of the Becks', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_7

Abstract: The ecological risk sociology developed by Ulrich and Elizabeth Beck share with process sociology common commitments to understanding the means of orientation. There has been little engagement between process sociology and the risk scholarship of

the Becks. This is attributable to their perceived use of reductive concepts such as modernity/modernisation associated with the work of Anthony Giddens. In response, this chapter engages with processual critiques of the Becks and clarifies their particular strand of risk sociology. Both process and the risk sociology of the Becks confront the uncertainties of human relations via mutual concerns with the growth of knowledge processes, interdependence and power relations. The chapter concludes by demonstrating the opportunities for further engagement between process and risk scholarship. This through understanding how globalised double binds in the form of overlapping ecological, economic, violence, health and migration struggles continue to pressurise contemporary societies.

Violence and Faces of the War

Xavier Rousseaux and Quentin Verreycken, 'The Civilising Process, Decline of Homicide, and Mass Murder Societies: Norbert Elias and the History of Violence', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_8

Abstract: Originally formulated at the end of the 1930s, Norbert Elias's theory of the civilising process gradually won recognition among scholars in the 1970s and 1980s, and it eventually became one of the most praised paradigms in the history of violence and criminal justice. Over the past forty years, the theory of civilising process has been a major model for analysing the long-term decline of homicide in Western Europe as a result of the taming of individual violence by the state. Facing criticisms against his model due to the so-called evolutionary reading of the civilising process and its supposed contradictions with the development of mass violence in the twentieth century, Elias focused his later writings on the mechanisms of de- or dys-civilisation. This contribution will, on the one hand, analyse how the reception of Elias's

work among historians of violence and criminal justice generated several revisions of the theory of the long-term civilising process. We propose, on the other hand, to articulate three historical figurations of violence: the long decline of homicide in pacified societies (civilisation processes), the massive outbursts of extremely violent behaviour (de-/dys-civilisation processes), and transitional justice after war or political conflict (re-civilisation processes).

Dominique Linhardt and Cédric Moreau de Bellaing, 'A Throwback to Violence? Outline for a Process-Sociological Approach to 'Terror' and 'Terrorism'', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_9

Abstract: This chapter intends to unfold and to discuss the links Norbert Elias wove between the process of civilisation and the progression of functional democratisation in the light of the transformations that violent conflicts have undergone since the end of the nineteenth century. It is argued that these violent conflicts, regularly described as part, or signs, of decivilisation processes, should be understood not as external resistance to the process of civilisation, that is to say as throwbacks to archaic violence, but as regressive—in a technical sense—violence that go along with, and react to the process of civilisation. In order to do so, it is necessary to look into Elias's sociology of knowledge and take the full measure of the role he reserves for ideological radicalisation in his analysis of the appalling violence that erupted during the twentieth century.

Maria Beatriz Rocha Ferreira, Marina Vinha and Veronice Lovato Rossato, 'Violence and Power: The Kaiowá and Guarani Indigenous Peoples', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_10

Abstract: This chapter addresses the processes of violence that the Kaiowá

and Guarani indigenous peoples have been suffering for years and the later developments in the Indigenous Reserve of Dourados in Mato Grosso do Sul. The formation of the state, the violence, the power and the figuration of Elias's theory were relevant to the understanding of the subject studied. The sources of information were based on publications of ethnographic and historical research and the authors' experiences with these peoples at different times. The results show the mechanisms of monopolisation of state power through physical and symbolic violence, the defunctionalisation of these societies, the mechanisms of integration of these peoples into the state without the recognition of their identity. These mechanisms have affected the way of being [*teko*] and the place of living [*ha*], the *tekoha*, of these peoples, represented in this chapter by the violence and the imbalance of the power relation in the Indigenous Reserve of Dourados.

Delphine Deschaux-Dutard, 'Analysing European Defence with Elias's Historical Sociology (1990–2020)', In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_11

Abstract: This chapter shows the interest of Elias's sociology to analyse European Defence Policy as a specific social figuration within the European Union since the 1990s. Our study of the sociogenesis of European Defence Policy particularly focuses on the way the French-German politico-military actors historically shaped European Defence Policy as a social figuration. This chapter is based on a substantial fieldwork. Its analytical claim is to show the relevance of historical sociology in the study of such sectors of European integration, and more precisely the potentialities of two concepts developed by Elias: the concepts of figuration and habitus. After briefly presenting the added-value of Elias's sociological concepts to investigate European Defence Policy, the chapter explains why the concept of figuration proposed by Elias is an interesting way of analysing European Defence

Policy. The chapter thereafter focuses on the concept of habitus to explain the recurring strategic divergences challenging European Defence Policy.

