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Development of the Self in Second Generation Immigrants_____

How does the Self and negative emotions develop in second generation immigrants?

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Bachelor Thesis in Sociology:

Development of the Self in Second Generation Immigrants

How does the Self and negative emotions develop in second generation immigrants?

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By: Marija Stevkovska Pedersen

"Social identity doesn't rest in people, but in a network of social relations. When social networks are altered, social identities will change."

(Meyrowitz, Crowley, & Mitchell, 1994, p. 58)

"It dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil."

(Du Bois, 1903, p. 4)

"How does it feel to be a problem?"

(Du Bois, 1903, p. 4).

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Abstract

Discrimination because of different ethnicity or race is not the thing of the past even for the most egalitarian countries in the world, such as Norway. In addition, the world is highly globalized, with ethnicities and races mixed up as never before. Second generation immigrants are rising as a group in the world population. Emotions in microsociology have always been important. W. E. B. Du Bois and his phenomenological Theory of Double Consciousness shed a light on a phenomenon of race and discrimination in the early days of sociology in USA. He described the different negative feelings and the struggle individuals endure into forming Self when being treated differently (as less worthy) in the country that feels as much as home to them as to the majority of the country. These feelings develop differently and with different intensity in second generation immigrants. Identity Control Theory and the whole process of verification of identities is guided by emotions. When second generation immigrants' identities are not verified, they will try to intensify their behavior in order to get the desired response. When this fails too, distress and low self-esteem emerge.

Keywords: Double Consciousness, Identity Control Theory, Creation of The Self, Second-generation immigrants, Feelings.

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I wish all of you, big success in the academic field as in life.

1. Introduction

People migrate because of different reasons. Migration in the years to come will only increase due to globalization, climate change, conflicts, and labour migration. In 1990, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicted that the climate changes will give huge impact on humanity and their settlement patterns, which will especially affect the already poor settlements (Brown, 2008, p. 11). In a report from International Organization for Migration (IOM), was discussed that estimated numbers of "climate migrants"/"climate refugees" could be around 200 million by 2050 (Brown, 2008, p. 11). The Syrian refugee crisis became a crisis with ruffly 5.6 million people migrating to Europe (World Vision, 2020). Comparing these two, we can see that climate refugee crisis is of magnitude never seen before. Good integration of immigrants would be a challenge for the destination countries, as well as reducing discrimination and marginalization based on ethnicity.

When immigrants from poor settlements find their new home in highly developed societies, they will meet many challenges and marginalization. The urban way of living, the way of speaking, the prejudice, the education system, the labor market, the creation of new networks. These factors, individually or combined, will decrease their social mobility, and have impact on theirs and their childrens life. Immigrant children (second generation immigrants), are my focus because they are the most rapidly growing demographic in the world (Suárez-Orozco, 2018, p. 2). These children will grow up in bilingual, if not polylingual families, exposed simultaneously to two or more cultures at home, depending on the ethnicity composition of the family, and some more on other socializing arenas. On the other hand, through the education system they will be directly exposed to the dominant culture and socialized in it. The degree of internalization of the dominant culture in second generation immigrants, will vary tremendously. This will off course have a huge impact on the formation of their Self and meaning about the world around them. In addition, they will be exposed to discrimination and marginalization because of their different appearance and potentially behavior. Feeling of alienation from the dominant culture can lead to feelings of low self-worth, anxiety, and distress. So, *how does the Self and negative emotions develop in second generation immigrants*?

Emotions in sociology really got picked up in the 1970's (Turner & Stets, 2005). *The Sociology of Emotions* by Jonathan H. Turner and Jan E. Stets is a book that review the theoretical and empirical work on sociology of emotions. I find this book of outmost relevance for my paper, because my starting point is that emotion and the Self go hand in hand. In addition, I will use the *Theory of Double Consciousness* by William Edgar Burghardt Du Bois. This theory, by being phenomenological, give good description of sentiments among discriminated (racialized) individuals. Du Bois operates with the concepts of – the veil, second -sight, and the twoness – and gives an insight of how difficult actually is for racialized individuals to see for who they really are, because they see themselves only through the eyes of the majority, impairing their true consciousness (Du Bois, 1903, p. 5). Second generation immigrants will most of the time compare themselves with the culture they live in, and wish for "all their dazzling opportunities" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 4). This I will supplement with *Identity Control Theory* (ICT) by Peter J. Burke. This theory focuses on the importance of identities and the meanings one attaches to them, as well as on self-perception (Burke, 2016). Du Bois masterfully described racialization as phenomenon and the feelings it causes to develop in discriminated individuals, while ICT gives the tools for analyses of how individuals (try to) maintain their identities that constitute their Self. ICT also give good explanation of the connection between verification, or more specifically non-verification of identities, and development of negative feelings, distress and low self-esteem (Burke, 1991; Burke & Stets, 2009; Turner & Stets, 2005). This essay has a threefold aim of literature discussion: (1) Creation of the divided self in second generation immigrants, (2) Identity control mechanism applied on second generation immigrants and (3) the path to developing negative feelings in second generation immigrants. My next step is to define my theoretical framework even closer.

2. Theoretical framework

This paper is a literature study. I will start by defining immigration and integration, as well as provide some statistics in national context. Norway experienced the first serious migration wave in early 1960's (Gursli-Berg, Myhre, & Tønnessen, 2021). This means that Norway as immigration destination is quite new compared with other countries. Diversity of the country is quite high with strong egalitarian principles, but still there are cases of discrimination towards second generation immigrants. Norwegian statistics (2009) show that half part of

the immigrants report being marginalized because of their ethnicity (Statistics Norway, 2009). In addition, Aftenposten (Norwegian newspaper) published an article in 2020 with several different statistics showing that discrimination and marginalization are not the thing of the past in Norway neither. In this article is written that the younger population (mostly second generation immigrants), are more conscious of the discrimination and marginalization they experience and the numbers of people answering that discrimination based on ethnicity (race) is present in Norway are now up to 84 precent (Sørgjerd, Raiz, & Schwencke, 2020). Even though they are born and raised in Norway they still experience discrimination based on their ethnicity, especially those from Iraq, Turkey, Somalia, and Pakistan (Heiervang, 2020).

