Migrant Disintegration in Globalized Cities: Applying Intersectional Dual City Theory in Oslo, Norway

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In 1991, Manuel Castells and John Hull Mollenkompf looked to the modernizing cityscape with a desire to understand how elite and disadvantaged groups can live as neighbors, yet, they have vastly different experiences of life in the city.[1] In light of their inquiry, the Dual City Theory emerged as an explanation for socio-spatial segregation in cities. Dual City Theory, expanded upon by Saskia Sassen,[2] posits that two separate cities exist within the same space: the city of the elite and the city of the proletariat. This concept explains *social polarization*, in contrast with *spatial polarization* as the result of isolation between classes—the physical separation of the city into two parts following the two cities that exist socially. In the urban setting, polarization between groups is a social and economic occurrence that permeates all aspects of daily life and interactions. Castells and Sassen discuss this as an institutionalized phenomenon resulting in a *structural duality,* which informs their lens of cities like New York and Los Angeles. Castells and Sassen propose a set of reasons for the development of this polarization, namely that a city has a lack of contractual protection combined with a surplus of unskilled workers and a high pull factor for immigrants such as the prospective for economic opportunity.[3] As a result, immigrants take jobs in the manufacturing or service sectors and eventually make up the lower classes of the city.

Initially, the Dual City Theory was received as complementary to the Global City Thesis, a theory positing increased polarization alongside globalization.[4] Although Dual City Theory has had a lasting impact on the way sociologists evaluate the course of urban development along class lines, the theory has faced numerous criticisms from the academic world. For example, Mollenkompf argues that the concept of polarization in the context of structural dualism is reductionist and does not account for any external factors in immigrants' or natives' relative successes or failures.[5] Mollenkompf emphasizes the personal life and livelihood of the immigrant, rejecting social theory which flattens the individual and overgeneralizes the in/out groups. In the wake of growing criticism against the Dual City Theory, some urban sociologists consider this theory to be obsolete due to its reductionist focus on class divisions, which are presented as a binary between the bourgeois and the proletariat. However, the premise of this argument in distinguishing the experiences of residents between classes remains a useful tool for understanding the social construction of cities in sociological, political, and economic spheres. The initial question which prompted the development of this theory merits a second glance at the framework of the Dual City Theory: how can two individuals inhabit the same space yet interact with, and experience, their space vastly differently? What is New York City for the Wall Street Banker, and what is New York City for those living with food and housing insecurity?

As the popularity of viewing the city in dualistic terms faded, the globalized era brought about

[1] Mollenkopf, John Hull, and Manuel Castells, eds. *Dual City: Restructuring New York* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1991).

[2] Sassen, Saskia. "Rebuilding the Global City: Economy, Ethnicity, and Space." *Social Justice* 20, no. 3-4(1993): 32-50.

[3] Castells, Manuel. *La Ciudad Informacional* (Alianza Editorial, 1995).

[4] Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton University Press, 1991).

[5] Castells and Mollenkopf, *Dual City*, 399-418.

new sociological considerations, including dialogues about the ways in which different forms of oppression intersect and interact with each other to produce various discrepancies in outcomes. At first glance, this may seem like a scholarly development that opposes Dual City Theory by proposing complex reasoning for which certain groups succeed or fail. However, the theory of intersectionality was first created around the same time as Dual City Theory, wherein Kimberlé Crenshaw uses the example of the converging plights facing Black women to show the complexity of oppression as a concept. Crenshaw confronts a glaring issue in contemporary discourse around inequality, namely that "dominant conceptions of discrimination condition us to think about subordination as disadvantage occurring along a single categorical axis."[6] Her contributions radically change the way academics dissect inequality in light of multidimensional, intersecting oppressions. In order to bring the sociological implications of Dual City Theory to a modern audience, it must be updated to include considerations of intersectionality in regards to race, ethnicity, citizenship, gender identity, and sexuality as they shape the cityscape; bringing these two literatures together will revitalize Dual City Theory to mold to the globalized city and adequately address the origins of inequality.

One example of these confounding sources of inequality is the intersection between citizenship, ethnicity, and class when looking at increased migration as a byproduct of an increasingly globalized world. In the case of immigration, migrant workers challenge their psychological health and well-being, yet face discrepancies in their success accentuated by class divisions and ultimately defined by their status as otherized,[7] wherein they do not fit into the pre-existing socioeconomic structures. Through globalization and the increase in global migration, immigrant groups have broken into a third group in a previous binary of *elite* and *disadvantaged,* hence, Dual City Theory as it stands does not account for the type of disintegration experienced by migrant groups. Terje Wessel narrows the previously noted theory into a specific discussion on the applicability of dual-city theory to the case of Oslo, in which there is a divide between the Eastern and Western parts of the city. Ultimately, Wessel argues that polarization between the two cities may resemble a dual city if one focuses on the institutionalized differences along this East-West divide.[8] Arild Holt-Jensen discusses Wessel's dualism with an eye towards the complexity of modern Norway: Wessel's case for polarization between East and West Oslo is not complete because it focuses on class differences, overlooking the impact of immigration in complicating social structures and divisions in the city. Moreover, as Holt-Jensen asserts, "A multiracial society is more acceptable to Norwegian society than a multi-cultural one."[9] Ultimately, Holt-Jensen adds to the conversation of immigration and Dual City Theory with his assertion that social and economic factors contribute to migrant success and failure as well as the historically established cultural attitudes of the city in question.

Current scholarship on intersectionality and the diversification of the city focuses on the role of Dual City Theory in defining the layout of the city[10] as well as reshaping notions of polarization and social stratification in the Dual City Theory to fit social justice movements in academia, such

[6]Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Policy." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1 (1989): 139.

[7]To be otherized is to be placed on the margin of; to be excluded from normal rungs of society and ostracized; to be seen as on the outside of socio-economic life.

[8]Wessel, Terje. "Social Polarisation and Socioeconomic Segregation in a Welfare State: The Case of Oslo." *Urban Studies* 37, no. 11 (2000): 1947-1967.

[9]Holt-Jensen, Arild. "The Dual City Theory and Deprivation in European Cities." (2005): 126.

