

Fired Up, Ready to Go:  
The Effects of Group-based and Intergroup Emotions in Politics

By

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Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Political Science

May, 2014

Nashville, Tennessee

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To my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ

and

To my amazing parents, Clarence and Myra Burge, I never would have made it without you

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was never my intention to write about group-based and intergroup emotions in politics. This project evolved out of my prospectus that had one primary goal: assessing whether racial identification was static or dynamic. As an African-American female that grew up in a predominantly (97%) white community, I was absolutely convinced that there were times in which I strongly identified with other members of my racial group and times in which my racial identification was fleeting. Since the current state of African-American public opinion and political participation literature suggests that increases in racial group identification are associated with increases in support for group-related policy opinion and political participation, I figured that exploring this research question was my chance to make a significant contribution to the literature.

In October of 2011 I had the chance to contemplate the broader implications of my prospectus' question when I was recovering from being my brother's kidney donor. Instead of focusing on whether racial identification was static or dynamic, I started to think more deeply about the experimental conditions I created to manipulate racial group identification: group-based pride and group-based shame. Since I had nothing but painkillers and the soft glow of my netbook to keep me company for about five weeks, I launched into a search for literature in political science that explored the experience of emotions from the perspective of groups; I found that there were very few pieces.

The more I read, the more I thought about how my connectedness to my racial group was often brought about by the experience of emotions: actions taken by members of my group that make me feel proud, ashamed, and the actions of members of outgroups that make me feel angry as an African-American. It was from these personal experiences that I drew my inspiration for this project. I returned to Vanderbilt the day after Thanksgiving, not fully healed but completely

motivated to embark upon this new research idea surrounding the political ramifications of group-based and intergroup emotions among African-Americans. Nearly three years later, I have produced a manuscript that not only contributes to literatures in political psychology and racial and ethnic politics, but has also helped me understand myself and my engagement in the political arena.

Over the past few years I have encountered a number of people that have helped bring this manuscript to fruition; Cindy Kam stands out as one of the three most valuable. Words simply cannot express how much this esteemed scholar means to my personal and professional development. For the past three years she has managed to be stern and encouraging, fair and caring. I can only hope to be a fraction of the scholar, mentor, wife, mother, and daughter that she is in the future. I am also eternally grateful for my other committee members: Marc J. Hetherington, Taeku Lee, Efrén Pérez, and Monique Lyle; all of whom have sown into my life in immeasurable ways.

Additional people at Vanderbilt and other institutions also helped me a great deal. While Dave Lewis served as a spiritual mentor, I value my lasting friendships with Carrie A. Russell, Gbemende Johnson, Mariana Rodriguez, Mollie Cohen, Sydney Jones, and Jen Selin that began in the political science department. Evelyn Simien and Shayla Nunnally at the University of Connecticut have provided unparalleled personal and professional mentorship. Those friendships forged with talented undergraduate and graduate students in summer programs like the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute, ICPSR, and Summer Institute in Political Psychology have also been of great importance over the past six years. Of the many encountered in these programs, there are several to thank for their continued presence throughout my graduate school career: Nyron Crawford, Elizabeth Sharrow, Angela Carlberg, Emily Alvarez, and Rachel Moskowitz.

This project would be impossible without the generosity of an entire cast of individuals and organizations. Don Kinder provided access to his 2008 Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project module that I analyze in the third chapter. The Research on Individuals, Politics, and Society Lab at Vanderbilt University provided grants to conduct my focus group studies and survey experiment. The Graduate School at Vanderbilt University awarded me money for summer research that allowed me to fund a portion of my survey experiment. Last but certainly not least, the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship provided me with three years of financial support throughout my graduate career.

Beyond the halls of academia, there are a host of other individuals to thank for my success. Although there is no way I can fit all of them into the acknowledgments portion of this manuscript, I will try to cover them in as few broad strokes as possible: members of St. James United Methodist Church, members of The Temple Church, “God’s Anointed Women” (G.A.W.’s), QEP personnel, Pastor Marvin A. Moss, my Ph.D. sisters Kimberly Mulligan-Guy and Arion Midgett, my Bellevue Crew, LaTrice Parsons for teaching me how to write on the graduate school level, and my best friend of over twenty years, Allison W. Price. I am also thankful for the comic relief, constant reassurance, and love of my siblings, Clarence Derry Burge, II and Nilé J. Burge; they inspire me in so many ways.

Finally, the last two people that have been most important in this entire process are my parents: Clarence and Myra Burge. I could not ask for more supportive parents; if I told them I wanted to be an underwater basket weaver they would buy scuba gear and pay someone to teach the courses. Whether the issue was financial, physical, spiritual, or emotional, they were there for me every step of the way. I am thankful for their love, prayers, compassion, and kindness; I love and appreciate them more than they will ever know.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

On a warm and rainy day in Greenwood, South Carolina, Barack Obama made a campaign stop at the Greenwood Civic Center. After traveling for an hour and a half he walked through the door and saw about twenty faces filled with uncertainty staring at him. His exhaustion from traveling coupled with the dreary weather dampened the mood in the room. In the moments of awkward silence a voice in the background cried out, “FIRED UP!” Barack Obama turned around and noticed a small African-American woman in a church hat and much to his surprise, those present responded with, “FIRED UP!” The woman then said, “READY TO GO;” the small gathering of people responded, “READY TO GO!” After about a minute or so of the call and response, Barack Obama began to feel pumped up and the mood in the room shifted; spirits were lifted and the small gathering of people at the Civic Center were ready to engage and interact with then-United States Senator Barack Obama (Ellerson and Miller 2008).<sup>1</sup>

“Fired Up? Ready to Go!” became a slogan that rang out at every presidential campaign rally for Barack Obama in 2008. Borrowed from an elderly councilwoman in South Carolina by the name of Edith Childs, the phrase was initially used at football games, rallies, and community events as a call and response to motivate people to action. After his campaign stop in Greenwood, South Carolina, Barack Obama began repeating the slogan to staffers in passing; it then spread like wildfire to his supporters. People were putting the phrase on signs and t-shirts at campaign rallies and events (Ellerson and Miller 2008; Presta 2012).

During the 2008 presidential campaign pundits characterized the sentiments of members of groups attending Obama’s rallies in terms of this slogan: “Democrats are fired up; Latinos are

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<sup>1</sup>See link for then Senator Obama discussing the origins of Fired Up, Ready to Go:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BjA2nUUsgxw>

fired up; Women are fired up; and African-Americans are fired up!” This slogan bred a mixture of excitement, hope, and pride; it brought unity to Barack Obama supporters from seemingly disparate groups as they were all motivated to elect the first African-American<sup>2</sup> president of the United States by any means necessary. Indeed, increased levels of voter registration, campaign donations, and voter turnout among Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and White millennials are among the most highly credited components for the election of the first African-American President of the United States. Indeed, these groups united yet again in 2012 to deliver the reelection of President Barack Obama (Frey 2013).

Groups matter in politics. Although often overlooked in, “The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics,” Converse (1964) devotes an entire section to Social Groupings as Central Objects in Belief systems and suggests that for most Americans, it is the social group itself that looms large in public opinion. While explorations of ideology provided limited connections to political attitudes, Converse was still convinced that other social groupings like race, nationality, religion, and social class were critical to providing clues to ordinary citizens about where one should stand on a particular issue. Evidence in support of group-centrism in public opinion and political participation some 50 years later is abundant across a wide variety of domains in political science (Kinder 2006).

Not only do groups matter, a growing literature in political psychology suggests that emotions also matter for public opinion and political decision-making. Indeed, pundits often describe emotions of the public in terms of groups: “Black Clevelanders are proud of Obama’s nomination Victory; Conservative Republicans are mad at the continued growth of government; Wisconsin women are angry with legislation surrounding reproductive rights; gay voters are

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<sup>2</sup> Black and African-American will be used interchangeably throughout this manuscript.

angry at Democrats.”<sup>3</sup> These descriptions of the experience of emotions as members of groups are often tied to discussions surrounding changes in public opinion or political participation.

To investigate this real world phenomenon, the idea that experiencing emotions as members of groups leads to changes in public opinion or political participation, I pose two research questions. How does group identity shape how we experience emotions? What are the implications of group-based and intergroup emotions in public opinion and political participation? We should care about the experience of emotions from the perspective of group identity in politics for four primary reasons.

First, this line of research provides a significant contribution to existing political psychology literature. The overwhelming majority of literature on emotions focuses on the effects of the individual experience of emotions. Scholars might ask respondents: “Has Barack Obama [insert political candidate] because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel angry/hopeful/afraid/anxious/ proud? Yes or no? How often?” Some might even randomly assign participants to vignettes or short stories designed to elicit emotions, or use a combination of vignettes, music, and symbols to elicit various emotions. After the stimulus, respondents are asked questions about their attitudes towards groups, policy opinions, and their political participation. While these kinds of measures have advanced the study of emotions in politics we lack an understanding of what goes into these responses. That is, these measures are somewhat imprecise as they are incapable of gauging what people are actually thinking when answering these questions.

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<sup>3</sup> See links for articles about the experience of emotions as members of groups. “Black Clevelanders proud of Obama’s Nomination Victory” [http://blog.cleveland.com/openers/2008/06/black\\_clevelanders\\_proud\\_of\\_ob.html](http://blog.cleveland.com/openers/2008/06/black_clevelanders_proud_of_ob.html); “Conservative Republicans are mad as hell at the government (and what it means for the shutdown)” <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/wp/2013/10/01/conservative-republicans-are-mad-as-hell-at-the-government-and-what-it-means-for-the-shutdown/>; “Wisconsin Women Say They’re Mad as Hell” [https://www.progressive.org/wisconsin\\_women\\_say\\_they\\_are\\_mad\\_as\\_hell.html](https://www.progressive.org/wisconsin_women_say_they_are_mad_as_hell.html); and “Gay Voters angry at Democrats could sway election” [http://www.nbcnews.com/id/39821451/ns/politics-decision\\_2010/#.UwT-SvmRqBU](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/39821451/ns/politics-decision_2010/#.UwT-SvmRqBU)

However, social psychologists argue that changes in action tendencies and attitudes occur because the appraisal of situations, other groups, or events *differ* related to the social identity that is activated or being made salient (Yzerbyt and Demoulin 2010). Therefore, I expect this line of research to contribute to our understanding of intra-and-intergroup dynamics. That is, experiencing emotions as a member of a group might shape how one feels about one's own and other groups along with policies designed to help one's own and other groups. Third, experiencing emotions as a member of a group might affect one's propensity to participate in the political arena. Finally, if political entrepreneurs can manipulate the emotions of groups, then they can build coalitions of opposition or support for various candidates, policies, or issues, thereby transforming how we understand campaign dynamics.

In this project, I explore the political ramifications of group-based pride, shame, and intergroup anger among African-Americans. I selected African-Americans for a few reasons. Initially, I thought it appropriate to explore emotions in the context of African-American identity because of Obama's presence on the ballot in 2008 and 2012. I then delved into the African-American public opinion and political participation literature. The overwhelming majority of literature surrounding African-Americans in politics focuses on the cognitive aspects of racial group identity or the notion that African-Americans use their racial group as a cognitive cue for political attitudes and participation. However, this literature lacks an understanding of the role of emotions in African-American public opinion and political decision-making. I realized that studying this puzzle in the context of African-Americans was not only timely considering Barack Obama's presence on the ballot but also had the potential to make a significant contribution to the vast body of race and ethnic politics literature.

The emotions: pride, shame, and anger were selected for several reasons. I chose pride for three primary reasons. First, for the last six years I have heard African-Americans say how proud they are of Obama. Indeed, dozens of media outlets, particularly those that have sizeable amounts of black readers have written articles about black people being proud of Obama's candidacy and subsequent presidency.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, I began to wonder if the emotion of pride was motivating African-Americans to participate in 2008 and 2012. Second, one cannot deny the historical significance of black pride and racial self-esteem that seemed to motivate the entire Black Power Movement. Lastly, given the breadth of literature on nationalism and patriotism, it seems that we know quite a bit about how the emotion of pride translates to public opinion and political behavior for one's American identity. Yet, we do not know how this emotion operates for other group identities.

Shame was selected to directly contrast with pride; both pride and shame tend to be studied as a pair in social psychology (Tangney and Fischer 1995; Tracy and Robins 2007). Shame was also selected because a great deal of literature has been written in psychology about shame and self-esteem among African-Americans (Crocker and Major 1989; Luhtanen and Crocker 1992; Steele 1997); however, political scientists have only recently started to explore the political ramifications of this emotion (Gerber and Green 2010; Panagopoulos 2010). Further, compared to existing literature on emotions in politics, pride and shame tend to be studied less than their more popular counterparts like fear, anxiety, and anger.

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<sup>4</sup> See links for articles about African-Americans being proud of Barack Obama: Black Clevelanders proud of Obama's Nomination Victory" [http://blog.cleveland.com/openers/2008/06/black\\_clevelanders\\_proud\\_of\\_ob.html](http://blog.cleveland.com/openers/2008/06/black_clevelanders_proud_of_ob.html); "Despite Sagging Poll Numbers, Many African-Americans Say They're Still Proud of President Obama" [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/08/23/african-americans-still-proud-of-obama\\_n\\_934788.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/08/23/african-americans-still-proud-of-obama_n_934788.html); and "40 Reasons to be Proud of Obama's Presidency" <http://newsone.com/1463515/40-reasons-to-be-proud-of-obamas-presidency/>

Finally, anger was selected because I wanted to compare the experience of two negative emotions, shame and anger, that have completely different action tendencies in the psychology literature. Moreover, a great deal of literature has been written about anger and how it shapes public opinion and political participation (Marcus, Neuman and MacKuen 2000; Brader 2011; Valentino et al. 2011; Groenendyk and Banks 2013). Yet, it remains unclear how this emotion may operate among African-Americans in the political arena.

### **A Look Ahead**

Does the experience of pride, shame, and anger as a member of the African-American community have any effect on public opinion and political participation? The short answer is, “Yes.” While saying so is one thing, establishing and supporting the claim is quite another. For the rest of this manuscript I will endeavor to do just that by supplying both evidence and argument. As for evidence, I use a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods to support arguments surrounding the experience of emotions as members of groups from literatures in political science and psychology.

The second chapter uses exploratory focus group studies to discern African-Americans experience with emotions as members of their racial group in politics. Since studying emotions from the perspective of racial and ethnic groups has received very little attention in political science, I thought it best to conduct a series of focus group studies to gain a thick understanding of how members of the African-American community experience emotions as members of groups in politics. Further, given the limited amount of survey data surrounding racial and ethnic groups and their emotions, I thought it would be fruitful to hear African-Americans speak in their natural language about this phenomenon.



The third chapter statistically tests these qualitative insights by analyzing data from the 2004 American National Election Study (ANES) and 2008 Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project (CCAP). In addition to these datasets having comparable questions, they provide fruitful ground for the analyses of group-based and intergroup emotions for one primary reason: the race of the democratic presidential nominees—John Kerry is white and Barack Obama is black. Thus, one might expect the experiences of group-based or intergroup emotions to have a greater effect on political variables of interest in 2008 when Barack Obama is present because he is in many ways cueing up group-based emotions that John Kerry simply cannot.

In the fourth chapter I use a survey experiment to isolate the cause—the experience of group-based or intergroup emotions—and observe its effect on racial and redistributive policy opinions, group attitudes, political participation and Black Nationalist ideology. While the first chapter provides thick descriptions about the effects of the experience of emotions as members of groups in politics, the second empirical chapter reveals associations between emotions, public opinion, and political participation. This final empirical chapter allows me to tell a causal story about the experience of emotions as member of the African-American community and assess its effects on political variables of interest.

In the concluding chapter, I summarize my findings and grapple with their implications. On matters of race and politics, I try to determine how these findings help us understand the roles of affect and cognition in African-American public opinion and political participation. Thinking beyond race and politics, I discuss the macro-level implications of my findings; how these types of analyses can help us better understand rhetoric in social movements, and how the experiences of emotions as members of other politically relevant groups might be consequential for politics.

## CHAPTER 2

### TALKING ABOUT EMOTIONS IN POLITICS

*“As a black person, I was proud that he [Barack Obama] was running. For the first time in my adult life I was really active in the political process. I was going door-to-door and canvassing and all that good stuff so when he [Barack Obama] was actually elected I had a feeling of accomplishment. I thought to myself, man, all that good hard work paid off.”*

*-Elizabeth, Focus Group Study Participant*

How and in what ways does group identity shape how we experience emotions and what are the implications of that experience for public opinion and political participation? Taken from a focus group study where I examine how African-Americans experience emotions in the political arena, the quote above highlights the political ramifications of experiencing emotions as a member of a group. As a member of the African-American community, feeling proud of the candidacy and subsequent election of Barack Obama led this particular participant to canvass neighborhoods. However, this was not the only type of political participation mentioned across the focus group studies. Other participants highlighted donating money, signing petitions, and attending meetings along with a number of politically relevant activities.

The following chapter provides the full results from a focus group study that examines how African-Americans experience emotions as members of their racial group in the political arena. A presentation of the theory is prefaced by a broad review of the literature surrounding the experience of emotions as members of groups in political science. Afterwards, I delve into the method, present each emotion along with its specific findings, and conclude with a discussion of how experiencing emotions as a member of the African-American community shapes public opinion and participation in the political arena.

## **Experiencing Emotions from the Perspective of Groups in the Political Science Literature**

While the overwhelming majority of literature surrounding emotions in political science emphasizes how the experience of emotions on the individual level affects public opinion and political participation, my research interests lie in the experience of emotions from the perspective of groups. In fact, only recently have scholars started to look beyond American identity to explore how experiencing emotions as a member of a group might affect various political variables. Suhay (forthcoming) finds that when exposed to ingroup norms of political opinion, Catholics change their political views in the direction of conformity with the (ingroup) majority and vice versa if exposed to outgroup norms of political opinion. Suhay (forthcoming) further notes that those exposed to ingroup norms were more proud, whereas individuals exposed to more ideologically liberal information about their group were more ashamed; thus, demonstrating that the portrayal of one's ingroup shapes not only how people feel about their group but their political views as well.

Philpot, White, Wylie, and McGowan (2010) examine how blacks and whites experience different emotions in response to various social and political events. Specifically, they conduct an observational data analysis of public opinion surveys that possess key points in time where the scholars believe blacks and whites should experience different emotions based on their membership in racial groups (i.e. the OJ Simpson Verdict, Hurricane Katrina aftermath, and Barack Obama winning the 2008 Presidential Election). While they find large differences in emotional responses to these events across blacks and whites, their experimental testing of this phenomenon in a fictitious school board election yielded statistically insignificant results; thus, leaving much room for additional empirical explorations of this phenomenon in the context of

real world politics, not only in the context of racial groups, but any group that one might identify with that could be deemed politically relevant.

