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Process-Oriented Micro-Macro-Analysis. Methodological Reflections on Elias and Bourdieu

Nina Baur [*]

Abstract: *»Prozessorientierte Mikro-Makro-Analyse. Ein methodologischer Vergleich von Elias und Bourdieu«*. Both Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu argue that both the research question and social theory should guide methodology and methods. Both theorists argue that any social theory should keep in mind the importance of macro-level structures; in micro-level interactions and social change. In order to fully grasp patterns of social change, social scientists would require a complex causal processed-oriented micro-macro-analysis. Because in research practice, it is almost never possible to implement the full methodology, both Elias and Bourdieu used a short-cut by using a six-step methodology, consisting of (1) self-reflexivity and detachment; (2) an explaining of the theoretical perspective; (3) a reconstructing of the figuration's/field's socio-genesis; (4) a reconstructing of the micro-level; (5) a reconstructing of the macro-level; and (6) a theoretical synopsis. By using an example on local variation of economic practices, the paper illustrates this six-step methodology and concludes with further questions for future research.

Keywords: Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu, process-oriented sociology, relational sociology, micro sociology, macro sociology, social processes, methodology, methods of social research, qualitative methods, quantitative methods, historical methods, mixed methods, economic sociology, urban sociology.

1. Introduction

Modern social scientists are used to stressing the differences between theories and between those theories' methodologies. This is (not only but also) true for Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu. In this paper, I will instead examine the commonalities of these approaches. In particular, I will show that Bourdieu and Elias share some common theoretical assumptions and that they draw similar methodological consequences from these theoretical assumptions. I will argue that the reason why their empirical and methodological work differs in some areas, is that Elias's and Bourdieu's specific research interests differed. Conse-

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quently, as both scholars stress that the specific research question and field both guide theory and methods (and not vice versa) and that different research questions may result in different methodologies, it is only logical that – as a result of these diverging research interests – Bourdieu and Elias both focused on different methods and aspects of their theory. However, I will show that due to the similarities of Elias's and Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, these methodological differences are not in opposition to each other but rather complement each other and, if combined, can provide a very powerful tool for future social research. I will discuss these issues by using an example of my own research on the 'intrinsic logic of cities' and will conclude with some general remarks on the consequences for social science methodology as well on open research questions for future methodological research.

2. Common Theoretical Assumptions

There are many commonalities and differences in Elias's and Bourdieu's theories. However, from a methodological point of view, three commonalities are important, namely the interest in macro-level structures; the interest in micro-level interactions; and the interest in social change.

When comparing Elias and Bourdieu concerning their social theories, even on first sight, it is obvious that both had a strong interest in *macro-level structural effects* which Norbert Elias calls 'figuration' and Pierre Bourdieu names 'social field'. Both Bourdieu and Elias also share the idea that the macro-level structure can be divided into or is characterized by diverging social groups. These social groups have power relations to each other.

Because of their different positions in the field, social actors also have different degrees and types of knowledge ('*Wissen*') and are equipped with different degrees and types of power sources. Although Bourdieu underlines the relevance of power slightly more and Elias slightly more stresses aspects of knowledge, in both theories, both power and knowledge are in so far important in order to understand social processes, because knowledge is considered important to explain why specific actors choose specific strategies in power games.

Elias and Bourdieu also have in common that they were not only interested in the macro-level but in the *micro-level, i.e. individual interactions*. Basically, two types of interaction can be observed, namely interactions (1) within one social group and (2) between social groups. Both Bourdieu and Elias argue that macro-micro-relationships depend on people's positions in the structure, because specific individuals have different knowledge and power. People have always interests and goals they aim at, and they will use strategic action in order to achieve these goals. In doing so, they will use knowledge. The body of knowledge as well as the power resources individual actors can draw on are provided to them by being members of a specific social group.

A final point of Elias's and Bourdieu's theory that is methodologically relevant is that both are also strongly interested in *social change*. On the issues of (a) why and how social change occurs and (b) what patterns of social reproduction and stability over time can be observed, Bourdieu and Elias contribute complementary arguments which lead to the same result:

Bourdieu argues that a person's specific knowledge is incorporated in the 'habitus'. As the habitus is rarely reflected and highly routinized, the result is a surprising stability of social action, meaning that due to their limited knowledge, people do not pursue or even consider all paths of action potentially open to them. Due to their limited knowledge, they neither know about all actors nor fully grasp all known actors' intentions (as these might be very different from their own).

Elias takes up the latter argument and adds that actors also usually act simultaneously. Limited knowledge and simultaneity of action typically generates unintended side effects of action (Elias 2012 [1970], 129-63), and this results in social change.

Both Elias and Bourdieu therefore concur that because of the unintended side effects of actions/habitus, people's actions in time change both their position of power in the figuration/field and at the same time change the figuration/field itself. This can have different results for different actors:

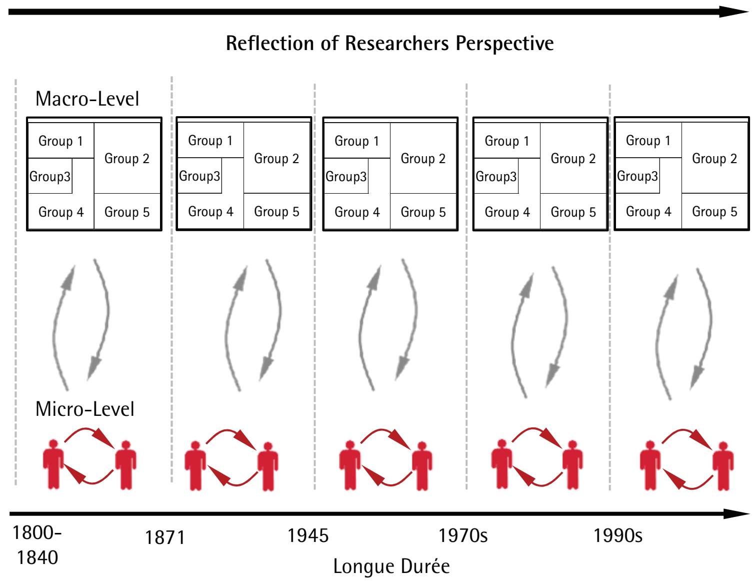
1) *Changes of actors' positions in the figuration/field:* One actor may belong to a social group at a first point in time and manage to keep her position of power over time, i.e. she will remain in the same social group at a later point in time. A different actor may move from one social group to another social group, thus changing his position of power in the figuration or field.
2) *Changes of the structure of the figuration/field:* At the same time, between two points in time, either the sizes of the groups and/or the power relations between the groups may change. Some social groups may become larger and/or more powerful, others may become smaller and/or less powerful, while still other social groups may remain the same.

This social change is not arbitrary – if social scientists could fully understand both the structure of the figuration and people's knowledge, aims, and power sources associated with their position of the fields, one could also at least partially predict typical patterns of social change.