[10]Tasen-Kok et al. "Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review." *Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences* (2014); Oosterlynck et al. "The Butterfly and the Elephant: local social innovation, the welfare state and new poverty dynamics." *Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy* 13, no. 03 (2013).

as queer theory[11] and gender studies.[12][13] However, scholarship has neither adequately integrated intersectionality into Dual City Theory nor applied Dual City Theory to intersectionality. I will demonstrate that intersectionality can fit into the pre-existing sociological framework of the Dual City by looking at the current issues of migrant disintegration in Oslo, Norway. I argue that Norway's current model of integrating immigrant populations, both socially and economically, fails to equitably distribute resources or reasonably allow for conditions of social cohesion, weakening the consistency of the Nordic welfare state under a globalized context.[14] Through a comparison of native-born and immigrant groups in Norway, I argue that discrepancies in social cohesion, employment and income, union protections, taxation, and access to entrepreneurial ventures create a hostile environment for immigrants hoping to assimilate and reach equality in living conditions. Due to the disintegration of immigrant populations in Oslo, Norway's largest city, they form a third body in the Dual City; the emergence of this group which fits neither into the elite bourgeois nor the 'new poor' or middle class presents a counterargument to the theory that just two groups dominate the modern city. Despite class differences, many immigrant groups in Oslo have faced congruent issues of disintegration and isolation from society due to both economic limitations and ideologically ingrained cultural differences confounded with the high standards for assimilation.

Dualism in Urban Norway & Social Cohesion

In order to delineate the layers of social cohesion in Oslo regarding immigrant populations in contrast to native populations, it is necessary to look at the evolution of spatial segregation recorded as well as the intricacies of social disintegration. With this information in mind, it will be shown that immigrant groups make up a socially and economically distinct group facing intersectional oppressions in modern urban Norway and do not fit under previously delineated class cleavages.

Spatial segregation is not new in Oslo, although it has evolved in the face of migration. Studies have found evidence of segregation between the Eastern and Western parts of the city, and early identifications of these subdivisions fall in line with theories of dualism,[15] since a 'new poor' class emerged as the middle class shrunk and more people entered into the upper rungs of society. Holt-Jensen identifies the similarities by noting the following:

> The Aase & Dale (1978) study documented a level of segregation and inequalities in living standards in the bigger cities which took many politicians by surprise…. A government report (St. meld. 11 1990- 91) stated that *physical separation of social groups is the principal cause of additional public expenditures in the major cities. Spatial segregation should therefore be combated. Much of the debate has been related to the traditional east-west divide in the capital Oslo, east being the poor, traditionally blue-collar*

[11] O'Brian, Michelle Esther. "Queer Movements and Class Politics in New York City." PhD Dis. (2021).

[12] Aishwarya, Maria. "Urban Homelessness of Women and Urban Marginality: Sociological Perspectives." *International Journal of Advanced Research and Innovative Ideas in Education* 7, no.1 (2021).

[13] Although O'Brian and Aishwarya cite Mollenkopf and Castells, neither specifically discuss the Dual City Theory, rather they discuss the important link between political economy and social polarization as it relates to each of their topics.

[14] While there are specific racialized considerations that disproportionately impact non-Western immigrant groups, as discussed primarily on pg. 8, this paper refers to "immigrant populations" broadly, as groups from any mother country are affected by the cultural-linguistic-economic isolation practices. Norwegians born to immigrant parents may also be affected by the process of migrant disintegration. For detailed Norwegian immigration demographics see: "Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents." Statistisk sentralbryå, 2022, https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/innvandrere/statistikk/innvandrere-og-norskfodte-med-innvandrerforeldre. Figure 1 of the appendix uses this data to create a visual aid for understanding recent demographic trends in immigration.

[15] Wessel, "Social Polarisation and Socioeconomic Segregation in a Welfare State," 1949.

worker.[16]

Clearly, vocationally-correlated class divisions were predominant before migration changed the city. As the city's demography shifted, so did the burden of economic disintegration. Holt-Jensen continues, noting that "the issue became, however, more complicated than a pure class based segregation, as East Oslo had become the place in which new immigrant groups, notably Pakistanis, had settled."[17] Now, as the city faces the impacts of a consistent influx in migration, spatial segregation remains as a relic of disintegration based on class and is amplified for migrants. A notable example of this difference can be seen in employment practices and discrepancies in income, which will be explored in the section on Income Equity and Wage Compression. Overall, spatial segregation is upheld by modern findings in Oslo, but the Dual City Theory characterizing the city as composed of two major class divisions is grossly misrepresentative of the globalized city, as demonstrated by the social fragmentation of Oslo through non-integration of immigrants.

Moving forward, dualism in urban development is challenged by social fragmentation of immigrant populations in Oslo through economic and social pressures to rapidly assimilate. It is imperative to note that, as George Lakey emphasizes, "Norway is ranked number one among the twenty-seven richest countries for its policies on migration: acceptance of asylum-seekers and refugees, open borders to immigrants and students from developing countries, and friendly integration practices."[18] However, it is unclear whether *friendly integration practices* amount to *effective integration practices*: quantitative and qualitative data suggest that integration is falling short, often translating to aggressive assimilation practices rather than integration policy. This aggression can be seen through the combined stress of institutionalized economic and linguistic expectations. First, in regards to the economic standards for integration into Norwegian life, the subsistence requirement placed upon some migrant groups rather than others is both a financial pressure and a measure increasing social non-cohesion, unequally coercing assimilation into the labor force: immigrants coming for family reunification, employment, and education are expected to work, in addition to asylum seekers. However, refugees are not required to meet any specific economic criterion.[19] Policies like this one divide migrant groups arbitrarily, decreasing solidarity among non-native groups, which is a stark contrast to the substantial solidarity seen within modern native groups.

Moreover, measures to assimilate new citizens into Norway include pressure to assimilate into the linguistic atmosphere of Norway, a predominantly Norwegian and English-speaking nation. The 2005 Introduction Act creates a standard for learning Norwegian for all long-term residents. The pressure of meeting social and economic requirements for employment amidst the stress of migrating takes a major toll on individuals, as one immigrant expresses in an interview: "Shelter and food are basic priorities in life. … But life means more than that. I hurt myself two or three times. I did not talk to anyone. Sometimes you stop breathing, stop thinking, your dream is crushed. Everything stops, for three years."[20] While migrants come to Norway in search of the economic stability and prosperity the state provides, the institutions responsible for integrating migrant populations into society fail to account for the isolation and stress surmounting as the citizenship process rages forward and economic expectations proceed.