Established–Outsiders Relations and Habitus Issues

Auréli Lacassagne and Dana Hickey (2021) ‘Weaving Elias’s Thought with Indigenous Perspectives and Lives: Proposal for a Research Agenda’, In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_12

Abstract: This chapter aims to create a respectful conversation between Elias’s theory and Indigenous perspectives and to sketch out a research programme in this respect. The contention rests on the idea that Eliasian thinking could be useful to help Western thinkers understand Indigenous accounts of the social world, and how they might correct some weaknesses of Elias’s work. Even if Indigenous peoples have gained more visibility on the international scene, they still face many issues, including systemic discrimination and violence. We think that addressing this enduring colonial legacy is one of the biggest challenges we face before we can form a true world cosmopolitan society. We examine the commonalities shared by Eliasian thinking and some Indigenous worldviews; we outline the high degree of self-restraints and organisation found in pre-contact Indigenous communities; we discuss the effect of monopolisation processes on Indigenous peoples; and finally, we highlight what Indigenous knowledge could contribute to ecological debates.

Steven Loyal, ‘A Question of Function: Unequal Power Ratios and Asylum Seekers in Ireland’, In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_13

Abstract: This chapter draws on Elias’s established–outsider model to understand the steep power relation

between the Irish State and asylum seekers, as well as supplementing this with Bourdieu’s work on the state. Elias has forcefully argued that a power relation is determined by the interrelation and function that one individual or group has for the other. In this case, asylum seekers need states in a way that states do not need asylum seekers. The chapter argues that the Irish State’s treatment of immigration has historically been determined by three criteria: a question of costs and benefits, questions of ethno-national, and security and social order considerations. The contemporary manifestation of the skewed power relation between the State and asylum seekers will be discussed with reference to the Direct Provision and Dispersal system. This institution, set up in 2000, and heavily criticised from the outset, is the current system through which asylum seekers are housed and their subsistence needs met by the State.

Merle Schatz, ‘Thoughts on Describing Established and Outsider Figurations in Inner Mongolia’, In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_14

Abstract: In the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia in northern China, Mongols and Chinese share the same territory. Both groups are convinced to be the rightful established there. Minority law, customary law, notions of one’s own superiority and the inferiority of the other group, as well as experiences of daily interaction play a decisive role in their continuous struggle for power and status. Using the example of ‘grassland management’, the chapter shows that official regulations are often not compatible with everyday life practices or convictions. Differences and stigmatisation, that are situationally emphasised or constructed for the purpose of differentiation from one another, characterise the dynamic cooperation and maintain their inevitable but specifically asymmetrical mutual dependencies. Differences of grassland management is one example out of many, all of them illustrating the

complex entanglements of institution, ideas and practice along which common life of Mongols and Chinese in Inner Mongolia is negotiated.

Hendrik Hinrichsen, ‘Generational Figuration and We-Group Formation in the Palestinian West Bank Since the 1970s’, In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_15

Abstract: This chapter discusses the emergence of an established–outsider figuration of generations in the Palestinian society of the West Bank. It explores the asymmetrical relationship between the Intifada Generation, which took shape during the political mobilisation of the 1970s and 1980s, and the subsequent Oslo Generation whose members came of age during the Oslo peace process in the 1990s. The specific relationship between the generations is analysed with reference to Elias’s concept of the figuration of generations discussed in his *Studies on the Germans*. Two key aspects of the generational relationship are presented in detail in this chapter. First, the members of the Oslo Generation have fewer power and life chances, and in particular fewer opportunities for meaning, than their predecessors in the generation of fighters and activists of the 1970s and 1980s. Second, the development of the figuration of generations is intertwined with a shift in the figuration of classes in the West Bank.

Alon Helled, ‘The Israeli National Habitus and Historiography: The Importance of Generations and State-Building’, In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_16

Abstract: Historians have shaped key elements of Israel’s national habitus and contributed to the construction of its sovereign survival unit. This process reveals both change and continuity. It originates in the pre-state establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1926–28) where first-generation historians, born and

trained in Central and Eastern Europe, rediscovered the biblical ‘Promised Land’ and disseminated nation-building paradigms. This generation was succeeded by historians identified with Israel’s early independence and its ‘civic republicanism’. Yet domestic contingencies and global trends soon engendered critical debates about memory, history, politics and identity. Revision and demystification of past events became a central feature of third-generation Israeli historians who overtly challenged the former ‘established’ generations. By using Eliasian concepts, the chapter contextualises the socio-political features of Israeli historians and detects the dispositions that have become intrinsic parts of Israel’s national identity, while shedding light upon the interdependencies between academia, society and politics.

Reinhard Blomert, ‘*The Established and the Outsiders: An Incomplete Study?*’, In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_17

Abstract: This contribution consists of three parts. The first is an analysis of the process of how the book *The Established and the Outsiders*, first published by Elias and Scotson (1965), came into being. The second part is a discussion of the critique addressed to the book, and the third part provides an example of an integration process of a similar figuration in a long-term perspective. Scotson’s original study of *The Established and the Outsiders* delivered a merely static image, while this chapter gives an example of how such a power figuration might have evolved over time.

