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[Minorities, Ethnicity and Culture in a Global World]
Seen From a Dane's Point of View

Abstract: Using a sociological figuration model the paper addresses the theme of the "Establishment and the Outsiders - A sociological enquiry into community problems". In this context, the paper examines the risks and problems related to the changing of subjectivity in late modernity on different levels, for instance, by dealing with processes connected to encounters between so-called "natives" in a country and immigrants - in other words, between the established and outsiders.

Keywords: Immigration, Refugees, Social exclusion, Religious diversity, Transcultural communication.

Using a sociological figuration model I will address the theme of "The Established and the Outsiders - A sociological enquiry into community problems". In this context, I will look at the risks and problems related to the changing of subjectivity in late modernity on different levels, for instance, by dealing with processes connected to the meeting between so-called "natives" in a country and emigrants or migrants - in other words, between the established and the outsiders.

The encounter with St. Petersburg

When I arrived at the International St. Petersburg Summer Academy in August 2003 it was the first time in my life that I had been outside Western Europe. When I left the airport and was driven to the hotel in a dilapidated private taxi, it was as if I had been transported back to the landscapes I remember from my childhood in the fifties. The only offhand knowledge I had of present-day Russia was the myths I had read in the papers and the images I had been exposed to in the media. For the most part, these were expressions of political prejudices – especially the bombardment from our own media that we had been subjected to after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Still, my senses were keen, as I had carried out intensive research on two of the great sons of the St. Petersburg region: the film director Andrei Tarkovsky and the ubiquitous Fyodor Dostoevsky. They had borne testimony to the depths and greatness of the Russian people and their cultural heritage.

The trip from the airport to the hotel progressed through dismal industrial districts and ramshackle suburbs. It was like driving through the zone in the film *Stalker*, and the landscapes were experienced with the same compelling immediacy as in Tarkovsky's portrayal. It was an overwhelmingly moving encounter. When we drove through downtown St. Petersburg I was struck by the atmosphere of the city and its monumental architectural beauty. I was in a state of culture shock by the time I reached the hotel, where I was greeted by two hospitable students who ensured that I was comfortably accommodated. After the vivid first impressions it was impossible for me to carry on unaffected to a conference, where speeches and texts poured forth in a stream of words. The bombardment of my senses had made me immune to words. I needed to digest the colossal impressions I had received before I could be receptive to what was presented at the conference.

This may sound affected, but I have difficulty understanding theories, models and studies of social themes without a sensuous, tangible relationship to what it is I am trying to grasp. Certain rules of the game surrounding

the relationship between time, movement, the body and space and the behaviour patterns associated with them are overlooked by the Zeitgeist that goes with the intoxication of speed experienced by some established researches in the global conference circus. They seem to do everything along the lines of: *Where have we landed, where are we transmitting from, can everyone hear me – we are in the spotlight everywhere – in English*. The non-simultaneous occurs simultaneously everywhere. Time, space and traditions are short-circuited because we are on the move. Everything is so complex that we are unable to look back and become aware of the reason why the spirit of the time does not smoothly enter into the infinite number of constructions.

I therefore advocate finding ways in which we, through our involvement in the unusual, try to understand how the heritages of different civilizations can enrich and change us. This entails revising our own national self-understanding and rigid "we" images, as well as theories that have lost their connection to sensuous life contexts and therefore operate according to abstract concepts without Sinnenbewusstsein.

Migration is a journey to a social world

Migration is a movement from one cultural context to another. It is during this process of moving from one life situation to another that people's sensuous and practical potentials are challenged. It is in the alternating social fields that different forms of communication of knowledge can be realized or destroyed. Migration is a life situation in which the traveller receives impressions from the world, and at the same time shapes the world and makes it part of himself. Conversely, the individual is embraced by the world and shaped by it. The basic principle in this mutual exchange and representation of the world is movement. It exploits both the plasticity of the body and the fact that the world can be shaped. From this point of view, it is a medium in which both sides intertwine with one other. This contributes towards the mutual production of connections and changes – a joint effort that demands cooperation and does not allow participants to remain unchanged. It is within the medium of movement that people participate in the others' worlds and thus become part of their societies.