Racism and Islamophobia are major obstructions to social cohesion, which are disproportionately salient for non-Western immigrants. Lakey cites the Migration Policy Institute, which discusses the

[16]Holt-Jensen, "The Dual City and Deprivation in European Cities," 125.
[17]Holt-Jensen, "The Dual City and Deprivation in European Cities," 125-126.
[18]Lakey, George. *Viking Economics:how the Scandinavians got it right - and how we can, too* (New York: Melville House, 2016), 21.
[19]Eggebo, Helga. "The Problem of Dependency: Immigration, gender and the welfare state," *Norwegian Open Research Archives* 17, no. 3 (2010), 13-14.
[20]Abdelhady, Dalia. *Refugees and the violence of welfare bureaucracies in Northern Europe.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 202.

common social belief that Muslim immigrants in particular will never be able to fully assimilate in Norway to the European lifestyle.[21] This attitude can be seen in policies such as those intended to prevent forced marriage, a cultural concept foreign to Norwegians which is often dragged from private affairs into the public and political arena. In this case, policy-driven oppression towards specific immigrants, such as Muslim groups, directly reflect discriminatory public opinions. The connection between public opinion and policy can also be shown through the blatantly discriminatory statements of native Norwegian individuals: for example, an individual recountinga fatal accident describes that "'Foreigners' [were] hiking in Norwegian mountains without the appropriate equipment and experience, and thus [needed] to seek the aid of rescue services, [and were] said to 'stumble in their own incompetence.'"[22] In describing the *death* of individuals who happened to be visually identifiable as non-Western and thus non-Nordic, this account demonstrates the process of Norwegian natives bifurcating between "foreigners" and natives, isolating the former to an extent that basic compassion is lost. It is blatantly obvious that immigrants hoping to mold to external pressures for assimilation into culture, language, and economy are met with hostility from their native counterparts, which quite literally led to the dehumanization of migrant bodies in the account of a tragic accident. In light of this dynamic, it becomes nearly impossible to permeate the bubble separating *citizen* from *foreigner*, especially for Muslim or non-Western groups.

In relation to Dual City Theory, it is evident that the clear-cut class distinctions laid out in the theory have been confounded in today's Oslo with divisions based upon class, citizenship status, religion and culture, ethnicity, and maternal language or languages. Michael, a migrant to Norway who endured years of waiting to gain citizenship under isolating conditions, testifies that Norway "has a great interest in your becoming a productive, tax-paying citizen."[23] While a surface-level analysis of migration policy in Norway may yield positive findings about the intentions of the Norwegian government and the benefits eventually provided to potential citizens, analyzing immigration in the supposed 'best rich country to migrate to' from a lens of intersectionality may produce different results.[24] The intersectionality-aware spectator may view the conditions of immigrants on an individualized level: the Norwegian state does not prioritize individual success because one's success greatly depends on their ability to learn the spoken languages, their physical and mental ability to work at a job they might not have a choice in, their ability to meet subsistence thresholds if they happen to apply, their marital status,[25] and their ability to handle the discrimination they may face once they arrive. The question then becomes not about immigrant success or failure on an economic basis, nor about socio-economic integration, disintegration, and assimilation; rather, the intersectionalist will view migrant disintegration as one of many social problems contributing to an overarching divide between the advantaged and disadvantaged in a complex web of oppression and discrimination.

Income Equity & Wage Compression

One of the foundational principles of the Nordic model of the welfare state is income equity; while different wages are paid based on different professions, Norway enacts practices of *wage compression*, wherein they reduce the difference between the highest paid and the lowest paid workers, moving towards a societal equilibrium in pay such that everyone may reap the benefits of a wealthy nation. Wage compression is controversial on a global stage because free-market capitalists argue that

[21] Lakey, *Viking Economics*, 183.
[22] Bendixson et al, *Egalitarianism in Scandinavia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Springer International Publishing, 2018), 21.
[23] Lakey, *Viking Economics,* 19.
[24] Lakey, *Viking Economics,* 183.
[25] Limitations on spousal migration.

this government control over the economy is not justified. However, under the Nordic economic philosophy, in order to justify the unequal distribution of resources, the level of inequality in income must be constrained in some way.

Despite supposed protections against inequality in income distribution, it can be seen that the burden of low-income jobs has unequally fallen to the backs of migrant workers in recent years. The effect of this on Dual City Theory is manifestly that there are not two distinct cities, but cities like Oslo are socially fragmented and sub-divided by economic lines as well as the line of citizenship and nationality. Thus, wage compression no longer lives up to the Nordic philosophy of egalitarianism in the modern context of increasing diversity; instead, it acts to reinforce intersectional oppressions confounding against migrant groups.

First and foremost, the burden of filling low-wage jobs has been unequally distributed to immigrant populations in recent years, as inferred by looking at the hiring practices of specific blue-collar industries that once made up the 'new poor' that proponents of the Dual City Theory discuss. Jon Friberg states that "However, employers in both [the hotel and fishing] industries tend to see natives not just as unwilling to take on low-status jobs. They also explicitly stated that those natives who in fact are willing to accept such jobs, are actually unwanted. By most interviewees, native Norwegians were considered to lack the work ethic required to handle the physically hard, manual and routine job tasks involved."[26] New, lower-paid jobs are being filled more and more by migrant populations who are perceived to be more willing and capable to work for low wages.[27] With this phenomenon at play, the practice of wage compression and the ideology of equity for incomes and for wealth distribution as a whole is at stake, since employers are increasingly able to rely on the migrant labor market. Moreover, in relation to Dual City Theory, there are not just three cities—the city for the elite, the *new poor*, and the migrant—but there are in fact fragments of other social groups that make up these cities as well because immigrant groups are subdivided by ethnicity or country of origin. When it comes to employment and earnings, "there are significant assimilation effects among immigrants in general but also that the [earnings] assimilation process varies importantly according to arrival cohort, country of origin, and class of admission."[28] Clearly, the 'new poor' of blue collar workers in Oslo is being actively replaced by a third group, migrant workers, and it is a group that has been systematically and socially sub-divided and underpaid or overexploited in the Norwegian labor market. This is worsened by the fact that many migrant workers are not a part of unions which aim to protect the rights of workers.