3. Common Methodological Consequences

These common theoretical assumptions are methodologically important because they have implications on Elias's and Bourdieu's concept of causality and process-oriented methodology. Basically, what both theories require is a causal processed-oriented micro-macro-analysis which enables social scientists to trace long-term social changes (i.e. on the 'longue durée'). This methodology has never been fully explicated by Bourdieu and Elias themselves, but it is implicit in their empirical work and therefore can be reconstructed, as has been done in recent years both for Elias (e.g. Baur and Ernst 2011; Landini and Dépelteau 2014) and Bourdieu (e.g. Robson and Sanders 2009; Bernhard and Schmidt 2012; Lenger et al. 2013; Brake et al. 2013; Grenfell and Lebaron 2014; Schmitz and Blasius 2012; Blasius and Schmitz 2014; Schmitz 2016, 121-39; Blasius et al. 2017; Schmitz et al. 2017).

Graph 1: Causal Process-Oriented Micro-Macro-Analysis



When reading both what has been written by Elias and Bourdieu themselves and these methodological reconstructions, one can surmise that both theorists would agree that a methodology for processed-oriented micro-macro-analysis would require several steps (Graph 1):

1) *Self-Reflexivity and Detachment:* As all social scientists are also part of the figuration/field and thus at least partially bound by the knowledge and interests arising from their position in the overall power structure, any social analysis is limited. In order to avoid partiality, all researchers should start with reflecting their own perspectivity.
2) *Explicating Researcher's Theoretical Perspective:* As theory guides methodology and is strongly influenced by specific research interests, both the specific research focus and theoretical perspective have to be explicated.

3) *Periodization/Phasing:* As one cannot analyze the whole of human history, one would have to determine a starting point of analysis and divide the *longue durée* in different phases which are each characterized by relative stability of the figuration/field during each period.
4) *Reconstructing Micro-Level Change*: For each phase, one has to identify typical patterns of interaction on the micro-level as well as typical ways of strategically acting in order to improve one's position in the figuration/field. Again, by comparing phases, one could trace social change.
5) *Reconstructing Macro-Level Change*: For each phase, one has to reconstruct the structure of the macro-level, i.e. the figuration/field. By comparing the figurations/fields of the different phases, one can analyze social change on the macro-level and show how the figuration/field develops over the time.
6) *Identifying Causal Relations in Micro-Macro-Interactions*: Next, one would have to analyze micro-macro-interactions, asking: How did the macro-level influence the micro-level in a specific period? How did the micro-level change the macro-level? How in turn did this influence both the structure of the macro-level and the micro-level interactions in the next phase? In what typical patterns of social change does this result?
7) *Theoretical Synopsis*: Finally, all results have to be theoretically integrated. This not only means reflecting methodological blind spots but also achieving a more general model of social change.

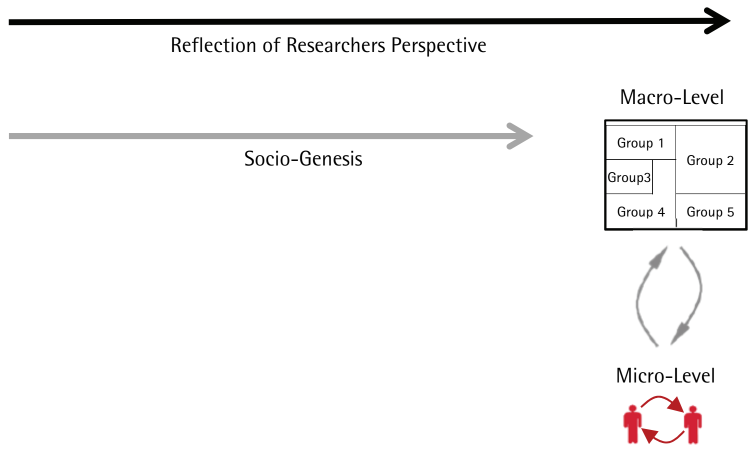
While the above model would be the ideal social science methodology, this short summary also illustrates that if researchers would really like to implement such a methodology in research practice, there are several obstacles: First, such a methodology would be very time-consuming and could never be accomplished within a single research project. Secondly, any research analyzing long-term social change soon faces the problem that there is a lack of data and that even if there are data sources available, they are likely to be very different types of data from very different samples for each period in time (Baur 2004; 2005, 343-52; 2008a). Thirdly, there are some unresolved methodological problems which I will come back to in the final chapter of this paper.

Due to these problems, both Elias and Bourdieu used a methodical short-cut. Their implicit argument (which, again, can be reconstructed from their empirical work) is that the main problem is the reconstruction of micro-macro-interactions in the *longue durée*. Therefore, the more complex model introduced above is deflated to a simplified methodology, consisting of six steps (see also Graph 2):

1) *Self-Reflexivity and Detachment*.
2) *Explicating Researcher's Theoretical Perspective*. A single research project is likely to focus on one of the following steps, but it is important to explicate which of these steps are focused on and why.
3) *Reconstructing the Socio-Genesis*: While the first two steps basically remain the same, the phasing and the reconstruction of both the macro- and the mi-

cro-level of each phase as well as changes of micro-macro-interactions over time are replaced by a simplified reconstruction of the socio-genesis of the figuration/field.
4) *Reconstructing the Micro-Level for the Present*.
5) *Reconstructing the Macro-Level Change for the Present*. Both the micro-level and the macro-level are now reconstructed only for the present phase (not for all phases).
6) *Theoretical Synopsis*.

Graph 2: Simplified Model for Process-Oriented Micro-Macro-Analysis



So, while Elias and Bourdieu would broadly agree on this general methodology and methodological guidelines, why is their theoretical and empirical work so different? This is simply explained: As both theorists differed in their substantial research interests as well as in the aspects of social theory that they were especially engrossed in (step 2), they also focused on different steps in the simplified methodological framework:
- *Norbert Elias* immersed in theorizing social processes, which resulted in the strong use of *historical methods and social pattern analyses* (Baur 2005, 2008b; Ernst 2010; Baur and Ernst 2011).
- *Pierre Bourdieu* concerned himself with micro-macro-relationships and strongly mixed qualitative and quantitative methods in order to grasp them: In order to analyze and visualize social fields, e.g. in 'Distinction' (Bourdieu 1984), Bourdieu strongly used *quantitative methods* and particularly employed surveys which he analyzed by using correspondence analysis, a method specifically developed by Bourdieu to analyze social fields (Robson and Sanders 2009; Lebaron 2009, 2012; Mejstrik 2012; Blasius and Schmitz 2013, 2014; Blasius et al. 2017). For reconstructing micro-interactions, e.g.

in ‘Algeria 1960’ (Bourdieu 1979), Bourdieu combined various *qualitative methods* such as qualitative interviews, ethnography, architectural analyses e.g. of buildings, as well as photography (Schultheis et al. 2009; Brake 2013).

Regardless, Elias also had an interest in analyzing micro-macro-relationships (Baur and Ernst 2011), e.g. by mixing survey data with ethnography in ‘The Established and the Outsiders’ (Elias and Scotson 2008) and by analyzing maps and buildings in ‘The Court Society’ (Elias 2006). Similarly, it is possible to analyze long-term social processes by using process-oriented methodology in the Bourdieuian framework (e.g. Lange-Vester 2013; Schlüter 2013). Thus, these latter aspects are not absent but simply underdeveloped in the respective approaches.

Consequently, figurational analyses would benefit from a more decisive methodology for micro-macro-interactions and research in the Bourdieuian tradition would benefit from a more elaborated process-oriented methodology. If the methodological work conducted in both research traditions were combined, the result would be a big step towards the general methodological framework both authors aimed at.