### **How Do We Experience Emotions as Members of Groups? What are the Political Implications of that Experience? A Closer Look at the Theory**

Several emotions theorists and psychology scholars have argued for the existence of group-based and intergroup emotions. Iyer and Leach (2009) characterize group-based emotions as having an ingroup object and ingroup subject. These scholars state, “Individual group members may experience emotions about their in-group’s character, circumstances, or position (including its treatment by others); or the actions undertaken by the group or a few of its members” (100). The idea surrounding group-based emotions is that members of groups become psychologically bonded together from the perspective of oneself and outsiders (Ortony, Collins and Clore 1988); thus, “the events and actions that are caused by or affect other ingroup members have the capacity to affect one’s self” (Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007, 352).

Not only might one experience group-based emotions, one may also experience intergroup emotions. Intergroup emotions differ from group-based emotions in that they have an outgroup object and ingroup subject. Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET) posits that emotional responses to groups and social events depend on how the self is categorized (Mackie, Devos, and Smith 2000; Yzerbyt and Demoulin 2010); that is, emotional reactions are in some way based on the experience of ingroup membership (Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead 2005, 116). Iyer and Leach state, “these type of emotions may be experienced about an outgroup’s character or circumstances relative to the ingroup or about the actions of the outgroup and its implications for the ingroup” (2009, 96).

We can apply these findings on group-based and intergroup emotions to public opinion and political participation by utilizing a social identity theory framework. Tajfel (1978) defines a

social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his[her] knowledge of his [her] membership in a social group (groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (63). There are three basic principles of social identity theory: (1) group members strive to achieve or maintain a sense of positive social identity; (2) group members base this social identity on favorable comparisons that can be made between ingroup and relevant outgroup members; that is, in an attempt to gain a positive social identity, people will compare themselves to other groups to create a favorable distinction; and (3) group members will attempt to leave their group or join a more positively distinguished group when their social identity is not satisfactory to them (Cottam, Uhler, Mastors, and Preston 2010).

Since individuals are motivated to maintain a positive identity with the groups with which they identify, they should feel vicariously proud when they witness others who share their group identity engaging in behaviors that reveal a positive social identity. Conversely, individuals might feel ashamed when they witness others who share their group identity engaging in behaviors that are seen as revealing a flawed social identity. In other words, just as through my own misdeed I feel ashamed of who I am, when a group member engages in a wrongdoing, I might feel ashamed of who *we* are (Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007, 355). The experience of anger from the intergroup context stems from an outgroup object and ingroup subject. Therefore, I expect participants to cite instances where members of an outgroup slight blacks in discussions surrounding anger.

## **The Method**

Focus group studies started as a tool for marketing and fairly recently evolved into a tool for social science research. Kleiber (2003) suggests that focus group studies were initially used to determine consumer preferences and promote products. In 1988 Krueger published the first

guide to focus group studies in a social science context. Gamson (1992) is among the most cited sociologists in political science for his use of the focus group study method in his seminal piece *Talking Politics*. More recently Katherine Cramer Walsh, a political scientist, has utilized informal groups and observed community dialogues in her pieces *Talking about Politics* and *Talking about Race* to understand how identifying with a range of social identities affect how we think and act in politics. Melissa Harris Lacewell (now Harris-Perry) used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods to better understand the political ideologies among African Americans in *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET*. Thus, while a few disciplines like sociology and counseling psychology use focus group studies as a primary qualitative method, only recently have political scientists started to employ variants of this method.

Since studying emotions from the perspective of racial and ethnic groups has received very little attention in political science, I conducted a series of focus group studies for three primary purposes. First, I wanted to gain a thick understanding of how members of the African-American community experience emotions in the political arena. Further, given the limited amount of survey data surrounding racial and ethnic groups and their emotions, I thought it would be fruitful to hear people talk about emotions in politics in their natural language. Second, I wanted to hear African-Americans discuss how they experience the specific emotions of pride, shame, and anger to better inform the quantitative portions of my dissertation. Finally, I wanted to understand how experiencing emotions as a member of a group shapes public opinion and political participation. This is a critical part of my research inquiry: we have to know whether and how experiencing emotions as members of groups lead to some change in public opinion and political participation.

To assess how members of the African-American community experience pride, shame, and anger as members of their racial group, I conducted four focus group studies. The studies took place from Monday, April 16, 2012 to Friday, April 27, 2012 at a historically black church in Middle Tennessee. Participants were required to be 18 years of age or older and members of the church. Participants were recruited for two weeks prior to the study via church announcements and a sign-up table in the fellowship hall between and after Sunday worship services. Each study lasted approximately 90 minutes and consisted of 4 to 8 participants. Each study was conducted in a small enclosed crying room designated for babies and parents in the back of the sanctuary. I recorded the studies via digital recorder and transcribed the findings in Microsoft Word.<sup>5</sup>

### **Talking about Pride**

What is pride? Lazarus (1991) defines pride as “the enhancement of one’s ego-identity by taking credit for a valued object or achievement, either our own or that of someone or group with whom we identify—for example, a compatriot, a member of the family, or a social group” (271). There are several ways that pride can be generated. Zander (1972) states that, “a member’s sense of pride can be affected by his group’s achievements” (346). Mascolo and Fisher state that pride can be generated “by appraisals that one is responsible for a socially valued outcome or for being a socially valued person” (1995, 66).

The National Survey of Black Americans was among the first surveys to ask African-Americans, “What are the things about black people that make you feel most proud?” The study found that 25% of respondents made references to achievements, accomplishments, those who are motivated or ambitious, and those who have jobs and are not on welfare. The second highest percentage of respondents, 14.5%, simply stated what made them feel most proud was being

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A for the focus group study script.

black; that is, these respondents simply had a positive group identity. When describing what about being black made them feel proud, participants in the focus group studies used a wide range of words and phrases that possessed some similarities and many differences with those found in the open ended question about pride on the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA). The words and phrases consisted of the following: resiliency, survival, ability to overcome, ability to rally around certain issues, accomplishments, strength, endurance, love for each other, and resourcefulness. For example, Barbara stated,

“...our ability to overcome *in spite of* all the ways that we have been oppressed throughout the years and while folks say y’all need to be happy, discrimination don’t exist anymore we got a black president, they need to wake up and smell the coffee and we are still succeeding despite that...against all odds.”

Janet along with several others cited the importance of the strength of black people,

“Yea, I think our strength and black people particularly I’m thinking about the fact that we didn’t come here as voluntary immigrants we were forced to come here and yet we succeeded given whatever the circumstances we had to face...we succeeded and I think that’s a tremendous source of pride.”

The four trends that emerged across discussions of pride were: (1) the increased use of first person plural pronouns like, “we, our, and us” and the decreased use of third person plural pronouns like, “them, they, and their;” (2) illustrations of dominance and superiority; (3) the shift in mood and gestures; and (4) political participation.

First, participants in the study opted for the use of first person plural pronouns like, “we, our, and us” over third person plural pronouns like “their, they, and them,” to discuss the experience of pride as an African-American. The literature suggests that we would observe this phenomenon because one of the behavioral functions of pride is to closely identify with those members of a group that have made one proud (Barrett 1995, 42). For example, Nancy, a graduate student at a local university stated,



“I would also say that we are overcomers in many different aspects....So okay we started off as slaves from a totally different country and now so many years later you know you have a black president and you also have black CEOs that are like dominating and like where does that happen? Obviously it has and it does but just as a whole we have definitely been able to overcome certain situations.”

Barbara also expressed pride in blacks’ ability to rally around certain issues,

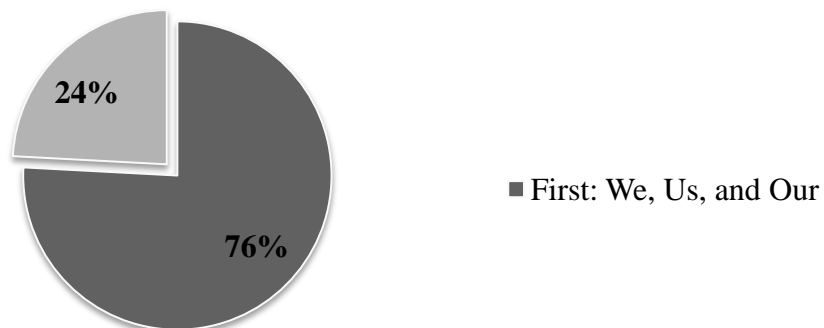
“Let me just tell you...the fact that we can rally around certain things...there are still some things that can bring us together and even though I get angry at our complacency and I complain about us not engaging and not being involved, there are still certain things that will wake us up and when we wake up it makes me proud that we stood up for what was right.”

Jennifer stated,

“It’s a different kind of love. You know even though we talk about the disrespect and the hate that we have for each other, when we come to the church and when you go to Thanksgiving or when you do family reunions there’s a different kind of love...it’s like a soulful deep rooted love that is there...”

To illustrate this phenomenon, I conducted a manual word count of first (we, us, and our) and third person (them, they, and their) plural pronouns used in discussions on pride. Figure 1 demonstrates that of the first and third person plural pronouns used, 76% were first person plural pronouns. This finding is consistent with existing psychology literature that suggests when members of our group do well we bask in reflected glory (Cialdini et al. 1976); that is, we identify with the group and the accomplishments of the group even if we had no direct input on the resulting success.

**Figure 1: Pride  
First versus Third Person  
Plural Pronoun Usage**



The second trend that emerged consisted of discussions surrounding how black people are dominant and superior to other racial and ethnic groups. This is what one should expect as one of the behavioral functions of pride is to show dominance and superiority. When asked about pride, several individuals from different groups talked about how members of other races, specifically white Americans, would not have been able to go through what black people went through. Anthony stated, “Where given the same situation in another race maybe...I may be completely off base here but you know where other folks might have the same situation, they would probably just break down and throw in the towel.” Margaret stated, “I can’t see white people surviving slavery...they wouldn’t know the first thing of how to.” After explaining how a white woman told her how she understood what she was going through with discrimination, Barbara echoed Margaret’s sentiments by stating,

“no other race can endure what we endured and still come out having some modicum of success...we were able to withstand everything that was put on us and still stand up and say in spite of this, we’re going to achieve. I mean look at the accomplishments of scientists. When you look at the inventions in this country the great majority was not started by whites...we have so much creativity, so much ingenuity, and we are a brilliant people...”

These comments seem to reflect what scholars were referencing in regards to showing dominance and superiority to other groups as they suggest that blacks are superior to white Americans in their ability to endure and overcome. These comments also reflect one of the core principles of social identity theory. Since group members are trying to maintain a positive identity with the groups they identify with, they will make comparisons between their in-group and relevant out-groups to create a favorable distinction.

The third trend surrounded the dramatic shift in moods and behavior across the groups with each emotions question. In addition to behavioral functions, existing research suggests the following action tendencies for pride: “to show the self to others, smile broadly, stand erect, make celebratory gestures (broad smile, beaming face, raised hands in the air, applause, cheers), and call attention to accomplishments” (Mascolo and Fischer 1995, 67). Tracy and Robbins (2007) further cite the nonverbal expressions of pride as being, “a small smile with the head tilted slightly back, visibly expanded posture, and arms raised above the head or hands on hips” (791). When asked about pride, participants paused to reflect, changed their tone of voice, and answered with a certain amount of seriousness. When one listens to the recordings, one can hear the audible pauses for reflection. Even though there were no raised hands or applause, I did notice smirks and beaming faces across the table when asked to recall what about being black made the respondents feel proud.

The final trend that emerged across discussions of pride surrounded how the experience of this emotion as an African-American led to changes in political participation. Elizabeth discussed how her pride in then Senator Obama during the 2008 election season led her to participate in mobilization efforts.

“...As a black person, I was proud that he [Barack Obama] was running. For the first time in my adult life I was really active in the political process. I was going door-to-door and canvassing and all that good stuff so when he [Barack Obama] was actually elected I had a feeling of accomplishment. I thought to myself, man, all that good hard work paid off.”

Margaret, although in another group, echoed similar sentiments of pride during the 2008 election season and being active in the political process when she stated,

“I felt proud as a black person, even though he’s multi-racial, according to Plessy v. Ferguson he’s *stiiiiii* black; but I felt proud when he was confident to stand up and say he’s a black man and as part of his black race, I felt proud that he became president. I didn’t participate by knocking on doors and handing out buttons or anything. I did, however, financially contribute to his campaign and I continue to contribute. I’ve never contributed to anyone’s campaign other than local elections. I’ve never contributed to a nationwide election and because of him I financially contributed to his efforts...I still contribute like a bill I pay monthly or however so often and I also contribute to the DNC which I never did prior to Obama.”

Upon discussing pride in the focus group study, I learned a great deal about the personal experiences of the participants and how the existing literature suggests pride operates. Based on existing literature in psychology about pride, I was able to observe some of the behavioral and action tendencies coming to fruition throughout each discussion of pride. Finally, I learned that feeling proud as an African-American led to political participation in the 2008 election for those in the focus group study.

### **Talking about Shame**

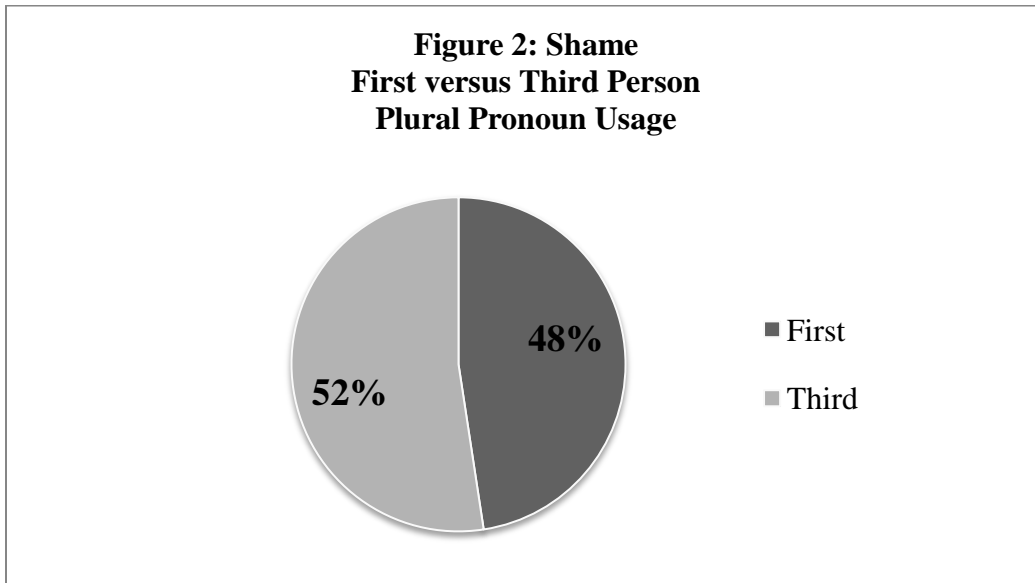
Shame is defined as “an all-consuming experience of the self as fundamentally flawed or defective” (Ferguson et al. 2007, 332). Shame is also defined as “an affective reaction that follows public exposure (and disapproval) of some impropriety or shortcoming” (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, and Barlow 1996, 1256). Upon feeling this emotion, the goal is maintenance of others’ respect and/or affection, preservation or positive self-regard. Shame can be generated “by appraisals that one has failed to live up to standards of worth in the eyes of others...shame

functions to promote adherence to norms of esteemed behavior and to highlight behaviors that threaten honor or self-worth” (Mascolo and Fischer 1995, 67).

The NSBA asked the following open ended question, “What are the things about black people that make you feel most ashamed?” Approximately 42% made statements involving the following: lack of propriety, immoral, disrespectful, those who clown around in public, those who are loud/foulmouthed, those who show no respect for others, those who dress shabbily, those who are flashy, those who live in dirty projects, and those that are on drugs. The next highest amount of respondents at 11.4% cited a lack of achievements, accomplishments, those who are apathetic, those who don’t work hard when they live off of welfare, and those who are poor. When I asked focus group study participants the same NSBA question about shame, they used a wide range of words and phrases similar but somewhat distinct from those found in the NSBA response: poor appearance, lack of knowledge of self-worth, lack of belief in self, poor choices, giving up, dependence on welfare, indecency in public, disrespect/ignorance, prizing athletics over academics, blacks not reaching back to help other blacks out, lack of priorities, excuses, negative portrayal in the media, black-on-black crime, and blaming others for their place in society. The trends that emerged in the focus group discussions were as follows: (1) the increased use of third person plural pronouns like they, them, and their and decreased usage of first person plural pronouns like we, us, and our; (2) the differences in moods across the groups when discussing shame; (3) the overlap of shame with other emotions like anger and embarrassment; and (4) the lack of discussions surrounding political participation.

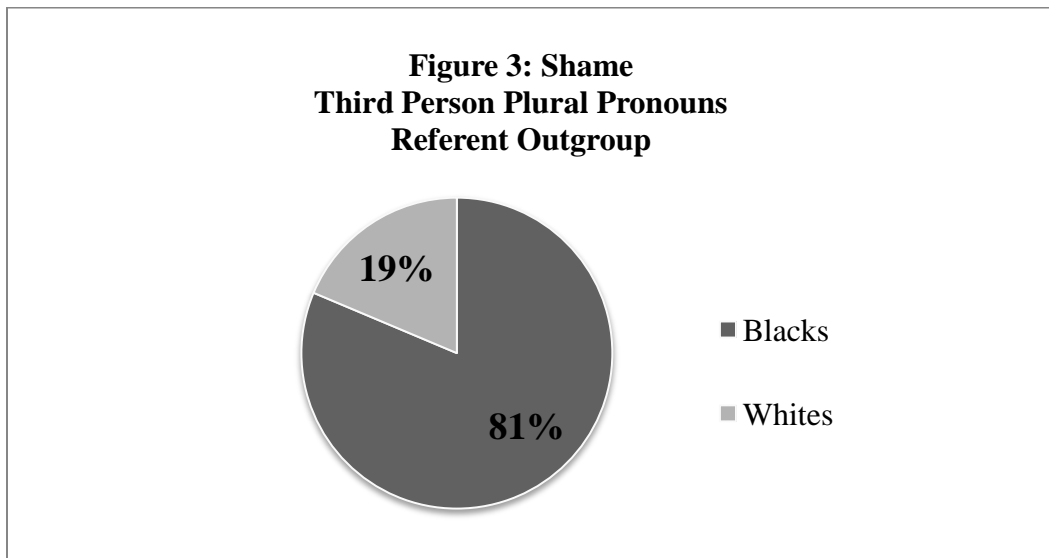
First, in discussions of shame participants opted for the use of third person plural pronouns like they, them, and their, over first person plural pronouns like we, us, and our. This finding is exactly what we should expect based on psychology literature which suggests that the

experience of shame is associated with distancing oneself from the group as members of the group are engaged in revealing a flawed social identity (Barrett 1995, 42; Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007). Robert stated, “with this society, I think their public appearance, the saggy pants...the pajamas.” Catherine stated, “men and women not taking care of their kids or running to welfare or running to food stamps. They’re like let me pop out a kid...who’s going to pop out a kid just cause? That’s crazy...no.” Karen stated, “I’m ashamed by the welfare system and how trickling generations are just in that cycle and they don’t want to do anything to get out of it.” Figure 2 contains results from a manual word count of first and third person plural pronouns in discussions about shame. One can see that of the first and third person plural pronouns used, 52% were third person plural pronouns and 48% were first person plural pronouns.