Wage compression is a fundamental feature of the Nordic welfare state and the Nordic ideology of justified inequality. Yet, wage compression has failed to narrow the gap between economic success in migrant workers and native workers, and in the lens of a Dual City theorist, the economic reality of native Norwegians which differs completely from the emergent economic reality of migrant workers. With current influxes of migrant workers, income inequality has worsened the divide between citizen and non-citizen, henceforth reshaping the demographics of class distribution. These findings support a revitalized intersectional Dual City Theory because they show a distinct experience among migrant workers, an experience fully detached from the lower-class native experience.

[26]Friberg, Jon. "Ethnicity as skill: immigrant employment hierarchies in Norwegian low-wage labour markets," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 9 (2018): 1470.

[27]Lakey cites a study in which almost all new jobs created in 2012 were filled by immigrants (Lakey, *Viking Economics,* 20).

[28]Barth et al, "Identifying Earnings Assimilation of Immigrants under Changing Macroeconomic Conditions," *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 106, no. 1 (2004): 2.

The Welfare State & Union Membership

Lakey poses an argument positively correlating high levels of union membership with human development.[29] He also cites Joseph Stiglitz, a major contributor to literature surrounding union membership. Stiglitz believes that union protections work to combat the imbalance of economic power seen in a free market, which proves beneficial in the face of economic downturn such as the 2008-9 Global Financial Crisis. Hence, economies such as Norway that incorporate strong union protections into their labor force are stronger and foster prosperity, at least for native populations. James Galbraith praises Norway's ability to maintain competitive hiring practices and play a role in the global economy through outsourcing, all while protecting both citizens and non-citizens from cuts in wages or unreasonable termination.[30] Ultimately, though, the benefits associated with union membership are not fully accessible nor applicable to immigrant populations in Norway, who may suffer from labor rights discrepancies as opposed to native groups, yet the historical context of union membership in Norway shows it to be a key feature of the welfare state's development. Educational barriers and the compounding socio-economic factors discussed in this paper have led unions to primarily serve the native population in the modern day.

Norway has a long history of colonization by Denmark and Sweden followed by a period of agrarian modernization — allowing the newly independent state to create a collective identity alongside recognition of the individual success of each Norwegian farmer and politician. The outcome was a deep sense of *egalitarian individualism:* equality stemming from the egalitarian social conditions present in peasant groups which was perpetuated into the ruling class and eventually became an institutional feature of Norway as they adopted policies of strong social welfare in order to enable the individual to succeed with help from the state. This ideology led to the successful negotiations between workers and employers, as fortified by the 1935 Basic Agreement, written in response to the labor movement, which provided citizens with the rights to unionization, collective bargaining, and strikes.[31] The history of egalitarian practices has shaped unionization for the native groups of Norway, yet questions remain about the application of these events to modern laborers. Today, these rights do not yet materially extend to immigrant populations, who are proven to be less likely to join a union.

As aforementioned, modern unions in Norway benefit mostly the native populations, who are working less and less in manufacturing or other manual labor jobs. Henning Finseraas states, "the unionisation rate of immigrants is very low just after arrival and the catch up rate is quite slow, i.e., they need more than 15 years in Norway to close the unionisation gap to natives."[32] The factors accounting for this disparity are not clear, but one reason may be the exact factor that led to the establishment of these unions in the first place: Nordic ideology. Egalitarian individualism has been recently criticized for its contribution to social stratification amongst immigrants:

> [the welfare state] is in itself a system of stratification, and an active force in the ordering of social relationships. The organizational features of the welfare state shape how social solidarity, class, and status differences are expressed. While *welfare states are built into the cultural construction of heterogeneity and cultural conditions*, which in turn become rather narrow with specific cultural frames, they are also an autonomous device through which *individuals are expected to become economic agents and to gain individual*

[29] Lakey, *Viking Economics.*

[30] Galbraith, James. *The predator state: how conservatives abandoned the free market and why liberals should too* (New York: Free Press, 2008).

[31] Lakey, *Viking Economics*, 70.

[32] Finseraas, Henning. "Evidence from Norway: Does Immigration reduce the strength of trade unions?" *London School of Economics* (2019), 3.

independence from social relations and the market.[33]

So, the incentive for a newly naturalized citizen to join a labor union may be low due to exogenous pressure to gain economic success and retain employment based on individual merit. This reinforces the original critique of Dual City Theory: there can not be simply two cities when immigrant groups are placed on the periphery of all social and economic transactions based on their status as "outside" of the cultural construction, conditions, and protections. The culture of egalitarian individualism provides native groups with the basic necessities needed to pursue economic and social goals; in contrast, for immigrants, egalitarian individualism posits that those who do not maximize their social benefits as expediently as possible for economic returns and employment success have failed due to their individual incompetencies. Moreover, the London School of Economics has made it clear that due to regulations requiring Norwegian language usage on the job, there is institutionalized "[protection] from immigrant competition" flowing from the unions to the Norwegian natural citizens.[34] Thus, both the unions themselves and the social attitudes and perceptions existing in Norway have presented challenges to the protections of labor rights for migrant workers.

Unions in Norway have failed in the face of a globalizing cityscape to address modern labor concerns, since the new laboring class is primarily immigrant groups, who are disincentivized from joining unions which effectively work to protect native populations from migrant labor competition. This is a major concern for the stability of the welfare state, since it was developed based on the cooperation of employers and unions to provide equitable employment for all. In a purely class-based dualistic cityscape, high rates of unionization would be universal amongst the lower class and unions would serve as a great equalizing force against the polarization found in the city. While this is not the case, social and economic polarization is still evident in the modern city, and in Norway this can be at least partially explained by the cultural factors disencouraging migrant workers from unionization. In light of this, Dual City Theory does not adequately encapsulate the modern cityscape due to the nuance of intersecting oppressions between ethnicity, class, and citizenship status, which all contribute to the likelihood of economic instability amongst migrant workers. However, the fundamental aspects of stratification in Dual City Theory still apply for the migrant worker who lives in a different world from her Norwegian neighbor.