Next, I will present feelings in sociology. On the matter of emotions, I will solely relay on *The Sociology of Emotions* by Jonathan H. Turner and Jan E. Stats. In their book they state that theories of emotions always take in consideration the emotional factor when humans make decisions, regardless of the fact if these decisions are conscious or not. They are also of the opinion that in order to understand the societies we should look at human emotions, because the human emotions is what guide the process of interaction, that in turn creates the social world that influence our identities (Turner & Stets, 2005, pp. 1, 22).

Further, I will look into theory of double consciousness that is about creation of the Self, or more specifically about creation of double Self under heavy racism. By being African American himself, Du Bois took his personal experience and observation of Self creation under- and post-slavery America[1].   I will use his phenomenological theory as good description of feelings of distress and alienation a human being can experience when discriminated, as well as to explain how difficult is for minorities to see for who they really are, because they compare themselves with the majority at all time (Du Bois, 1903). The self

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[1] Even though I will compare African Americans with second generation immigrants from other ethnicities, I am fully aware that their position of slavery was much different than regular immigrants. I am acknowledging that slavery is very different than labour migration or climate refugee migration, and don't want to minimize the horrible impact this social order has had on millions of African American people. I am using this example, because is the biggest and heaviest example of systematic and intended marginalization and discrimination in modern west. The parallel I am drawing between African Americans and second-generation immigrants is the one that both minority groups are not always regarded as citizens in their own country by the majority.

develops differently in second generation immigrants because they have two or more sets of cultures to compare themselves too.

Further, I will present the more recent identity control theory by Peter J. Burke. Here the Self is seen as summary of all identity's (personal, role, group) individuals have collected through their lifetime. This theory is focused on the meaning's individuals have for different identities that form the social world. These meanings are called identity standards (Burke, 2016). The verification process of one's identity is central to this theory, because is control mechanism that support the identity standards individuals have. Also, this verification process is directly connected to emotional response, which in turn drives the whole process (Turner & Stets, 2005). I will mostly focus on non-verification of identity standards, as this is the factor that creates negative feelings. The verification process is continuous loop where the individual tries to compare the identity standards (meanings) with the perceived meanings at all time, which also makes it identity control system (Burke, 2016, p. 1; Burke & Stets, 2009, pp. 67, 68). This process is described in Figure 1. I will get back to the process of identity verification further on.
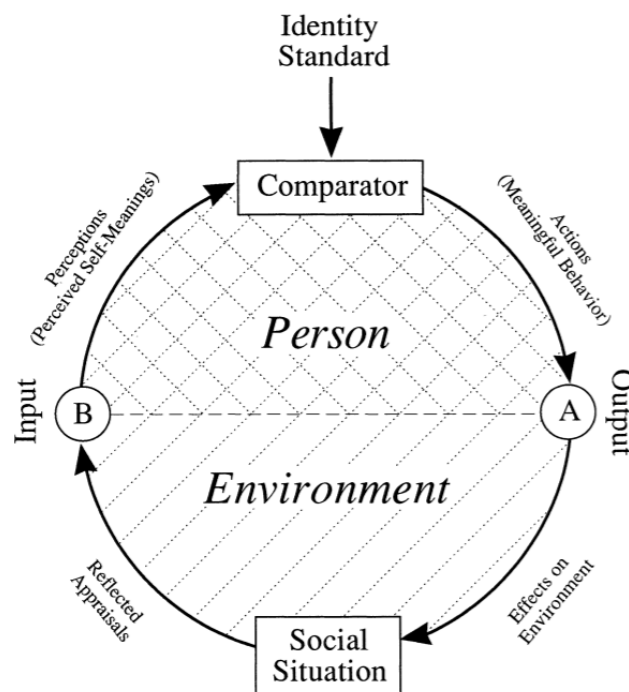

Figure 1. "The Control-System view of the Identity Process: The Cycle of Meaning Showing Possible Points of Interruption at A and B" (Burke, 1991, p. 838).

The reason for choosing the theories of double consciousness and identity control (ICT) is because both theories are microsociological theories with difference that the theory of double consciousness is phenomenological theory, while ICT is structural symbolic interactionism theory. Both theories have the Self as their core. The combination of these theories will describe (double consciousness) and explain (ICT) the formation of Self with focus on the identity standards, as well as development of negative feelings, with accent on second generation immigrants.

Phenomenology as a direction in microsociology is focused on the subjective experience individuals have of the social world, and as research is more descriptive than explanatory (Rehman, 2018, p. 205). Du Bois theory is excellent example of phenomenology that describes the phenomenon of race and discrimination because of it. He gave the phenomenon of race the name "color line" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 9), and with this made it available for further research, something that still is of great importance.

The essay "Of Our Spiritual Strivings" from *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) sufficiently describes the emotions, feelings of distress and alienation human being can experience when being racialized. In this essay, Du Bois presents the relevant concepts of his theory: the veil, second-sight and twoness. Then, through these concepts, describes how discrimination leads to development of divided Self in individuals, as well as the strife discriminated individuals go through in order to fuse this double consciousness into one complete Self. His theory describes the shared *feelings* of being racialized in African Americans, and also the *negative feelings* and *distress* this racialization is causing them. As I said before, discrimination because of different race/ethnicity is not the thing of the past. Second generation immigrants and African Americans in USA have in common the fact that they are treated as "the others" by their fellow citizens of the majority. Even though they are born and raised in the same country, their physical appearance is reason enough to be treated as strangers, as someone who doesn't really belong. However, Du Bois's phenomenological theory describes the feelings but doesn't really explains the process that leads African American individuals to develop different cognitive and emotional response to the same issue of being racialized. In order to better understand this, I will apply the identity control theory (ICT).