However, such a methodological integration remains to be conducted. In order to make a step into this direction, in the rest of this paper, I will illustrate what such an integration could look like. Using an example from my own research, I will show how Norbert Elias’s process-orientated methodology and Bourdieu’s methodology for analyzing macro-level structure by using quantitative methods and micro-level interaction by using qualitative methods – namely ethnography – could be combined in research practice.

4. Six Steps in a Process-Oriented Micro-Macro-Analysis

4.1 Self-Reflexivity and Detachment

Both Elias and Bourdieu took a strong interpretative stance in so far as they were strongly aware of the fact that social scientists are not only analyzing the figuration/field, but are themselves also part of the figuration/field they analyze. This results in the problem that there is no ‘objective’ view on reality. Instead, social science research is always deformed by a researcher’s subjectivity. As has been elaborately discussed especially in German-language historical and social sciences, ‘subjectivity’ has three sub-dimensions, all of which are important to research in different ways (Baur 2008b; Baur and Ernst 2011):

1) *‘Verstehen’ (Insider Perspective):* Subjectivity is a necessary resource to understand the meaning and intentions social actors attribute to their actions. For example, ethnography stresses that at least some insider knowledge is necessary in order to be able to interpret social actions (Fetterman 1998),

and sociology of knowledge has developed special hermeneutical procedures to analyze this knowledge (Kurt and Herbrik 2015).

2) *Perspectivity ('Perspektivität') (Outsider Perspective):* When doing research, we define specific topics as relevant, and by choosing a specific social theory, we also define how we are analyzing these topics. This is necessary, as human beings cannot grasp social reality as a whole, and when done in a controlled way, this step is methodologically relatively unproblematic. Still, this step is also in so far subjective, as by defining a topic as more relevant than other things, researchers automatically create theoretical blind spots in their research. As all researchers only have limited knowledge, in focusing their research question, they might leave out central aspects of the investigated phenomena. I will come back to this point in the next section.
3) *Partiality ('Parteilichkeit'):* Subjectivity can also distort research, because researchers are so entangled in their own value system that they systematically misinterpret or even forge data. Partiality can also be unintentional, e.g. because specific aspects of the data are not properly considered due to personal interests and prejudices. 'Alternative facts' and 'fake news' are an extreme form of partiality.

While both 'Verstehen' and defining one's theoretical perspective are necessary and unavoidable aspects of any social science research, partiality endangers validity of any research and thus should be avoided at all costs. Both Elias and Bourdieu were deeply aware of this problem and demand a 'reflexive sociology' (Bourdieu 1990, 1998, 2004; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) in which researchers conduct a 'sociology of sociology' and at all times during their research pay conscious attention to the effects of their own position, their own set of internalized structures, and how these are likely to distort or prejudice their objectivity. In doing so, subjectivity becomes 'detached' (Elias 2007) and thus enables researchers to become as 'objective' as possible.

True to their demands, both researchers not only continuously reflected their own subjectivity their whole lives but made the time for writing on their methodological self-reflections (Bourdieu 2007; Bourdieu and Krais 2013; Elias 1994; for Elias see also Korte 2013; Ernst 2017; Ernst and Korte 2017). As not only a researcher's personal experience but the figuration/field of science itself is distorted by social processes hindering the search for truth (Baur et al. 2016), both scholars also reflected on power games and social processes characterizing the figuration/field of science (Elias 2007; Bourdieu 1990, 1998, 2004; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; for Bourdieu see also Engler 2013; Friebertshäuser 2013).

As can be seen from these elaborations, the self-reflection can either be integrated into a piece of writing, or it can be a parallel part of one's research. For example, in my own work, reflections on sociology of science (e.g. Baur et al. 2016) as well as how interpretation works (e.g. Baur 2009a; Akremi et al. 2018) have been continuous companions of my research.

4.2 Explaining the Theoretical Perspective

While reflecting one's subjectivity is a continuous task for any researcher, the first step in any specific research project is explicating one's perspectivity ('Perspektivität') (Baur 2008b), i.e. framing a research question as 'relevant' and 'interesting' and selecting data appropriate for answering that question. Both in the Eliasian and Bourdieuian tradition, social theory plays both a major role in focusing the research question and in linking theory with the data ('operationalization'). Thus, this theoretical perspective has to be explicated.

For example, the research project I am going to discuss below was part of a larger project group on the 'Intrinsic Logic of Cities' (Berking 2012; Löw 2012). This theoretical concept argues that cities create and maintain their own distinct constellations of knowledge and modes of expression that are reflected in everyday practices as well as inscribed into bodies and objects, and result in typical patterns of change.

The research group aimed at exploring and testing how useful the theoretical concept of intrinsic logic of cities is for analyzing cities, and the main result was that, indeed, cities can not only be distinguished by specific social practices but also that there are at least three dimensions on which these practices vary and which characterize these practices. Namely, cities differ in how they do time, how they do differences, and how they do self (Frank et al. 2014).

However, at the beginning of the research process, there was only the broad concept that cities *might* be different, and in order to examine these possible differences, we had to operationalize the theoretical concept in several steps in order to be able to decide on a research design. The starting point of operationalization was the question of how to identify differences between cities and commonalities within a city. In order to address this issue, we distinguished two dimensions, both of which influenced the strategy of case selection (Hering and Jungmann 2018):

1) *Comparing Cities:* The units of analysis were cities, and in order to grasp the specific characteristics of one city, we had to compare it to other cities. If differences between cities are larger than differences within cities, this would be a strong indicator for 'intrinsic logic of cities'. Thus, we purposefully selected four cities, keeping as many factors constant as possible and at the same time systematically varying the cities on traditional economic structure and differences in national institutional framework. This resulted in the selection of Frankfurt, Dortmund, Birmingham, and Glasgow (for details on the selection of cities, see Baur and Hering 2017a).
2) *Comparing Social Fields:* The concept of 'intrinsic logic of cities' implies a holistic approach, i.e. if the concept holds true, specific constellations of knowledge and everyday practices should be found in all fields of social life. This implies that we had to compare contrasting social fields which are as different as possible. The social fields chosen were local economic practices

(Baur et al. 2014a; Baur and Meier 2017; Baur and Hering 2017a), crime novels (Rauscher 2014), local political discourses (Barbehön and Münch 2015; Barbehön et al. 2016) and urban marketing concepts (Richter 2014; Marent and Rosenbusch 2014). In research practice, this comparative case study design was implemented by continuously changing the analytical perspective between analyzing the single case studies within the projects and theoretical integration across the projects. This was practically organized by joint team work, elaborate analysis workshops during the whole project time and joint writing. Therefore, each project provided a part of the general theory-building. The following discussion will focus on local economic practices. However, the other projects are methodologically important, too, because they provide contextual data which can be used as an interpretative frame for analysis (for details, see Baur and Hering 2017b).