People – be they black, red, yellow or white – are members of a common species, the human race, and at the same time, they are members of different societies. We are thus faced with a problem and a challenge, which is distinctly human and which does not affect migratory birds, wolves or other animals that cross human boundaries. Their self expression is far removed from the symbolization processes we call planning and cultural communication. They are so to speak determined by their biological destiny (Elias 1991).

Humans communicate with the help of symbols that are created by humans and that vary from one society to another. They are not, unlike various animal species, characterized by their species, but rather by the society they have grown up in. The language, customs and knowledge they are able to accumulate is retained and communicated from one generation to the next. Knowledge cannot be derived from genetic constants but are rather developed if interaction takes place between a natural and social process, when biological potentials and societal realities are successfully united. It is a form of knowledge that arises and is adapted through a long learning process in the society one grows up in. In addition, the structure and meaning of language are dependent on its social function, cultural heritage and the civilizational patterns that characterize the society in question. Humans possess the ability to communicate but behave towards each other on the basis of very different social and cultural backgrounds. This means that members of the biologically homogenous human species confront each other with a very high degree of social diversity. The fact that we are all capable of using language and developing symbols means that humans behave towards each other as both units and as a unity of differences. The sensuous symbolization processes and language may thus integrate or split apart – include or exclude (Bourdieu 1979; Elias 1991; Nagbøl 1986, 1994; Foucault 1975; Lorenzer 1972, 1986).

These processes take place on different levels: the level of the personal, individual life on the one hand and that of the organization of social life contexts on the other. In order to find the connection between these two levels,

the interaction between the actors and their social contexts.

The journey to West Germany – a few autobiographical comments about the last century

Emigration from one's native land implies of course not only movement, and the experiences one has along the way are decisive for whether one succeeds in establishing oneself in the foreign setting. Success is also related to the way one is received and whether the opportunities to realize a social existence are open or closed. One is not only dependent on one's abilities; one is also greatly dependent on whether one's aspirations and cultural potentials are accepted or destroyed. Does a process involving the communication of knowledge develop, or do we stagnate due to each others' prejudices? We must be alert towards the balance of power that exists between those who have established themselves and those who have arrived – the established and the outsiders.

In this context, I will relate my own experiences with emigration, which date back to 1976. They left their mark on me to a degree I never could have imagined. My entire individual and collective identity and my social existence were subjected to a change that was much greater than the influence of the books and theories I had read and of my childhood and adolescence in Denmark.

The reason I went to Germany was that in the wake of the student revolts, studying at the Johann-Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main was *in*. The orientation was towards the fathers of theory who gave rise to the spirit of '68. The situation was ambivalent because of the strained relations we had with Germany after the wars. My grandfather had been chief engineer in the English merchant navy during World War I. In my family, Germany was the great concept of an enemy, even though none of us had read the German idealists or the entire series of Jewish researchers that had been driven into exile. It was not this part of the German tradition that was discussed during my childhood and adolescence but rather the loathing of Germany that followed in the wake of Nazism. We were uncertain of East Germany and the question of what the split meant for the populations of the divided Germany was repressed by the dominating prejudices.

The journey to Frankfurt am Main was made on my motorcycle: a 250m2 1954 BMW combination. The reception was overwhelming. Along the way I was given shelter in various communes, where young left-wing Germans helped me with everything, including finding a place to live. I was received with such goodwill that my concept of the enemy disintegrated. The tone was straightforward and the academic level was high and motivating. When I arrived I could not speak German so I attended three language courses in parallel, where I met students from Greece, Chile, Iran, Palestinia, America, France, etc. That had all found their footing in Frankfurt am Main. We grew into a new identity. For my part, the interplay between my I- and we identities gained an entirely new elasticity. This happened on several levels, and especially through lectures, colloquia and seminars with Alfred Schmidt, Apel, Schnädelbach, Lorenzer, von Friedeburg, Klaus Horn and a visiting professor named Norbert Elias. They were all figures with international reputations, but they dealt with us students in a straightforward way, much like the practice here in Tissa in St. Petersburg.