Not only is the percentage of first and third person plural pronouns utilized different, there is also a difference in how these terms are utilized in discussions surrounding these two emotions. Whereas white Americans were always the referent outgroup in the use of words like “them, they, and their” in discussions about pride, references to whites *and* blacks were made in

the use of the words like “them, they, and their” in discussions surrounding shame. Therefore, I conducted a manual word count of the third person plural pronouns to assess the target of those references: blacks or whites. The results in Figure 3 indicate that 81% of the time the use of third person plural pronouns in discussions of shame was not referring to whites, but to blacks. What this seems to suggest is that possessing a label or being a member of one’s ingroup does not necessarily directly translate into tight circles of “us” against “them.” This qualitative finding suggests that the label and portrayal of the group matters. It suggests that if members of my group are doing something bad or engaged in behaviors that reveal a flawed social identity, “those people” are different from me and others like me in my group that are engaged in good or prototypical behavior. It further suggests that while outsiders may view African-Americans as a monolithic group, African-Americans are able to and do make in-group distinctions.<sup>6</sup>



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<sup>6</sup> The literature on prototypicality (McGarty et al. 1992) suggests that being prototypical is a source of self-esteem and provides a positive social identity; thus, it is not surprising that we see this distancing from one’s racial group as a result of recalling the actions of a few engaging in shameful actions that reveal a negative social identity.

The second trend that emerged in discussions of shame surrounds the difference in moods across each group when asked to discuss what about black people made them feel the most ashamed. While some participants were reluctant to admit what made them feel ashamed about those in their racial group, others laughed and provided an extensive list of experiences and characteristics about members of their racial ingroup that made them feel ashamed. The reluctance of several participants to discuss their shame is consistent with what we know from the literature about the behavior and action tendencies of shame. The literature argues that those experiencing shame will want to “hide the self, avert gaze, and or bury [their] face in [their] hands” (Mascolo and Fischer 1995, 67). For example, Lisa’s reluctance to engage in a conversation surrounding shame stemming from members of her racial group, “I mean, to me shame is such a harsh word but....I mean can I not say that sometimes I’ve been out somewhere and there’s some of us there and they do stuff [puts hands on side of face and stares to the side]....and you’re like oh Jesus.” During this statement, Lisa was staring at the table and did not want to engage in this type of conversation. Thomas echoed her sentiments and recalled a recent experience,

“Actually, I kind of experienced that today. I was at Logan’s with 5 other people I work with. The firm I work for...well, for 3 years it was just me, I was the only black person in there...but I mean it was 6 of us at lunch today, 5 white guys and me and behind us was two ladies and a guy and two kids and the kids were little so you expect that they’re gonna make noise but just the way that they handled the situation you know with them in the restaurant with them making noise. I will admit I was sort of ashamed to be sitting there. It may be bad, it may be wrong, but I mean I can’t say that sitting there with these guys that it didn’t make me feel sort of uncomfortable.”

With these statements surrounding the reluctance to talk about shame, again, we see the use of the words “them” and “they” to describe other members of the ingroup engaged in behaviors revealing a flawed social identity. However, we also see something else that is quite interesting: the use of the first person plural pronoun, “us,” to describe oneness or unity with the white work



lunch crowd; this is social identity theory in action. Here we see Thomas subscribing to that third principle of social identity theory which states that group members will attempt to leave their group or join a more positively distinguished group when their social identity is no longer satisfactory. Because members of his racial group were engaging in behaviors that revealed a flawed social identity, Thomas did not identify with the other African-Americans, he symbolically and psychologically “left” his racial group and joined the more positively distinguished group which at the time was his professional identity.

Third, discussions surrounding the experience of shame as an African-American overlapped with other emotions like embarrassment and anger. This was not the case for discussions surrounding pride in the focus group study; pride was a simple and seemingly one-dimensional emotion that had no real attachment to other emotions. Susan stated, “As you were asking that question, a thing that went through my brain was about black on black crime you know it’s just a shame, it’s just embarrassing.” The literature suggests that embarrassment and shame are similar in that both arise from “identity-based concerns but differ in that people feel embarrassed when they think that others will see them as flawed, but ashamed when they personally fear that they are flawed” (Lickel et al. 2007, 356); thus, the experience of shame suggests that, “I am a bad person” while the experience of embarrassment is about others thinking you are a bad person. Perhaps the experience of shame, as it pertains to blacks, is a two-stage process: (1) blacks feel embarrassed when they witness members of their group revealing a flawed social identity (i.e. engaging in “stereotypical” black behavior); and that embarrassment leads to shame because (2) society assumes or expects that they will possess this same flaw simply because they are black. Yet, it is unclear if this is actually true because a great deal of the

work on emotions and identity lacks an analysis on individuals that identify with groups that have a negative stigma.

The interconnection between shame and anger was discussed in a few groups with regard to how blacks are portrayed in the media. Robert stated, “[what makes me feel ashamed is] how we’re portrayed in the media...it’s just reckless.” During the middle of the comment I asked Robert if the media’s portrayal of blacks made him feel angry or ashamed and he stated both. He cited reality television shows in particular and took a moment to discuss how black characters are always typecast as loud, uneducated, untrustworthy, and lazy. This particular participant suggested that it would be a lot better if African-Americans had more of a variety in representation in media. In regards to the experience of vicarious shame and anger, Lickel et al. (2007) state,

“In the intergroup literature, is commonly found that individuals derogate ingroup members particularly harshly when those individuals break the norms of the group....Anger is the likely candidate for the emotion that drives this social response, although the self-conscious feeling of shame that accompanies it might also promote efforts to distance one’s social identity from the offending group member” (357).

Finally, noticeably absent from each discussion surrounding shame was the role of shame in political participation. At no point in time did members of any group discuss how feeling ashamed as an African-American led them to some type of political action. This finding is not puzzling because existing political science literature suggests that the threat of public shame, via publicizing and exposing one’s voting record increases turnout (Gerber, Green, and Larimer 2010; Panagopoulos 2010). This small qualitative finding from the focus group study suggests that the threat of public shaming, which will most likely lead to embarrassment, has different political consequences than the experience of shame. Let us now turn to anger to understand if this emotion has any political relevance from the perspective of racial group identity.

## Talking about Anger

Anger is defined as “a belief that we, or our friends, have been unfairly slighted, which causes in us both painful feelings and a desire or impulse for revenge” (Lazarus 1991, 217). Anger is a negative emotion wherein blame for undesirable behavior and resulting undesirable events is directed at another person or group. Anger produces a desire to regain control, remove the obstruction, and if necessary, attack the source of injury (Cottam, Uhler, Mastors, and Preston 2010, 52).

Based on my review of existing survey data in the political realm, there is only one question that asks blacks about anger stemming from societal treatment. The 2004 American National Election Study and 2008 Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project asks: how often do you feel angry about the way blacks are treated in society? Since this seems to be the only question about anger surrounding the societal treatment of blacks, the construction of questions involving the experience of anger as an African-American was rather complex. Based on the existing question about anger and questions surrounding pride and shame, I constructed three questions to gauge how African-Americans experience anger: (1) what about being black or black people in general makes you angry; (2) thinking of stereotypes about the “angry black man” or woman, what are black people angry about; and (3) what angers you about the way society treats black people or you as a black person? While the first question gauges the *individual* level feelings about being black, the last two questions provide a better understanding of what the *societal* ascription of blackness means in lives of the participants; that is, how people treat them or expect them to act simply because they are African-American. While the literature is silent about the first question on how blacks might feel angry towards members of their own group, existing literature surrounding anger among African-Americans focuses explicitly on the

last question about the societal treatment of blacks. Below I discuss the broad findings for each question in an effort to better understand the experience of anger among blacks.

In regards to the first question about being black and the things about black people that make one angry, there were a wide range of thoughts and opinions. Each response generally started with something along the lines of, “I’m not angry about being black, but ‘x’ is what makes me angry about black people.” Participants across the three groups<sup>7</sup> cited the following that made them angry about black people in general: blaming others for their lack of success, excuses, complacency, not taking advantage of opportunities, and apathy. Joseph cited inability to take responsibility for actions as a point of contention for his anger:

“...what makes me angry is to see where a whole lot of black folks will always blame somebody else for what they didn’t do and their circumstances. You drop out of school and you can’t get a job...don’t blame the white guy cause you can’t get a job. They’re not prejudice against you, you just don’t have anything to offer so you have to go back to school, get you some education and then you can do better. I’m not saying you’re not going to run into prejudice but you will cause everybody does that’s a fact...but don’t give them the ammunition to use against you.”

Barbara noted the complacency of blacks as a point of anger,

“I think I said it earlier, it’s complacency and let me tell you what I mean by that. We live in a community and there’s lots of crime and other things going on in the community; what do we do? We go in the house and we just ignore it. NOT WHITE PEOPLE! They come together and they act a fool...they organize and we don’t. Why not? Cause we can bring about change just the same way. You know I’ve watched neighborhoods in this community gentrify, not just transform but completely gentrify. I remember back in my neighborhood days, knocking on doors and telling the black people down in Salemtown that they need to organize and engage; it’s going to come across the tracks, it’s going to leave Germantown and what happened? We didn’t do nothing.”

Elizabeth took a different aim at what makes her angry about black people when she stated,

“I think what makes me angry is when I see black people not using their opportunities right and not taking advantage of their resources and they’re just being *STUPID*. I think that more than anything angers me because I’m like really? Those that don’t know me,

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<sup>7</sup> Participants in my first focus group study spent a great deal of time discussing pride and shame and did not have the opportunity to discuss anger as they came awfully close to exceeding the 90 minute mark established in my Institutional Review Board application and expected by those in attendance.

like I will just tell you that you're being stupid...like you have this wonderful opportunity if you don't want to take advantage of it the right way then allow someone else to take advantage of it the right way. Don't just waste an opportunity being dumb...let somebody really take this opportunity who wants this opportunity so they can do what they want do and achieve something.

The next question on the study involved stereotypes about the angry black man and woman; I asked this question in an effort to better understand the stereotypes about anger among blacks. Existing literature suggests that black people in America are angry about the "unwillingness of white Americans to accept Negroes as fellow human beings" (Grier and Cobbs 1968, vii). In fact the entire message *Black Rage* written by two black psychiatrists aimed at explaining why the Watts riots occurred is, "that despite the passage of five civil rights bills since 1957, despite the erosion of legal supports for segregated institutions, despite greater acceptance of Negroes into our major institutions, both public and private, it is still no easy thing to be a black person in America" (Grier and Cobbs 1968, vii). These psychiatrists further argue that "the civilization that tolerated slavery dropped its slaveholding cloak but the inner feelings remained... [that] the practice of slavery stopped over a hundred years ago, but the minds of our citizens have never been freed" (viii). While one group had a spirited discussion focused solely on "the white man" being the source of the angry black man and woman, they along with another group also took some time to debunk and unpack these stereotypes of angry black men and women. Barbara stated,

"I think it's a myth. Black women aren't angry. I think it goes back to our slavery days...that's how we were portrayed back then. Now the women weren't portrayed as angry but the men were and that myth has been perpetuated throughout the years. For the most part, I just don't believe that and I hear from some black men...I hear them talk about why they date white women because they don't need to hear a sista's mouth...well we're opinionated and we have every right to be. Our opinions run strong and you can tell I got some strong ones but I'm not angry at home. I'm not angry most of the time...I'm angry at systemic things that I see happening but in general I'm a happy person. There are times too when I feel as an African-American female that I've been talked down to and I challenge that, then that's viewed as being angry, but I just view it

as disrespect and I want to make sure you understand what it is you're doing and I won't tolerate it. That's not anger. That's demanding the respect I deserve."

Margaret chimed in on this comment and stated,

"I just want to say that we are not angry...we are frustrated and we are a little fed up with the way we are perceived and the way we are treated and I think when society can label it as anger then they can give themselves permission to treat us certain ways. If I can say, oh she's an angry black woman then I have the right to fire her for asserting her opinion or I have the right to shoot this man because he came to me and said why are you chasing me? Once I can label you, as in the slave mentality, as angry, they have the right to beat the hell out of us and so I think it's their label that we're angry...but it's not angry...it's frustration with the way that you're treating me."

Lastly, I asked participants, "What angers you about the way society treats you as a black person or black people in general?" Across the groups, the following phrases emerged: guilty by association, the assumption of ignorance, and being the exception to the rule. The anger about societal treatment described across the groups mimic what we find in the literature on black anger. Cose (1993) describes many of the same phenomena that lead to anger among blacks in his book *The Rage of a Privileged Class: Why Are Black Americans Angry? Why Should America Care?* In regards to stereotypes, Cose (1993) devotes an entire chapter to discussing how blacks are often "guilty by association." This notion of being guilty by association stems from individuals ascribing negative characteristics to members of the black community simply because of the color of their skin. The best illustrations of these phenomena were expressed by Janet when she recalled two separate instances in which she was stereotyped as a criminal in a department store and a single mother of unruly black children:

"There's a store that used to be here called Cain-Sloan..I could not walk in that store without being followed around. If I'm in here I can buy whatever I want...you need to talk about Ashley Judd about that. It's just the stereotype...it's the assumption that I can't afford it or that I'm going to steal it."

"I think that what angers me are stereotypes. I'm trying to think of the time when I was an angry black woman was several years ago....I was living in California and I was at the Stanford Mall this very upscale hoity-toity mall. I was in some shop and then there's

these two black kids that came in by themselves...they were being kids...not doing anything wrong...just being rambunctious kids and the shop keeper was very snooty like, 'you need to do something with your kids.' I'm like do you see a rang on my fanger anywhere?! What makes you think that those are my kids?! I mean I went off...*ALL THE WAY OFF!* I was angry and I was like why did I get so angry about that? It's sort of a natural assumption ....at the same time...did you see the kids come in with me? My kids would have been controlled you know..."

Barbara made an interesting statement to this effect when she said,

"I had a white woman to tell me that she understood exactly what I went through as an African-American because she went through it as a woman every day and when I got through explaining to her that she could never ever understand what it felt like to not be able to take this off...to not be able to present in front of somebody else and they not see you coming, you can't begin to know how I feel; after I was done her nose was bleeding and I didn't hit her...but there is just no way she can feel that."

Cose (1993) highlights two more causes of anger among African-Americans that were found in focus group study discussions surrounding anger: low expectations and presumptions of failure. These sentiments were expressed through discussions that involve being the exception to the rule. In regards to being angry about society treating her like the exception to the rule, Theresa stated, "Comments have been made to me like, 'Well you know you're not like *those* people on movies and tv.' You're not like *those* people? Or *you* people...things like that anger me." Barbara stated, "and you know what else angers me about society is that it's a surprise that we can achieve... they act like you know, they act like we are the exception...why can't there be more of you out there? That frustrates me...that makes me angry." Janet stated,

"...What makes me different? What am I doing that's acceptable to you? I need to know so that a) I can do it and be acceptable or b) do it and not be acceptable anymore. It's like there's this unspoken behavior I have to exhibit to fall into acceptability."

Upon discussing the experience of anger as an African-American in the political arena, many participants discussed the mistreatment of President Barack Obama and blacks broadly. The lack of respect shown throughout his presidential tenure has in fact angered several

participants and this anger is fueling their desire to re-elect President Obama in 2012. For example, Erin stated,

“I just remember when Obama was speaking and the white, the guy called him a lie...that was disgusting to me and it just seems like you know they just cannot treat him as a man...a human being...it was disrespectful and made me so angry.”

Carol echoed those sentiments by saying,

“I’m angry that he does not get the respect that he deserves. He’s not President Obama, he’s Obama...he’s just whatever people feel like calling him...and then I’m disappointed as well that people don’t see what he has done...that that’s not brought out more. You know, it seems like if he’s interviewed or somebody is interviewed they may talk about it but then they want to jump to something else rather than deal with and see the things he has done.”

Several participants also referenced the mistreatment of African-Americans, specifically, the voter suppression efforts being targeted at their racial group as a motivating factor for political participation in the 2012 presidential election. Jennifer stated,

“I’m angry that there’s all this fear-mongering that’s done by a party that opposes the president...I’m also angry at them trying to play with our right to vote. I have been phone banking, walking door-to-door, registering people to vote and asking if they need a ride to the polls. I’m going to vote and I’m trying to make sure we can vote...our vote counts.”

This finding is interesting because while it seems as though pride was the factor increasing mobilization and political participation for African-Americans in the 2008 election, it seems as though anger is motivating those in my study to participate in the 2012 election.

The discussions of the multi-faceted aspects of anger across my groups were the most enlightening in regards to increasing our understanding of the experience of anger among blacks and its political implications. I was able to figure out what about certain black people make other blacks angry, speak to the stereotypes of angry black men and women, and even gain a better understanding of why blacks are angry at their societal treatment; all of which referenced



their treatment by whites. Lastly, I was able to demonstrate that experiencing anger as a member of the African-American community leads to some type of change in political participation.

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

In conducting these focus group studies, I endeavored to gain a thick and rich understanding of how African-Americans experience pride, shame, and anger as members of their racial group and how the experience of such emotions might shape public opinion and political participation.<sup>8</sup> The data collected in this study provide a contemporary perspective of how African-Americans experience emotions in politics. Moreover, this data offers new insight into the racial and ethnic politics literature as it focuses on the role of affect in African-American public opinion and political participation.