In the project on local economic practices, we faced the problem that the concept of 'intrinsic logic of cities' was still too broad for linking theory and data. Therefore, we had to add a second phase of operationalization and use a second theory as an *intermediate theory* ('Brückentheorie'). We decided on the 'economics of convention' (Diaz-Bone and Thévenot 2010; Diaz-Bone and Salais 2011, 2012; Diaz-Bone 2012, 2015), a prominent theory in the field of economic sociology. We particularly chose this theory because it focusses on economic practices but also (exactly because it focusses on practices) it was very compatible with the concept of 'intrinsic logic of cities'. In addition, both 'economics of convention' and 'intrinsic logic of cities' draw on the Bourdieuian tradition of social theory. We therefore assumed that the theoretical and methodological assumptions relevant for empirical work and subsequent theoretical integration would be similar enough. More importantly, 'economics of convention' are particularly suitable for analyzing bodies of knowledge and practices within the economy, thus allowing us to derive specific hypothesis on how local economies should differ:

Cities should differ in the ways in which they define economic rationality, i.e. what counts as 'economic success' and what one needs to do to be economically successful and to integrate oneself into the city's economic structure. However, actors are only partially aware of the extent to which their everyday practices and activities are shaped by local conventions. Instead, conventions are reproduced interactively via everyday workplace routines and recurring conflicts. In other words, economic practices are embedded in an interpretative framework consisting of silent agreements (unique for each city) that are enacted (rather than talked about) through explicit or implicit (a) *sets of belief*, (b) specific *forms of workplace organization*, including personal working styles and the organization of both the whole business and the work force, and (c) *interactions* e.g. in the hairdressing salons both among the hair stylists and between hair stylists and customers. (d) These conventions become both institutionalized as well as materially consolidated through *space-time arrange-*

ments, meaning how work is organized in space and in time should also be different (Baur et al. 2014a; Hering and Baur 2017a).

Using this more specified theoretical frame, we could finally decide on a specific research design for our project. This research design was guided by the idea that – if intrinsic logics of cities both exist and reflect on how local economic conventions work – (1) these conventions should reproduce over time, and (2) at a specific point in time, all people living in the city should have these conventions in common. Methodologically, this means that we both needed a (1) longitudinal perspective and (2) a cross-sectional perspective.

For the *longitudinal perspective*, we conducted a process-oriented analysis, namely a social pattern analysis ('Verlaufsmusteranalyse') (Baur 2005) in the tradition of Norbert Elias. Namely, we undertook historical case studies of the city's economic histories and combined diverse process-generated data (e.g. newspaper articles, business reports, historical literature) with qualitative interviews (Baur and Hering 2017a; Hering 2018).

Our approach for the *cross-sectional analysis* strongly resembles the methodology suggested by Pierre Bourdieu and is akin to the methodology of other economic sociologists in the Bourdieuian tradition (e.g. Diaz-Bone 2012; Nessel 2012; Schenk and Rössel 2012), meaning that we analyzed a specific market: the hairdressing and barbering market. This market can be conceptualized as a social field and was purposely selected because (a) hairdressing and barbering can be found all over the world and, on first sight, is very similar everywhere, so one would not expect any differences in economic practices between cities. (b) In each city, there are enough shops that both local conventions can unfold and a macro-level structure can develop. (c) In a way, the hairdressing and barbering market is a simplified market because there is usually neither a larger organizational structure nor a production chain nor a physical product, and both consumption and production are organized locally (for more details on the rationale of market selection, see Baur et al. 2014a). This makes it easier to focus on local variations of economic practices. For this specific market, we reconstructed both micro-level interactions and macro-level structure my mixing ethnography and surveys (Baur and Hering 2017b). In the following, I will discuss how we conducted each of these steps of analysis.

4.3 Reconstructing the Figuration's/Field's Socio-Genesis (Norbert Elias)

The first empirical part of our study consisted of reconstructing the figuration's/field's socio-genesis. This required a historical analysis of the *longue durée*, and in order to accomplish this, we strongly drew on Norbert Elias's methodological work because Elias was one of the pioneers of methods of process-oriented methodology. For example, in 'The Civilizing Process' (Elias 2000 [1939]), he used literature and historical documents as data for his analysis. Following Elias (Baur and Ernst 2011) and other historical sociologists (Baur 2005), one needs to conduct the following analysis steps:

1) In order to *define a starting point for the analysis*, one either defines a starting point that is of theoretical interest, or one traces the figuration back in time – a technique called '*backward-reading*' ('Rückwärtslesen') in historical analysis – to the 'formative phase' (Berking and Schwenk 2011), i.e. the point in time at which the figuration seems to have formed. This can be an own step of analysis, but in the case of cities, this was relatively easy: We simply started our analysis with the cities' respective year of foundation.
2) Next, one has to *divide the whole process into sub-periods* which is more difficult. One option is dividing the whole process in *phases of equal length*. These should not be too long in order to avoid missing important patterns of change. For example, if one chose periods of 50 years, one would have missed both World War I and II, as both occurred between 1900 and 1950. At the same time, if these periods are very short, this can be too time-consuming for a single research project. An alternative to choosing periods of equal length is using *meaningful periods* in the sense that the macro-level structure was relatively stable during that time. However, identifying such periods is not easy: Even in the case of European cities which underwent mostly similar economic developments (such as industrialization in the 19th century or industrial decline after the 1970s global economic crisis), the timing and speed of these turning points varies locally (Baur and Hering 2017a), meaning that the phases might differ in length at different locations. Moreover, this timing of structural changes influenced social change. Therefore, *periodization* is an own step of analysis: One traces the figuration's change forward in time ('*forward-reading*', 'Vorwärtslesen') and tries to identify these structural changes. In our case, we indeed found a similar sequence of phases. However, phases greatly varied in timing and length. For example, the global economic crisis of the 1970s and the structural changes this crisis caused started between 1945 (Glasgow) and the 1980s (Birmingham) and ended between the late 1970s (Frankfurt) or not at all yet (Birmingham) (Baur and Hering 2017a).
3) For each sub-period, *data have to be selected* which are suitable for providing information on the research question. In our case, due to lack of other data, we re-analyzed historical literature and investigated newspaper articles, business reports, other available archival data and qualitative interviews. The drawback of the data available was that they only allowed for tracing general structural changes of the cities' overall economies but not changes of individual practices in the hairdressing and barbering markets (Baur and Hering 2017a; Hering 2018).
4) The data can be *analyzed* using e.g. either qualitative content analysis (Ernst 2009) or hermeneutical methods (Kurt and Herbrik 2015) in order to recon-

struct the figuration's structure in each sub-period. Then, the sub-periods are compared in order to trace the socio-genesis.

A first result of the historical analysis (for detailed results, see Hering 2012; Baur and Hering 2017a) was that the cities have a lot in common which is unsurprising in so far that this was one of the selection criteria for those cities. Still, as this selection was done with only limited prior knowledge, this argument is now more empirically grounded. Specifically, all cities were regional trading centers in the Middle Ages and booming industrial towns in the 19th century. They had similar population sizes in all historical phases and all of them are culturally, ethically, and religiously diverse. Furthermore, they are important inland transport hubs for land, air, and water traffic, and as such, they play an important role as leading national and regional commercial centers. Finally, all cities were equally hit by the 1970s global economic crisis.

Table 1: The Cities' Socio-Genesis

City	National-Institutional Framework	Ties to the Past (Traditional Economic Orientation in the 19th / 20th Century)	Crisis Response (Responses to Structural Changes since the 1970s)	
			Economic Reorientation	Crisis Successfully Tackled
Dortmund	Germany	Heavy Industry	X	
Frankfurt	Germany	Diversification of Economic Structure		X
Glasgow	UK	Heavy Industry	X	X
Birmingham	UK	Diversification of Economic Structure	X	

Source: Baur and Hering 2017a.