Full Employment

The ideology of full employment in Norway has contributed to a general sense of distributive justice because everyone is seen as both contributing to society and benefiting from it. Unemployed workers are often seen as potential employees in search of their next job rather than past workers who may or may not return to the labor force. Jeffrey Sachs and others promote this economic philosophy as a way to keep the labor market flourishing and de-stigmatize benefits provided to unemployed workers. However, there have been competing ideologies on employment in the past, such as Thatcherism in which high levels of unemployment were promoted to stimulate the economy to benefit those who do work; these ideologies of underemployment emphasize high inequality to heighten statistics of the average income and thus sacrifice some individuals for the good of others. However, in Nordic ideology, employing as much of the population as possible is desirable, utilizing methods such as unionization and wage compression to ensure that employment is not only accessible, but also that jobs are high quality. This ideology of universalized employment has had profound effects on the labor force: the OECD reports that Norway has the least amount

[33]Bendixson et al, *Egalitarianism in Scandinavia: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Springer International Publishing, 2018), 31, emphasis added.

[34]Finseraas, "Evidence from Norway," 2.

of job stress of any OECD country.[35] However, full employment is a tough ideology to execute in an increasingly globally interconnected city, since migration rates may outpace job creation or stimulate the creation of lesser-paid or lesser-quality jobs. So, it is important to evaluate the manifestations of full employment ideology on the employment practices of Norwegians in the midst of rising immigration.

One important thinker in current discourse on full employment is Kelly McKowen, who provides a vital link between philosophical approaches to employment levels and the practical application of a full employment ideology in the case of Norway. McKowen elucidates the importance of full employment in Norwegian society: individuals are not seen as solely making material gains through their employment, but rather they are making relationships with other members of society.[36] Hence, when one member of society is unemployed, they transition to expending energy on trying to gain employment by submitting job applications in order to regain social cohesion. The work of job-searching is repaid by the NAV programs, also known as the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration. In the eyes of their society, non-working members are not seen as less productive by their employment status, eliminating the societal stigma against welfare for the unemployed. This 'welfare' is primarily distributed and classified as payment for the labor of attaining a new job. However, as the data presented below suggests, levels and length of unemployment differ based on whether one is an immigrant or native-born Norwegian. Moreover, the path to citizenship requires immigrants to become employed, rather than accepting and even paying for their efforts as is the case for natural citizens. So, the extent to which unemployment faces social stigma may vary based on what group is unemployed.

The data on full employment paints a clear picture of the discrepancies between native and non-native workers in Norway: 71.9% of the Norwegian population works, while only 61.6% of immigrants do.[37] While this statistic may not seem drastic, it is an evident landmark in the argument that ideological premises of the Norwegian welfare state, i.e full employment, are disregarded when incorporating immigrant populations into society. Moreover, the length of unemployment varies greatly based on migration status. It is not uncommon for natives to become unemployed at some point in their lives, 41% of the labor force has done so at some point between 2007 and 2016,[38] but staying unemployed for a long period of time is much more likely for non-native groups. The instability that non-native workers face in the labor force can be summarized by a few key points:

> When immigrants leave employment, their prospects for reentry deteriorate more rapidly than those for natives, and immigrants require longer tenure in a new employment spell to attain job security. We also find that immigrant movements out of and back into employment are particularly sensitive to business cycle fluctuations.[39]

According to the Journal of Labor Economics, "by 2000, only 50% of the labor migrants were still in employment, compared to 87% of the native comparison group."[40] Clearly, full employment manifests for native populations on a much larger scale than for immigrant populations, who are left to take the worst-paying jobs, have the least job security in times of national economic hardship, and live in the worst neighborhoods. Native populations simply have more job security than non-native workers: the OECD rates the job quality in Norway as "particularly high," citing the lowest

[35] OECD, "How Does NORWAY Compare?" *OECD Jobs Strategy* (2018), 2; Job stress can be defined as any emotional or physical harm incurred by a place of employment.

[36] McKowen, Kelly. "Substantive commitments: Reconciling work ethics and the welfare state in Norway," Wiley Periodicals 7, 1 (2020).

[37] Lakey, *Viking Economics*

[38] McKowen, "Substantive Commitments," 126.

[39] Bratsberg, Bernt et al, "When Minority Labor Migrants Meet the Welfare State," 636.

[40] Bratsberg, Bernt et al, "When Minority Labor Migrants Meet the Welfare State," *Journal of Labor Economics* 28, no. 3 (2010), 636.

job strain among OECD countries and a high level of resilience in the face of economic downturn for the majority.[41] However, as we can see, the job stress, quality, and resistance to market fluctuations is unequally burdensome for migrant workers. With such high levels of discrepancy in job security, wages, and employment, it is no surprise that immigrant populations are less likely to stay in the labor force: "the probability of [migrant workers] exiting the labor market from one year to the next increases, ceteris paribus, from less than 2% during the first 10 years in the country to more than 5% after 15 years."[42] This statistic shows that ineffective economic integration practices in Norway have real effects on the labor market, namely that it will shrink with time as immigrants decide that working is no longer worth it. This is a worrisome statistic when it comes to evaluating the strength of the welfare state in light of increased migration.

Statistical evidence of inequity in full employment practices is just one contribution to the reality that the Dual City has disintegrated into more of a fragmented city, wherein intersecting factors like class, citizenship, and ethnicity make a tangible difference in social status and economic success. There is clearly not a binary between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but there are fragmented intersecting oppressions at play in all social and economic interactions, from the employment and benefits allocated by the government to the emergency aid available to the public. Full employment, which has worked to combat one-dimensional issues of class polarization, has failed to address social polarization as a whole because class is just one piece of the moving puzzle of intersectional oppression.

Entrepreneurship

On a global stage, the desire for entrepreneurship is widespread as a means of using the market to stimulate social mobility. As a result, IGOs such as the IMF support policies that intend to spur the individual's capacity to start a business. However, the efficacy of market-oriented approaches to social instability comes into question when one asks precisely *how* the individual is empowered to start their own business. One free-market stimulus is the micro-loan, a popular approach amongst NGOs in regions such as Africa where corruption within government is generally high and non-government assistance in entrepreneurship is welcome and can be successful. However, in Norway, the government works quite closely with emerging businesses to promote the individual's entrance into the global economy through entrepreneurship. While this may be controversial, it undoubtedly has worked, as the statistics for starting businesses and maintaining businesses may suggest. However, there are significant roadblocks for immigrant entrepreneurs in their ventures in Norway.