The findings from the focus group study demonstrate the following: (1) there is a relationship between the usage of pronouns, emotions, and intragroup attitudes; and (2) the experience of emotions as a member of a racial group matters in the political arena. Groups are social categories that help us organize and navigate the social and political world around us. When individuals categorize themselves as group members, they tend to think and act in accordance with their group-level self, rather than their individual level self (Doosje, Ouwerkerk and Spears 2008). That is, self-categorization at the group level shifts attention away from individuals' personal goals, interests, and values, and towards those of the in-group (Iyer and Leach 2008, 91). Yet, the qualitative evidence from this study suggests that references to us and them might differ depending on how the group is portrayed. That is, if the group is portrayed in a prideful manner or in a way that demonstrates a positive social identity, first person plural pronouns like "us, we, and our," reference the ingroup while third person plural pronouns like

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<sup>8</sup> While questions about the experience of pride and shame were asked on the National Survey of Black Americans, I was unable to secure the original data from the Resource Center for Minority Data at the University of Michigan.

“them, they, and their” represent an outgroup. When the group is displayed as engaging in behaviors that reveal a flawed social identity the third person plural pronouns not only refer to an outgroup but to those within the group engaging in this behavior.

Second, and most importantly, the findings from the focus group study suggest that group-based and intergroup emotions matter in the political arena. When those in my focus group study felt proud about the candidacy of an African-American president, they canvassed neighborhoods for voter registration purposes, turned out to vote, donated money to the presidential candidate and the Democratic National Committee. Discussions surrounding the experience of shame as a member of the African-American community lacked any indication of resulting political participation. This does not mean that experiencing group-based shame among African-Americans has no effect in the political arena, as it could impact support for policies; the qualitative insights provided simply seem to suggest that the experience of group-based shame may have little relevance to political participation. Further, upon discussing the upcoming election, those in the study cited anger about the tactics of voter suppression and mistreatment of President Obama by white Americans as a major reason for turning out in the 2012 presidential election. Thus, this qualitative evidence demonstrates that experiencing pride and anger as a member of the African-American community has the potential to yield changes in political participation.

However, these findings come with a host of shortcomings. First, the small sample size and geographic location of my respondents is not representative of the larger population of African-Americans. Second, the findings from the study might not express the honest and personal opinions of the participants. That is, participants in the focus group studies might have hesitated to express their thoughts especially if they were in opposition to the views of another

participant or the general direction of the conversation. Lastly, there may have been some moderator bias in the studies. Throughout the studies, I remained as objective as possible; I never expressed my attitudes on the questions and I pressed participants for more details on vague responses. Nevertheless, focus group study participants can feel peer pressure to give similar answers to the moderator's questions. Therefore, an objective observational data analysis can help overcome these shortcomings and aid in the further validation of claims made by focus group study participants; we now turn to this type of analysis in the next chapter.

## APPENDIX A

### FOCUS GROUPS STUDY SCRIPT

#### Introduction

Hello. Thank you all for being here today. My name is Camille Burge and I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University. Before we get started, I would like to take a few moments to review the consent form. Please do not sign the consent form until we are done reviewing it. First, I want you to take a couple of minutes to read through the form for yourself...Now, I'm going to review the form with you...Does anyone have any questions regarding the study? If you freely and voluntarily choose to participate, please sign your name.

Now that we've handled that business, let's get on with the study. As many of you may know, lots of researchers conduct studies in small focus groups. I have invited you here today to talk about emotions in politics. In particular, a great deal of literature focuses on how different emotions like anger, anxiety, threat, fear, pride, shame, and disgust shape one's views on policies and political behavior. In fact, during election times, many pundits characterize emotions among the public in terms of groups like "Americans," "Republicans," "Democrats," "Men," "Women," "Blacks," "Latinos," "Catholics," "The elderly," and "Evangelical Christians" just to name a few. I am interested in understanding how various emotions you feel as an individual and member of a group may inform the way you think about politics. The entire study will take about an hour and a half. We'll spend about 40 minutes in discussion, 15 minutes filling out a survey questionnaire, and the remaining 20-30 minutes on discussing questions from the survey among other things. Afterwards, we can go over any questions you have regarding the study and I will compensate you for your participation.

#### Questions

##### **1. Introductory Question**

I'm going to tape this conversation, so that we will be able to relive this experience over and over. I want you to know that in the transcript and manuscript, each of you will be given a pseudonym, and nothing you say here will be directly traceable to you as an individual. Let's start with a sound-check. I would like to begin by first going around the room and introducing ourselves. Please tell me your first name only, how long you've been a member, and if you serve in any ministries here at the church. Let's start with you. *[PAUSE...Now, I'm going to play it back, just to ensure that I can hear everyone's voice and the device is indeed recording]*

##### **2. Introductory Question**

I want to start by saying it seems as though emotions are running high as the election approaches. A simple glance at a newspaper or segment on the news seems to indicate that the public is feeling anxious, angry, and fearful, along with a wide range of other emotions. What emotions come to mind when you think about this upcoming election?

##### **3. Transition Question**

People are members of lots of different groups. During election times, many pundits characterize emotions among the public in terms of "Americans," "Republicans," "Democrats," "Men," "Women," "Blacks," "Latinos," "Catholics," "The elderly," and "Evangelical Christians" just to name a few. I want you to think about some groups you belong to. Tell me about a time where you felt an emotion as a member of a group during an election season. What was the emotion and what made you feel it? Did feeling these emotions propel you to some particular action or change in opinion?

##### **4. Key Question A**

Let's talk about emotions that you've felt as a member of your racial/ethnic group. What are the things about black people that make you feel most proud?

Now, I'm going to ask you to fill out a questionnaire. You will have approximately 15 minutes to complete this questionnaire. There are no right or wrong answers; I am simply interested in your opinions. After the 15 minutes, we will discuss a few of these questions in greater detail.

Now that you all have completed the questionnaire, let's discuss some of your answers.

**5. Key Question B-Survey Items**

How did you rate groups on the feeling thermometer and stereotype measures?

How did you respond to the immigration questions?

**6. Other Emotions Questions**

What are the things about black people that make you feel most proud?

What about being black or black people in general makes you angry?

Thinking of stereotypes about the "angry black man" or woman, what are black people angry about?

What angers you about the way society treats black people or you as a black person?

**7. Random Political Question**

What words and emotions come to mind when you think about President Obama? Do you think he will win the upcoming election? Why?

**8. Concluding Question**

We are just about out of time. Does anyone have any final thoughts they would like to share concerning the topics we've discussed? Thanks again for coming today.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE TIE THAT BINDS? EXPLORING THE ROLES OF GROUP-BASED PRIDE AND INTERGROUP ANGER IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

*“I felt proud as a black person... I felt proud that he [Barack Obama] became president. I didn’t participate by knocking on doors and handing out buttons or anything. I did, however, financially contribute to his campaign and I continue to contribute... I’ve never contributed to a nationwide election and because of him I financially contributed to his efforts...I still contribute like a bill I pay monthly or however so often and I also contribute to the DNC which I never did prior to Obama.”*  
-Margaret, Focus Group Study Participant

One cannot understate the historical significance of the 2008 presidential primary season. For the first time in American history two minority candidates, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, were simultaneously considered viable nominees from the Democratic Party for the office of President of the United States of America. Initially, many wondered whether Barack Obama was “black enough” to receive the black vote given his biracial background, upbringing in Hawaii, and attendance at Ivy League institutions (Mendell 2007, 129). Some even thought that Hillary Clinton would receive the black vote given her husband’s affectionate, yet symbolic title of, “First Black President.”<sup>9</sup> Similar to the 1988 presidential primary where African-Americans from a multitude of socioeconomic backgrounds marched to the polls to support Jesse Jackson (Dawson 1994), the 2008 presidential primaries and general election yielded another instance of political unity among African-Americans in support of Barack Obama; resulting in the election of the first black president of the United States of America.

These instances of electoral solidarity typify the political unity of African-Americans in what many scholars in the late 1980s and early 1990s dubbed the New Black Politics (Preston

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<sup>9</sup> Former President Bill Clinton was given the title, “First Black President,” by African-American novelist Toni Morrison in an op-ed about his impeachment. Morrison (1998) stated, “Years ago, in the middle of the Whitewater investigation, one heard the first murmurs: white skin notwithstanding, this is our first black President. Blacker than any actual black person who could ever be elected in our children’s lifetime. After all, Clinton displays almost every trope of blackness: single-parent household, born poor, working-class, saxophone-playing, McDonald’s-and-junk-food-loving boy from Arkansas.”

1987; Tate 1994). This New Black Politics is characterized by the transformation of protest politics into electoral politics with high levels of black political unity (Dawson 1994). However, completely absent from this discussion of black political unity is the role of emotions. That is, how might the experience of emotions as a member of a racial group shape one's feelings about groups, political elites, policy opinion, and one's propensity to behave in the political arena?

Taken from a focus group study where I examine how African-Americans experience emotions in politics, the quote above highlights the political ramifications of experiencing emotions as a member of a group. As a member of the African-American community, feeling proud of the candidacy and subsequent election of Barack Obama led this particular participant to contribute not only to the campaign of Barack Obama, but to the Democratic National Committee. This was not the only emotion or type of political participation mentioned across focus group studies. Other participants highlighted anger along with mobilization efforts, signing petitions, turning out to vote, and attending meetings along with a number of politically relevant activities.

While the previous chapter utilized focus group studies to understand the causes and consequences of experiencing emotions in politics as an African-American, the purpose of this chapter is to further validate the claims of focus group study participants by conducting an observational data analysis. To this end, this chapter contains an analysis of African-Americans from the 2008 Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project (CCAP) and 2004 American National Election Study (ANES). I begin with a review of the literature surrounding group consciousness and the centrality of race in American politics. Afterwards, I provide my hypotheses, method, data, and findings on how emotions shape intra-and-intergroup attitudes, attitudes toward

political elites, policy opinion, and political participation. I conclude with a discussion of my contribution to existing literature and next steps for empirical analysis.

### **Group Consciousness and the Centrality of Race in American Politics**

To better understand how group-based and intergroup emotions shape attitudes and political participation, we must first explore literature that demonstrates the importance of group membership and attachment in political decision-making; that is, research surrounding the concept of group consciousness. Group consciousness is defined as identification with a group and a political awareness or ideology regarding the group's relative position in society along with a commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group's interests (Miller et al. 1981). The group consciousness model of participation has its intellectual origin in studies of differences in the participation levels of blacks and whites. Contributing to this intellectual origin were Verba and Nie (1972) who found that once socioeconomic status is taken into account, blacks participate at higher levels than whites. They attributed this difference to group consciousness, finding that blacks who frequently mentioned race in their discussion of political issues were more politically active than blacks who gave less race-oriented responses.

Miller et al. (1981) refined the group consciousness model of Verba and Nie (1972) by testing the model with a more developed formulation and extension of the application to additional groups. These scholars argued that identification with groups does not necessarily promote political participation among the group's members and operationalized group consciousness as a multidimensional concept comprised of group identification, polar affect, polar power, and attribution to individual versus system blame. Miller et al. (1981) found that groups whose members feel they lack relevant resources compared to other strata or groups are more likely to be politically active. With this finding, Miller et al. (1981) asserted that group consciousness is associated with participation for blacks as well as women and the poor.



Research in the late 1980s and 1990s seldom focused on group consciousness broadly, but emphasized black group consciousness and argued that regardless of socioeconomic status, blacks relied on their race as a cue for political behavior and public opinion (Shingles 1988; Gurin et al. 1989; Tate 1994; Dawson 1994). Gurin et al. (1989) argue that black attitudes about political figures, such as Jesse Jackson and Ronald Reagan, were influenced strongly by group consciousness. Contemporary literature extends the work of Gurin and her colleagues (Tate 1994; Dawson 1994). Tate (1994) finds that racial identification had a far greater impact on blacks' policy preferences than did social class identification. This finding was particularly true for race-specific and redistributive programs.

According to Dawson (1994), an understanding of the social psychology of race is the key to explaining why African-Americans have remained cohesive in their political beliefs despite growing class bifurcation within the group. Dawson (1994) argues that the unrivaled levels of political unity shown by African-Americans can be attributed to the "black utility heuristic." Since blacks' life chances were over determined by race from Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Movement, Dawson (1994) argues that during that period it was cognitively efficient, since information was costly, to substitute racial group interests as a proxy for self-interests. Thus, those who study African-American public opinion and behavior believe that blacks' shared history of slavery and discrimination encourages them to evaluate policies and candidates based on their perceived impact on the racial group rather than the individual (Hutchings and Valentino 2004).

The construct of linked fate<sup>10</sup> is used to measure racial group consciousness; it assesses the degree to which black Americans believe that their own self interests are linked to the interests of the race. That is, the more one believes one's own life chances are linked to those of blacks as a group, the more one will consider racial group interests in evaluating alternative political choices. Thus, for group interests to affect the political process, a significant number of African-Americans must believe that what happens to the group as a whole affects their own lives (Dawson 1994). As opposed to relying on four indicators of group consciousness (Miller et al. 1981), Dawson (1994) uses the construct of linked fate and suggests that it binds racial group identification to the public opinion and political behavior of blacks.

However, this understanding of racial identity and its effect on politics is cognitive; after all it is called the black utility *heuristic*, and ignores emotions. While knowing that individuals use the racial group as a cue for policy opinion and political participation is important, the qualitative evidence in the introduction and subsequent findings from my focus group studies demonstrate that emotions are also influencing African-American public opinion and political decision-making. Thus, begging the following question: what role does emotion play in the binding of racial group identification to black public opinion and political participation?

The idea that affect can influence cognitive processes has been around for a long time. Scholars advocating for this affect congruence suggest that affect can influence cognition through memory processes. Bower (1981) posits that affect is an integral part of peoples' cognitive representations about the world and may automatically prime associated ideas and memories; thus, facilitating their use in constructive cognitive tasks that use memory-based information. This notion of affect congruence seems to suggest that it is not just about

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<sup>10</sup> On several national surveys the linked fate question asks, "Do you think what happens to black people in this country will generally have something to do with what happens in your life?" Those who answer affirmatively are then asked, "Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?"

remembering the shared historical experience that causes African-Americans to think and behave similarly in politics; it implies that the ability to access, select, and reactivate the emotions that are tied up in those shared historical experiences of discrimination and oppression are also having an effect on African-American public opinion and political participation. Below I interweave principles of social identity theory with findings from the black group consciousness literature and my focus group studies to hypothesize about how I expect group-based pride and intergroup anger to manifest among African-Americans in the political arena.

### **Understanding and Hypothesizing about Pride**

Pride is defined as, “the enhancement of one’s ego-identity by taking credit for a valued object or achievement, either our own or someone or group with whom we identify—for example, a compatriot, a member of the family or a social group” (Lazarus 1991, 271). Three trends that emerged from the focus group study discussions can aid in the application of the definition and action tendencies of pride to my hypotheses.

First, the qualitative analyses from my focus group study suggest that when African-Americans experience pride they feel a sense of closeness to other members of the African-American community. This closeness was reflected by the increased use of first person plural pronouns like “us,” “our,” and “we” and decreased usage of third person plural pronouns like “them,” “they,” and “their.” This finding confirms existing psychology literature where when members of our group do well, Cialdini et al. (1976) says that we bask in the reflected glory of one’s success even though we, as individuals, may have had nothing to do with the direct outcome. Since individuals are motivated to maintain a positive identity with the groups with which they identify, they should feel vicariously proud when they witness others who share their group identity engaging in behaviors that are seen as revealing a positive social identity. Thus,

when African-Americans experience pride as a member of the African-American community, I expect evaluations of the ingroup to be high and favorable.

*Pride and Group Attitudes-When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group they will have more favorable evaluations of blacks.*

Related to the usage of first person plural pronouns were the words and phrases used to describe the things about black people that made respondents feel the most proud. Those words and phrases consisted of the following: survival, ability to overcome, ability to rally around certain issues, accomplishments, strength, and endurance. For example, Barbara stated,

“...our ability to overcome *in spite of* all the ways that we have been oppressed throughout the years and while folks say y’all need to be happy, discrimination don’t exist anymore we got a black president, they need to wake up and smell the coffee and we are still succeeding despite that...against all odds.”

Racial and redistributive policies like affirmative action and welfare can be viewed as mechanisms that contribute to their racial group’s ability to overcome oppression and discrimination. Thus, when respondent experience pride as a member of the African-American community, I expect them to support policies designed to help their racial group.

*Pride and Policy Opinion- When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group, they will be more likely to support policies designed to help their racial group.*

In fidelity to the arguments surrounding the centrality of race in politics, we might also expect the experience of pride to have some effect on evaluations of political elites. Historically, large shifts in African-American support of political parties have been tied to perceptions of each party’s responsiveness to the needs and interests of the black community. While African-Americans during Reconstruction viewed the Republican Party as the most responsive to the needs of their racial group, the black Democratic vote solidified in the mid 1960s with the passage of the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act. Additionally, the platform of racial conservatism espoused by Barry Goldwater, coupled with Nixon’s Southern strategy and

defection of large numbers of supporters of Former Alabama Governor George Wallace to the Republican Party further solidified racial cleavages within the American party system; thus, leading many to believe that Democrats would support black interests and civil rights more than Republicans (Dawson 1994). Therefore, I can hypothesize about how pride shapes evaluations of Democrats:

*Pride and Attitudes toward Political Elites - When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group, they will have more favorable evaluations of Democrats.*

The third and final trend that emerged across discussions of pride surrounded how the experience of this emotion as an African-American led to a change in political participation. Some respondents reflected on how the candidacy of Barack Obama led them to canvass neighborhoods, talk to their peers about politics, vote, and donate money. Therefore, one can hypothesize about the role of group-based pride in political participation:

*Pride and Political Participation-When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group, they will have higher levels of participation.*

### **Understanding and Hypothesizing about Anger**

Anger is defined as, “a belief that we, or our friends, have been unfairly slighted, which causes in us both painful feelings and a desire or impulse for revenge” (Lazarus 1991). Many of the discussions about anger in my focus group study consisted of intergroup anger and how it affects attitudes towards out-groups and political participation. When respondents in my focus group study expressed anger, it was in terms of the way society treated them; by society, I mean all of those references emphasized how white Americans treat African-Americans in the United States. Participants in the focus group studies further reflected on the mistreatment of blacks broadly and President Obama by Republicans. Therefore, I can hypothesize about how I expect intergroup anger to shape attitudes towards group and political elites:

*Anger and Group Attitudes-When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they will have less favorable evaluations of whites.*

*Anger and Attitudes towards Political Elites- When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they will have less favorable evaluations of Republicans.*

Lastly, several discussions consisted of how the experience of anger led to different types of political participation. Many participants cited the photo identification to vote laws by Republicans in the state of Tennessee and across the nation as sources of anger and motivating forces for engaging in several political activities in the 2012 presidential election season. Since existing literature also finds that anger is a primary motivator of political action (Valentino et al. 2011), I can hypothesize that:

*Anger and Political Participation-When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they will have higher levels of participation.*

## **The Method**

To test my hypotheses, I conduct an observational data analysis using the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP.<sup>11</sup> The 2004 ANES has 180 African-American respondents and the 2008 CCAP has 140 African-American respondents. In addition to these datasets having comparable questions, they provide fruitful ground for the analysis of group-based and intergroup emotions for one primary reason: the race of the democratic presidential nominees-John Kerry is white and Barack Obama is black.