Just as in any comparative case study, despite trying to keep as many factors constant as possible, differences between the cities remain. As Table 1 illustrates, the cities differed on their national institutional framework, Frankfurt and Dortmund being German, Birmingham and Glasgow being British cities. They also differed in their ties to the past: In the 19th and 20th century, Dortmund and Glasgow relied much more on heavy industry, while Birmingham's and Frankfurt's economic structure was much more diverse. Again, this result was not surprising, as these were criteria for case selection, but it deepened analysis.

Despite being unsurprising, these findings are also important for the overall research question as they mean that, in theory, there should either be no or only little differences in the cities' responses to the 1970s global economic crisis or concerning their ability to successfully cope with situations of radical economic transformation. Alternatively, differences should either be national differences or differences along the lines of traditional economic structure.

However – and this was the first surprising result of our historical analysis – this is not the case: When hit by the 1970s economic crisis, Frankfurt was the only city that continued following its traditional path of economic reproduction and thus maintained its traditional economic structure. In contrast, Birmingham, Glasgow, and Dortmund were forced to reorient their economy.

The data also revealed that how cities react to a crisis does not automatically guarantee success in the sense of keeping the local per capital income high and unemployment low or even increasing per capita income and decreasing unemployment. On the contrary, we found that the cities vary largely in their ability to successfully manage structural challenges, and the patterns of success are different than those of crisis response: Frankfurt's transformation has been most successful, and Glasgow, too, is credited with having moved through the structural changes successfully, even though the outcome is not as unambiguous as it is for Frankfurt. In contrast, Birmingham and Dortmund continue to struggle with the consequences brought about by the many years of crisis.

All in all, the historical analysis we used could *reveal* the figurations' sociogenesis on the macro-level. However, it could not *explain* these patterns of change because the data available to us were not suitable for analyzing micro-level interactions in a historical perspective. In order to do so, one would need to conduct an ethnography of the past – something that is not possible, as ethnography heavily relies on observation which has to be conducted in the present of the respective research project.

4.4 Reconstructing the Micro-Level: The Individual's Knowledge, Placement within and Ability to Change the Figuration/Field (Pierre Bourdieu)

While in his empirical work, Norbert Elias mostly aimed at the socio-genesis and the longitudinal perspective, Pierre Bourdieu mostly focused on examining the current structure of the field/figuration and on identifying individuals' knowledge of, placement within, and ability to change the field/figuration. As stated above, both scholars assume that knowledge and power relations are interrelated. As knowledge has to be identified on the micro-level and power relations have to be identified on the macro-level, Bourdieu was extremely interested in micro-macro-interactions. To reconstruct knowledge as well as resulting everyday practices and interactions on the micro-level, Bourdieu mostly used open-ended qualitative data such as ethnography, photography, mappings of buildings and architecture, qualitative interviews and documents of life, the so-called ego documents (e.g. Bourdieu 1979).

Within our research project on economic practices in the four cities, we used these methods, too, for reconstructing the micro-level. As stated above, we focused on the local hairdressing and barbering market (for an explanation of our selection criteria of this market see Baur et al. 2014) to do so.

Graph 3: Analyzing the Embeddedness of the Salons in the City, using Ethnography and Photography

Dortmund | Birmingham

Glasgow | Frankfurt

Source: Patrik Budenz 2013.

The main data source for reconstructing individual interactions was *ethnography* which consisted of two parts (Baur and Hering 2017b):

1) *Classical Ethnography:* We started with a so-called 'classical ethnography' (Fetterman 1998) in two salons per city from contrasting market segments between 2011 and 2012, aiming at a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973, 3-30) of everyday practices in the salons. In order to observe everyday interaction, we derived the hypothesis from 'economics of convention' that everyday practices in these salons should vary concerning (a) belief systems, (b) work organization, (c) interaction amongst the workers and between workers and customers, and (d) time-space-arrangements of work. From these four dimensions of everyday work practices, we developed a framework for observation. Using this framework, we started doing field work in a team of at least two researchers within each of the cities. Researchers alternatively observed work practices in the salons in the cities. Once the rest of the research team could not tell any more from the field notes who had observed a salon on which day, we continued doing ethnography with one researcher per

city/salon. We analyzed the field protocols as a team in data sessions. The result were hypotheses on how work practices in the cities differed.

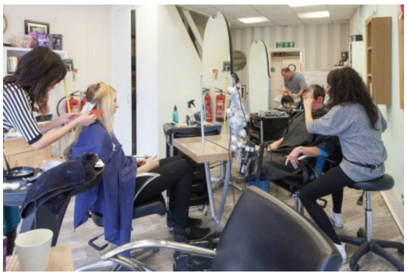
2) *Focussed Ethnography:* In 2013, we tested hypotheses derived from classical ethnography by conducting focused ethnography (Knoblauch 2005) in four long-established salons per city from contrasting neighborhoods. While classical ethnography is more open-ended and looks at a broad range of everyday interactions, for focused ethnography one starts field work with specific theoretical interests in mind. This allows researchers to focus on very specific types of interactions and consequently analyze those in more detail. For example, one of the aspects that turned out to be theoretically very interesting in classical ethnography were practices of waiting: When observing how people wait and what people do when waiting, one can learn a lot both about time-space-arrangements and about typical everyday interactions. In focused ethnography, we specifically focused on these situations and observed them in more detail (for results, see Meier and Griem 2014).

Graph 4: Photography on Interactions in the Salons, Using Ethnography and Photography