ICT is crossover between identity theory and structural symbolic interactionism theory (SSI), with focus on how individuals identify themselves through the many different

identities their Self is constructed of, and the connection between these identities and their behavior as part of the social structure (culture) where these identities are created and set (Burke, 2016, p. 1). SSI as concept was coined by Sheldon Stryker. Stryker acknowledges that social structures are created by interaction between individuals, but he also acknowledges that the new members of societies are born in already existing structures that influence their meanings and creation of identity. He describes his perspective of symbolic interactionism as "Society shapes self shapes social interaction" (Stryker, 2008, p. 19). The difference between symbolic interactionism (SI) and SSI is that the latter sees social structures as stable, patterned, and organized, while SI sees them as constantly changing through the interaction of individuals. Another difference between these two is that SI sees the self as creating and recreating itself constantly, while SSI sees it as stable and consistent (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 53).

In SSI perspective, (that draws a lot from George Herbert Mead) symbols, language and interaction are imperatives. The symbols simplify human interaction by naming objects, roles and groups that are common for people belonging to the same society (culture). These symbols are also directly connected to meanings for object, individuals, roles and groups (Burke & Stets, 2009, pp. 15–16).

At the end of this paper there will be a short discussion and conclusion using my theoretical frame.

3. Second generation immigrants in National Context

Statistics Norway operates with the concept Norwegian-born of immigrant parents when addressing second generation immigrants (Dzamarija, 2019). Nevertheless, I will keep using second generation immigrants, since my paper is of more universal character.

3.1. Migration in Norway

The definition of immigration given by United Nations is the following:

> any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. (UN, n.d., para. 4)

Norway as an immigration destination is quite new. Figure 1. from Statistics Norway, shows the different patterns and reasons for immigration for the last 27 years:

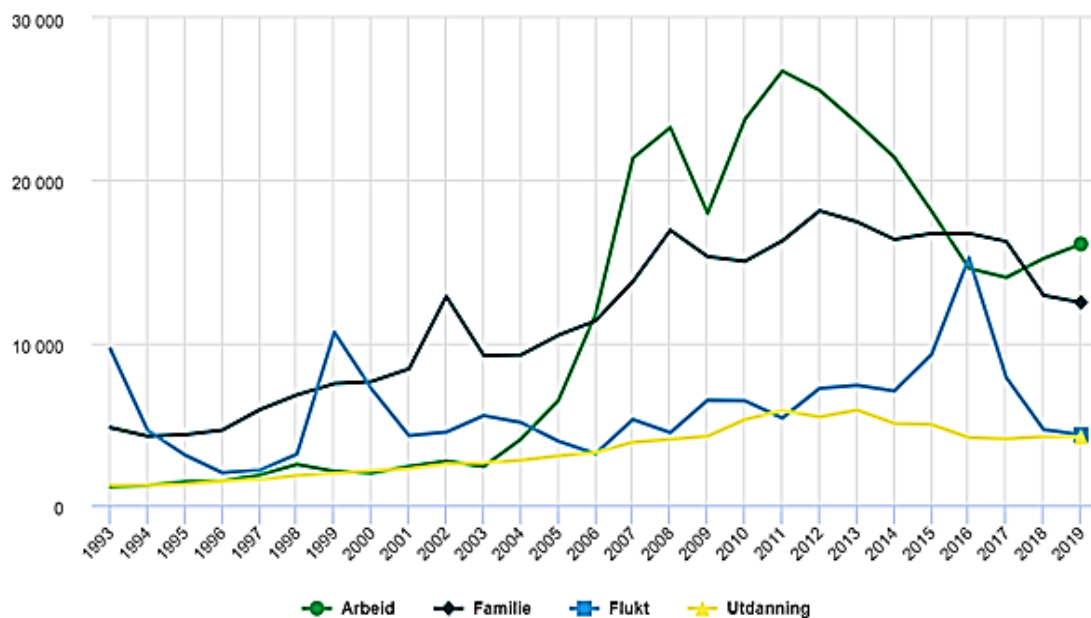Reasons for immigration to Norway

Figure 2*.: Figure showing the reasons for immigration to Norway made by Statistics Norway. My translation of the color scheme: green = labor, black = family, blue = refugees, and yellow = education* (Statistics Norway, n.d.).

From figure 2. we can see that education is the weakest reason for immigration to Norway. Family reunion and labor migration are the reasons for most immigrants coming to Norway through the years. When it comes to refugees, we can see that there is spikes on several places on the figure. From this figure we can conclude that highest immigration to Norway is due to family reunion and labor.

The total population of Norway on 1st of January 2021 was 5 391 369 persons. In 2021 Statistics Norway reports that there are 800 094 immigrants living in Norway, of which 197 848 are children of immigrants. This means that 14,8 percent of the population are immigrants of which 3,7 percent are second generation immigrants (Statistics Norway, 2021a). On the other hand the unemployment rates are 4,6 percent for the majority of population while for the immigrants is 9,7 percent (Statistics Norway, n.d.). When taking a better look at the Norwegian statistics, on 19 of March 2021, they report that only 65,4 percent of the immigrant's with age between 20 to 66 are employed. This means that 34,6 percent of immigrants that are capable of having job, are not working and are probably on welfare (Statistics Norway, 2021b). Unemployment rates among the general population, even after Corona pandemic are 4,2 percent. Taken in consideration the numbers I presented here, the precent of unemployment of immigrant its quite high compared to the general population. I already mentioned the factors that influence this development. This is something to look into since Norway works very hard on their integration policy in order to reduce social inequalities.