A great deal of research has been devoted to understanding the effect that minority candidates have on minority participation and engagement in the political process. Existing research finds associations between the presence of a black candidate and increases in black turnout (Atkins, DeZee, and Eckert 1985; Gay 2001; Heron and Sekhon 2005). Additional

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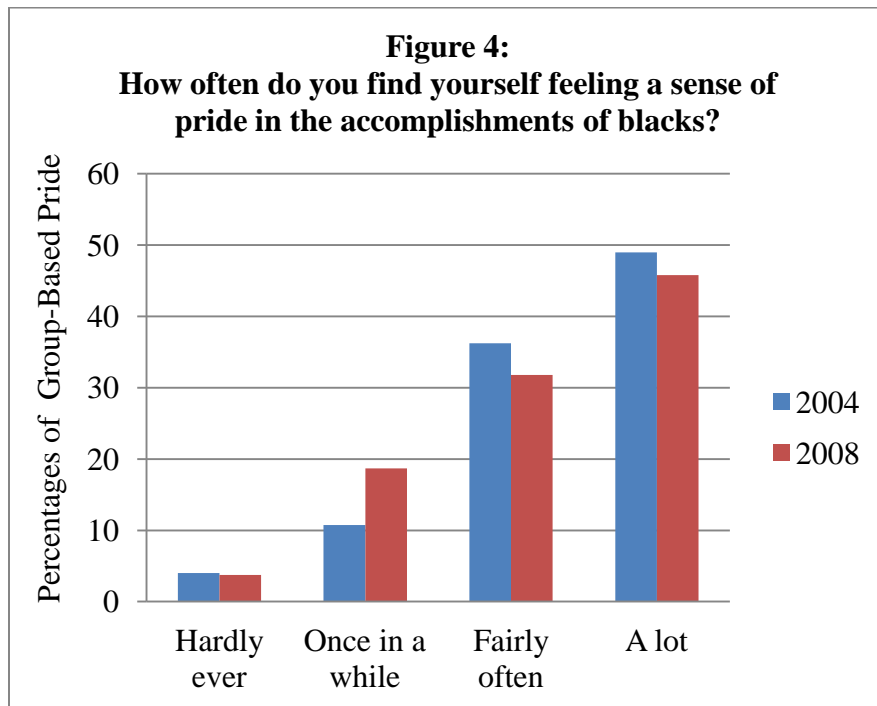
<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the 2008 ANES does not ask the emotions questions; therefore, I only use the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP because they contain consistent questions.

studies show significant increases in trust, knowledge, participation, and efficacy in majority-minority districts with minority representation (Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Tate 2003; Banaducci et al. 2004; Harris et al. 2006). The dominant explanations for these associations stem from a heightened sense of political empowerment that minorities experience when they witness a member of their racial group pursuing political office and/or the extent to which a group has achieved significant influence in political decision-making (White, McConnaughy, Leal, and Casellas 2010). My work adds nuance to these literatures by suggesting that the presence of a minority candidate, in this case an African-American Democrat, has the potential to activate emotions from the perspective of racial identity which ultimately affects public opinion and political participation. Having nominees of different racial backgrounds in the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP allows me to hold the partisanship of the candidate constant and observe how the experience of group-based and intergroup emotions might shape political participation, policy opinion, and attitudes towards political elites in a real world context. I expect to observe group-based pride and intergroup anger having a greater effect on policy opinion and political participation in 2008 than 2004.

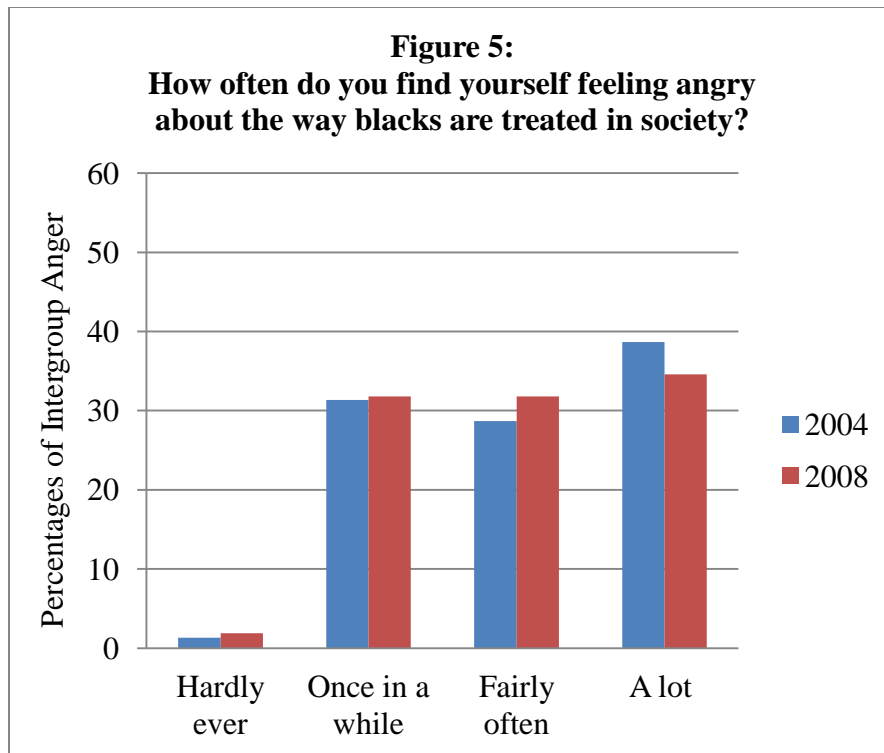
My key independent variables in this analysis ask African-American respondents about how often they experience pride and anger. The questions state, “How often do you find yourself feeling a sense of pride in the accomplishments of black people?” “How often do you find yourself feeling angry about the way black people are treated in society?” The response categories range from hardly ever to a lot. The pride question contains an ingroup object and ingroup subject as respondents are asked to reflect on feeling a sense of pride in the accomplishments of black people; thus, making it an ideal question to gauge the effects of group-based emotions in the political arena among African-Americans. As previously stated, when

respondents in my focus group study expressed anger, it was in terms of the way society treated them; by society, I mean all of the references emphasized how white Americans treat African-Americans in the United States. Therefore, one might expect the anger question to serve as a good measure of intergroup emotions, containing an outgroup object and ingroup subject, as it asks respondents to reflect on the way black people are treated in society.

Figures 4 and 5 provide the percentages of the pride and anger questions from the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP. Figure 4 indicates that the experience of pride in the accomplishments of black people, across all but one category has a higher percentage in 2004 than 2008 but these differences are not statistically different from one another. The findings from Figure 5 illustrate higher percentages of anger in 2008 when compared to 2004 across all but one response option; however, these differences are not statistically different from each other.







To date, responses to these pride and anger questions on national surveys have been combined and used as a measure of group solidarity to assess the predictive validity of attitudes toward political elites and political participation (Kinder and Dale-Riddle 2012). However, given the qualitative evidence from my focus group studies along with the action tendencies of pride and anger, one might expect these emotions to have different effects on the evaluations of groups, political elites, policy opinion, and participation-related measures. That is, while pride may be more ingroup focused, anger is more out-group oriented; thus, I analyze the predictive validity of these questions separately.<sup>12</sup>

To better understand how group-based pride and intergroup anger shapes attitudes towards groups, political elites, policy opinion, and political participation, I split the results portion into three sections. I begin by assessing the predictive validity of pride and anger on

<sup>12</sup> While the correlation between pride and anger in 2004 is .177, the correlation between pride and anger in 2008 is .402. In addition to my key independent variables, I control for individual level variables that might be correlated with my dependent variables: gender, education, income, age, party identification, and region. See appendix for the descriptive statistics of both samples.

feelings about blacks and whites broadly and feelings toward Republicans and Democrats. Afterwards, I present the effects of group-based pride and intergroup anger on policy opinion and political participation.

### **Results I: The Effects of Group-Based Pride and Intergroup Anger on Intra-and-Intergroup Attitudes and Political Elites**

The group attitudes hypotheses posit that when African-Americans experience pride as members of their racial group, they should have more favorable evaluations of blacks and when they experience anger as members of their racial group they should have less favorable evaluations of whites. To assess the relationship between pride, anger, and group attitudes, I use feeling thermometers and group favorability ratings. While the feeling thermometers range from 0 (cold) to 100 (warm), the favorability ratings range from 1 (very unfavorable) to 5 (very favorable). On average, blacks give members of their racial group higher feeling thermometer and favorability ratings than whites across both datasets. In the 2008 CCAP, respondents gave blacks a .85 favorability rating that ranged from .25 to 1, while giving whites an average rating of .69 that ranged from 0 to 1. A similar pattern emerges in the 2004 ANES. On average, respondents gave members of their racial group a feeling thermometer rating of .86 and gave whites a rating of .74.<sup>13</sup>

Tables 1 and 2 examine feelings towards blacks and whites. Because my dependent variables surrounding group attitudes are continuous, I use regression analyses. The evidence provides support for the hypotheses. Increases in how often one feels pride in the accomplishments of blacks is associated with an increase in favorability towards African-Americans in the 2008 CCAP ( $p < .01$ ) and increases in how often one feels angry about the way

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<sup>13</sup> Variables were coded from 0 to 1 for comparability.

blacks are treated in society is associated with a decrease in feelings of warmth towards whites across both datasets ( $p < .01$ ).<sup>14</sup>

<b>Table 1: Feelings Toward Blacks</b>		
	2004 ANES	2008 CCAP
Pride	.081 (.064)	.281*** (.081)
Anger	.061 (.045)	-.119 (.094)
Education	.095 (.061)	-.251*** (.083)
Female	-.023 (.032)	.163*** (.047)
Age: 30-59	.030 (.042)	.059 (.064)
Age: 60+	.024 (.046)	.069 (.073)
Income	-.002 (.066)	.095 (.096)
Income Dummy	.016 (.053)	-.086*** (.057)
South	.017 (.028)	.016 (.041)
Partisanship	.066 (.062)	.060 (.101)
Constant	.651*** (.097)	.619*** (.129)
N	168	106
Note: Weighted OLS regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; *** $p < .01$ ; ** $p < .05$		

<b>Table 2: Feelings Toward Whites</b>		
	2004 ANES	2008 CCAP
Pride	.056 (.053)	.130 (.111)
Anger	-.178*** (.050)	-.343*** (.107)
Education	.056 (.070)	-.101 (.112)
Female	.015 (.035)	.164** (.067)
Age: 30-59	.037 (.051)	-.058 (.090)
Age: 60+	.125** (.054)	.125 (.103)
Income	-.028 (.073)	.250** (.147)
Income Dummy	.028 (.057)	.111 (.100)
South	.055** (.035)	.050 (.051)
Partisanship	.055 (.073)	.022 (.127)
Constant	.659*** (.087)	.643*** (.159)
N	168	106
Note: Weighted OLS regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; *** $p < .01$ ; ** $p < .05$		

Changes in group-based pride and intergroup anger might also be associated with feelings toward political elites. In the attitudes toward political elites hypotheses, I argue that increases in pride should be associated with increases in warmth and favorability towards Democrats and increases in anger should be associated with decreases in warmth and favorability towards Republicans. While the average feeling thermometer rating for George Bush was .42, the average for Kerry was .72 and ranged from cold and unfavorable to warm and favorable for both

<sup>14</sup> The partisanship variable is a 7-point scale ranging from 0, strong Republican, to 1, strong Democrat.

candidates. The average favorability rating of Obama among African-Americans was quite high at .85 and the average level of warmth towards McCain was .36; evaluations of both candidates ranged from 0, cold and unfavorable to 1, warm and favorable.

The findings in Table 3 suggest that increases in how often one feels pride in the accomplishments of blacks is associated with an increase in favorability of Barack Obama ( $p < .05$ ) and feelings of warmth toward John Kerry ( $p < .05$ ). The findings further suggest that increases in pride are associated with decreases in the favorability of John McCain ( $p < .05$ ) and increases in anger are associated with a decrease in feelings of warmth toward George Bush ( $p < .01$ ). The coefficients on pride for Democratic political elites and anger for George Bush work in the hypothesized directions, but the negative coefficient on pride and favorability of John McCain is rather puzzling. I suspect that this result appears as some kind of spillover effect of running against Barack Obama. Indeed, additional regression analyses of white Republican candidates in the 2008 CCAP reveal that increases in group-based pride are associated with decreases in favorability toward George Bush and Dick Cheney. These findings suggest that the predictive validity of group-based pride and intergroup anger is associated with the partisanship of political candidates in interesting ways.

<b>Table 3: Feelings Toward Political Elites</b>				
	<b>Bush Feeling Therm</b>	<b>Kerry Feeling Therm</b>	<b>McCain Favorability</b>	<b>Obama Favorability</b>
Pride	.106 (.075)	.117** (.069)	-.175** (.084)	.198** (.104)
Anger	-.334*** (.082)	.028 (.056)	.008 (.082)	.101** (.071)
Education	-.064 (.106)	.023 (.082)	-.018 (.076)	.018 (.098)
Female	-.104** (.052)	.034 (.039)	-.113** (.048)	.017 (.057)
Age: 30-59	.172** (.062)	-.027 (.048)	-.002 (.052)	-.168** (.048)
Age: 60+	.092 (.066)	-.076 (.062)	.053 (.064)	-.122** (.055)
Income	-.075 (.102)	-.094 (.191)	-.182 (.117)	-.032 (.149)
Income Dummy	-.075 (.086)	-.071 (.069)	-.159** (.070)	.025 (.075)
South	.064 (.048)	.036 (.037)	-.069** (.042)	.090 (.045)
Constant	.536*** (.119)	.645*** (.100)	.694*** (.074)	.751*** (.103)
N	171	171	88	88

Note: Kerry Feeling Thermometer is from the 2004 ANES and the McCain and Obama favorability ratings are from the 2008 CCAP; weighted OLS regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; \*\*\*p<.01; \*\*p<.05

## **Results II: The Effects of Group-Based Pride and Intergroup Anger on Policy Opinion**

A hotly contested issue in American politics surrounds government policies designed to eliminate racial inequality. These policies served as the focal point of the Civil Rights Movement and continue to be the focus of minority group advocacy organizations. Dawson (1994) argues that government policies on race should evoke racial group interests and finds that increases in linked fate increase support for black autonomy in social, economic and political spheres; and racial and redistributive policies like affirmative action and welfare.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the linked fate item appears in the 2004 ANES, but not the 2008 CCAP. Therefore, I am unable to analyze or compare the effects of linked fate and emotions across both datasets.

To assess the effects of group-based pride and intergroup anger on racial policy opinion, I use questions that ask about government aid to minorities. While the 2008 CCAP asks respondents whether they believe government aid to minorities should be increased, kept about the same, or decreased, the 2004 ANES asks respondents to place themselves on a seven-point scale ranging from their belief that government should help blacks to believing that blacks should help themselves.<sup>16</sup> Whereas the average response in the 2008 CCAP fell between those believing that government aid should be kept the same or increased at .718 and ranged from 0 to 1, the average response in the 2004 ANES fell closer to the middle at .595 and ranged from 0 to 1.

In my “Pride and Policy Opinion” hypothesis, I argued that the experience of pride as an African-American should be associated with increases in support for racial policies because African-Americans can view these policies as mechanisms that have allowed members of their group to endure and overcome adversity. The findings in Table 4 suggest that increases in how often one experiences pride in the accomplishments of blacks is associated with increases one’s support of government aid to minorities in the 2008 CCAP ( $p < .05$ ).<sup>17</sup> However, we do not see this trend in the 2004 ANES. Why? These findings suggest that Obama’s presence may have activated racial group pride, which in turn affected policy opinion in 2008.

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<sup>16</sup> Both variables were rescaled from 0 to 1.

<sup>17</sup> Partisanship in this model consists of the 7 point measure ranging from strong Republican to strong Democrat.

	2004 ANES	2008 CCAP
Pride	.037 (.091)	.369** (.150)
Anger	.093 (.098)	.100 (.121)
Education	-.600 (.120)	-.345** (.145)
Female	-.062 (.053)	.165** (.078)
Age: 30-59	-.072 (.076)	-.184** (.111)
Age: 60+	-.170** (.087)	-.358** (.151)
Income	-.085 (.116)	-.191 (.170)
Income Dummy	-.059 (.098)	-.085 (.096)
South	-.054 (.054)	-.022 (.060)
Partisanship	.201 (.144)	-.218 (.148)
Constant	.574*** (.168)	.982*** (.197)
N	155	74
Note: Weighted ordinary least squares regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; ***p<.01; **p<.05		

### **Results III: Emotions and Political Participation**

I use three dependent variables to assess whether the experience of group-based pride and intergroup anger were associated with political participation. I create a “costly” participation index that contains two measures: whether the respondent donated money to the political campaign of John Kerry or Barack Obama; and whether the respondent attended a campaign, meeting, rally, or speech to support John Kerry or Barack Obama.<sup>18</sup> Valentino et al. (2011) finds that anger is associated with engaging in costly forms of political participation like donating money and attending a rally, campaign, meeting or speech. In addition to the index, I also assess

<sup>18</sup> A cheap participation index consisting of questions surrounding wearing/distributing campaign paraphernalia and talking to others about politics was created but yielded no statistically significant results.

the role of group-based pride and intergroup anger on vote choice in both datasets and use the 2008 CCAP to examine whether the experience of pride or anger is associated with making a special effort to turnout in the 2008 election.

The results in Table 5 suggest that increases in how often one experiences pride in the accomplishments of blacks is associated with increases in engaging in costly forms of political participation like attending a campaign meeting, rally, or speech and donating money in 2008 ( $p < .05$ ), but not 2004. Also, one can see that increases in anger appear to have no significant association with one's willingness to engage in costly forms of participation in the political arena. This is interesting because it suggests that group-based pride is a potentially politically motivating force for African-American participation in politics when the candidate is a black Democrat.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> I suspect that the differences across datasets stem from the amount of respondents engaging in costly forms of participation. While approximately 46% of the respondents in the 2008 CCAP donated money to Barack Obama and 15% attended a campaign meeting, rally or speech, only 6% of respondents in the 2004 ANES donated money to Kerry and an even lower 3% attended a campaign meeting, rally, or speech.