Dortmund

Frankfurt

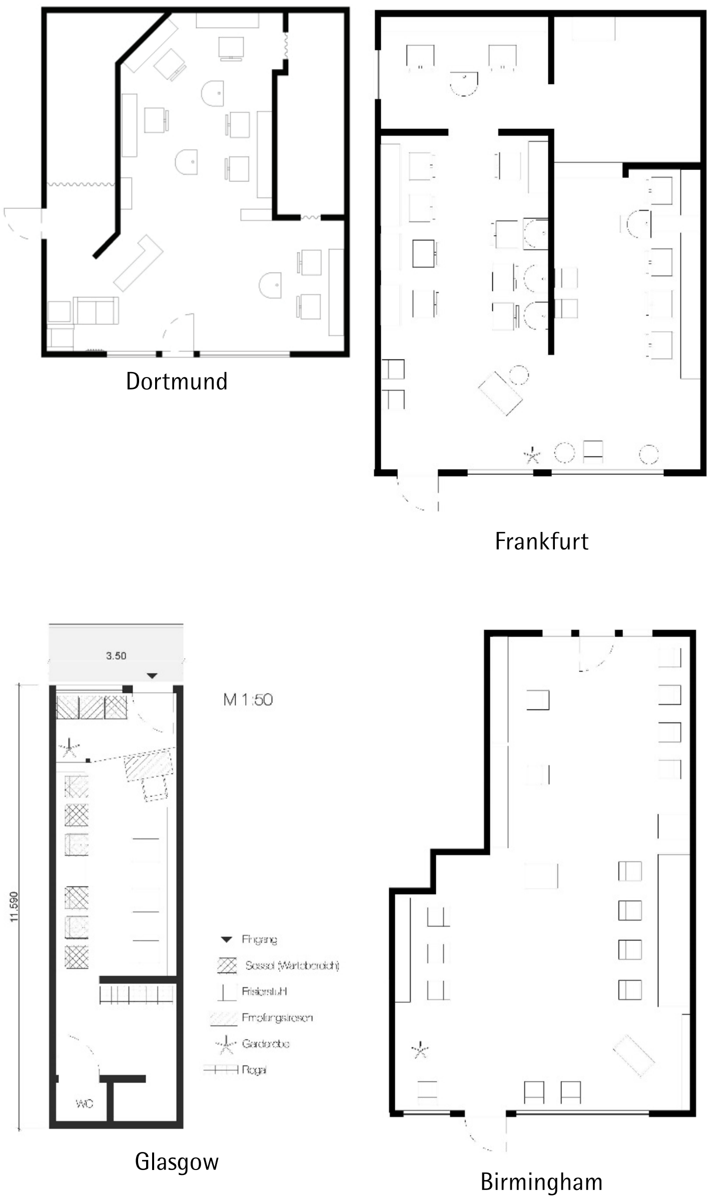
Glasgow



Birmingham

Source: Patrik Budenz 2013.

Graph 5: Maps and Cartography



Ethnographic observation was only one data source which we combined with other data sources. Similar to Bourdieu (Schultheis et al. 2009; Brake 2013), we used *photography* in two ways:

The ethnographers took pictures during field work as part of documentation and to help their memory (Ayaß 2012). On these pictures, one can see how the places differ. However, as some of the differences on these pictures are relatively arbitrary due to lack of photographic competence, it is difficult to say if differences on the pictures are caused by the eye of the photographer (i.e. by different ways of doing photography, e.g. by using different angles and cameras), or if they are caused by differences in the object of photography (Baur and Budenz 2017).

In order to get more 'objective' documentary pictures, we were accompanied by a professional photographer during field work for focused ethnography who took pictures both of the cities and of how the salons were embedded into the cities (Graph 3) and of interactions in the salons (Graph 4).

All in all, photography can both be an additional data source and a means for thick description in data presentation, as it makes it a lot easier for readers to imagine a place, if there is visual material.

By examining buildings, one can learn a lot about time-space-arrangements (Edinger 2014; Baur et al. 2014b, 17-27). Therefore, another data source both Bourdieu and Elias strongly used are *mappings of buildings*, as can be seen from Bourdieu's (1979) analysis of the Algerian Berber's House and Elias's (2006) enquiry of the noble's palace in the 'The Court Society'. In our study too, we drew maps of each salon to see how work was socially organized and which part of the work was for example hidden in different rooms and which rooms were open to customers. Example maps can be seen in Graph 5, and indeed, mapping proved that cities differ a lot in spatial arrangements of work (Löw and Stoll 2016).

Finally, we interviewed salon owners before doing ethnography. *Qualitative interviews* were especially useful not only for background information e.g. on competition and work organization but also for identifying differences in belief systems about what makes a salon's success. Again, we found huge differences between the cities (Baur et al. 2014a).

For example, in Dortmund, hairdressers typically are convinced of the importance of traditional artisanship work ethics, as the following statement exemplifies (Z. 260-1, translation by Nina Baur):

> Friendliness, courteousness, cleanliness and good work. These are, of course, the Alpha and Omega.

In contrast, Frankfurt business owners rely on efficiency and good organization (Z. 185, translation by Nina Baur):

> Well, you need to be able to organize things, of course. I am rather good at organizing things.

Salon owners in Birmingham are certain that good training, personal competence, and hairdressers' personality make a salon's success. They are typically so self-confident that they seem almost arrogant (Z. 648-50):

> You know, I could go everywhere with how I was trained. In any salon. Even London. If I wanted to. Because I've had such good training.

The belief systems presented so far at least partly correspond with what classical economic theories propagate as important for business success. Still, each locality stresses completely different aspects of the economic doctrine. In contrast, Glasgow differs from the other cities in that it completely ignores what economic theories say. Instead, here salon owners are confident that a shop can only be successful when customers and personnel are happy (Z. 405-8):

> [W]e work well and have a good laugh, and even with clients, we all interact with our clients and with the stylist, and I like that, I like the personal feel.

As can be seen from this discussion, we combined various qualitative data in order to understand individuals' knowledge and resulting everyday practices and interactions on the micro-level. As stated above, these various data types were analyzed and triangulated in common data sessions within the research team in order to develop hypotheses on local differences of economic conventions.

As a result of this research phase (Baur et al. 2014a), we could show that (1) the concepts of what is professional and what makes a salon successful as well as the resulting salon concepts varied largely. The cities also differed in (2) doing time, (3) doing space and (4) in how important the community and the individual are in everyday interactions.

During data analysis, each of these four dimensions were divided into subcategories, which we used for developing more detailed hypotheses. For example, when scrutinizing 'doing time', we found, that in everyday interactions, (a) people referred to the past, present, and future to varying degrees in different cities. Cities diverged also insofar, if the past, present, and future are connoted as something positive or negative. Likewise, analysis revealed disparities in (b) how innovations are done; (c) the flexibility demanded from workers and – closely associated with this – the economization of work ('Entgrenzung'). (d) Cities also diverged in the value of time itself, e.g. if customers' and employees' time is considered a scarce resource to be saved or if time is a commodity sold as 'wellness' and 'relaxation', resulting in (e) different speeds of work. For example, in Frankfurt and Birmingham 'working fast' means 'being efficient', 'wasting no time', being 'economical' and 'saving time for yourself for focusing on something else' as well as 'saving customers' time'. This reflected in work organization in so far, as work was extremely organized, using techniques of time management and work plans. In contrast, in Dortmund and Glasgow 'working fast' means 'not taking time for customers', 'not valuing yourself' and 'being sloppy', resulting in much more relaxed and less organized work days and much more average time per customer.

When synthesizing the results of the micro-analysis to specific constellations of knowledge and practices typical for each city, one can show that there are very different local constellations (Baur et al. 2014a; Baur and Hering 2017a):

Frankfurt is orientated towards the future and can be characterized by an ever-increasing speed of life ('Beschleunigung'), a high orientation towards markets and a high degree of planning. Business practices are aimed at a distinction between the hairdressing salons, meaning that it does matter to which hairdressing salon customers go because they signal which social class they belong to in doing so. Glasgow is orientated towards neighborhood and communicative settings, looks for balance between innovation and risk, and makes strong use of marketing. Dortmund stresses its' continuity with the past and deliberately tries to slow down speed of life ('Entschleunigung'). Hairdressers are highly orientated towards tradition and have a high degree of flexibility within given rules. Birmingham perceives itself as innovative, strongly embraces diversity but at the same time feels a strong need of integrating this diversity.