The committee that conducted the Norwegian Official Report (NOU) 2011: 7, expressed their concern about the pressure of the immigration on the Norwegian welfare model. The strategy of the government was to qualify immigrants from rural countries with competence for the labor market in Norway. The goal was to employ as much as possible in order to relieve the burden from the welfare system. Integration through the labor market was seen as the best way to successfully integrate immigrants (NOU 2011: 7, p. 9). Still today, 10 years later, the unemployment of immigrants that can and should be working is 34,6 percent.

3.2.   Integration in Norway

Another Norwegian official report - NOU 2017: 2, had the topic of integration and trust. Here was discussed that according to many different surveys, the living standard of the

immigrants and their children is much lower than the majority. Differences in living standard are not a new phenomenon in society or unusual, but when there is clear pattern of difficulties in certain group of citizens, it is especially an issue for egalitarian country such as Norway (NOU 2017: 2). As we saw from the previous NOU 2011: 7, the integration through the labor market its imperative for the overall integration in Norway. Still, the refugees as a group that needs the most integration in society, have the most difficulties to get employment (NOU 2017: 2, p.p. 14-15). Their access to good integration is impaired. Children of these families then, grow up in poverty, as well as being socialized mostly in parental culture, impairing their socialization and integration in the dominant culture in different extent. However, socialization exclusively with paternal culture is mostly until second generation immigrants start kindergarten or school. But by then their level of speaking the majority language will vary tremendously, which is another issue. The numbers of poor immigrant families are high as 57,2 percent of all poor families in Norway (Ministry of Children and Families, 2020). This is very high numbers and speak of social differences.

In addition to experiencing discrimination on the labor market, refugees experience discrimination as well on the housing market, according to the committee that conducted the Norwegian Official Report 2017: 2 (NOU 2017: 2, p. 15). This then transfer to their children who grow up understanding that there are double standards in society. One for the majority and one for those like them, which will lead to development of negative feelings. This is why I will continue here with emotions in sociology.

4. Emotions in sociology

Emotions as focus in sociology came in 1970's. Human emotions are great power, especially in regard to society. Because of emotions we form relations to others, which in turn form groups and other complex social structures. This is why it's important that sociologist should not neglect human emotions. Emotions is what drive human beings and without human interaction there is no social order. Jonathan H. Turner and Jan E. Stets in *The Sociology of Emotions* (2005) wrote that psychology for very long time was concerned with human emotions, but sociology gave new concept to emotions as it sees their formation in social context in which they are activated, and not just as biological (Turner & Stets, 2005, pp. 1-2).

On the other hand, human emotions have been seen by many sociologists as social constructs (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 2). For these sociologist's culture play a big role in how emotions are expressed. Individuals of a certain culture are socialized in how to emotionally respond to specific situations. Also, by participating in this culture, emotional responses are internalized. Social constructionist doesn't regard physiological arousal as emotion before its labeled as one. Only after humans label a certain emotion (social construct) it becomes real to them. But not every sociologist is convinced in this even if they don't disregard the effect of culture on emotions. Emotions are biological. They are triggered in social context but it's the body that produce them, leading to the conclusion that we should also not exclude biology when we discuss emotions in sociology (Turner & Stets, 2005, pp. 2–3).

Cognition is another process that is important in understanding emotions, process that is very dominant among psychologists. Cognition as a process "emphasizes the role of judgment in influencing people's emotions" (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 9). Cognition is based on the idea that there must be presence of object, or situation of interaction, for emotions to be formed. If the object or the situation is experienced as positive, individuals will develop positive feelings. When the situation of interaction is experienced as negative, for the individuals involved, it will result in negative feelings and corresponding coping mechanism that would remedy these feelings will be activated (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 9).

4.1. Levels of emotions

Emotions, culturally bounded or not, can also be universal. Happiness, sadness, anger, fear, are some of the universal feelings that are felt by any human being on the planet, regardless their cultural origin. These four emotions are those that most of the scientist that operate with emotions agree upon as universal emotions. Universal emotions are often also labeled as primary, basic or fundamental (Turner & Stets, 2005, pp. 11-15).

The different forms and combinations of primary emotions are called for secondary emotions. Robert Plutchik effort in conceptualizing emotions is regarded by Turner and Stets (2005) as one of the most influential. They write that Plutchik (1962, 1980, 2002) conceptualized eight different primary emotions as direct reaction to the environment. Acceptance, surprise, fear, sorrow, disgust, expectancy, anger, and joy. The combination of the primary emotion leads to creation of secondary emotions. Other sociologist that Turner

and Stets (2005) take in consideration on the matter of secondary emotions is Theodore Kemper. For Kemper (1987) the secondary feelings are more anchored in culture, and that by combining the primary emotions, secondary emotions emerge. According to Turner and Stets, the expression of secondary emotions is truly bound by culture, but by their appearance in every society points out that they are emerging from the human biology. This goes for the primary emotions as well (Turner & Stets, 2005, pp. 13–20).

4.2. Emotions and rationality

We can't discuss emotions and creation of the self in western societies without mentioning rationality. Turner and Stets (2005) write that in western societies, emotions are bound together with irrationality, while cognition with rationality. Classical minds like Max Weber and Talcott Parsons, even though didn't polarize the terms, still separated them. Weber divided the concept action into "rational" and "affectual", while Parsons divided the same concept as "instrumental" and "expressive" (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 21). Turner and Stets (2005) use Antoni R. Damasio's neurological research (1994, 2003) to elaborate that seeing emotions and rationality as polarities is not correct. This research showed that when emotions are disconnected in human brain, rational decision making was also impaired, making the decisions irrational or not optimal (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 22). We can also see this when computer make decisions. They are fully rational but that doesn't mean that they always choose the most optimal decisions. Also being emotional is being human. Rationality is only one part of our humanity.