It was the encounter with Norbert Elias, who for the first time since 1933, after 44 years in exile, again gave lectures in Frankfurt am Main, which was of decisive importance for my future sociological orientation. The theme for the lectures in the summer semester of 1977 was *The Theory of Civilization in light of Marxist Economic Criticism and Freudian Psychoanalysis*. In the summer semester of 1978 he lectured on *the Relationship between the Established and the Outsiders*. Norbert Elias was at that time 80; I was 30. In connection with the lectures, Elias held colloquia. In this less formal forum the exchange of opinions flowed freely, and in keeping with tradition, the discussions were often continued in a so-called "third seminar" in a café or pub. During those years an acquaintanceship developed between Elias and me, which continued until his death in 1990. It became customary for me to accompany Elias to and from his hotel when he was in Frankfurt. On these trips, during which we visited cafés and restaurants, we had long and varied discussions about sociology, philosophy, everyday experiences and about what was meaningful in the practice of sociology – or human science, as Elias termed it. Certain comments from this man, with his long

and unusual life stuck with me, for example:

> It was hard being driven in exile. We didn't emigrate; we were forced to flee – therefore, I call it exile. But I learned so much, even though it was hard! It steered my work towards sociology, and the struggle to find footing has meant that I haven't become as petit bourgeois as so many other professors, whose only knowledge of life is what they have learnt from books and career climbing at universities.

One evening after a colloquium while we were continuing the discussion at a restaurant, the conversation turned to terrorism and the strained situation in West Germany. When I presumed to make a few jokes about the German mentality, Elias said promptly:

> Søren, you shouldn't make those sorts of jokes about Germans. By doing so, you are transferring biological prejudices on to others, exactly as the Germans did towards Jews. You should instead, like a good sociologist, try to find out what kind of forces and societal processes made Germany explode in hatred, violence and destruction, which they directed first towards the Jews and finally towards themselves. That would be a meaningful sociological project to embark upon, instead of just stigmatizing and ridiculing Germans, implying that you Danes are better than them.

That hit the nail on the head. I was both shaken and relieved, and the historian of ideas was on the road to becoming a sociologist.

Sociology and social work

Why am I making all these autobiographical remarks? Surely they are just private comments? This is certainly true if they are left to stand alone. Our task is to connect the different levels, by formulating our experiences in a sociological perspective through personal observations of specific occurrences and circumstances. The art of meaningful social work must be that one learns to connect subjective experiences with theoretical models in a practice involving reflection on the sociology of knowledge and extending beyond private and national horizons. The individual experiences gained as a Dane or a German or a Russian should be recounted at a level of dissociation, which allows a Russian, a German and a Dane to understand the meaning of the narrative. This is no easy task, for there is a criterion that knowledge about human beings is created and communicated on a more complex level of synthesis than in a traditional theory of cognition. In his book *Norbert Elias: An Introduction* Stephen Mennell states:

> If process theories in the natural sciences involve four dimensions, process theories in the social sciences go one better. They are – or ought to be, according to Elias – based on a five-dimensional image of human beings (in the plural). The fifth dimension is experience. That is to say, the models involve not only the directly visible "behavioural" aspects of human activity in the four dimensions of space and time but also the "experiential" aspects of human thinking, feeling and psychological drives. While these experiential aspects are not directly accessible to observation in the same way as bodily movement, they are nevertheless accessible to human observation through the examination of linguistic and other symbols carrying meaningful messages from one person to another (Mennell 1992).

That the "objects" studied by social scientists are themselves also "subject" certainly makes more difficult the quest for such five-dimension process theories. This is the incentive behind introducing process and figurational sociology in light of our theme: Minorities, Ethnicity and Culture regarded as a relation between the established and the outsiders. This sociological means or orientation is a result of Norbert Elias' civilization theory.

Why figurational sociology?

The leitmotif of figurational sociology is that societies created by people rest upon entanglements of interdependent people at a very complex level of integration, at which processes and structures cannot directly be derived from the biological and psychological traits that characterize the people. Process- and figurational sociology reveal the significance of people's mutual dependence on the development of their individual and collective identity. People live in configurations, in which they are interdependent. More or less unstable power relations dominate such configurations. Figurational sociology points out the fact that all relations between people are also power relations. More or less fluctuating balances of power are integral elements in all human relations. In this context one must bear in mind that all balances of power, like all relations on the whole, are at least bipolar and usually multipolar.

The question of what function sociology and other means of orientation have for what groups is connected with the function they may have for different groups. It is related in turn to the question of the structure of the sociogenetic processuality that pervades societal structures and courses of events.

