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Return to Winston Parva: Starting to Reconstruct *The Established and the Outsiders* 'From the Margins'

John Goodwin, Jason Hughes & Henrietta O'Connor [*]

Abstract: *»Zurück nach Winston Parva: ‚Die Etablierten und die Außenseiter' rekonstruieren – ‚von den Rändern' aus«.* In this paper, we reflect on our experiences of trying to undertake a restudy of *The Established and The Outsiders* - Return to Winston Parva. We consider the methodological challenges that such a 'return' has raised for us (and potential research funders). These include i) the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the published version of *The Established and the Outsiders*; ii) the lack of specific methodological details and research design relating to the original study; and iii) the less than clear exposition of three neighbourhood zones known as 'Winston Parva'. The discussion then outlines how a fortuitous contact from John Scotson's estate led to a 'bundle of papers' the retrieval of and which now represent a complete archive of materials relating to the original study on which *The Established and The Outsiders*. For the for the first time, we outline the scope and extent of these archive materials, the paradata and marginalia, as well as considering Scotson's hand drawn map which demarcates 'Winston Parva' precisely from its surrounding environs.

Keywords: The Established and the Outsiders, Archive Materials Restudies, Paradata, Norbert Elias and John Scotson.

1. Introduction[1]

Elias and Scotson's *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965) is perhaps one of the most extensively read, widely applied and commonly cited books by Elias.

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[1] We would like to thank the estate for allowing us access to this veritable treasure trove of papers relating to the original thesis. We are also grateful to Professor Stephen Mennell for his unwavering championing of the works of Norbert Elias through unrivalled scholarship and unstinting friendship. He has supported the careers of many 'Figurati' in good times and bad and has shared in many of triumphs and supported us through our disasters. Stephen's generosity and kind support has been essential in our work on *Return to Winston Parva*.

The impact of this book extends well beyond Eliasian scholarship and research, being used in a wide range of sociological research areas and by a diverse range of sociologists from varied sociological perspectives and orientations. For us, being sociologists based in Leicester for more than twenty years, we are well versed in the book, its central themes and we also have a good understanding of the community on which the research was based. As such, and building on other restudies of Elias's work while in Leicester (see for example, Goodwin and O'Connor 2015), we have, for the last ten years we have been planning a project entitled *Return to Winston Parva* – a return to the original research site ('Winston Parva' being the pseudonym for the Leicester community where the research was conducted) over sixty years after the original fieldwork for a detailed re-examination of the key themes raised in the book. Initially we conceived the research as an historical-comparative investigation of youth transitions within one community setting linking *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965) with Elias's other work on youth transitions and our subsequent restudy of that work (Goodwin and O'Connor 2015). We had planned to use a variety of methods and data sources, as well as drawing upon our experiences from our previous re-studies, to investigate a number of interrelated strands. Our first objective was to ascertain whether the established/outsider relationships discussed by Elias and Scotson still existed within the three areas of Winston Parva and in turn to explore whether there were still any differential impacts of living in one of the three areas on young people's experiences. Second, to assess specifically any continuities and changes in educational transitions, the experiences of young people not in education, employment or training, progression pathways out of secondary education, and the adjustment to adulthood within this community setting. In doing so we aimed to document young people's experiences in one of the English East Midlands' most deprived urban areas and elucidate the extent to which educational transitions are determined by local community membership. Third, to detail and study any contrasting behavioural standards of children, youth or called 'delinquents' that undergirded much of Elias and Scotson's approach. Our proposed scheme of work was as follows:

> First, we intend to trace ten of the original residents from Winston Parva in the 1960s for re-interview in order to re-examine the claims originally made in the book about young people in the area. Re-interviewing such residents will also enable us to collect data on the extent to which those from the time of the original study feel that Winston Parva has changed or otherwise [….]. Second, we aim to interview thirty individuals aged between 18-24 who currently live in Winston Parva. We will interview ten individuals from each of the three zones identified by Elias and Scotson, concentrating our interviews on those young people whose families have lived in the area since at least the mid 1960s. These interviews will cover a wide range of topics such as community relations, community identity, transformation and change in Winston Parva; perceptions of Winston Parva; reflections on school; education, training and skills; attitudes to work; initial work experiences and work history; work ori-

> entations; the emotional dynamics of transitions to work; careers and education guidance. Respondents in the 18-24 age group will be contacted via our contacts within the local school, the Connexions service and via community leaders with who have already agreed to support our research (Goodwin, O'Connor and Hughes 2010).