Entrepreneurship has been a major building block in the success of the modern Norwegian state in a globalized economy where competition is key. Norway is ranked the 8th best country for start-ups, according to the Office of National Statistics.[43] Part of the reason for this success in Norway is the institutional support that Norwegian entrepreneurs receive. Norwegian citizens have access to the Norwegian Entrepreneurship Program (NEP) in order to help them establish new businesses.[44] To compensate for the lack of access to the NEP, immigrants have access to free introductory courses on starting a company (in English or Norwegian). Yet there are some questions that must be asked in relation to these programs for migrants. What if immigrants do not confidently speak either Norwegian or English? The time it takes to establish a new company,

[41] OECD, "How Does NORWAY Compare?," 2.
[42] Bratsberg, Bernt et al, "When Minority Labor Migrants Meet the Welfare State," 652.
[43] Barbosa, Nuno. "What is the real state of startup entrepreneurship in Norway?," *The Codest*, 2019, https://thecodest.co/blog/what-is-the-real-state-of-startup-entrepreneurship-in-norway/.
[44] Lakey, *Viking Economics*, 79.

which is a rapid 7 days, is prolonged for migrant populations until they are able to speak one of those languages and spend the time to take that class. Furthermore, how do classes like this compare to the financial support of the government through the NEP? There is need for further research in this area surrounding the levels of entrepreneurship in immigrant communities and the further roadblocks that can be removed in order to stimulate entrepreneurship. It can be reasonably predicted that with the drastically lessened access to institutionalized monetary support, immigrant entrepreneurs may have a harder time starting businesses.

High levels of entrepreneurship and accessibility to entrepreneurship tools is valuable due to its effect on rates of social mobility for a nation. If anyone is able to start a business and there are educational and economic opportunities for entrepreneurs, the ability for lower-class individuals to engage in entrepreneurship and become successful is high. This has been true of Norway, which ranks highly in both entrepreneurship and social mobility. Lakey cites a study on intergenerational earnings in Nordic countries to show that children of the bottom classes have a better chance of social mobility than children in the UK or US, where freedom in the form of market freedom and independence from government is the dominant ideology and practice.[45] If social mobility is supported by spurs in entrepreneurship, then the limited accessibility of entrepreneurship for non-native populations effectively decreases their chances of social mobility. In this way, the polarization of classes discussed within Dual City Theory is permeable for native Norwegians, yet concrete for migrants.

Lesser access to entrepreneurship may be another area in which class differences do not perpetuate themselves, but are instead perpetuated by colliding factors such as ethnicity and citizenship status. This indicates a need for further analysis of the polarization in cities based upon the theory of intersectional oppression. Yet, the rigidity of these social identities provides further evidence that Dual City Theory was correct in its diagnosis of social polarization, which surpasses geographic borders and instead stems from the collective imagination and lived discrepancies amongst groups.

Taxation

In Norway, policies surrounding taxation are built upon ideological premises, namely the notion that one "pays for what they get." To be precise, high levels of taxation are generally socially accepted with the expectation that social services such as free, high quality health care will be provided by the state. Moreover, social benefits and many of the methods of taxation in Norway are based on the principle of universalism; theoretically, everyone should reap the benefits of taxation and social services, in lieu of targeted welfare programs which only help certain populations that are seen as more in need. In Norway, the principle of universalism is seen as a measure of establishing equality, which in turn strengthens trust, social cohesion, and the common good.[46] This is fundamental to the Nordic model. Jeffrey Sachs and Michael Bruno wholeheartedly believe in the strength of universalism in welfare policy as the means to helping a state achieve fairness, economic equality, and international competitiveness.[47] However, when universalist policies are not functioning to adequately serve the common good, the effectiveness of universalism over targeted welfare policies comes into question.

So, one must analyze whether or not taxation truly supports universalist services against a background of the polarization identified through Dual City Theory and the complexities expanded

[45] Lakey, *Viking Economics*, 78.

[46] Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better* (United Kingdom: The Equality Trust, 2009).

[47] Sachs, Jeffrey and Michael Bruno. "Supply versus Demand Approaches to the Problem of Stagflation," *National Bureau of Economic Research* (1979).

upon by intersectional oppression. Trygve Gulbrandsen conducts research along the lines of Dual City Theory when analyzing the attitudes of the elite class as a singular entity. The author displays data on how the elite class would prefer their tax dollars to be spent based on category, ultimately to show how the Norwegian elite supports a continued welfare state. Yet, looking closely at the data, some interesting observations can be made in light of taxation preferences and polarization on the basis of globalization and the migration that follows. One notable statistic is that the average percentage of elites in favor of reducing economic differences in relation to culture and to church drastically reduced from 2000 to 2015, by about 17% and 20% respectively.[48] Yet, at the same time, the percentage of elites who favored less economic difference in private businesses rose by a whopping 26% in the same time period. So, as a generalization, the elite class would prefer to equalize the private businesses rather than the services provided by the church and by organizations for culture.[49] At the same time, immigrant populations are largely religious, as found by Norwegian news source NRK, which states that 40% of immigrants were from Christian-dominated countries, and 60% of asylum seekers come from Islamic-dominated countries.[50] As the elite class worries about sending tax dollars to help private business, their support for economically disadvantaged cultural groups dwindles alongside the coincident cultural diversification of Norway which is ensuing as migration skyrockets. This data most clearly illustrates the notion of Dual City Theory because it shows the disconnect between the lived experiences of the elite class and the proletariat classes, wherein business trumps culture, civil services, the church, and mass media. The relative importance of each of these categories will vary within the lower classes, but I hypothesize that their preferences would differ drastically from the elite due to the extremely different living conditions and experiences for each group.