A problem in the 21st century is that even though a large part of the population enjoys a relatively high degree of physical safety, it also suffers from fear and confusion. The fear and perplexity is developed in the relations between parents, spouses, children, neighbours, friends, colleagues and the competition. These are social microprocesses, which keep people in a situation that leaves them no choice.

In the following, we will give an explanation of why an orientation towards the so-called figurational analyses is necessary. It is also a reaction against the sociological traditions that are tied to statistic causal methods and dualistic concepts. The question raised is: How can different institutional socialization agents or figurations that interdependent people form with one other be studied and described through an independent empirically communicated repertoire of concepts and categories? An answer to this question may be found in Norbert Elias's figurational sociological models.

An introduction to Elias's figurational sociology means as well a critique of the methods of working within tradition sociology.

Figur 1: Grundschema des egozentrischen Gesellschaftsbildes
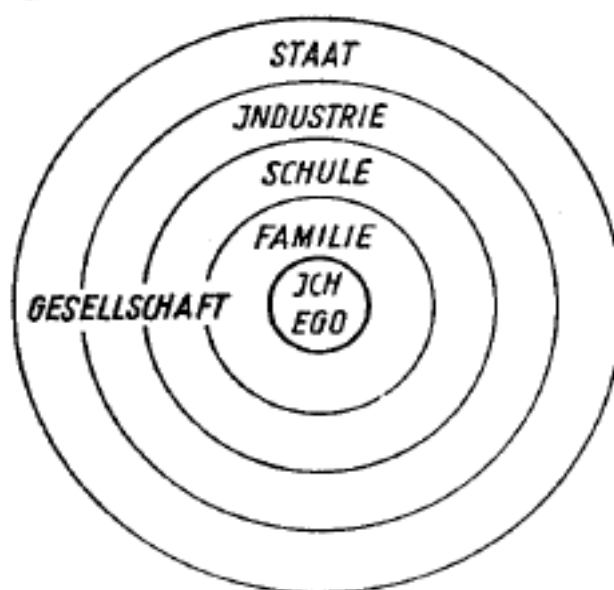
Elias emphasizes two fundamental discrepancies in particular in his criticism of the egocentric human image. First, the language usage is misleading, in that humans and society are presented as static units. This is expressed in the use of the terms "individual and society" and "individual and community" as well as concepts like "status" and "role". Second, the individual is always described as someone who is faced with an environment, for example, a school, a family, a society. In Elias's opinion, this approach stands in the way of the fact that the individual as an individual is at the same time part of her environment - her family, her school, her society. The traditional conceptualization allows things to appear «as if they are things - objects like rocks, trees and houses». The reifying influence that our language exercises as a hereditary means of thinking on our consciousness has great influence on how we perceive the relationship between individual/society. This contrast is false, and the division between outer and inner is inhibitive *for a dynamic sociology*.

In order to understand what sociology is all about, one must be able in one's thoughts *to step out of oneself and see oneself as a human among other humans*. For sociology is concerned with problems that affect "society", and society includes everyone who thinks about and studies it. However, at present, when thinking of oneself, ones often remains at a level at which one only becomes conscious of oneself as a human who confronts other humans as "objects", very often with a feeling of being separated from them by an insurmountable gap. Such feelings of separation, which make this step correspond to becoming aware of oneself, are expressed in many common conceptualizations and manners of speaking that contribute to making the separation appear to be something quite obvious and matter of course, and which contribute to the constant reproduction and reinforcement of it.

Figur 2: Eine Figuration interdependenter Individuen*
(»Familie«, »Staat«, »Gruppe«, »Gesellschaft« usw.)