Despite fieldwork for *The Established and the Outsiders* having been conducted in the mid-1950s, the issues the book raised remain highly pertinent both to more general debates concerning community relations (particularly those marked by tensions which fall along ethnic, religious, or social class lines), and, indeed, to the contemporary Winston Parva region itself. For example, Winston Parva remains quite distinct from other Leicester suburbs in that the area has higher levels of youth unemployment and a large number of young people not in education, employment or training. It has a large concentration of unskilled workers. There are also a significant number of residents in other age groups who have no formal qualifications, skills or training. Winston Parva is characterised by significantly low levels of income, with nearly 22% of households having 60% or less of median income. Winston Parva is also distinctive in that only 2% of residents come from outside of the UK or Ireland – significantly lower than any other of Leicester's urban districts where some have majority ethnic minority populations. Given these characteristics, Winston Parva may well be typical of many of the UK's deprived areas and retains, as Elias suggested in the 1960s, a 'paradigmatic character' – a microcosm that will shed light on the problems that are encountered in a much larger society.

> Within the 'broken' Britain thesis there is clearly an argument that poor working-class people and neighbourhoods 'lack' what is needed to be of value. We might think of resources linked to the economy, skills, and training. (McKenzie 2015, 15)

Winston Parva, as the data suggests, is, perhaps, one such area that McKenzie (2015) alludes to. Yet how did this come to be? How has the 'story' of Winston Parva unfolded some sixty years after the original research? For us, a restudy of Winston Parva that examined the experiences of those living in that neighbourhood setting offered a significant opportunity to understand change and transformation in one locality which, in turn, would enable us to contribute something to the exploration of education, work, community, locality and contemporary urban settings more generally. What is more one of the advantage that restudies have over 'one off' cross-sectional research is that the researchers already have access to information about that which is studied, be it individuals, organisations, communities or areas. We already *know* a great deal about Winston Parva from *The Established and the Outsiders*. As such, there is very significant explanatory potential in returning of the collecting of additional data on top of what is already known, especially if one wants to 'understand' within a sociogenetic framework. Given these, and the significance and reach of *The Established and the Outsiders*, what we thought to be an ambitious (if

still exploratory) study would/should be of significant interest to research funders. To that end in 2010 and 2011 we applied for UK research funding from both the Nuffield Foundation and the British Academy. Unfortunately, this was without success. Neither funder gave any specific reasons as to why the research could not be funded although it was suggested by one funding body that while the research was 'of interest' there were insufficient funds to fund it at that time. These setbacks caused us to rethink and reflect on the viability of what we had planned.

Indeed, despite our initial optimism, and the (to us) apparent potential analytical value of conducting a restudy of *The Established and the Outsiders,* it became clear that we faced a number of significant challenges in operationalising an effective, viable and coherent 'return' to Winston Parva. First, the seemingly complex circumstances surrounding the genesis of the published version of *The Established and the Outsiders* – we needed to know more about how the book 'came to be'. Second, despite the inclusion of 'considerations of procedure' as chapter 1 of the book, the book is marked by a lack of specific details relating to methodology and research design. For example, *The Established and the Outsiders* contains no details as to the specific questions that were asked during the fieldwork, there is limited detail on exactly who respondents in the study were and so forth. Finally, *The Established and the Outsiders* contains a great deal of information about the suburban development known as 'Winston Parva' and a clear exposition of three neighbourhood zones yet the actual specific delineation of the areas is less than clear. Actually walking the field in Winston Parva suggested the zones were less clear cut and, perhaps more complex, than outlined in the book (see O'Connor and Goodwin 2012). We will deal with each of these in turn.

2. A Comparative Study of Two Neighbourhood Communities: The Missing Thesis?

Notwithstanding the regard in which *The Established and the Outsiders* is held by many, the genesis of the text is more complex. Some would go further and suggest the origins of the book are even shrouded in 'mystery'. The reason for this is the book has its beginnings in John Scotson's MA thesis *A Comparative Study of Two Neighbourhood Communities in South Wigston.* While there is nothing inherently unusual in a supervisor jointly publishing a book or selection of journal articles with students that they have previously supervised, for whatever reason the original copies of the *A Comparative Study of Two Neighbourhood Communities in South Wigston* thesis never came to be deposited with the appropriate University of Leicester authorities. At some point after its submission to the University of Leicester, Scotson's original MA thesis 'disappeared'. Given modes of working during the 1950s-1960s (i.e. working exclu-