4.5 Reconstructing the Macro-Level: The Figuration's / Field's Rules and Social Structure (Pierre Bourdieu)

When examining single salons, one can see how people interact as well as why they interact the way they do in the sense of what meaning they associate with their everyday practices. However, one can neither see if and how micro-level interactions are influenced by the structure of the whole field/figuration (macro-level), nor if and how micro-level interactions have an effect on the macro-level. In order to do so, one also needs data on the macro-level. Therefore, as stated in section 3, both Elias and Bourdieu argue that an ideal research design also reconstructs the macro-level. As stated above, here Bourdieu pioneered, e.g. by using survey data in 'Distinction' (Bourdieu 1984).

In our study, we followed this path in making use of survey methodology (Groves 2004; Lyberg and Stukel 2010; Blasius and Thiessen 2012; Baur 2014) and developing a questionnaire which we pretested in 2012 (Baur et al. 2012). Using this questionnaire, in 2013/2014, we conducted a multi-mode cross-sectional survey with hairdressing and barbering salon owners in all four cities (n= 624, response rate, 33 %) (for detailed results, see Baur et al. 2014c; Baur and Meier 2017). This survey had several objectives:

First, the survey provided some general information on the *structure of the field* and confirmed a priori assumptions we had drawn at the beginning of the project from literature. For example, most hairdressing salons are small companies and usually employ less than five employees, including the owner. Only one in three salons has more than five employees (Baur and Meier 2017).

Second, two questions we could not answer with the qualitative data (due to the small number of cases) were: (a) If differences between salons are found, can they be generalized to the field as a whole? (b) Which kind of structure causes these differences – the *cities* (which is what the approach of 'intrinsic logic of cities' would claim) or *market segments* (which is what economic sociology would claim)? In order to answer these questions, the survey not only assessed which city a hairdressing salon was located in, but also included a set of questions aiming at grasping market segments: Salon owners were asked to assess which types of customers they addressed. Namely, we asked what gender, age, educational level, social class, modernity, ethnicity and so on typical customers had, as these structural variables are usually used for market segmentation in marketing (for details, see Baur et al. 2012).

We analyzed these items using cluster analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1985; Ametowobla et al. 2017) and could identify four market segments: In all cities, the market has a hierarchical structure, distinguishing between working-class, middle-class, and upper-class salons. This class dimension is complemented by a gender dimension: While all market segments identified so far have in common that they address both men and women alike, barbers particularly aim at male customers. Although barbers can be found in all cities, this market segment is much more important in the UK than in Germany: In both British cities, about one in seven salons was a barber, in Germany it was only one in 25 (Baur and Hering 2017b). Market segmentation was an important intermediate step, because we now could test in further analyses, if variation in the data can be explained by differences between cities or differences between market segments.

Finally, we *tested hypotheses on everyday practices* developed from micro-level analysis. A method suggested by Bourdieu for doing this is *correspondence analysis* (Robson and Sanders 2009; Lebaron 2009, 2012; Mejstrik 2012; Blasius and Schmitz 2013, 2014; Blasius et al. 2017). Correspondence analysis has the advantage that it poses little statistical requirements on the data structure and can visualize even complex data, making it easy to identify even intricate patterns (Blasius 1987, 2001; Greenacre 1993; Blasius and Greenacre 2004). Using correspondence analysis, one can visualize not only the overall structure of the field and how it is linked to everyday practices, but also qualify these data (Kuckartz 2017): In interpreting correspondence analysis using hermeneutical methods, one can get hints to why everyday practices and field structure are linked in a particular way.

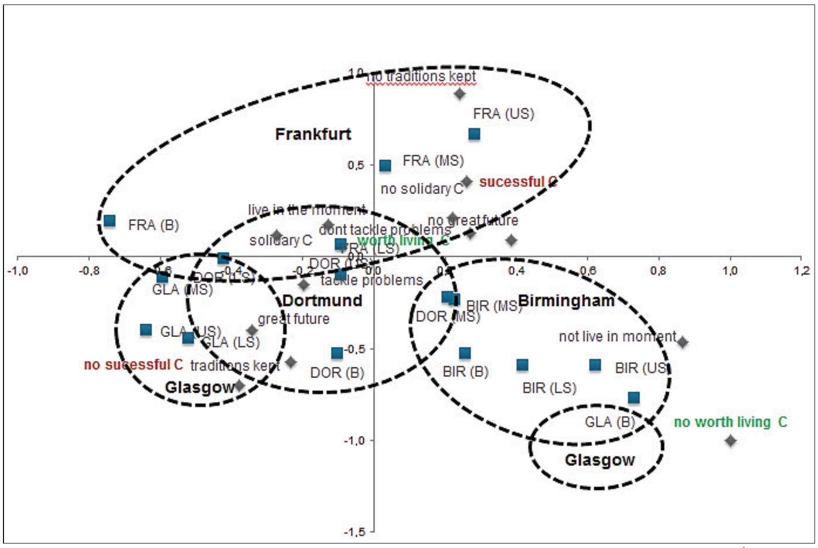
In the following, I will exemplify this point by presenting the results of an exemplary correspondence analysis with survey data from our study. For this particular analysis, a set of items was used that asked the interview partners to assess their cities. The items aimed at measuring how actors perceived the past, present, and future and how they linked this view both to the general quality of life and economic prosperity. For example, Glaswegians were asked the questions in Table 2, for the inhabitants of the other cities the city name was replaced accordingly (Baur et al. 2012).

Table 2: Survey Items on Images of the City in Glasgow

22. This is about Glasgow. To what extent do the following statements apply to Glasgow?	strongly agree	slightly agree	slightly disagree	strongly disagree
Glasgow is a city worth living in.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Glasgow is a solidary city.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Glasgow is an economically successful city.	☐	☐	☐	☐
In Glasgow, people do not only talk about problems, they also tackle them.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Here in Glasgow, traditions are kept alive.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Glasgow's great time is yet to come.	☐	☐	☐	☐
We in Glasgowlive in the moment.	☐	☐	☐	☐

Using correspondence analysis, in order to assess how the items in Table 2 are associated with both cities and market segments, the data matrix is deflated to two dimensions (axes) in Graph 6. The answers loading highly on the dimensions are highlighted.

Graph 6: Reconstructing the Social Field Using Correspondence Analysis: Images of the City



Source: multi-mode cross-sectional survey with hair salon owners in all four cities (n= 624, response rate 33 %. For more information on data collection and questionnaire, see Baur et al. 2012. For statistical analyses of the data other than correspondence analysis see Baur et al. 2014c; Baur and Meier 2017. Correspondence analysis courtesy to Linda Hering.

As can be seen from the graph, except for Glasgow, where barbers differ from class-oriented salons, for the other cities, salons from different market segments show up in the same part of the graph. This implies that in all cities, the differences between cities are larger than those between market segments.

Interviewees from Frankfurt are the only ones occupying the upper half of the graph. They seem to agree that Frankfurt is both a successful city *and* a city worth living in, although it is not a solidary city. The graph also indicates that Frankfurt frames itself as successful exactly because it does not keep its traditions.

In contrast to Frankfurt, Glasgow class-oriented salons (lower left quadrant) frame their city as an unsuccessful city, but one worth living in – apparently because interviewees believe that they both keep their traditions and have a great future ahead of them.

Glasgow barbers as well as all Birmingham salons (lower right quadrant) differ from Frankfurt in the opposite way than Glasgow class-oriented salons do: They see their city as successful but not worth living in. A problem seems to be that one does not live in the moment, i.e. does lose the present in economic change.