Conclusive Reflections

Stephen Menell, ‘Some Political Implications of Sociology from an Eliasian Point of View’, In: Delmotte F., Górnicka B. (eds) *Norbert Elias in Troubled Times* (Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, 2021). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74993-4_18

Abstract: The title of this chapter

does not refer to the short-term and party-political implications of the sociology inspired by Norbert Elias, but something broader and longer-term in perspective. It explores the implication of Elias’s game models (in *What is Sociology?*) for how the increasing complexity of interdependencies bears on his stated aim of ‘improving the human means of orientation’. It asks, among other things, how this is linked to the conditions necessary for representative democracy, referring back to discussions from Tocqueville in the nineteenth century to Lipset, Kornhauser and others – now apparently half-forgotten – in the 1950s–70s. Among other things, ‘civilised restraints’, including social constraints upon fantasy, play an important part in democratic politics, and they are being undermined by social media. This chapter concludes by asking how much influence sociology has had on how people at large think about and understand how society works. In the main, they continue to think in psychologistic rather than sociological terms, notably by using what Godfried van Benthem van den Bergh has called ‘the attribution of blame’ as a means of orientation. What does a general deficiency in ‘joined-up’ thinking imply about the prospects of (relatively) democratic government in today’s highly joined-up world?

■ BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RETROSPECT

Daniel Levy, ‘The Cosmopolitan Figuration: Historicizing Reflexive Modernization’, In *Ulrich Becks kosmopolitisches Projekt: Auf dem Weg in eine andere Soziologie*, edited by Angelika Pöferl and Natan Sznaider, 2nd ed., pp.185–95, (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2020 [2004]). <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845291727-185>.

In this essay, Daniel Levy historicizes the Ulrich Beck’s concept of reflexive modernisation through Elias’s focus on historical processes and changing figurations. It was originally published in 2004 (though reissued in 2020) as part of an edited book. In the early 2000s, digitisation was not as advanced as it

is now, so essays in edited books could easily ‘disappear’ onto library shelves.

Levy argues that understanding interdependence and the role of collective memories is one of the common features, which binds the sociologies of Elias and Beck. Where “the former [Elias] sees interdependencies as a basic sociological principle, the latter [Beck] directs our attention to the growing recognition of interdependencies in global politics and culture”. It is only by focusing on the historical “processes of reflexive modernization” that one is able to grasp the transformation of the nation-state through the development of a “cosmopolitan figuration”, which “emerges at a particular historical juncture of global interdependencies and in response to how the nation is assessed in light of particular historical memories”.

This is a useful essay for researchers looking for a way into the sociology of Beck, but have been so far been dissuaded by the seemingly ahistorical tendencies apparent in concepts like risk and reflexive modernisation. The essay also speaks to the challenges of doing scholarship, how to “‘Zeitdiagnose’” the social changes in one’s own time, without succumbing to process reduction. Alexander Mack.

Patrice Pinell, ‘Modern medicine and the civilising process’, *Sociology of Health & Illness* 18(1), (1996) pp. 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.ep10934402>

Abstract: Medical sociology, mainly an Anglo-Saxon invention, was developed almost without any theoretical reference to Norbert Elias’s work. One of the consequences of this ignorance was that a very challenging idea had been lost. This idea addressed the sociological problems associated with the historical changes that in turn affected the role played by hygiene in the normalisation of human behaviour. According to Elias’s theory of civilizing processes, the progressive changes in human behaviour were part of global dynamics involving the transformation of both social structures and individuals’ habitus. In the construction of the ‘civilised behaviour’

characteristic of the dominant group, hygienic preoccupation played no role. The medical discoveries of the nineteenth century about the infectious diseases gave a posteriori an addition of legitimacy to this civilised behaviour.

Adopting Elias's perspective, I try to answer a question left unexplored in his work, i.e. the place of contemporary medical knowledge and practices within the ongoing civilising process.

This question leads me to analyse:
1 the role played by 'Pasteurian hygiene in the policy of civilization' of the lower classes in France
2 the tendency towards the medicalisation of self-control behaviour and the emergence of the patient as medical auxiliary involved in the division of medical works.



Bart van Heerikhuizen has sent us this photo with the following explanation:

I asked my friend Bernard Kruithof to take this picture, when I discovered that street name on Google. It is located on the outskirts of the city of Almere. There is also an Emile Durkheimweg and a Max Weberweg. Must be one of my former students who rose to the function of municipal name-giver...

■ CONTRIBUTIONS TO FIGURATIONS

The next issue of *Figurations* will be mailed in June 2022. News and notes should be sent by 1 May 2022 to the Editors at figurations@norbert-elias.com.

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