sively with paper documents, where manuscripts would have to be physically typed), it is reasonable to assume that hard copies of the thesis would have been available to Elias during the preparation of *The Established and the Outsiders*, first published in 1965. From the extant documentation, there are some clues as to the subsequent fate of the thesis. For example, in the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* in Marbach-am-Neckar there is archived correspondence from the University of Leicester's Senior Assistant Librarian with Elias during his appointment as a Professor of Sociology at the University of Ghana (dated July 1962) and again upon his return to Leicester (dated October 1964) questioning the location of the thesis. Thus, already by 1962, Elias had received queries concerning the whereabouts of the thesis. So we might safely assume the thesis fell out of Elias's possession at some point in the period between John Scotson's viva voce examination on 28th June 1962 (for which Elias was the internal examiner [Wouters 2007]) and Elias's return from Ghana towards the end of 1964. It is also possible that the copy of the thesis to which Elias refers as being in his possession during his time in Ghana was one of the two copies listed in the catalogue of Elias's books held at the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* when Goodwin visited there in October 2005. This listing is also mentioned in Wouter's account of the thesis (2007). However, despite an extensive search of the *Literaturarchiv*, archive staff was unable to unearth this copy, nor have they been able to do so at the request of subsequent researchers. As such, since that time, there has been considerable speculation about the location (or even continued existence) of the thesis. According to Wouters (2007) the University of Leicester also contacted John Scotson in 1964 with a view to securing duplicates of thesis from Scotson's own copy; however, it appears Scotson did not provide any. Wouters surmises that the most likely fate of Scotson's thesis was that it was sold on to a second-hand bookseller in Germany along with other of Elias's books upon his (Elias's) death in 1990.

As a consequence, anyone interested in comparing the original MA thesis and the subsequent published version of *The Established and the Outsiders* for 'restudy' purposes has been unable to do so. This has led to some speculation and the emergence of a commonly held view, within figurational circles at least, that *The Established and the Outsiders* is first and foremost a book by Norbert Elias with Scotson in something of a secondary role effectively providing the 'empirical crucible' within which to extend, test and develop some of Elias's ideas developed in *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* (1939). However, there has long remained some uncertainty as to the extent to which this was the case. For instance, once again in the introduction to the UCD Press edition of *The Established and the Outsiders*, Wouters attributes the work's theoretical textual character squarely to Elias. Wouters writes:

> The book that appeared three years after the MA thesis is, theoretically and textually, clearly from the hand of Norbert Elias. The style is his, notably the somewhat German order. (Wouters 2007, xii).

However, later in the same section, Wouters is more circumspect regarding the degree to which Elias was dependent on Scotson's fieldwork and the thesis within which this was written up:

> It would be interesting, were we able to compare the text of Scotson's 1962 MA thesis with that of the 1965 book, to know how much of the book is directly derived from Scotson's work and how much was added and reworked by Elias. It seems likely, for instance, that Scotson's hand is seen especially in the very detailed evidence presented in chapter 8, on young people in Winston Parva. Unfortunately, such a direct comparison is no longer possible. (Wouters 2007, xv-xvi).

Without the thesis it impossible to fully understand how *The Established and the Outsiders* came into being.

3. 'Considerations of Procedure'

The Established and the Outsiders contains limited information relating to the specifics of the research design – how the data was collected, who undertook the field work, how data was collated and analysed and so forth. With the exception of various copies of the introduction to the SAGE version of the book, Elias's archive in Marbach contains limited material relating to the original research and fieldwork conducted for *The Established and the Outsiders* research. What papers there are appear to be job references for John Scotson alongside correspondence between the University of Leicester Librarian and Elias, while Elias was in Ghana, seeking clarification on the location of the thesis and little else. As such, beyond these and the personal memoirs or reflections of those who were in Leicester at the time of, or shortly after, *The Established and the Outsiders* research there is limited archive material to go on. As suggested above, the first edition of the book was published in 1965, although it contains a chapter called 'considerations procedure', it gives little insights into the *actual* research that was undertaken for the book. Instead, this chapter gives an overview of the three zones, something of the research design related to interviews and the record cards that were made, but very little else. For example, there is no clear information relating to the actual questions that were asked during the fieldwork, there is no detailed description of the sample size, number of interviews, and other key research information. This contrasts with similar research of that time. For example, if we take Pearl Jephcott's *Married Women Working* from 1962 we can see that the book contains a very detailed methodological appendix. For example, appendix one of *Married Women Working* provides very detailed information as to the research setting sample size, data collection methods, consent letters, as well as a general overview and the conduct of the study. This detail means that it would be easier to reconstruct the methodology at a later date and so 'test' Jephcott's assumptions and