It is unclear whether or not continuous universalist taxation and distribution policies are justified in the evolving demography of Norway due to the inequality of outcomes for immigrant groups. I argue that more research should be conducted in this area as well in order to evaluate the justification of high taxes imposed on migrant groups who are not reaping the same benefits as native Norwegians. Taxation can act as a source of social cohesion in the state if universalism proves to be functioning, but it may easily become a source of division when taking into account the different priorities of each group, especially in consideration of the way these groups live in discrete communities with distinct priorities within the same city. The premise of Dual City Theory, on a sociological scale, is supported by data of elite policy opinions because it illustrates the extent to which elite and non-elite groups live in socio-spatial isolation with radically different priorities, cultural development, and economic socialization. Hence, the premise of Dual City Theory must be cycled through avenues such as the proposed intersectional Dual City Theory in order to revitalize the theory under modern methodological frameworks discussing divisions in society.

Conclusion

While there are pre-existing institutions to help immigrants integrate into the economy and society in Norway, they do not live up to their promises of granting equal access to resources when compared to the resources provided to natives. Moreover, social pressure to assimilate culturally and linguistically poses additional challenges to migrant groups that may be struggling to find work or economic opportunities in their new country. Then, the additional factor of racism and social prejudice as well as systemic inequities in the labor force exacerbate the difficulties that migrants

[48] Gulbrandsen, Trygve. *Elites in an Egalitarian Society: Support for the Nordic Model* (Springer International Publishing, 2018), 106.

[49] Additionally, the civil service sector saw a 25% drop in support from elites in this evaluation.

[50] "De fleste innvandrerne er kristne" Google translation. NRK. 9 December 2009. Accessed 7 August 2011.

in Norway face.

In order to create a truly egalitarian state, equality must exist for all, not just those who have lived in the state for generations. If Norway is to live up to its promise as a welfare state, it can no longer ignore the mental, societal, and financial pain of its newest citizens. Moreover, when approaching this issue from an urban development perspective, it is difficult to ignore the increasing polarization of various migrant groups, who are forming pockets in Eastern Oslo and are spatio-socially segregated as a result of poor integration policies for new immigrants. Overall, the limits of the welfare state can be clearly seen through the way that migration has challenged Norway's ability to distribute resources in a manner that promotes high standards of living while keeping within the bounds of the marketplace. Distributive justice can not be achieved if it comes at the expense of socio-economic integration; if justice is to be achieved, the Dual City Theory and intersectionality theory must be understood and utilized in conversation with each other for policy purposes in order to prioritize social unification.

It is time to update Dual City Theory in order to adapt it to the globalized cities that billions of people inhabit. The lasting benefit of this theory is that it can provide a target for which policymakers can aim to equalize groups to decrease polarization. However, if original Dual City Theory is still used in a modern context, policymakers will ignore the intricacies of intersectionality in their creation of institutions, increasing polarization and fragmenting groups across racial, social, cultural, class, and citizenship lines. Dual City Theory's premise, namely that each of the two 'cities' that exist based on classes live in completely different worlds, should be upheld. However, the complexity of modern socio-economic divisions needs to be recognized and targeted policies and institutional changes based on these intersectional challenges need to be created. This theory can be reinvisioned if one views the proletariat class as a multidimensional, intersectional body rather than a singular entity and enigma. This realist view allows for a comprehensive understanding of sociological phenomena of urban life without the previous essentialism of the lower rungs of society that clearly glossed over nuances in daily life and struggle. We must update our understanding of the cityscape in order to grasp the layers of present inequality in order to address them.

Global Relevance

Politics

While Dual City Theory was originally applied to major cities of the United States, its scope expanded with time and it was found to be applicable to urbanizing cityscapes across the globe. A reapplication of the Dual City Theory has the potential to induce a similar effect. Intersectionality is a concept that gets increasingly complex with a broadened scope, as the conditions for intersecting oppression are based upon class, race, gender, ethnicity, history, ideology, religion, and education discrepancies amongst other possible factors. Yet, with a solid foundation of what intersectionality means and how Dual City Theory shapes and polarizes the identities of citizens and non-citizens in a city, it will be imperative to apply this theory to any state that hopes to mitigate social disintegration in the midst of globalization and interconnectedness in the global marketplace and the globalized city.

First, a cityscape will gain consciousness of its fragmented polarization through an understanding of the two fundamental takeaways from the updated Dual City Theory The first takeaway is the sociological understanding that in a dualistic or dual-like city, at least two completely different and independent cities can live in a single geographical space due to the effect of substantial discrepancy in material condition and daily existence. Secondly, the cityscape must realize that polarizing factors are not neat and do not fit into a binary, but they are complex factors that intersect with each other in various manners based on circumstances. This is critical because for years, academia has been locked into a *rich-poor* binary, as reflected in the way the "social welfare state" conceives

equality and how Norway has created inefficient policies that do not address the intricate roots of sociological problems. In reality, complex problems require intricate solutions that prove to be attentive to intersectionality to attain distributive justice and outcome equity.

The global cities of today will benefit from applying these fundamental takeaways because binary policy will only increase polarized outcomes and a lack of social cohesion. When a government can understand the condition of inequality of its citizens, in terms of both explicit and implicit inequalities, it will truly be capable of implementing far-reaching solutions that avoid singularity in their approach and tend towards nuance. Moreover, a city that understands the polarization in Dual City Theory as well as the struggle marked by intersectional oppression will be better equipped to combat socio-economic issues that will continue to arise with the forward motion of globalization. Some examples of potential socio-economic issues that are ensuing in Norway and other countries are racism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and discrimination as a whole. If a country tries to tackle any of these issues in its one-dimensional form, they will completely ignore structural, systemic, systematic, and historical nuance as well as the intersecting issues that play a role in the crisis.

Furthermore, if a state or city understands the qualitative and quantitative effects of compounding inequalities through the lens of intersectional Dual City Theory, they will be able to look inwards at the functioning of the cityscape in order to make adjustments before a crisis hits. An understanding of why inequality exists, what spheres it dominates, and who it oppresses is vital for the government officials of a city as they influence, perpetuate, and have the power to change the social stigma in their jurisdiction through policy. The clarity in the case of Norway, shaped by historical precedent of crop-sharing, egalitarian individualism, and agrarian modernization, plays a major role in the success of lower-class Norwegians while it hinders the success of non-native groups.

Overall, the successful integration of migrant groups, like any group in society, should be a major goal for any city planning council or government agency in a globalized world. The more integrated a city can become, the easier it will be to pass policy that benefits everyone. Moreover, integration will economically benefit the city by equalizing the outcomes that are possible and plausible for each sub-community. In turn, trust and confidence in government and in society will improve. With this in mind, all fruitful solutions require comprehensive diagnosis of issues at hand. Thus, integration can only be achieved as we continue to understand the multitudes of sources of disintegration.