Individuum
("EGO", "Ich")

Symbol einer mehr oder
weniger labilen Machtbalance
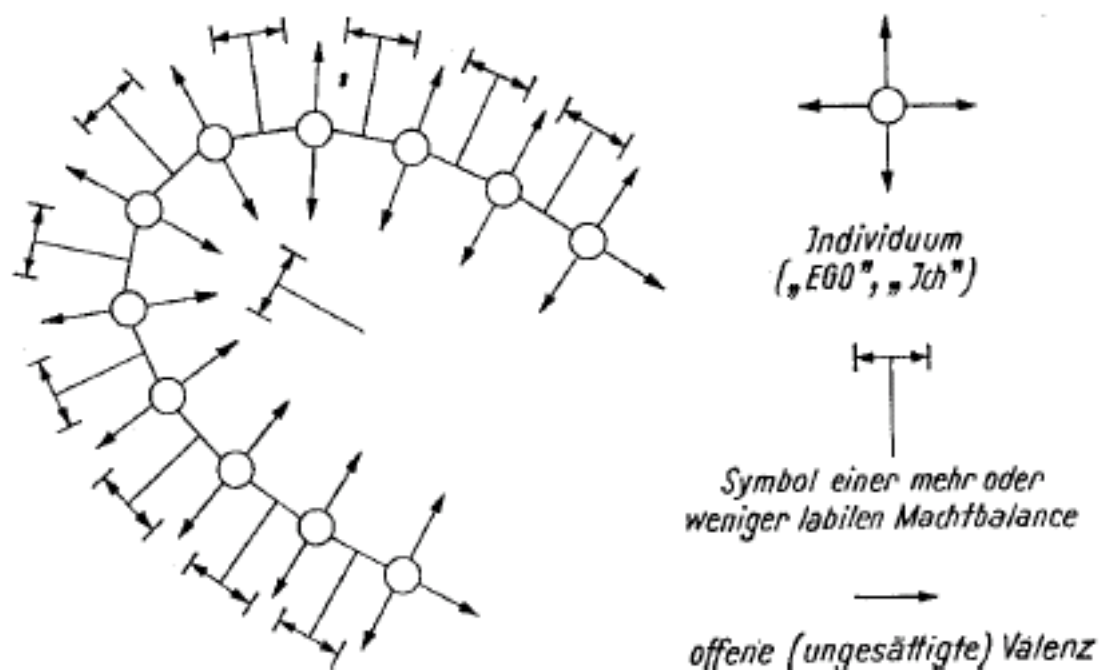
offene (ungesättigte) Valenz

Figure 2 is intended to serve as a pre-orientation and as an aid to the reorientation that is a prerequisite for being able to transgress the isolated, static view of humans and society toward a dynamic figurative conception of human interdependence.

The figure can be used to help us penetrate the hard façade of the reified concepts. To a great extent such concepts obstruct humans' clear understanding of their societal life and reinforce the impression that "society" consists of formations outside of the "I", the individual, and that the individual at one and the same time is surrounded by "society" and separated from it by an invisible wall.

Towards an understanding of the significance of social connections on the interdependence of humans

When the human image expressed by "homo clausus" is replaced by the "open human" the notion of affective valences directed towards other people appears to be a profitable tool. The vicissitudes of valence are more dynamic in their development than the vicissitudes of the libido, a fact which is understood in relation to specific patterns of subjective and objective relations. If one stops at the I- or we perspective, the understanding of the dynamic aspects of the figurations is lost. By perceiving emotional attachments and dependency relations on the basis of the pronouns I, you, he, she, we, you (pl.) and they – in their specific, person-oriented meaning, that is – a significantly more nuanced and promising understanding of interhuman matters as close-knit relations and functions. A dynamic, changeable understanding of valence figures is made possible, also for the individual, which promotes an open and future-oriented behaviour. It should thereby be possible to transgress an I-oriented consciousness tied to the drives that adheres to what is stationary, constant, and immutable.

At the same time, with the help of this model, one already begins to see more clearly how inapplicable to the human situation all ways of thinking are that induce us to believe that the true "I" or "self" reside somewhere in the individual person's inner being, completely shut off from other people, to whom one says "you" or "we" and about whom one says "he" or "she". The recognition of the fact that the sense of oneself as the person one calls "I" is inextricably tied to the sense of other people as "you", "he", "we" or "they", makes it perhaps easier to a certain degree to distance oneself from the notion that one exists as a person in one's own "inner being" while all other people appear as persons "on the outside".

Outline of the theory on the relationship between the established and the outsiders

In 1954, after 18 years in exile in England, Norbert Elias was hired as an associate professor at the Department of Sociology at the University of Leicester. In the interval he had made his living as a psychoanalytical group analyst, and as a lecturer at the London School of Economics. The theme of "the established and the outsiders" arose when a student, John L. Scotson, wanted to write his thesis on the conflicts with a group of young troublemakers, who had grown up in problem families in the suburb where he taught in a school and participated in the social work in a youth club.