5. Background for Double Consciousness and Identity Control Theories

The nineteenth and early twentieth century was the period when the field of western philosophy was preoccupied with the modernization of the world and the effect on human identity and self-formation. The industrial revolution forced new social patterns and settlements. This had a huge impact on the mental health of the individual, especially because the industrialization seriously accelerated the changes in society in a way that humans couldn't cope with. Evidence for this can be found in many novels, arts and philosophies from this period of time. The creation of the fields of psychology and sociology also testify to it (Ernest Allen, 2002, p. 223). The founding father of sociology August Comte

and all the other great classics like Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Ferdinand Tönnies, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber were interested and were observing the creation of the modern social structures and the effect they had on individuals and societies as whole. Du Bois (1868-1963) was educated with influence of all the classical minds and this can be detected in his theory.

Du Bois studied at Harvard University where he was mentored, among others, by William James (1842-1910). William James was the founder of the psychology department at Harvard University, and one of the founding founders of American Pragmatism. He influenced Du Bois and George Herbert Mead, among others, with his view on the importance of the thoughts and feelings individuals have for themselves and how these form their conduct (Leary & Tangney, 2003, p. xi). Another great influence on Du Bois was the philosopher Georg W. Hegel and his phenomenology (Ernest Allen, 2002, p. 227; Goodman, 2017). Both of this classics, formed Du Bois view on the importance of acknowledgment by others in the formation of the self, and that the denial of the same could lead to developing anxiety, low self-worth and feeling of alienation (Ernest Allen, 2002, p. 227; Meer, 2018, p. 52).

Du Bois was also studying at the University of Berlin for two years (1892-1894). At this time in Germany huge socio political changes were happening (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.). Antisemitism was beginning to take very aggressive political form, no matter that the Jews were highly assimilated group. James M. Thomas (2020) wrote that Du Bois exposure to the German sociopolitical landscape and antisemitism had most probably influenced the creation of his theory. He called the University of Berlin an incubator for Du Bois's theory (Thomas, 2020, p. 1341). As a result of the different schooling influences, and his ability to combine it, Du Bois sociology was much different than any school at that time. Lynn England and W. Keith Warner suggested that he "…must be recognized for his own sociological pioneering" that was inspiring in direction of elimination of all type of discrimination, domination and inequality (England & Warner, 2013, p.p. 957, 958).

Moving on to identity control theory (ICT). This theory is heavily based on George Herbert Mead view of the Self and that human interaction is conducted by sharing symbols (words), which in turn creates societies. Through interaction the individuals are at all time adjusting their behaviors to the environment using the reflexivity of mind, that sees the self as an object

as all other objects in situation of interaction. This is what is central to symbolic interactionists and ICT (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 19).

At the hearth of ICT, besides Mead's influence, is the perceptual control system. This system was originally created for cybernetics as Cybernetic Control Model, but William Powers (1973) further developed it into Perceptual Control Model that he published in *Behavior: The Control of Perception* (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 28). Powers starting point was that individuals (system) are not really concerned with their control of the output (behavior), but more with the control of the input (perception). "Humans maintain a steady and stable environment in the face of disturbance, not a steady output" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 29). This means that individuals are more willing to change behavior than perception (goal). Burke use a model in which he explains the identity verification process as a loop. Figure 1. on page 4 describes the verification process

6. Theory of Double Consciousness and Emotions

In *The Souls of Black Folks,* Du Bois managed to capture the deepness of alienation that the dominant culture created in African Americans living in U.S.A. He used his poetic creativity to describe phenomenological sociology and feelings. Du Bois theory is specifically about the people of color. Jose Itzigsohn and Karida Brown (2015) describe the theory of double consciousness as "… a phenomenological description of self-formation under condition of racialization" (Itzigsohn & Brown, 2015, p. 232). Du Bois's concept "the Veil" was perfect enrichment to the studies of the Self in sociology. This concept gave much clearer insight of the self-formation in discriminated individuals, something that was not picked up before even by the most prominent theorist of the Self. With his theory, he made aware the sociological field, that creation of the Self develops differently in discriminated groups of individuals (Itzigsohn & Brown, 2015, pp. 232-233).

For my paper, his essay "Of Our Spiritual Strivings" is perfect source of examples of divided self and negative feelings that develop in discriminated individuals. Here, Du Bois describes the feelings African Americans developed by living in a country that they considered their birth country, their home, but where the majority didn't regard them as such (citizens) because of the color of their skin. This made me think how this theory is still relevant, since second generation immigrants still report incidents where they are told to go back to the

country they came from, even though they er born in the same country as the majority. Much has changed since the 19th century racism, but still much is the same. Ethnicity (race) is still one of the top three social division in society according to Geoff Payne, speaking loudly that is still one of the most important identity standard in individuals (Payne, 2000, p. 2).

In order to capture some of the essence of Du Bois and his theory I will do a review on a small part from the essay "Of Our Spiritual Strivings". Here, as in most of his work, Du Bois uses his own experience of racism as empirical material. In the first section of the essay, Du Bois asks: "How does it feel to be a problem" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 4)? He doesn't really have an answer to this question, even though he tries to reflect on it. It's so complex and so anchored in the Self, that a person's meaning creation about the world is bounded around it. One understands at one point that he is perceived as such, but he is also aware that there is nothing to do in order to change his status. Du Bois describes here that when asked this question, different feelings arouse, depending on the situation according to which he chooses appropriate behavior. He writes "At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 4). By being recognized by others as a problem, only because of one's color of the skin, gives an overwhelming feeling of injustice, that its heavy for an individual to carry alone, especially a young one.