Corporations in a Global Economy

Political economics in a globalized world is the primary motivating factor that has led many migrants to Norway. In a globalized world, migration has increased plentifully as access to the international marketplace varies based on the conditions of each local economy. So, there are naturally many interconnected political and economic ties within the issue of migration under Dual City Theory and social disintegration or polarization as a whole. The movement of people across borders and into appealing urban areas is inevitable in the globally interconnected world. As I have shown in the case of Norway, disintegrated immigrant populations suffer from isolation and mental health issues or job stress, they are socially isolated from other groups in the same social strata, and they are more likely to stay unemployed if they leave the labor force to begin with. Clearly, multiple factors in the case of Norway have led migrant laborers to be overexploited yet underproductive members of the workforce. Minimizing inefficient labor should be a top priority for businesses as high employment and low job stress will be good to move the economy forward. Thus, successfully integrating migrant and other disadvantaged populations into the workforce is a necessity, and integration does not have to stem from government action.

There are many routes a corporation can take to help integrate migrant workers into the company, for example. One integration strategy could be as simple as spatial integration; through a diverse working cohort, with both native and non-native workers as well as workers from varied backgrounds, generally marginalized groups will not be isolated from others in society through

their place of employment. Another strategy for integration is education; by educating managerial and upper management workers about intersectionality and the complicated question of identity in an urban-global work setting, a corporation will be stepping forward in the challenge of lessening the force of polarization that occurs in the cityscape. Education works both ways: corporations providing employees with the chance to either learn about the diverse groups represented in-house or providing language-learning opportunities for migrant workers would reduce inequities that are present due to cultural or linguistic barriers and a lack of time outside of work for individuals to bridge the gap alone.

In conclusion, the condition of inequality in the modern cityscape depends both on the polarization of groups and the intersection between different sub-groups in society. Through the case study of Norwegian migrant disintegration, I have delineated some of the major socio-economic fault lines that cause rifts in the social cohesion of migrant workers. Ultimately, the findings of original Dual City theorists have proven to adequately demystify the condition of polarization that sweeps across cities as they develop into hubs for the elite and hells for the others and the *othered* in society. An updated version of this theory, what I refer to as the intersectional Dual City Theory, can serve as a nuanced framework for understanding and addressing inequalities and polarization in the cityscape.

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Appendix

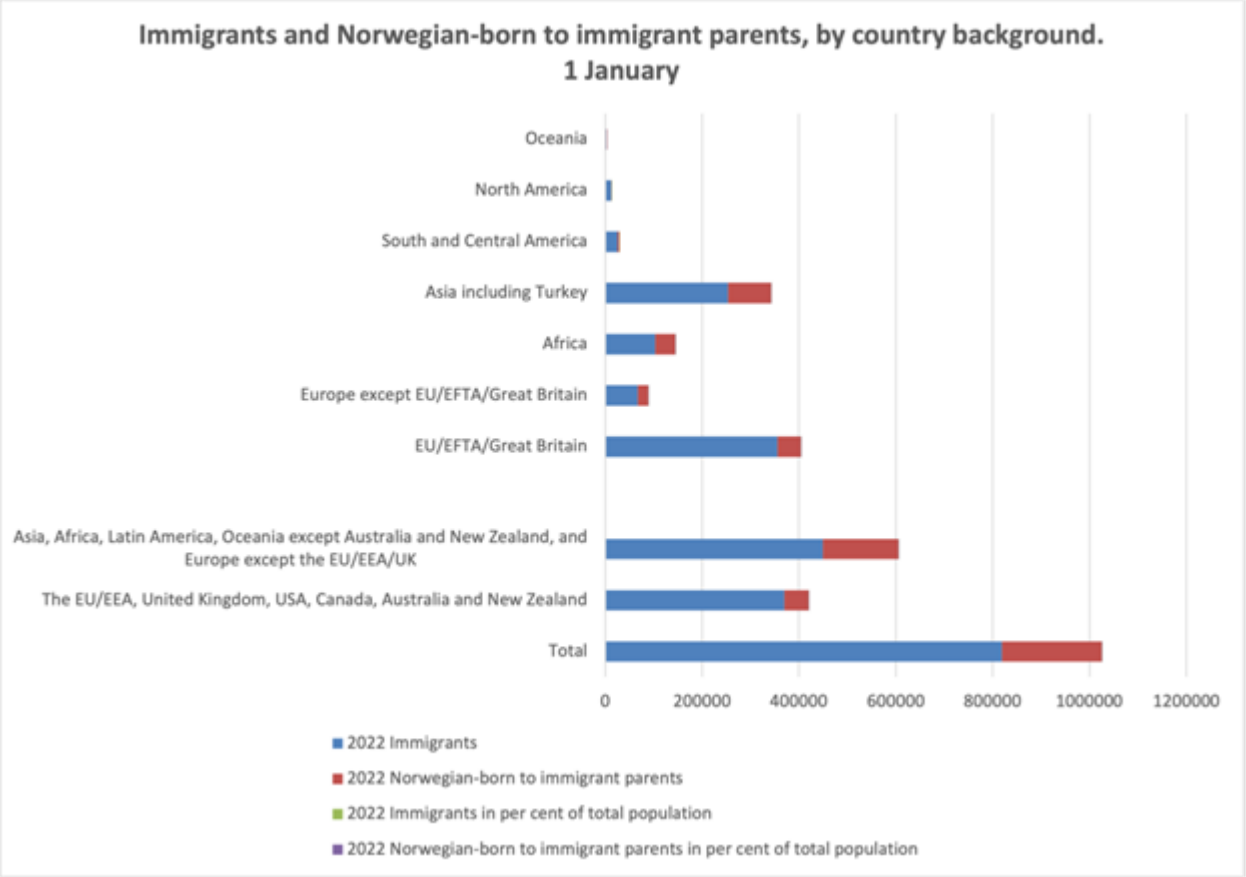

Figure 1: Immigrants and Norwegian-born to Immigrant Parents, by country background. Data set from https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/innvandrere/statistikk/innvandrere-og-norskfodte-med-innvandrerforeldre. 2022.