<b>Table 5: The Effect of Emotions on Costly Forms of Political Participation</b>		
	2004 ANES	2008 CCAP
Pride	.015 (.041)	.107** (.061)
Anger	-.017 (.050)	-.026 (.086)
Education	.073 (.071)	-.089 (.086)
Female	-.016 (.026)	-.088** (.052)
Age: 30-59	.033** (.020)	.023 (.026)
Age: 60+	.104** (.045)	.007 (.070)
Income	.021 (.063)	-.110 (.130)
Income Dummy	.027 (.044)	-.128 (.086)
South	-.024 (.035)	-.051 (.033)
Strength of Partisanship	-.004 (.055)	.091** (.039)
Constant	-.035 (.090)	.118 (.082)
N	171	106
Note: Weighted ordinary least squares coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; ***p<.01; **p<.05		

To further demonstrate the roles of group-based pride and intergroup anger in political participation, I analyzed how the experience of these emotions shapes vote choice in 2004 and 2008. The findings in Table 6 suggest that increases in intergroup anger are associated with increases in the probability of voting for Barack Obama in 2008 ( $p < .05$ ); however, the emotions do not predict vote choice in 2004. I believe these differences appear because John Kerry is a white Democrat and Barack Obama is a black Democrat; Obama is activating emotions in 2008, which is having an effect on vote choice.

Earlier I found that the experience of pride was associated with engaging in costly forms of participation, but this finding reveals that intergroup anger is a motivating force for vote

choice. I suspect these differences stem from pride being more ingroup oriented and anger having more emphasis on the outgroup. Pride is defined as the enhancement of one's ego-identity by taking credit for a valued object or achievement, either our own or someone or group with whom we identify-for example, a compatriot, a member of the family or a social group. Thus, we might expect to see African-Americans engaging in more costly activities throughout the campaign when there is a black Democrat on the ballot so they can have a hand in the achievement of a member of their group that also represents their substantive interests. Alternatively, elections seem more zero-sum and therefore motivated by anger; I want my group to win and the other group to lose because they will not be responsive to the needs of my group; therefore, I will vote for the candidate that represents my group both substantively and descriptively.

<b>Table 6: How Emotions Shape Vote Choice</b>		
	2004 ANES (Kerry)	2008 CCAP (Obama)
Pride	-.898 (1.07)	1.72 (1.56)
Anger	1.62 (1.16)	3.42** (2.02)
Education	-.343 (1.30)	-.051 (1.75)
Female	-.298 (.677)	1.12 (1.07)
Age	-.270 (1.23)	-.276 (1.82)
Income	-2.63 (1.92)	-.386 (1.97)
Income Dummy	-3.91** (1.49)	-.326 (1.57)
South	.057 (.661)	1.63 (1.16)
Strength of Partisanship	2.38** (.952)	1.80 (1.30)
Constant	2.91 (1.89)	-2.27 (2.44)
N	135	90
Note: Weighted logit coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; ***p<.01; **p<.05		

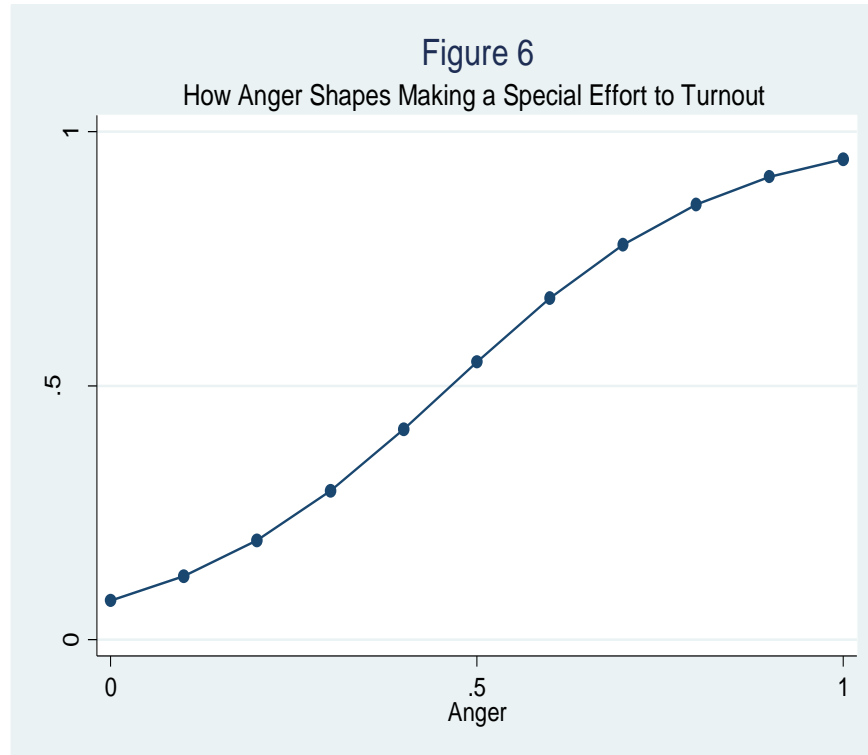
The final analysis conducted in regards to participation assessed whether respondents in the 2008 CCAP were going to make a special effort to turn out in the 2008 presidential election. Given the dichotomous response categories of same effort or special effort, I ran a logistic regression to assess the relationships between group-based pride and intergroup anger (see Table 7). I find that increases in anger are associated with increases in the probability of making a special effort to turnout in 2008 ( $p < .01$ ).<sup>20</sup> To illustrate this phenomenon, I graphed the predicted probabilities of making a special effort to vote in the 2008 election (see Figure 6).<sup>21</sup> The y-axis contains the probability of the respondent to make a special effort to vote and the x-axis contains

<sup>20</sup> Pride barely reaches statistical significance at the .10 level using one-tailed tests.

<sup>21</sup> These are illustrations of the predicted probabilities with pride and anger varying from 0 to 1; education, age, and income held at their means; female and south set to 1; and intensity of partisanship set to .66 at leaning Democrat.

the range of the experience of intergroup anger. As the results from Table 7 and Figure 6 suggest, increases in anger are associated with the increased probability of making a special effort to turnout.

<b>Table 7: How Emotions Shape Making a Special Effort to Turnout in 2008</b>	
Pride	-1.42 (1.10)
Anger	5.41*** (1.30)
Education	-.300 (1.08)
Female	-.696 (.688)
Age: 30-59	-16.51*** (.897)
Age: 60+	-18.78*** (1.06)
Income	-.420 (1.29)
Income Dummy	-.221 (.955)
South	.483 (.559)
Strength of Partisanship	-.870 (.800)
Constant	16.18*** (1.20)
N	106
Note: Weighted logit coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; ***p<.01; **p<.05	



### Discussion and Conclusion

The findings from this chapter indicate that the experience of group-based pride and intergroup anger among African-Americans in the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP are associated with intra-and-intergroup attitudes, attitudes toward political elites, policy opinion, and political participation. More specifically, I find that while increases in pride are associated with increases in feelings of warmth and favorability towards blacks, increases in anger are associated with decreases in feelings of warmth and favorability towards whites. I also find that increases in pride are associated with increases in warmth and favorability towards Democratic candidates.

Additionally, the findings from this chapter further demonstrate that the political ramifications of group-based pride and intergroup anger differ across the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP. I suspect these differences stem from the race of the Democratic candidates; that the presence of a black Democratic candidate activated group-based emotion in 2008 and this activation affected policy opinion and political participation. For example, I find that increases in

pride are associated with increases in support for racial policy in 2008 but not 2004. Findings from political participation models suggest that increases in pride are associated with increases in engaging in costly forms of political participation like donating money and attending a campaign meeting, rally, or speech in 2008 but not 2004. Experiencing anger is associated with an increase in the probability of one voting for Barack Obama in 2008 but not John Kerry in 2004.

These findings add nuance to existing literature in political psychology. In *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*, Marcus et al. (2000) demonstrate that increases in enthusiasm are associated with candidate and policy support while increases in anxiety are related to information-seeking and changes in attitudes and behavior. My work differs from these scholars in two important ways. First, I estimate the effects of emotions separately via pride and anger while Marcus et al. (2000) create indices to measure enthusiasm and anxiety. That is, their enthusiasm construct is comprised of two questions that gauge whether a candidate made the respondent feel hopeful and proud, and the anxiety construct is a combination of anger and fear. Although factor analyses in their book indicate that these emotional experiences scale fairly well together, combining four emotions into two separate constructs removes some of the subtle and rich differences associated with how each emotion might operate independently and have differing effects on public opinion and political participation. Indeed, a great deal of political psychology literature focuses on the effects of separate emotions like pride, shame, anger, anxiety, fear, and disgust in politics (Huddy, Feldman, Taber, and Lahav 2005; Huddy and Khatib 2007; Gerber, Green, and Larimer 2010; Panagopoulos 2010; Philpot, White, Wylie, and McGowan 2010; Suhay N.d.).

Second, the object and subject of my emotions differ from Marcus et al. (2000). While the primary independent variables of Marcus et al. (2000) ask respondents how they feel as

individuals about a particular candidate, my primary independent variables focus on the experience of emotions from the perspective of groups. In contrast to standard approaches in political psychology that explore the political ramifications of individually experienced emotions, in this chapter I demonstrate that the experience of group-based pride and intergroup anger have implications for African-American public opinion and political participation.

The study of the political ramifications of group-based pride and intergroup anger in politics further contributes to literature surrounding new black politics and black empowerment. Findings from this study provide yet another answer to the age old question: is it race or class that matters for black public opinion and participation? This study demonstrates that despite growing class bifurcation within the African-American community, race, at least in 2008, is the tie that binds blacks together in politics. Indeed, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that there are instances in which emotions might be activated with the presence of a black Democratic political entrepreneur and that activation can overcome socioeconomic cleavages; resulting in unrivaled levels of political unity. These findings take us beyond the assumption that racial group consciousness exists, and instead, allow us to investigate the circumstances under which group identities are contextualized, activated, and influence public opinion and political participation (Junn and Masuoka 2008). Moreover, by examining emotions, these findings suggest additional ways in which the presence of a black candidate on a ballot might influence one's engagement in politics. In the future, scholars studying co-racial candidates and voters should assess the role of emotions in their analyses to better understand how they might contribute to turnout, efficacy, mobilization and additional political variables of interest.

However, these promising findings come with a host of shortcomings. First, my analysis of the effects of group-based and intergroup emotions in the political arena is restricted to the

questions asked across both datasets. Second, my interpretation of the differences between the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP datasets relies strictly on the racial differences of the Democratic Party's nominees. However, it is possible that these differences are a result of the variation in data collection: the universe of respondents, sampling strategy, time of collection, and a number of additional methodological discrepancies that might differ across the datasets. Third, the findings from this chapter only yield associations between emotions, intra-and-intergroup attitudes, attitudes toward political elites, policy opinion, and political participation. That is, these findings do not tell a causal story about the role of emotions in politics. In an effort to remedy these shortcomings, a survey experiment that elicits group-based and intergroup emotions is warranted to isolate the cause (the experience of emotions as a member of a racial group) and observe its effects (whether that experience of emotions affects attitudes towards groups, policy opinions, and political participation). We now turn to this type of analysis in the final empirical chapter.



**APPENDIX B**

<b>Descriptive Statistics</b>					
	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<b>2004 ANES</b>					
Female	180	.483	.044	0	1
Education	180	.427	.022	0	1
Income	179	.414	.031	0	1
Income Dummy	180	.193	.038	0	1
Age	180	.379	.024	0	1
Strength of Partisanship	180	.587	.031	0	1
Partisanship	180	.760	.020	0	1
South	180	.619	.043	0	1
<b>2008 CCAP</b>					
Female	140	.641	.058	0	1
Education	140	.481	.028	0	1
Income	140	.407	.036	0	1
Income Dummy	140	.206	.046	0	1
Age	140	.403	.035	0	1
Strength of Partisanship	120	.758	.040	0	1
Partisanship	120	.856	.023	0	1
South	140	.505	.057	0	1

Note: Weighted means appear; all variables are rescaled from 0 to 1 for comparability

Forty-eight percent of the respondents in the 2004 CCAP are female and sixty-four percent are female in the 2008 CCAP. While the average age of respondents in the 2004 ANES is 37, the average age of respondents in 2008 CCAP is 40. The majority of black respondents in both samples are from the south with the ANES containing sixty-one percent of African-Americans from the south and the CCAP having roughly fifty percent of respondents from the south. Partisanship represents the 7-point party identification measure rescaled from 0 to 1; 0 being a strong Republican to 1 being a strong Democrat. In both samples we see that the overwhelming majority of respondents fall somewhere between lean and strong Democrat with an average of .760 in the ANES and .85 in the CCAP. The strength of partisanship variable differs in that it ranges from pure independents, leaning independents, weak partisans, to strong partisans of both parties. I also control for the socioeconomic status of respondents via income and education. The average income of respondents in both samples is between \$40,000 and \$50,000 dollars. The standard 7-point educational attainment measure is scaled from 0 to 1 with 0 indicating an 8<sup>th</sup> grade education or less, 1 indicating an advanced degree, and 0.4 indicating some college. In both studies, respondents range from the completion of some college to 2 years of college with the ANES containing an average education of .42 and the CCAP containing an increased average education at .48.

## CHAPTER 4

### ESTABLISHING CAUSALITY: THE EFFECTS OF GROUP-BASED AND INTERGROUP EMOTIONS IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN POLITICS

*“[As a black person] The proudest moment was when Barack Obama was elected president. I felt excited and proud because that moment will be in history books as he was the first African-American President and I was part of a history making event.”*

*“[I felt ashamed as a black person] When Jesse Jackson Jr was stealing money from his campaign. It seems like every time we try to put black people in power positions and prove the negative things many people think wrong, some black person comes and proves them right.”*

*“[I felt angry as a black person] When Republicans tried to hinder blacks from voting, by trying to put so many obstacles in place to make it harder for us to vote.”*

In my second chapter, I used focus group studies to hear African-Americans speak in their natural language about how they experience emotions in politics as members of their racial group and how these emotions shape group attitudes and political participation. The third chapter statistically tested these qualitative insights with data from the 2004 American National Election Study (ANES) and 2008 Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project (CCAP). Unfortunately, the observational data analyses only yield associations between emotions, public opinion, and political participation. Moreover, the key independent variables in the observational data analyses ask respondents “how often” they experience pride and anger as opposed to trying to understand “what” might make respondents experience these emotions. Therefore, these datasets are limited in that they fail to answer my initial research question: how does group identity shape how we experience emotions?

The quotes above are taken from a survey experiment of African-Americans where I try to establish causal relationships between the experience of emotions as a member of a racial group, public opinion, and political participation. Using an experiment provides precise measurement and the ability to explore the details of the process (McDermott 2002). To this end, this chapter contains an analysis of a randomized between-subjects survey experiment of 1,015

African-Americans. I begin with a review of my hypotheses. Afterwards, I provide my method, data, and findings on how emotions shape intra-and-intergroup attitudes, policy opinion, political participation, and Black Nationalist ideology. I conclude with a discussion of my contribution to existing literature and next steps for empirical analysis.

### **Hypothesizing about Pride**

Several trends that emerged from the focus group study discussions and observational data analyses can aid in the application of the definition and action tendencies of pride to my hypotheses. First, the qualitative analyses from my focus group study suggest that when African-Americans experience pride they feel a sense of closeness to other members of the African-American community. This closeness was reflected by the increased usage of first person plural pronouns like “us,” “our,” and “we” and decreased usage of third person plural pronouns like “them,” “they,” and “their.” This finding confirms existing psychology literature which suggests that experiencing pride as a member of a group makes one want to closely identify with those member of the group that have made one proud. When members of our group do well, Cialdini et al. (1976) further states that we bask in the reflected glory of one’s success even though we, as individuals, may have had nothing to do with the direct outcome. Findings from the observational data analysis confirm that when African-Americans experience pride in the accomplishments of blacks, it leads to increases in feelings of warmth towards blacks.<sup>22</sup> Thus, when African-Americans experience pride as a member of the African-American community, I expect their evaluations of the racial ingroup to be high and favorable.

*Pride and Group Attitudes-When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group they will have more favorable evaluations of blacks.*

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<sup>22</sup> The key independent variables in the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP asked black respondents, “How often do you find yourself feeling a sense of pride in the accomplishments of blacks” and “How often do you find yourself feeling angry about the way blacks are treated in society?” Response options included hardly ever, once in a while, fairly often, and a lot.

The words and phrases used to describe the things about black people that made respondents feel can help structure hypotheses for racial policies; those words and phrases consisted of the following: survival, ability to overcome, ability to rally around certain issues, accomplishments, strength, and endurance. For example, Janet stated,

“Yea, I think our strength and black people particularly I’m thinking about the fact that we didn’t come here as voluntary immigrants we were forced to come here and yet we succeeded given whatever the circumstances we had to face...we succeeded and I think that’s a tremendous source of pride.”

Racial and redistributive policies like affirmative action and welfare can be viewed as mechanisms that contribute to their racial group’s ability to overcome oppression and discrimination. Indeed, results from the 2008 CCAP reveal that the experience of pride is associated with increases in support for government aid to minorities. Thus, when African-Americans experience pride as a member of the African-American community, I expect them to support policies designed to help their racial group.

*Pride and Policy Opinion- When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group, they will be more likely to support policies designed to help their racial group.*

Second, in fidelity to the arguments surrounding the centrality of race in politics, we might also expect the experience of pride to have some effect on evaluations of political elites. Indeed, findings from the observational data analysis revealed that increases in pride are associated with increases in warmth toward Democratic political elites like John Kerry and Barack Obama. Therefore, I can hypothesize about how pride shapes evaluations of Democrats:

*Pride and Attitudes toward Political Elites - When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group, they will have more favorable evaluations of Democrats.*

The third trend that emerged across discussions of pride surrounded how the experience of this emotion as an African-American led to a change in political participation. Some respondents reflected on how the candidacy of Barack Obama led them to canvass neighborhoods, talk to their peers about politics, vote, and donate money. Findings from the observational data analyses confirm these qualitative insights. Findings from the 2008 CCAP suggest that increases in pride are associated with increases in one's willingness to engage in costly forms of political participation like donating money and attending a campaign meeting, rally, or speech. However, these findings for pride and political participation do not appear in the 2004 ANES. I suspect these differences stem from Barack Obama being black and John Kerry being white; that is, Barack Obama is able to activate group-based and intergroup emotions among African-Americans in ways that John Kerry is not. Therefore, one can hypothesize about the role of group-based pride in political participation:

*Pride and Political Participation-When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group they will engage in group-related political participation.*

Lastly, we might expect the experience of pride to have some effect on Black Nationalist ideology. "Black Nationalism, in general, is an ideology whose core tenets are black political, economic, and culture autonomy either within or from white America" (Brown and Shaw 2002, 23). One could argue that the emotion of pride, particularly that of black pride, was a motivator in the black power movement that took place from approximately 1968 to 1980.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, I can hypothesize about how I expect the emotion of pride to affect Black Nationalist ideology.