Winston Parva

The suburb, which for reasons of ethnicity was called Winston Parva, had 5000 residents in 1959/60 and lay on the outskirts of a thriving industrial town in The Midlands. The neighbourhood was split in two by a railway, but on the whole comprised a compact society with its own factories, schools, churches, shops and clubs. However, Winston Parva was also characterized by its own schisms. The neighbourhood consisted of three zones, which also corresponded to the residents own self-perception. The residents of zone 1 were predominantly middle

class, with a few working class families. The majority of residents in zone 2 were working class families who had lived there for several generations. Most of them had worked at the local factories. In this area there were several shops, churches, youth clubs and two pubs. This group of families knew each other well and there were family relations and friendships between them. In zone 3, a new development on the other side of the railway, lived the newcomers. They were primarily workers who during and shortly after the war had moved to Winston Parva. Some had moved there because the neighbourhoods where they had lived in London had been destroyed by bombs during the war. Others came because the factories where they had worked had been closed and they had to move elsewhere to be able to support their families. Housing in zones 2 and 3 was of similar standard and the average income of the families was by and large the same.

Many of the workers from the different neighbourhoods were employed as colleagues at the same factory. Even so, there was a great deal of tension between residents in the established zones, zones 1 and 2, and the newcomers in zone 3. The residents of zones 1 and 2 believed that the newcomers were unreliable, used foul language, were untrustworthy, lived according to unacceptable norms, etc. The newcomers were therefore not included in the community, but were forced to live more or less isolated from the residents of zones 1 and 2. They were ignored in the local pub and they did not appointed to posts of honour in local society. In addition, people made sure that their children and youths did not mix with the kids from the wrong side of the tracks. The residents of zones 1 and 2 perceived themselves as better citizens because their social behaviour was in greater accordance with the rules and norms of the community – that is, the "we" image of the zone. People had known each other for generations and had built up a network they could understand and control. Mothers, grandmothers, aunts and neighbours guaranteed that children and youths behaved in accordance with the current behavioural codes. Social life was to a very high degree controlled through informal channels, and gossip and other hidden sources of power were used to uphold oneself and one's own group at the expense of others.

The further the researchers penetrated this figuration of interdependent people's mutual dependencies and social conditions, the clearer it became how great a significance the place's special dynamics and codes had on the creation of everyone's social identity and existence. They were particularly important for a number of youths from zone 3. They reacted to the state of affairs through destructive behaviour, such as provocative violent conduct and minor offences[1].

Comments on the relationship between figuration analyses and social work

At this point I would like to bring up some special features of figurational sociology for discussion. The aim is to use the problems described here to illustrate what general patterns will be able to be used and developed to give a more adequate understanding of Minorities, Ethnicity and Culture in transcultural communication about mechanisms of integration / disintegration, multiculturalism and social work.

This part of my presentation is fragmentary and should be looked upon as a proposal for a more comprehensive discourse.

I will list in point form the following factors:

- We have here focused on a sociological microcosmos, analyzing how people in three neighbourhoods behave towards one another and the consequences this has for their identity formation and cultural development;
- The differences in the delinquency rate disappeared in the three years of the study, but the bad reputation the residents of zone 3 were saddled with persisted;
- Those implicated in the study have expressed that the established group in zones 1 and 2 ascribed superior human

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1 I will not go into the details of their work here; they are available in Elias, Scotson (1965 and 1990).

qualities to their group and exclude those who live in zone 3 from their community;

- Social control takes place by praising or excluding others and by referring to one's own rules and norms as something superior. Prejudices are fixed by stigmatizing the others. This takes place through channels of gossip, which sustain the others' bad reputation by constantly pointing out their unfortunate characteristics and strange behavioural codes;

- The established developed group solidarity, which entailed collective identification with shared norms and with the consciousness of the fact that they are better than the others. This solidarity has run in families for generations and has resulted in rigid attitudes and scepticism towards others. It does not depend on knowledge, but rather on social control at the expense of openness towards new challenges from other people;