Even as an innocent child, Du Bois had experienced situations that made him aware of his social position (status) in white dominated America. While being a schoolboy his schoolmates were about to exchange beautiful postcards with each other. This was a very nice moment for him, until a (white)girl, who was also new to the school, didn't want to accept his card. She didn't say anything, but she gave a look, a look that was enough for him to understand that there was a division between them, to understand that he was different from the others, not wanted, not belonging or that he is worthy of this postcard exchange. Du Bois says "It dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 4). This division he poetically named the Veil, and it was this Veil that was keeping him out from the white American world and the opportunities that came along by being white. Being in a position of inferiority didn't stop him of wanting all the "dazzling opportunities" and recognition for who he is. He had huge aspiration of whom he wanted to become and didn't let his color stop him in the pursuit of his aims. Du Bois then goes on explaining that not all African Americans had the same aspiration in life or

sentiments. There were those African Americans that couldn't and didn't moved past their contempt, as well as their distrust towards the white people. Also, there were those who couldn't move past feeling sorry for themselves, staying bitter, wondering in sorrow, asking themselves "Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in my own house" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 5)? And there were those that were combination of all the types above. All feeling trapped by their position forced by the white supremacy.

Du Bois then continued by writing a very powerful (longer) passage that captures the very essence of the double consciousness theory:

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a *veil*, and gifted with *second-sight* in this American world, - a world which yields him no true consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this *double consciousness*, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels *his twoness*, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.   (Du Bois, 1903, p. 5 [my italics])

This passage consists all the aspect of Du Bois theory, the veil, the second-sight, and the twoness, which I italicized. I will elaborate shortly on each of these concepts. He describes the double consciousness as peculiar sensation, a feeling of not really looking at one self, but a version of one self, created by the majority.

For African Americans by living in a double structure, meaning society divided by the veil, creation of double consciousness (Self) is inevitable. The strive they have is the fusion of this double self, where neither of the two Self's would not get lost. Next quotation is what describes double consciousness and the striving process of fusing the Self into one. Du Bois says:

> He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that the Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and

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> spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in
>
> his face.   (Du Bois, 1903, p. 5)

Here, Du Bois speaks of the unfair treatment one gets for not being white. The strife is also double because it must be difficult to identify with someone who doesn't recognize your own origin and being. He describes that the opportunities are less because one is marginalized, and that African Americans are cursed and spit upon because they are dehumanized.

As I said before, I am not going to review the whole essay as I think that this until now is sufficient for my paper. Du Bois published many other essays where he deepened his theory. He even moved away from the concept of double consciousness and proceeded with the concept Veil. I will continue by getting little bit deeper in his concepts.

6.1.   The Veil

The Veil is a metaphor for unspoken social division, that separates the African Americans from the dominant white culture, alienating them, making them feel as they don't belong in their own country, marginalizing them. The individuals from the two opposite sides of the veil have totally different experience of social life, even though they live in the same country. There is different set of rules that apply to each side of the veil. My interpretation of the Veil is that African Americans double consciousness comes from the fact that they had the white Americans to compare themselves with, only while the veil was lifted, and the second-sight was present. Then they could see what they represent for the majority and realized their own social position of being marginalized. When the veil is down the African Americans can't truly see their position in society. It's a form of cognitive blindness, maybe even conscious denial, because of the constant non verification of their identity. The minority is invisible to the majority, making the process of mutual recognition impossible (Itzigsohn & Brown, 2015, p. 237).

6.2.   The Second Sight

The second-sight is connected to the veil in a sense that only people on the marginalized side can develop this gift. By having this ability, the African Americans realize the construction

of the society they live in. Is a gift according to Du Bois, because it makes the minority aware of their situation (Itzigsohn & Brown, 2015, p. 240). By having this second-sight, an individual its more enlighten than the rest. He can see the world from a more objective perspective. His cognitive blindness and denial of his social position are gone the moment his second-sight appears. This realization is maybe painful, but it's a step forward to achieving equality. But in order for the second sight to appear one must be removed from the society where the veil hangs heavily down. The creation of the second sight concept was probably something that Du Bois experienced and coined himself while he was studying at the University of Berlin. In Berlin he had totally different experience than in USA. He was respected and treated equal, as all other students. Also, while being there, he experienced firsthand stigmatization of Jews. Jews were seen as German misfortune, and inferior to the German culture (Thomas, 2020, p. 1342). Du Bois because of this was able to drew parallels between antisemitism and African American racism (Thomas, 2020, pp. 1342, 1344). The gift of having the second-sight is that it helps African Americans to realize that they develop "falls self-consciousness". By becoming aware of this problem, they can move forward with developing true consciousness (Pittman, 2016, sec. 2.4).

Given that we live in hyperconnected globalized world with real time communication at all time, is not necessarily anymore for second generation immigrants to move from their country in order for their second-sight to appear, as was the case with Du Bois. They are much more aware of their position in society and the discrimination they experience. But this doesn't mean that development of double consciousness and negative feelings because of discrimination are thing of the past.

6.3.   The Twoness

Moving on to the twoness. My understanding of the twoness is that it represents double structure of the self. It's the Self split in two. One identifies itself as a member of both ethnicities (races). One is both African and American. These are two different cultures, meaning two different social structures where the identities are embedded. Second generation immigrants may find themselves in a situation of torn Self, especially in their formative and adolescent years where the standards of the majority and those at home differ.

The whole strife is how to avoid this twoness and create one unified self, without losing either of them.

7. Identity Control Theory

In ICT individuals categorize and name the positions of their social world themselves and choose behavior according to the situation and the position they occupy in the social structures at that specific time. Every position has a set of conduct rules attached to it. These rules of conduct at one point become internalized and form the self of the individual. This names (labels) that individual give to themselves and to others also place them in different positions in the society. When one occupies a certain position in society there is expectation of behavioral conduct. Society then, is constructed with individuals being members of different groups because of their identities (Burke, 2016, p. 1).

Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke (2000) define identity as "…parts of a self-composed of the meanings that person attach to the multiple roles they typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 284). Simply said the Self its everything we are, all the roles and the behavior we have in interactions with others, individually or in a group in a certain environment. Every role that an individual occupy in society comes with a set of meanings. ICT has at its core these sets of meanings that people apply on themselves and others on three base levels of identity: personal level, role level, and group level. An example here would be, cheerful, outgoing (personal level), student (role level) from the University in Stavanger (group level). This would mean that the Self is consistent of personal identities, role identities and group (social) identities (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 129). Having multiply identities doesn't mean that the person have them activated at all time. Identities are activated only in situations where they are relevant (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 3). This would be dependent of the situation. Also, different identities of the self sett frameworks of perception and interpretation of the generalized others in situation of interaction (Osipova, 2016, p. 216).

The set of meanings that are attached to individual identities are called identity standards. Identity standards is only one of four components that create the verification loop in ICT. The other components are (2) perception, (3) comparator/verification and (4) error/discrepancy (Burke, 2016, p. 2). Burke based his work on the previous work of Charles

E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, *The Measurement of Meaning* (1957), as well as George Mead work on symbols (Burke, 2016, p. 2). Identities are formed through the different meanings an individual has for the roles available in different social groups of society. When a person gets stimulus, it needs to respond. The respond to the stimulus in this case would be meaning (symbolic). The stimulus according to Mead is the symbol (Burke, 2016, p. 2). In addition to symbols ICT operates also with sign meanings (Burke, 2016, p. 3). The symbolic meanings are shared by the members of specific cultures. Symbolic meanings are responses to stimuli, like what defines a mother in a specific culture, so when one says mother in conversation, the other understand by default what mother is, this also goes for objects. On the other hand, the sign meanings are more personal and not necessarily shared with other members of the same culture. Sign meanings help us to control the available resources in a given situation, while the symbolic meanings help us "control protentional resources through thinking, planning, and action" (Burke, 2016, p. 3). Because of the control of perception, the identity controls meaning and through this controls also both symbolic and sign meanings, which would further mean that it controls both actual and protentional resources. To locate the position of identity in society than is important if one want to understand more the functioning of specific identity (Burke, 2016, p. 4).

The second important component of ICT is the "control of perception". This means that in interaction, besides identity standards, perception meanings are also important. This perception is feedback of how we are perceived by others in situation of interaction (Burke, 2016, p. 2). This would than activate the third component of the system – comparator. The function of comparator is that it compares individual's identity standards (self-defining meanings) with the perception meanings. If identity standards and the perceived meanings are the same there is no change in behavior. On the other hand, if there is difference between the identity standard and perception, the fourth component of ICT its activated – error/discrepancy (Burke, 2016, p. 2). This means that an individual in this situation will try to change behavior in order to reduce the discrepancy back to zero level. But by changing her behavior, the meanings in the situation also change, which will once again be compared to the identity standards until the discrepancy is, as much as possible, back to zero (Burke, 2016, p. 2). This process is called identity verification loop and Burke defines it like this:

> each identity is control system that acts to control perception (of meanings relevant
> to their identity) by bringing them into congruency with the meanings in their identity

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standards, thus reducing toward zero any discrepancy or error caused by a disturbance.   (Burke, 2016, p. 2)

Individuals would at all time act in order to verify their identities by creating situation in which their identity standards equal to the perceived meanings. Identity standards are goals or the premises for the situation. As I mentioned before, identities in ICT are divided into personal identities, role identities, and group (social) identities. Even though they are divided like this, the process of verification of the identity standards is the same for every base level. The difference between the base levels of identity is analytical. They control different type of resources. The resources in ICT are seen as the processes that sustain a person, groups or interaction. They can be either actual or potential, where the actual are those used in situation by either individual, groups and interaction. The potential resources are those who can protentional be used. These resources are directly controlled by the different identities, that in turn are positioned in society. This means that each identity has control over different resources which would give that specific identity a certain position in society with different level of power. Identities that have more resources have also more power (Burke, 2016, pp. 3, 4).

This would mean, a mother (role) will compare herself to other mothers and adjust her behavior to fit the description of a mother, meaning she will have appropriate role behavior. If it's a group, let's say immigrant mothers of specific ethnicity, their behavior would be verified through the identity standard of that specific group. In this way, the social structures are created and maintained, where the identities are positioned (Burke, 2016, p. 3). Since my paper is about second-generation immigrants, they are the group base level of this theory. I will elaborate shortly on this level.

7.1.   Social Identity in Identity Control Theory

Social identity in this theory is when individual is identifying with particular group of society (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 118). Second generation immigrants, with or without specific race/ethnicity, constitute such group. Usually this social group is called minority. Individuals of this group will have shared meanings or identity standard for the group – they will be ingroup. Individuals who don't share the same identity standard will be then outgroup. If we now switch this and majority is the ingroup, makes anyone who doesn't identify themselves

or are not perceived as the identity standard of the group, the outgroup - In this case minorities. It's simple as "us versus them" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 118).

Affiliating one's Self with certain social groups is because of the need to receive positive feedback. Ingroup members perceive their group as something positive, and the outgroup as negative. The other reason for joining certain social groups and categorizing the generalized others, is because they organize and simplify everyday life and give the members feeling of control. In addition, when the social identity is verified, members of the group develop strong feeling of belonging and their self-worth is rising (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 121; Stets & Burke, 2000).

7.2.   Emotions in Identity Control Theory

As I already presented in section 4, emotions are divided into primary and secondary. In ICT, or generally in identity theories, the spectrum of emotions is not necessary, as it operates with the simple division of positive and negative feelings (Turner & Stets, 2005). Identity theories wish to identify the situations where positive and negative feelings are emerging from, because these feelings form individuals cognitive and behavioral responses (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 156).