*Pride and Black Nationalism- When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group, they should increase in subscription to Black Nationalist ideology.*

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<sup>23</sup> Black Nationalism has been associated with at least two other African-American socio-political movements in American history: Martin R. Delany's black emigration movement in the nineteenth century and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association at the beginning of the twentieth century (Carey 2013). However, for the purposes of this paper, I am focusing on the black power movement that took place in the 1960s.

As Black Nationalism pertains to black political autonomy, we might expect the experience of pride as an African-American to lead African-Americans to vote for black candidates especially since many focus group study participants discussed how the experience of pride in the 2008 presidential election led them to vote for Barack Obama.

*Pride and Vote Choice- When African-Americans experience pride as a member of their racial group, they will support the idea of voting for black candidates.*

### **Hypothesizing about Shame**

A few trends that emerge from existing literature and the focus group study discussions can help me hypothesize about the effects of the experience of shame among African-Americans in politics.<sup>24</sup> First, the qualitative analysis from the focus group study discussions suggest that when African-Americans experience shame as members of their racial group, they distance themselves from those members of the group that have made one feel ashamed. This distancing was reflected by the increased usage of third person plural pronouns like “them, they, and their,” over first person plural pronouns like “we, us, and our.”<sup>25</sup> This finding is what one should expect based on existing psychology literature about shame and distancing oneself from the group when its members are engaged in revealing a flawed social identity (Barrett 1995; Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007). Therefore, one can hypothesize about how the experience of shame might affect group attitudes.

*Shame and Group Attitudes- When African-Americans experience shame as members of their racial group, they will have less favorable evaluations of blacks.*

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<sup>24</sup> The 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP did not ask about the experience of shame among African-Americans. Therefore, the hypotheses in this section are based on existing literature and findings from my focus group studies.

<sup>25</sup> Again, in an effort to quantify this increased usage of third person plural pronouns over first person plural pronouns throughout discussions of shame, I conducted a pronoun count. I manually counted the amount of times I saw the pronouns and recorded the context/sentence for which they were used. I found that of the first and third plural pronouns that were used in discussions of shame, 52% of them were in the third person and 81% of the time that third person pronoun referenced African-Americans.

Again, the words and phrases used to describe the things about black people that made respondents in the focus group study feel most ashamed can help structure hypotheses about racial and redistributive policy opinion. Those words and phrases consisted of the following: poor appearance, lack of knowledge of self-worth, dependence on welfare, and blaming others for their place in society. For example, Catherine stated, “men and women not taking care of their kids or running to welfare or running to food stamps. They’re like let me pop out a kid...who’s going to pop out a kid just cause? That’s crazy...no.” Although in another group, Karen further stated “I’m ashamed by the welfare system and how trickling generations are just in that cycle and they don’t want to do anything to get out of it.” Since racial and redistributive policies like affirmative action, and in these examples welfare, can be viewed as mechanisms that contribute to the experience of shame among some African-Americans, I can hypothesize about how I expect African-Americans that experience shame to respond to racial and redistributive policies:

*Shame and Policy Opinion- When African-Americans experience shame as members of their racial group, they will decrease in support for racial and redistributive policies like affirmative action and welfare.*

Second, the experience of shame as an African-American in politics might have some effect on the evaluation of political elites. While focus group study discussions and data analyses of pride were associated with increases in warmth towards Democratic elites like John Kerry and Barack Obama, the experience of shame as an African-American might decrease warmth or favorability toward Democratic political elites. Indeed, respondents in the focus group study cited the negative actions of black Democratic political elites like former Mayor of Detroit, Kwame Kilpatrick and former Mayor of Washington, D.C., Marion Barry as tremendous sources

of shame among African-Americans in politics. Therefore, I can hypothesize about how one might expect the experience of shame to affect attitudes toward political elites.

*Shame and Attitudes toward Political Elites – When African-Americans experience shame as a member of their racial group, they will have less favorable evaluations of Democrats.*

### **Hypothesizing about Anger**

Many of the discussions about anger in my focus group study consisted of intergroup anger and how it affects attitudes towards outgroups and political participation. When respondents in my focus group study expressed anger, it was in terms of the way society treated them; by society, I mean all of those references emphasized how white Americans treat African-Americans in the United States. Participants in the focus group studies further reflected on the mistreatment of blacks broadly and President Obama by Republicans as a source of anger. Findings from the observational data analysis indicate that increases in anger are associated with decreased feelings of warmth towards whites and Republican political elites like George W. Bush. Therefore, I can hypothesize about how I expect intergroup anger to shape attitudes towards groups and political elites:

*Anger and Group Attitudes-When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they will have less favorable evaluations of whites.*

*Anger and Attitudes towards Political Elites- When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they will have less favorable evaluations of Republicans.*

Several focus group study discussions consisted of how the experience of anger led to different types of political participation. Many participants cited the photo identification to vote laws by Republicans in the state of Tennessee and across the nation as sources of anger and motivating forces for engaging in several political activities in the 2012 presidential election season. Moreover, findings from the observational data analysis reveal that increases in anger are



associated with the increased probability that one will vote for Barack Obama along with the increased probability of one making a special effort to turnout in the 2008 presidential election. Since some scholars find that anger is a primary motivator of political action (Valentino et al. 2011), I can hypothesize that:

*Anger and Political Participation-When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they will engage in group-related political participation.*

Lastly, we might expect the experience of anger to have some effect on Black Nationalist ideology. Few scholars will argue with the notion that the black power movement of the late 1960s, in part, stemmed from anger felt by blacks in America (Dawson 2001; Breines 2006; Joseph 2006). This anger was a result of the continued racial injustice, discrimination, and oppression many blacks still faced following legislation in the Civil Rights Movement that was designed to increase racial and economic equality. Therefore, I can hypothesize about how the experience of anger might affect Black Nationalist ideology.

*Anger and Black Nationalism- When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they should subscribe more strongly to Black Nationalist ideology.*

Findings from the observational data analyses indicate that the experience of anger as an African-American is associated with voting for Barack Obama in 2008, but not John Kerry in 2004. Therefore, I can hypothesize the following:

*Anger and Vote for Black Candidates- When African-Americans experience anger as a member of their racial group, they will be more likely to support the idea of voting for black candidates.*

## **The Method**

To test these hypotheses, I conduct a between-subjects survey experiment. Whereas the focus group studies provided qualitative evidence and the observational data analyses yielded associations between measures, this survey experiment design provides a unique opportunity to draw causal conclusions by isolating the experience of group-based or intergroup emotions, and

observing its effects on public opinion and political participation. To probe this group-based and intergroup emotions phenomenon, I contracted with a reputable online survey company, Survey Sampling International (SSI) in August 2013. Survey Sampling International's online survey panel is an opt-in survey community. Members receive invitations to complete surveys via email. In exchange, they receive chances to win lotteries, points that can be converted to cash, and other prizes. I commissioned SSI to collect data from approximately 1,000 African-Americans. My dataset includes responses from 1,015 African-Americans that are part of SSI's online panel.<sup>26</sup>

Subjects began the study by completing a pre-stimulus questionnaire consisting of demographics questions. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of four conditions where they were asked to recall and write about various emotional experiences.<sup>27</sup> One group was asked to write about a time where they felt relaxed as an individual. The next two groups were asked to recall and write about an event or situation in politics when a black person or group of black people made them feel proud or ashamed as a black person (group-based emotions). Those assigned to the remaining group were asked to recall and write about an event or situation in politics where a white person or group of white people in politics made them feel angry as a black person (intergroup emotions).<sup>28</sup> Upon finishing the recall and write task, respondents completed a questionnaire that gauged intra-and-intergroup attitudes, racial and redistributive policy opinions, political participation and Black Nationalist ideology.

The goal of my empirical analysis is to determine whether the experience of group-based pride, shame, and intergroup anger causes changes in group attitudes, attitudes toward political elites, racial and redistributive policy opinions, political participation and Black Nationalist

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<sup>26</sup> The average age of my sample is 39. 65% of the sample is female. The average education ranges from some college to an Associate's Degree and the average income ranged from \$30,000-\$49,999 per year.

<sup>27</sup> For more details on the emotion induction task of recalling and writing emotional experiences, see Smith and Ellsworth 1985; Mauro, Sato, and Tucker 1992; Valentino et al. 2011.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix C for treatment conditions.

ideology. Therefore, my key independent variables in this analysis are the experimental treatment groups. The control group, where respondents are asked to recall and write about a time where they felt relaxed, consists of 255 self-identified black respondents, the group-based pride condition contains 250 respondents, there are 251 in the group-based shame condition, and 259 in the intergroup anger condition. I checked for balance in the treatments by examining gender, age, party identification, ideology, region, and education; the treatment conditions were balanced.<sup>29</sup> To make my estimates more precise, I use ordinary least squares regression analyses and control for each of the previously mentioned variables.

To better understand how group-based and intergroup emotions shape attitudes towards groups, policy opinion, political participation and Black Nationalist ideology, I split the results portion into four sections. First, I assess the effects of group-based pride, shame, and intergroup anger on intra-and-intergroup attitudes. Next, I discuss their effects on policy opinion and then political participation. Afterwards, I present how the experience of emotions as a member of a racial group shapes subscription to a Black Nationalist ideology.

### **Results I: The Effects of Group-Based and Intergroup Emotions on Group Attitudes**

The group attitudes hypotheses posit that when African-Americans experience pride as members of their racial group, they should have more favorable evaluations of blacks; when they experience shame they should have less favorable evaluations of blacks; and when African-Americans experience anger as members of their racial group, they should have less favorable evaluations of whites. Group attitudes are captured by the use of four different constructs: feeling thermometers that gauge warmth towards blacks and whites, the linked fate item, and the importance of one's racial identity.<sup>30</sup> All variables are rescaled from zero to one for

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<sup>29</sup> See Appendix C for test statistics.

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix C for the dependent variables question text.

comparability; zero being decreased identification with the group (or feelings of warmth towards the group) and one being increased identification with the group (or feelings of warmth towards the group).

Models 1 through 4 in Table 8 examine feelings towards blacks and whites using ordinary least squares regression analyses. The evidence provides limited support for the hypotheses. When compared to the control, those in the pride condition increase in linked fate by .097 ( $p < .01$ ), while those in the anger condition increase in linked fate by .084 ( $p < .01$ ). Substantively, these findings mean that on average, the linked fate of those in the pride condition is 9.7 percentage points higher than those in the control group and the linked fate of those in the anger condition is 8.4 percentage points higher than those in the control group. Consistent with the literature, the covariates demonstrate that increases in education and one's identification as a strong Democrat increase one's linked fate while identifying as a conservative is associated with decreases in linked fate (Tate 1994).

The substantive effects of the pride and anger treatments on the linked fate measure in Model 1 provide new insights about racial identification to existing racial and ethnic politics literature. The construct of linked fate<sup>31</sup> is used to measure the degree to which black Americans believe that their own self interests are linked to the interests of the race. That is, the more one believes one's own life chances are linked to those of blacks as a group, the more one will consider racial group interests in evaluating alternative political choices. Existing literature assumes that linked fate is static and highly cognitive. These substantive findings provide a fresh perspective because they demonstrate that African-Americans' linked fate or identification with

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<sup>31</sup> On several national surveys the linked fate question asks, "Do you think what happens to black people in this country will generally have something to do with what happens in your life?" Those who answer affirmatively are then asked, "Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?"

the group might be dynamic; that is, one's racial identification might wax and wane depending on the context.

Surprisingly, the evidence provided in Models 2 and 3 of Table 8, which gauge racial importance and the black feeling thermometer, yield statistically insignificant causal conclusions. However, Model 4 demonstrates that when compared to the control, those in the shame condition increase in feelings of warmth towards whites by .031 ( $p < .10$ ). This finding confirms the third principle of social identity theory which states that group members will attempt to leave their group or join a more positively distinguished group when their social identity is no longer satisfactory.

**Table 8:  
The Effects of Emotions on Group Attitudes**

	<u>Dependent Variables</u>			
	(1) Linked Fate	(2) Racial Importance	(3) Black Feeling Thermometer	(4) White Feeling Thermometer
<b>Independent Variables</b>				
Pride	.097*** (.028)	.041 (.035)	-.003 (.020)	-.009 (.023)
Shame	.044 (.028)	-.023 (.035)	.024 (.020)	.031* (.023)
Anger	.084*** (.028)	-.035 (.035)	.006 (.020)	-.000 (.023)
Age	-.093** (.044)	-.102** (.056)	.074*** (.032)	-.017 (.038)
Education	.116*** (.042)	.083** (.052)	.010 (.030)	.026 (.035)
Female	-.007 (.021)	.036 (.026)	.003 (.015)	-.003 (.018)
South	-.020 (.020)	-.081*** (.025)	.013 (.014)	-.002 (.017)
Conservative	-.084** (.041)	.011 (.051)	-.010 (.029)	-.008 (.034)
Strong Democrat	.106*** (.043)	.133*** (.054)	.130*** (.030)	-.002 (.036)
Income	-.017 (.040)	.030 (.050)	.026 (.028)	.036 (.033)
Constant	.490*** (.054)	.360*** (.067)	.603*** (.038)	.606*** (.045)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.031	.012	.026	-.003
N	1,004	1,004	1,004	1,004
Note: Ordinary least squares regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.10. All variables are rescaled from zero to one for comparability.				

Experiencing group-based pride, shame, and intergroup anger might cause changes in feelings towards political elites. In the attitudes toward political elites hypotheses, I argue that when African-Americans experience pride they should increase in feelings of warmth towards Democrats, those who experience shame should decrease in feelings of warmth towards Democrats, and African-Americans that experience anger should decrease in warmth towards Republicans.

The findings in Table 9 provide limited support for the hypotheses. Model 1, which examines the effects of the emotions on the feeling thermometer for Democrats, indicates that when compared to the control, those in the shame condition decrease in warmth towards Democrats by .027 ( $p < .10$ ). Model 2 suggests that when compared to the control, those in the pride condition decrease in warmth towards Republicans by .034 ( $p < .10$ ). The covariates in this model work in ways that are consistent with existing literature as increases in age and identifying as a strong Democrat are associated with increases in feelings of warmth towards Democrats; increases in age and identification as a strong Democrat are associated with decreases in feelings of warmth towards Republicans.

In these models, shame worked as hypothesized but pride and anger did not. The finding for shame is intuitive as a great deal of respondents in the survey discussed shameful situations or events in politics that involved black Democrats.<sup>32</sup> The finding for pride is consistent with existing psychology literature as it supports the notion of ingroup favoritism leading to outgroup derogation. Moreover, the negative coefficient for pride on the Republican feeling thermometer is consistent with findings from my observational data analysis where increases in pride were associated with decreases in favorability of John McCain. In the previous chapter I suspected that finding was a result of some spillover of the experience of pride among African-Americans in 2008. Interestingly, the overwhelming majority of respondents in the pride condition discussed Barack Obama making them feel proud as an African-American; thus, it is not at all shocking that the negative coefficient appears on the Republican feeling thermometer for those in the pride condition.

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<sup>32</sup> For example, some discussed former Mayor of DC, Marion Barry, former Mayor of Detroit, Kwame Kilpatrick, or Jesse Jackson Jr. using campaign funds to purchase Michael Jackson concert paraphernalia.

<b>Table 9: The Effects of Emotions on Attitudes Toward Political Elites</b>		
	<b>(1) Democrat Feeling Therm.</b>	<b>(2) Republican Feeling Therm.</b>
Pride	-.004 (.020)	-.034* (.023)
Shame	-.027* (.020)	.014 (.023)
Anger	-.019 (.019)	-.022 (.023)
Age	.053** (.031)	-.114*** (.036)
Education	.032 (.029)	-.059** (.034)
Female	.014 (.014)	-.006 (.017)
South	.026 (.014)	.014 (.017)
Conservative	-.069*** (.028)	.105*** (.034)
Strong Democrat	.476*** (.030)	-.301*** (.035)
Income	.003 (.027)	.014 (.033)
Constant	.330*** (.039)	.566*** (.046)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.248	.114
N	935	941
Note: Ordinary least squares regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.10. All variables are rescaled from zero to one for comparability.		

## **Results II: The Effects of Group-Based and Intergroup Emotions on Policy Opinion**

I use four measures from the seminal black politics book, *Behind the Mule* by Michael Dawson, to assess whether the experience of group-based or intergroup emotions changes racial and redistributive policy opinion. These questions ask whether blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion; whether the government should make a special effort to help blacks and other minorities; and questions about federal spending on welfare and the unemployed. While the response options in the redistributive policy questions on welfare and unemployment included



increased, kept about the same, or decreased, the response options for the racial policies were 5-point scales that ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. All variables are rescaled from zero to one for comparability; zero being more conservative policy opinions and one being more liberal policy opinions.

In the policy opinion hypotheses, I argued that those in the pride condition should increase in support of racial and redistributive policies while those in the shame condition should decrease. Using ordinary least squares regression analyses, the findings in Table 10 provide dismal support for these hypotheses.<sup>33</sup> Only one treatment condition across these four variables provides support for my hypotheses: pride. The dependent variable examined in Model 4 prompted respondents to gauge how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statement: “The government should not make a special effort to help blacks and other minorities because they should help themselves.” When compared to the control, being in the pride condition decreases disagreement with that statement by .058 ( $p < .01$ ); interpreted in another way, when compared to the control, those in the pride condition are more likely to believe that the government should not make a special effort to help blacks and other minorities. This finding suggests that when experiencing pride, the African-Americans in my sample are more likely to believe that African-Americans can do things on their own and do not need government intervention.

Existing literature argues that African-Americans, on average, support racial and redistributive policies but the findings from the covariates in this analysis suggest that African-Americans differ in their support for these kinds of policies. Identifying as a conservative and increasing in income is associated with decreases in support for federal spending on welfare

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<sup>33</sup> Since the redistributive policy questions had three response options I also ran the analysis using ordered logit and still lacked statistically significant effects.