- Complex figurations contribute to a better understanding of the structural peculiarities and myths that arise in the wake of the established groups' self-knowledge. This can be demonstrated by working out the formal and informal patterns in the balances of power that prevail between the interdependent people. The aim is to demonstrate how people who live under given historical circumstances have different functions in relation to each other;

- One may speculate if there may be a gap in our traditional sociological repertoire of concepts, which has up until now prevented us from being able to make satisfactory analyses of the balances of power that characterize relations between the established and the outsiders and on this basis provide a proper explanation for their significance. It is therefore important to develop theoretical models that can be used to work out the conditions under which one group attempts to destroy and thereby expose the aspects of socialization politics that contribute to drastic social stigmatization. This does not only apply to people with different skin colours and of different races, but to everyone who grows up under misleading social circumstances;

Norbert Elias' work on the relationship between the established and the outsiders is concerned with the inequalities in groups of peoples' relationships with each other. In my opinion it is an important contribution in dealing with social work to understand the dynamics that lead to established groups in different societal constellations having great influence on other groups' life contexts and self-perception.

The return to Denmark

At the end of the 1980s I moved back to Denmark. I experienced my native land as a foreigner who nevertheless knows the codes and felt straight away that much had changed. This was true of both my way of communicating and Danes' behaviour towards foreigners. Changes had been made on both the "we"- and the "I" level. I sensed an animosity towards my enthusiasm for what I had experienced in Germany. Most people disregarded the experience and knowledge I had gained. The process by which the German and European "we" had been superimposed on my "I" identify was not met with sympathy in Denmark. I sensed this especially from Danes who had never experienced a long-term stay outside of Denmark. They had the same "we" image I knew so well from myself before I left Denmark. Even though I was in the capital city, Copenhagen, it was difficult for me as a university lecturer to get the students to read German texts. They preferred to read English translations of foreign-language literature. Most of the professors I encountered at the faculty of arts had studied in the same department they eventually taught in without ever having been employed elsewhere.

This little country with 5.5 million people is a little language area, and the Danes' "we" image reflects the fact that there are so few of us. It is safe and simple to be back and one can feel at home if one sticks to the existing canon of behaviour and the so-called unwritten laws. If one does not, one learns right away that one should not act out of line. This is not said directly, but as a native Dane, one senses immediately on one's body when enough is enough. The hidden and informal power games and channels of power in Denmark are inscrutable, refined and effective. I learned to repress my spontaneous enthusiasm and keep my experiences to myself. The result

was depression and despondency. I was left alone with the life and knowledge I had gained abroad. I had become a foreigner myself, but my double *we image* and ambivalent *I*, made keener my observations and my view of the Danish mentality and how we receive migrants in Denmark today.

When I left I was respected as a Dane, because we Danes have a good reputation abroad. We had saved the Danish Jews from the German concentration camps during the Second World War. We have not attacked our neighbours in recent times. After our defeat to the Germans in 1864 we had lived by the motto: *What is lost in the outer world must be regained in the inner world*. Women, children, the elderly and the weak are well taken care of in the Danish welfare state. The goodwill attached to being a Dane made it easier for me to settle in West Germany than my fellow students from other countries.

Today when I visit my foreign friends they ask me in astonishment what has happened to Danes and why they are so hostile towards foreigners.

The established and the outsiders in late modern Denmark

Like other countries in the western world, Danish society has undergone radical changes, especially in the last 20 years. There have been drastic changes in the entire societal pattern that influences Danes' relations with themselves and each other. This societal development has been categorized as the post-modern and the late modern society respectively. As mentioned above, Gerhard Schulze has described it on the basis of German conditions as *the experience society* and Ulrik Bech has termed it in more general terms as *the risk society*. Denmark is also characterized by a form of societal development with observable individualization processes that take place simultaneously with the dissolution of earlier social life forms, such as classes, social standing, gender roles and family relations. This is seen in Denmark in the fact that more and more people leave each other. In 2003, 15,763 couples were divorced in a year in which 35,041 people got married. This represents an increase of 3 percent in the number of divorces in relation to 2002. This is taking place in an era of an ever-accelerating tempo in which the relationship between the local and the global is losing its physical and sensuous coherence. Traditional experiences of time and space, in which the relationship between near- and distant senses follows a realistic order, are being supplemented or replaced by the attractions of modern electronic media. The real experience of moving with all senses intact in time and space has been eliminated and replaced by a virtual reality. At the same time, individuals detached from the ties we know from the type of local society described by Elias and Scotson. In the wealthy countries rapid developments are occurring in life patterns, which are vital, above all from the point of view of the established – those who have sensuous, physical, intellectual and economic potential. They have the prospect of a life in which many desires and needs can be met, but this demands that they have sufficient resources at their disposal and that they are capable of orienting themselves and coordinating their choices in such a way that diversity links up with a greater comprehensive view. These are conditions that only a very select few are endowed with in the global world order as we know it today - locally, nationally and internationally.