With specifics to ICT, emotions are result of the process of verification between perceived and identity standard meanings. Positive or negative emotions also signals the match between perception meanings and identity standards (Burke, 1991; Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 163). When the perceived meanings match the identity standards one holds, positive feeling emerge. But when there is a mismatch between the two, negative feelings emerge (Burke, 1991, p. 841). When negative feelings emerge as result of non-verification of one's identity, (be this personal, role, or group identity), the verification loop is consciously activated in order to rectify the situation that lead to this non-verification and negative feelings. Then, an individual is choosing whatever behavior that leads to new meanings in the situation, until they get positive feedback (verification) of their identity. Since interaction is formed by at least two individuals, this change in behavior from one part can lead to changes in the situation, or they can disregard others feedback or consciously/unconsciously misinterpret this feedback, with the sole goal of matching the perceived meanings with those kept in their identity standards in order to avoid negative feelings (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 164).

The intensity of the feelings is also something that Burke and Stets (2009) discuss. Individuals have different salience to their identities as well as different commitment. So, when more salient and more committed identity standards are altered more intense feelings would emerge. More salient and more committed identities that are not verified will lead to more intense negative feelings. In addition to this, the frequency of identity non-verification as well as who the counterpart in the interaction is its of great importance of intensity of the feelings (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 164).

Other very important factor is the source of non-verification. Significant others as source, affect us more than generalized others. When somebody whom we have developed mutual verified expectation doesn't verify our identity, will cause more intense negative feelings (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 165)

7.3.   Self-esteem in Identity Control Theory

Burke and Stets (2009) sees the concept of self-esteem as reflexive, in the way that one self can be objective to itself and respond to it objectively. They define this concept as "evaluation of the self that is made by the self" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 79). In ICT theory the self-esteem is seen as an answer for the verification process. When one's identity is verified, the self-esteem increases, and when there is non-verification of one's identity, decrease in self-esteem is likely (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 80).

8. Discussion and Conclusion

I started my paper with presenting the importance of holding sociological focus on development of the self in second generation immigrants. Through theory of double consciousness, we can understand that this theory sees that developing of Self under discrimination leads to divided self and living in a state of falls consciousness (Du Bois, 1903; Pittman, 2016). Since second generation immigrants report in high numbers that they experience discrimination, we can presume that they do develop this double consciousness. The strife of fusing divided Self as result of racial discrimination is something that second generation immigrants probably go through, and is not something that is common for children of the dominants culture. This points us in direction of understanding that

development of the Self in second generation immigrants should be studied in its own. In addition to developing double consciousness, this theory describes different emotions and coping mechanisms that can develop in discriminated individuals. Human beings have emotions. These emotions are the reason for development of societies. Since sociology is the science that analyses the macro- and microstructures of society that humans have created, their emotions should not be excluded (Turner & Stets, 2005). This is especially true when groups such as second generation immigrants are being analyzed.

I presented the combination of theory of double consciousness and ICT with the goal of understanding how the Self and negative emotions develop in second generation immigrants. Both theories cover the formation of the self and creation of emotion in individuals, with theory of double consciousness focus on individuals discriminated because of their physical attributes – "color line" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 9). While theory of double consciousness describes the different types of feelings that racialized individuals feel, it also describes that is very difficult for these individuals to actually understand that they are being racialized before the second-sight appears. When this happens, different types of feelings develop (Du Bois, 1903, p. 5). What is of outmost importance is that this theory operates with double consciousness as in double Self – "…always looking at one's self through the eyes of others…" (Du Bois, 1903, p. 5). When analyzing Double consciousness with ICT we can somewhat understand that Du Bois is talking about identity verification on group level, that one seeks of the majority. Under condition of racialization this is impossible, and the non-verification is persistent. This leads to development of low self-esteem (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 80). The example Du Bois gave of post cards exchange that he experienced as a child, is a good example of his social identity being not verified, and where negative feelings arouse because of it (Du Bois, 1903, pp. 4-5).

ICT sees the world as categorized, where individuals name themselves these categories (Burke, 2016). This would be challenging for second generation immigrants if we presume that they develop double consciousness. We should look closure if double consciousness means that second generation immigrants create categories for each consciousness of the divided Self. In this case this could mean that they develop double identity standard for each of their identities. ICT in addition to the categorized social world and identity verification system, operates with identity salience and identity commitment. This could mean that second generation immigrants have their identities arranged in hierarchy and that they have

different level of commitment to their identities (Turner & Stets, 2005, p.164). This is also what we should look deeper into as not all second-generation immigrants would have equal commitment to their specific social group identity (ethnicity). In the same manner, the salience of the ethnicity identity would not be equal in all of them. This could lead in direction that discrimination, because of ethnicity, would not create the same change in behavior in all second generation immigrants, nor be the cause of developing negative feelings (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 164). ICT on the matter of developing feeling as result of non-verification of one's identity states that when there is identity non-verification by a significant others, the intensity of negative feelings is higher, than if this non-verification was done by a generalized other (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 165). This point us in direction of possible conclusion that second-generation immigrants, because of their unique position of belonging to two or more cultures are exposed to identity non-verification at home as in the general society. This could be especially true for immigrant children of very traditional parents, who meticulously nurture their culture and doesn't have much understanding of the dominant culture they live in. If these parents don't verify their children's identity, as part of the dominant culture, while being significant other, would be the cause of more intense negative feelings in their children.

Future research with combination of theory of double consciousness and identity control theory could be qualitative research where one could pose questions to second generation immigrants as focus group in order to understand if they do develop double self, as in double social structures in which they interact. Also, to identify the salience of their ethnicity identity, and factors that affect this salience.

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