Finally, Dortmund (lower left quadrant and middle of the graph) seems to be caught in-between: The city is seen as keeping to traditions but in doing so, not tackling problems and thus – while being unsuccessful – is still worth living in but less so than Glasgow.

While these results confirm the hypothesis of ethnography and at the same time deepen the understanding of the field, analyses of other parts of the survey which are not presented here falsified hypotheses built from ethnography.

4.6 Theoretical Synopsis

The last methodological step is integrating data. In order to link the figuration's socio-genesis with the current figuration, we triangulated the results from the reconstruction of (a) the socio-genesis, (b) micro-level interactions and (c) the structure of the field on the macro-level and at the same time used the data of the whole project group on 'Intrinsic Logic of Cities' as interpretative frame. Again, both Elias and Bourdieu would have conducted this step.

Triangulation (for details, see Baur and Hering 2017a) seems to confirm the hypothesis that intrinsic logics of cities exist: Deeply rooted in history, each city disposes of a unique and distinct constellation of knowledge and modes of expression that are reflected in everyday practices. Therefore, despite global trends, local responses to crises differ – and our data reveal that these responses matter.

There is also an evident elective affinity ('Wahlverwandtschaft') between a city's current economic conventions and its economic history and traditions: For formerly wealthy commercial centers like Frankfurt and Birmingham –

cities that have been characterized by a small-scale and diversified economy – profit maximization, time management, and market differentiation are the logical continuation of a long historical tradition. Economic conventions provide specific ways of thinking about doing things that prestructure the ways actors think about crisis.

However, while economic conventions and respective economic practices referring to the city's past and historically grown economic traditions explain well why cities reacted to the crisis the way they did, the same conventions do not explain the cities' current economic success. Against all economic truism, profit orientation does not automatically guarantee economic success (Birmingham), and honoring the traditions of a blue-collar society does not automatically lead to economic failure (Glasgow). Rather, successful coping strategies seem to draw on other factors, namely on conventions and practices which are external to the economy but weave themselves into economic activity.

5. Elias and Bourdieu Combined: Methodological Consequences

In this paper, I have illustrated how to combine methodological advances made in the research tradition of Norbert Elias on reconstructing socio-genesis with methodological developments furthered by the research tradition of Pierre Bourdieu to a process-oriented micro-macro-analysis. As can be seen from the research example given, such an analysis makes a powerful tool: Findings drawn from such a methodology could not have been made with single-method research designs, as many research questions require both a longitudinal perspective and an idea on macro-level structures and an understanding of micro-level interactions. So, what kind of methodical consequences can be drawn from such combination of methodological stances?

5.1 Comparative Research

In both the Bourdieuian and Eliasian research frameworks, the typical unit of analysis is the field/figuration. In our example, each local economy comprised a single case. As one can only examine the specifics of one case by comparing it to other cases, figurational/field analysis is necessarily comparative research. When selecting cases for comparison, case study research (Hering and Jungmann 2015) advises to keep as many factors on the structural level of the field/figuration as constant as possible ('most similar cases design') and to only systematically vary the cases concerning some aspects central to the research question, preferably factors that are assumed to cause social change ('most different cases design').

5.2 Mixed Methods Research

Process-oriented micro-macro-analysis also requires mixed methods research designs (Kelle 2008; Creswell and Plano Clark 2011; Kuckartz 2014; Baur et al. 2017):

1) For reconstructing *micro-level interactions*, qualitative methods (e.g. ethnography) are needed.
2) For reconstructing *macro-level structures* of the field, quantitative methods (e.g. surveys) are needed.
3) While traditionally, mixed methods research designs only combine qualitative and quantitative methods, in process-oriented micro-macro-analysis, *historical methods* need to be added, as the socio-genesis can only be reconstructed in a longitudinal perspective.

While mixed methods research has made some advances in combining qualitative biographical methods with quantitative survey data panel analyses (Kühn 2017), these methods are only able to grasp short-term and middle-term processes. However, socio-genesis usually is a long-term process and thus requires using process-generated data such as historical documents (Baur 2004; 2005, 279-309, 316-24; Baur 2008a) and big data ('mass data') (Baur 2009b). Mixed methods research currently mostly focusses on combining qualitative interviews and surveys (Baur and Hering 2017b). Therefore, mixed methods research needs to be advanced in so far that it can give guidance on combining other data types (Baur 2011; Baur and Hering 2017b).

5.3 Historical Research and the Assessment of Causality

This points to the issue that advancing methods of historical research has been neglected for a long time in the social sciences. In order to conduct process-oriented micro-macro-analyses, historical methods need to be re-integrated into the basic canon of social science methods. In addition, historical research poses some unresolved methodological issues that need to be resolved in order to advance process-oriented micro-macro-analysis. More specifically, I have discussed in section 3 that the methodology presented in this paper is a methodical short-cut that can be used when no complete analysis is possible. While – as I have shown in this paper – this short-cut can be fruitful, it also has the drawback that it does not conduct a complete analysis of macro-micro-interactions in time. Therefore, *causality* cannot be completely assessed. In order to be able to apply the complete methodology, the following issues need to be resolved:

First, when *defining the population/field of analysis* and the units of analysis/cases, social scientists are used to reflect if and how the substantial and spatial borders of a population/field can be drawn. For example, in our research example, we examined the economy (substantial denomination) in cities (spatial denomination). However, any introduction to quantitative research points out that populations/fields also need to be defined temporally. While this point is often ignored in qualitative and quantitative research, it is essential in historical research. Namely, one has to define a *starting point for the analysis* and divide the overall process into sub-periods, each of which then comprises a unit of analysis. I have shown in section 4.3 how we did this in our research example, using the principles of backward-reading and forward-reading: Still, our analysis also revealed that *periodization* is much more complicated than it seems at first sight. In fact, in historical sciences, there is a whole debate on issues of periodization (Baur 2005, 82-3) which yet has to be integrated into general social science methodology.

Second, not only the definition of the population/field but *sampling*, too, needs to keep in mind temporality: When examining the *longue durée*, it is often simply impossible to look at all data, so one has to select both some periods and some points in time within the periods to sample data. It is unclear how to conduct such a temporal sampling.

Another issue related to temporal sampling is that, thirdly, data can be lost, i.e. for specific periods, one might have no option but to use specific data (Baur 2004; Baur and Lahusen 2005; Baur 2009b). This raises the issue of how to *compare data across time*, if one has different data types for each period.

Fourthly, as the example study has revealed, historical methods are already rather good at reconstructing long-term social changes of the macro-level. The real problem is *how to reconstruct micro-level interactions for specific times in the past* which is necessary to assess actors' knowledge and their influence on the macro-level. In classical social science research, the typical method for reconstructing micro-level interactions is ethnography which cannot be used for historical reconstruction for obvious reasons: Ethnography is so strong at reconstructing interactions because it heavily relies on observation – and this has to be conducted in real-time by the researcher in the present. So a question for future methodological research would be how to find an *equivalent for ethnography for the past*. Here, too, Elias and Bourdieu might be inspiring. For example, Elias suggested using literature and ego-documents as substitutes for ethnography in order to grasp past knowledge and social practices (Baur and Ernst 2011), and works in this research tradition have made some suggestions of how to use these data (e.g. Ernst 2009).

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