findings using the same research design. The same in not true for *The Established and the Outsiders* and the lack of methodological detail within any of the published editions *of The Established and the Outsiders* means that such a direct restudy would be very problematic. Something our potential funders had clearly spotted. To conduct a restudy would require any subsequent research team to make a wide range of speculative assumptions (or even guesses) as to, for example, sample composition, data collection techniques through to the questions that were asked of respondents 'in the field'. While not impossible, this does limit the volume, scope and potential impact of any restudy. It also brings into question the extent to which researchers should or directly compare any restudy findings with the original research presented in *The Established and the Outsiders*. This perhaps, explains why others have not attempted such a direct restudy or replication before (although the core themes of the book have been applied to other contexts) and why we have been unsuccessful in convincing research funders that a restudy of *The Established and the Outsiders* was both methodologically sound and a useful enterprise undertake.

4. Mapping Winston Parva?

In *The Established and the Outsiders,* we are informed that Winston Parva is separated physically to the north and the east from other communities by railway lines and that It is a 'small community with a relatively old settlement [Zone1] at its core and two more recent settlements [Zones 2 & 3] which have formed around it' (Elias and Scotson 1965, ix). We are also informed that the study began when Scotson's attention was drawn to the consistently higher delinquency rates in one of the newer settlements (Zone 3 or 'The Estate') of Winston Parva. However, Elias and Scotson's interests quickly moved away from delinquency *per se* to the 'differences in the character of the neighbourhoods and to their relationship with each other' (Elias and Scotson 1965, ix). Through observations of, and interviews with, local residents, Elias and Scotson discovered that one of the working class groups was clearly dominant (the 'established' in Zone 2 or 'The Village'), and the other group was clearly subordinate (the 'outsiders' in Zone 3), despite being identical 'in terms of the conventional indices of social stratification such as wealth, income, occupations, education, status/prestige' (Dunning and Hughes 2011, 106). The superiority of the working class group in Zone 2 was accepted by both groups 'solely with regard to differences between residents in terms of how long they had lived within the neighbourhood and how 'established' they were within the community' (Dunning and Hughes 2011). A strength of the book is the clarity in which Elias and Scotson link these neighbourhood relations to the formation and development of Winston Parva itself. The village, or Zone 2, is built from the 1880s onwards and is comprised of some 700 brick cottages. Zone 1 is

added in the 1920s and 1930s by local builders and is made up of detached and semi-detached houses catering 'for the needs of professional and business people' (Elias and Scotson 1965, 14). Zone 3, or 'rat alley', was built in the 1930s between the railway line and the canal, and comprised small rental properties constructed in a typical 'social or local authority style housing' typical of developments in that period. However, beyond this there are few other clues to precisely map the three zones and no detailed map is provided in the book. Furthermore, when one visits Winston Parva the zones become less clearly demarcated. We have discussed some of the issues with 'walking the field' in Winston Parva elsewhere (see O'Connor and Goodwin 2012) but in summary there are very few detached and semi-detached houses in the area and the housing stick to the norther of the village also appears to be largely brick built terrace cottage style housing in the style of Zone 2. Furthermore, Zone 2 also contains 'infill houses' (there appeared to be gaps between the large blocks of terraces cottages on the original 1880s development) that are built in a similar style, and which closely resemble, the houses described in Zone 3. To complicate matters still further subsequent developments and redevelopments in the area have also changed the political boundaries of what was once Winston Parva. To be clear, from walking the field one can gain a general sense of the zones but not a precise layout, set of boundaries or any potential overlaps. Yet to usefully compare the zones now we need to map these 'neighbourhoods' precisely and re-map them onto the original text.

5. Reconstructing 'From the Margins': The Missing Scotson Papers

Recognising such limitations, and in attempt to mitigate them, we had for some time tried to locate the missing Scotson thesis. To that end Hughes and Goodwin had exchanged personal correspondence with Stephen Mennell in an attempt to find the thesis, and more importantly, to try to locate Scotson's surviving family. In this correspondence, Mennell laments: 'I bet the bloody thesis exists somewhere!' (Mennell 2006). Yet no matter what we, and others, tried the trail always went 'cold' leading us to lament the fact that, in many respects, the idea of a Winston Parva restudy would remain just that – a nice idea. Yet Stephen Mennell's optimism was correct – the thesis did exist. Quite unexpectedly John Scotson's estate contacted Stephen Mennell to ask if he was interested in 'a bundle of papers' which belonged to John Scotson. Recognising the potential historical and sociological significance of the 'bundle of papers', Stephen Mennell arranged a meeting between Scotson's estate, himself and two of the authors of this paper. The bundle of papers, the state of which suggested they had been stored in a loft since they were last used in the mid-1960s, included a complete copy of John Scotson's original MA thesis and a large