The asymmetric development in the potential power of people has a great influence on the relationship between the established and the outsiders in a world where the processes of globalisation tie more and more people to each other in mutual dependencies. The balances of power that previously were dominated by local and national conditions have now become international and thereby global concerns.

Concurrently with this process more migrants, emigrants and refugees have come. They are people who have moved or fled, the majority driven by circumstances out of their control. This group of foreigners who have come to Denmark to create a new life are the outsiders of our country. And they are treated like outsiders and *not* – unless you marry the crown prince – as people who can contribute something valuable to Danish society and our culture.

These are serious circumstances, which are so predominant that they can be seen, heard and read without the need of thorough empirical studies. It suffices to turn on the television and listen to how our leading politicians

talk about *them as the foreigners*. The choice of words and the rhetoric would hardly be allowed in Germany today without leading to associations with the Third Reich. Talk revolves around the demands that must be met by people wanting to become *new Danes*. There is seldom mention of everything the foreigners could contribute to our culture. Emphasis is primarily placed on them learning enough Danish so that they can serve us and fulfil our needs. Even though many of them speak fluent Danish, they have difficulty finding work and housing and attaining the same rights as native Danes. As immigrants, regardless of their degree of education, they must endure long, difficult procedures at the Danish Immigration Service before they are allowed to contribute with their capabilities. Many highly educated people are driving taxis in Copenhagen. Those who find it easiest to practice their profession in our country are those who can fill the gaps in our health care system. There is a great need for qualified doctors and specialists, so special rules apply to foreigners who are trained doctors.

Recently we have been reprimanded by the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe because we do not give our newcomers decent treatment. They believe that we violate European human rights in a number of ways, for example, if one wishes to marry a foreigner. In order to marry a foreigner one must be 24. Two Danes may under certain circumstances be married if the girl is 15 and the man is 18. It has also been pointed out that Danish children are favoured in the school system over children with different mother tongues. In the area of housing, one of the richest municipalities in the country is erecting a multi-storey building for immigrants in the midst of three highways – a location obviously subject to infernal noise levels. The mayor does not perceive this to be a problem, despite the fact that several experts have declared the location unsuitable for human habitation.

On July 27, 2004 the Danish newspaper Information wrote that when the Danish Immigration Service considers cases of family reunification, convenience store owners, pizzeria workers and cleaners had more difficulties being granted family reunification than child care workers, teachers and others with a higher education. The argumentation is that those with a higher degree of education have greater contact with people in their work. I could go on and on with many more examples of how migrants, refugees, emigrants and other foreigners are socially excluded as outsiders in our post-modern Denmark.

However, it is, as we all well know, not just a matter that concerns Denmark, but rather a reason to direct our attention towards the relationship between *the established and the outsiders in a global world*.

The established and the outsiders in a global world

To conclude. The question I am raising here is: What is the relationship between the established and the outsiders in the global world we live in here and now in the beginning of the 21st century?

On the great global arena, which we also call the macro level, we constantly see on television how the superpowers mercilessly humiliate weak groups of people. The tensions and balances of powers on the international level between the established and the outsiders are extremely visible. So are the asynchronous and asymmetrical standards of civilisation, behavioural codes and cultural self-images of different nation states. This is true on all levels – I, we, he, she, us, them, etc.. At the same time, more and more people are becoming mutually dependent on one another in figurational patterns that include more and more people across national borders. We have just witnessed the extension of the European community to include a number of countries from the former Eastern bloc. The level I am concerned with in connection with the situation in Denmark is the effect globalisation has had on the relation between the established and the outsiders in our own country. The relationship between the established and outsiders is no longer to the same extent *only* an internal Danish affair.

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