amount of supporting materials such as field notes, appendices, paradata and marginalia (a fuller account is provided in Hughes and Goodwin 2014; see also O'Connor and Goodwin 2017 for a consideration of the value of such paradata and marginalia in restudies). As such, these papers represent as complete archive relating to *A Comparative Study of Two Neighbourhood Communities in South Wigston,* and, in turn, the origins of *The Established and the Outsiders* as one could hope for. These papers contain an enormous amount significant detail relating to the original research from the 1950s that, for whatever reason, had been omitted from published versions of the book. For the first time since the late 1950s the exact questions that were asked in the field are clear. The area and the specific delineation of the three zones are clear as is any overlap between thesis and the subsequent versions of the book. It is impossible here to discuss all of these issues it a detail and a full textual analysis of the book versus the thesis is certainly beyond the remit of this paper (see Hughes and Goodwin 2014). However, we can provide something of an inventory and, for the first time, outline the Zones as recorded by Scotson in his original work.

Table 1 outlines the content of the Scotson files that were donated to us. When we received these papers they had not been catalogued or organised in any particular way – they were simply bundled together in three folders. Our first task was to categorise the material. We began this process by sorting through the papers and identifying three different categories of material: 1) Items relating to and including the thesis; 2) Notes, paradata and marginalia relating to the thesis; 3) Items relating to the book. Items 1 and 2 as listed on Table 1 are full versions of the thesis. The former includes the full appendices, the bibliography, a hand drawn map of the area (later reproduced in the thesis) and some further annotations and corrections. The latter is a carbon copy of the thesis but includes no appendices or supporting material. Item 3 comprises a partial version of the typed thesis. Item 4 is a handwritten partial thesis draft of 40 pages. It is incomplete but is a valuable resource as it includes early, handwritten versions of the sampling frame which Scotson went on to use in the fieldwork, for example, details of the number of residents, jurors and respondents. Item 5 is a typed partial draft of 40 pages that includes elements of rough work, notes, annotations and evidence of editing as the text is marked with notes on sections to omit or delete from the final version. Item 6 is a plan of the dissertation and includes 7 pages of draft text and finally item 7 includes the abstract, draft introduction and some annotations and corrections.

Within the 'notes, paradata and marginalia' category we included items that linked to the research process. Item 8 is a list of the voluntary associations in South Wigston and includes a description of the types of association and membership details. Item 9 is a copy of a journal article (Millers and Riseman, 1961) on employment and class. Items 10 and 11 are drafts of the appendices which include handwritten tables and charts. Finally, in this section, item 12 is of great interest as this comprises 18 pages of notes and clippings from news-

papers, many focussing on incidences of violence as recorded in local newspapers and which reflect something of the origins of the thesis. This file also includes ethnographic notes and hand drawn network diagrams of relationships amongst the respondents.

Our third file relates to papers that are associated with the publication of the book. Item 13 is a full copy of the book manuscript dated 1964 and comprising 227 pages many of which are annotated and corrected. Item 14 is a partial manuscript draft of 77 pages including annotations and corrections which is undated. Item 15 is a collection of letters written by Scotson and Elias to each other relating to the book and all dated 1964. Item 16 includes a partial version of the bibliography and a draft of the book acknowledgments.

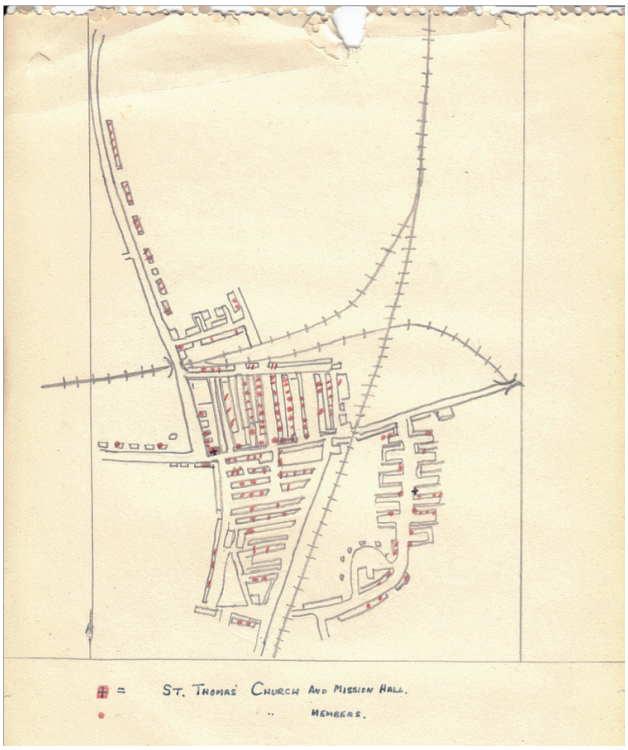
Table 1: Inventory of The Scotson Papers*

Item	Item Description
Scotson Thesis	
01.	Carbon Copy of Full MA Thesis. 100 pages. Plus Appendices A-F. Bibliography. Hand drawn map of area. Contains some annotations and corrections.
02.	Carbon Copy of MA Thesis (no appendices or supporting material).
03.	Carbon Copy of parts of MA Thesis. 20 pages (title page, acknowledgements, 5 pages of text, Appendix C, D, F).
04.	Hand written draft of thesis. Undated. 40 pages and incomplete. Includes hand written, rudimentary sampling frame details (number of residents, numbers of jurors, respondents and respondents by gender).
05.	Typed draft of thesis. Undated 40 pages. Contains rough work, notes, annotations and text to 'omit'.
06.	Plan of Dissertation and 7 pages of draft text 'General Survey'.
07.	Abstract and draft introduction. Annotations and corrections.
Notes, Paradata and Marginalia	
08.	Membership of Voluntary Associations in South Wigston. Description and membership of voluntary associations - religious and secular.
09.	Millers, S.M. and Riseman, F. (1961) Are Workers Middle Class? Dissent Vol. 8, No. 4, Autumn 1961 pp 507-513 (reprint).
10.	Drafts of Appendices A-F (carbon copies, hand written tables and charts). 10 pages. Undated.
11.	Drafts of Appendices A and E. Carbon copy of bibliography (incomplete).
12.	Notes and clippings from newspapers. 18 pages undated. *This material is significant as it includes ethnographic notes, hand drawn network diagrams and significant clippings from local papers relating to violence.
The Established and the Outsiders	
13.	Full draft of Manuscript dated 1964. 227 pages. Contains annotations and corrections.
14.	Partial draft of Manuscript, circa 77 pages (some duplicates). Contains annotations and corrections. Undated.
15.	Letters. Correspondence between NE and JS dated 1964.
16.	Selected bibliography, acknowledgements to the book.

*This is a broad outline.

For us, one of the most exciting finds in the bundle of papers is presented here in Figure 1 which is a hand drawn map of churches and church membership and which gives a clearer indication of the precise location of the three zones. One can clearly the see the detached and semi-detached houses, described in the book, on the middle to top left had side of the picture. What is also evident here is that there were relatively few of those types of houses. The village is also clearly visible as are the gaps that existed between the houses and that the houses north for the road running through Winston Parva are drawn in the same style. The gaps are significant as these indicate the infill housing must have been built after the fieldwork had been completed in the mid-1950s. There is also a clear separation between Zones 1 and 2 and Zone 3. Zone three is separated by a railway track (no longer in existence) and one gets a sense from the drawing of the small confined space Zone 3 occupies. The map also enables to identity which parts of Zone 3 were there at the time of the fieldwork and which are later developments

Figure 1: Hand Drawn Map of South Denoting Zones, Churches and Church Membership



6. Return to Winston Parva: The Next Phase

The rediscovery, and subsequent analysis, of these papers, means that, for the first time, a meaningful restudy, or a 'Return to Winston Parva', is now possible. It is also clear that significance of these papers extends well beyond what we had originally planned to do and a much larger project is now envisaged. However, since our receipt of the materials, we have taken several measures to preserve the material, including placing everything in acid-free/oxidisation-resistant storage. For the next phase we secured some funding to have the thesis professionally digitized. In addition to the thesis, the related paradata and marginalia (correspondence, field notes, etc.) which also needs digitising, and some careful curation in preparation for archiving. Once this is complete the plan is to deposit the thesis and copies of related material, at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach am Neckar in Germany to sit alongside the already achieved materials relating to *The Established and the Outsiders*. Thereafter it will be available to all.

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