( $p < .01$ ) and federal spending for unemployment ( $p < .05$ ). As one would expect, identifying as a strong Democrat is associated with increases in support of federal spending on welfare ( $p < .05$ ), federal spending on unemployment ( $p < .01$ ), support for affirmative action ( $p < .05$ ), and government intervention for blacks and other minorities ( $p < .05$ ). The findings from the covariates also indicate that increases in age are associated with one's belief that federal spending on unemployment should be increased ( $p < .01$ ) along with increases in support for affirmative action for African-Americans ( $p < .05$ ). Contrary to findings in existing literature, these covariates demonstrate variation in support for racial and redistributive policies.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Dawson (1994) finds that increases in linked fate are associated with increases in support for racial policies like affirmative action and welfare, along with government spending policies. Findings in the group attitudes portion of this paper reveal that the experiences of pride and anger increase linked fate. Since increased levels of racial identification are associated with increased support for racial policies, I conducted a causal steps analysis in which the linked fate measure served as the mediator between the experimental conditions and each policy opinion variable. Unfortunately, I found that racial group identification did not serve as a mediator for the emotions conditions. This finding suggests that the experience of group-based and intergroup affect has a direct effect on policy opinion.

**Table 10:  
The Effects of Emotions on Redistributive and Racial Policy Opinion**

	(1) Increase Fed. Spending on Welfare	(2) Increase Fed. Spending on Unemployment	(3) Affirmative Action for Blacks	(4) The Government Should Not Make a Special Effort to Help Blacks and Other Minorities
Pride	-.007 (.029)	-.027 (.026)	.021 (.027)	-.058*** (.025)
Shame	.000 (.029)	-.012 (.026)	.015 (.027)	.009 (.025)
Anger	-.020 (.029)	-.033 (.026)	-.013 (.027)	.029 (.025)
Age	.025 (.046)	.141*** (.056)	.078** (.043)	.034 (.040)
Education	-.109** (.044)	.010 (.040)	-.017 (.040)	.013 (.038)
Female	-.016 (.021)	.019 (.020)	-.068*** (.020)	.077*** (.019)
South	-.039** (.021)	-.011 (.019)	-.006 (.019)	-.012 (.018)
Conservative	-.232*** (.043)	-.083** (.038)	-.024 (.039)	-.009 (.037)
Strong Democrat	.080** (.045)	.145*** (.041)	.084** (.041)	.102** (.039)
Income	-.115*** (.041)	-.088** (.037)	-.034 (.039)	.063** (.036)
Constant	.713*** (.056)	.657*** (.051)	.446 *** (.052)	.614*** (.049)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.053	.036	.014	.026
N	1,002	1,001	1,004	1,003

Note: Ordinary least squares regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; \*\*\*p<.01; \*\*p<.05; \*p<.10. All variables are rescaled from zero to one for comparability.

### **Results III: The Effects of Group-Based and Intergroup Emotions on Political Participation**

Throughout my focus group studies and observational data analyses, I found that the experiences of pride and anger as an African-American were associated with changes in political participation. Therefore, in my political participation hypotheses, I argued that the experience of both emotions should lead to some change in group-related political participation. To assess

whether the experience of group-based pride and intergroup anger were associated with political participation, I added group cues to four ANES participation measures. For example, “In the future, how likely are you to donate money to an organization or cause supporting the black community? In the future how likely are you to: talk to others about issues affecting the black community?”<sup>35</sup> All variables are rescaled from zero to one for comparability; zero being less likely to participate and one being more likely to participate.

The findings in Table 4 suggest that I can draw no causal conclusion from the four models that gauge one’s likelihood of attending a protest, signing a petition, donating money, or talking to others about issues. I blame these dismal findings on participant fatigue. The political participation measures were placed at the very end of the survey. That is, after exposure to the stimulus, participants answered seventeen questions before getting to these four questions. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that many of my respondents may have been fatigued by the sheer amount of questions and the treatment effects might have worn off.<sup>36</sup>

Although the results from the key independent variables fail to tell a causal story, the covariates in these tables provide a great deal of variation in the type of African-American that is willing to engage in group-related political participation. As one would expect, those who identify as conservative decrease in their willingness to engage in any type of group-related participation and those who identify as strong Democrats increase in their willingness to engage in all four types of group related participation ( $p < .01$ ). Living in the south is associated with

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<sup>35</sup> The remaining two questions ask about attending a rally against stop and frisk programs and whether the respondent would sign a petition to get rid of photo identification to vote laws.

<sup>36</sup> Existing literature suggests that increases in linked fate lead to increases in group-related political participation. . Findings in the group attitudes portion of this paper reveal that the experiences of pride and anger increase linked fate. Since increased levels of racial identification are associated with increased levels of group-related political participation, I conducted a causal steps analysis in which the linked fate measure served as the mediator between the experimental conditions and each policy opinion variable. Unfortunately, I found that racial group identification did not serve as a mediator between the emotions conditions and the political participation variables. This finding suggests that the experience of group-based and intergroup affect has a direct effect on policy opinion.

increases in one's likeliness to attend a stop and frisk protest and sign a petition to ban photo identification to vote laws ( $p < .10$ ). While increases in education are associated with increases in one's likeliness to engage in all four aspects of political participation, increases in age decrease one's likeliness of attending a stop and frisk protest ( $p < .05$ ) and one's likeliness of donating money to support black causes ( $p < .10$ ). Yet, increases in age are associated with increases in one's likeliness to sign a petition to ban photo identification to vote laws ( $p < .05$ ). Thus, these analyses reveal that different types of African-Americans might be more or less prone to group-related political participation.

<b>Table 11: The Effects of Emotions on Political Participation</b>				
	<b>(1) Attend Stop and Frisk Protest</b>	<b>(2) Sign Petition to Ban Photo ID to Vote Law</b>	<b>(3) Donate Money to Support Black Causes</b>	<b>(4) Talk to Other Blacks about Black Issues</b>
Pride	.000 (.032)	-.004 (.033)	-.006 (.026)	.009 (.026)
Shame	.014 (.032)	.019 (.033)	.020 (.026)	.007 (.026)
Anger	.021 (.032)	-.005 (.033)	-.006 (.026)	-.001 (.026)
Age	-.113** (.051)	.090** (.052)	-.064* (.041)	.041 (.041)
Education	.103** (.048)	.128** (.049)	.067** (.039)	.114*** (.039)
Female	-.036* (.024)	-.033* (.024)	.039** (.019)	.000 (.019)
South	.035* (.023)	.038* (.023)	-.015 (.019)	-.003 (.019)
Conservative	-.088** (.047)	-.292*** (.048)	-.050* (.037)	-.090*** (.038)
Strong Democrat	.192*** (.049)	.185*** (.050)	.173*** (.039)	.142*** (.040)
Income	.048 (.045)	.056 (.046)	.103*** (.036)	.117*** (.037)
Constant	.381*** (.062)	.370*** (.062)	.398*** (.050)	.460*** (.050)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.028	.076	.040	.051
N	996	997	995	996
Note: Ordinary least squares regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; *** $p < .01$ ; ** $p < .05$ ; * $p < .10$ . All variables are rescaled from zero to one for comparability.				

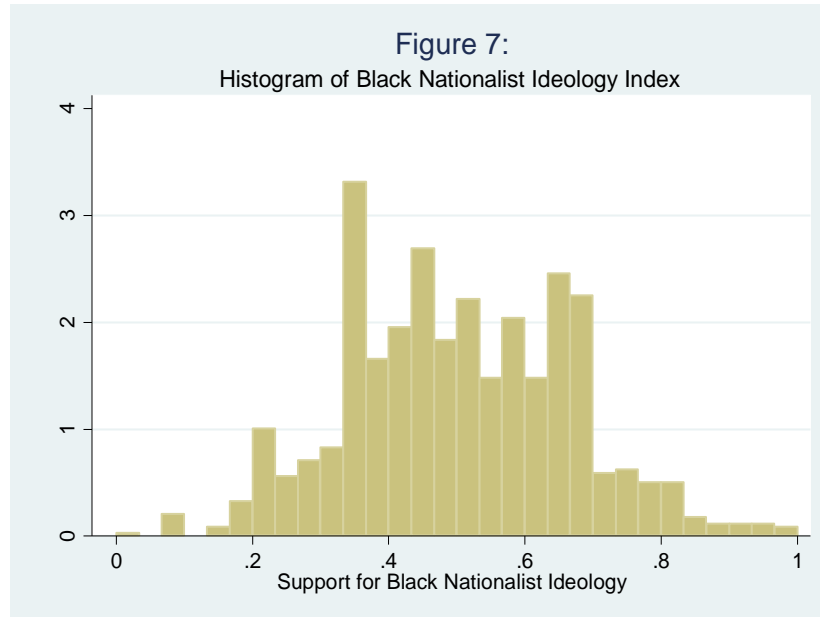
## **Results IV: The Effects of Group-Based and Intergroup Emotions on Black Nationalist Ideology**

The Black Nationalist ideology scale consists of eight measures related to black social, political, and economic autonomy from the 1993 National Black Politics Study. Contemporary analyses of Black Nationalist ideology reveal that this eight-item construct loads onto two factors: community Black Nationalism and separatist Black Nationalism (Brown and Shaw 2002; Davis and Brown 2002; Carey 2013).<sup>37</sup> While advocates of community nationalism believe that African-Americans should have autonomy in communities where their racial group is the majority (Dawson 2001), separatist nationalists believe that “black independence must be territorial, juridical, and statist,” or completely separate from that of existing white institutions (Brown and Shaw 2002). Therefore, I created three separate dependent variables to gauge subscription to a Black Nationalist ideology: Black Nationalism Index (eight measures), Separatist Black Nationalism Index (four measures), and Community Black Nationalism Index (four measures).<sup>38</sup> Figure 7 contains a histogram of the Black Nationalist index ( $m=.501$  and  $sd=.164$ ) and responses to this index seem to follow the normal distribution.

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<sup>37</sup> Cronbach’s alpha for the following indices in my survey experiment dataset: (1) separatist Black Nationalism: .85; (2) community Black Nationalism: .54; and (3) Black Nationalism: .71.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix C for the questions in each index.



The findings in Models 1 and 2 of Table 12 confirm my hypotheses. When compared to those in control, respondents in the anger condition increase in their subscription to a Black Nationalist ideology by .019 ( $p < .10$ ). One's willingness to subscribe to a Black Nationalist ideology in the anger condition is 1.9 percentage points higher than those in the control group. Intuitively, this finding makes sense when one considers the black power movement and anger of African-Americans, particularly anger at whites at continuing discrimination. Consistent with findings from existing literature surrounding the determinants of subscription to a Black Nationalist ideology (Carey 2013; Brown and Shaw 2002), the covariates in Model 1 indicate that increases in education, income, and being a female are all associated with decreases in one's willingness to subscribe to a Black Nationalist ideology while being a strong Democrat increases one's willingness for subscription.

Surprisingly, I get a statistically significant finding for pride when looking at the separatist Black Nationalist index which asks respondents how strongly they agree or disagree with black people forming their own political party, black people voting for black candidates

when they run, black people having their own separate nation, and black people forming a nation within a nation. When compared to the control, those in the pride condition increase in their subscription to a separatist Black Nationalist ideology by .044 ( $p < .05$ ). Substantively, this means that one's willingness to subscribe to a separatist Black Nationalist ideology in the pride condition is 4.4 percentage points higher than those in the control group. While being a strong Democrat is associated with increases in subscription to a separatist Black Nationalist ideology, increases in age, education, income, and being a female are associated in decreases with one's willingness to subscribe to a separatist ideology.<sup>39</sup>

Initially, I thought this effect might be skewed by one variable in the index: black people voting for black candidates when they run. Therefore, I took this variable out and created the separatist Black Nationalism index with three measures ( $\alpha = .84$ ). When I reran the analysis pride remained statistically significant and was actually even stronger with the three variables in the index ( $p < .01$ ). I then returned to the open-ends to help explain this perplexing finding. I found that the overwhelming majority of those in the pride condition pointed to one black exemplar that made them feel proud as a black person: Barack Obama.<sup>40</sup> I suspect that when respondents are answering these questions they are thinking more about the future than the past. If you were feeling proud about a member of your group being elected as leader of the free world, you might believe that it is time for members of your group to band together and form their own political party or be capable enough to have their own separate nation or a nation within a nation. When you think of the finding in this context of psychology literature it is not as shocking as one of the

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<sup>39</sup> Although the key independent variables in Model 3, the community Black Nationalism index, lack statistical significance, increases in age and conservatism are associated with increases in one's willingness to subscribe to a community Black Nationalist ideology and is statistically significant at the .01 and .05 levels, respectively.

<sup>40</sup> Very few respondents mentioned Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and Thurgood Marshall.



action tendencies of pride is to show dominance and superiority; and what better way to demonstrate superiority than complete independence from the current system.<sup>41</sup>

<b>Table 12: Black Nationalist Ideology</b>				
	<b>(1) Black Nationalism (BN) Index</b>	<b>(2) Separatist BN Index</b>	<b>(3) Community BN Index</b>	<b>(4) Always Vote for Black Candidates</b>
Pride	.016 (.015)	.044** (.022)	-.006 (.013)	.075*** (.026)
Shame	.004 (.015)	.023 (.022)	-.009 (.013)	.003 (.026)
Anger	.019* (.015)	.017 (.022)	.014 (.013)	-.000 (.026)
Age	.005 (.024)	-.082*** (.035)	.058*** (.021)	.051 (.041)
Education	-.035* (.022)	-.095*** (.032)	.015 (.020)	-.063* (.038)
Female	-.025** (.011)	-.065*** (.016)	.009 (.010)	-.065*** (.019)
South	-.001 (.011)	.008 (.016)	-.006 (.009)	-.000 (.018)
Conservative	-.001 (.022)	-.054** (.032)	.033** (.019)	-.060* (.038)
Strong Democrat	.038** (.023)	.067** (.034)	.005 (.020)	.106*** (.040)
Income	-.028* (.021)	-.040* (.031)	-.012 (.019)	-.044 (.037)
Constant	.503*** (.028)	.348*** (.042)	.441*** (.023)	.273*** (.050)
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	.007	.038	.007	.032
N	1,002	1,002	1,002	1,004
Note: Ordinary least squares regression coefficients appear with standard errors in parentheses; one-tailed test; ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.10. All variables are rescaled from zero to 1 for comparability.				

Lastly, one of the measures in the Black Nationalism index asks respondents to gauge whether they strongly agree or disagree with the notion that, “Black people should always vote for black candidates when they run for office.” The findings in Model 4 suggest that when

<sup>41</sup> I find it perplexing that in August of 2013 the recollection of pride and anger as an African-American in a political context yields support for Black Nationalist ideology which has not been asked to a nationally representative sample of African-Americans since 1993 and does not seem to be the prevailing ideology of African-Americans. A more in depth analysis of these findings is warranted.

compared to the control, those in the pride condition increase in support of always voting for black candidate when they run for office by .075 ( $p < .01$ ). Although there was little to no variation on the four group-related political participation questions, this measure tells a causal story about the role of pride in vote choice and further supports my findings from my focus group studies and observational data analyses that indicate close associations between the experience of pride as an African-American and voting for Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential election. Substantively, one's willingness to strongly agree with the notion that black people should vote for black candidates in the pride condition is 7.5 percentage points higher than those in the control group. The covariates suggest who among my sample of African-Americans is most likely to agree with the idea of black people always voting for black candidates when they run. Increases in education, conservatism, and being a female are associated with decreases in one's agreement with black people voting for black candidates, while being a strong Democrat is associated with increases in one's agreement with black people always voting for black candidates when they run.<sup>42</sup>

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

The findings from this chapter indicate that the experience of group-based pride, shame, and intergroup anger among African-Americans in politics causes changes in intra-and-intergroup attitudes, attitudes towards political elites, policy opinion, Black Nationalist ideology, and one measure of political participation. More specifically, I find that when compared to the control, the experience of pride and anger increase one's linked fate, while the experience of shame increases feelings of warmth towards whites and decreases feelings of warmth towards

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<sup>42</sup> I am particularly interested in the finding for pride and black people "always" voting for black candidates when they run. Given that the overwhelming majority of responses to the pride prompt were about Barack Obama it makes sense that we would see this effect. An empirical question is whether black people would strongly agree with this statement if the candidate being referenced was a black Republican.

Democrats. I also find that when compared to the control, those in the pride and anger conditions increase in subscription to a separatist Black Nationalist ideology and Black Nationalist ideology, respectively.

The findings in this chapter also provide a fresh perspective on the linked fate measure and heterogeneity within the black community. Not only did the findings in this chapter reveal that the experience of linked fate is dynamic, a series of causal steps analyses revealed that the experience of group-based pride and intergroup anger was not mediated by linked fate. Existing literature suggests that the linked fate construct is valuable but these findings suggest that scholars might want to think of new measures to explore racial identification that gauge both cognition and affect. Thinking beyond the linked fate measure, one can see that the covariates in the analysis demonstrate wide variation on racial and redistributive policy opinion, political participation and Black Nationalist ideology even with the treatment effects; thus, disputing the notion that black public opinion and political participation has insufficient variation to be analyzed (Burge and Kam N.d.).

In the very near future, I hope to delve deeper into this experimental data by conducting a qualitative analysis of the open-ended responses. A cursory glance at the open-ends reveals that the overwhelming majority of respondents in the pride condition cited the actions of a black Democratic exemplar while those in the shame condition discussed the actions of black Democrats and Republicans. More often than not, it appears that those in the intergroup anger condition use Republican and white interchangeably and cite the actions of members of those groups and how they affect African-Americans in politics. Initial quantitative analyses of these open-ends reveal that the only thing systematic about compliance is partisanship; that is, being a

strong Democrat is associated with the increased probability that one will properly write about the prompt ( $p < .05$ ).

Additional qualitative explorations of compliance in the open-ended responses revealed a flaw in the design of the survey experiment: the assumption that African-Americans that identify (or do not identify) with the racial group are observationally equivalent. While my project estimates average treatment effects, several respondents made statements suggesting that simply because they are black does not mean that they identify with the group and experience emotions as members of the group. For example, one respondent in the shame condition stated, “Sorry but the question is offensive, just because I’m black doesn’t mean that an action of another black person makes me feel ashamed as a black person...” For a better understanding of the role of emotions and group identification as they pertain to public opinion and political participation I need a better understanding of whether individuals defined by the category actually identify with it, if these individuals share common beliefs and interests, and how they might coordinate their preferences into collective action (Lee 2008). A systematic exploration of the open-ends will help me explain my findings better and provide new insight on the actions of people in politics that make African-Americans feel proud, ashamed, or angry.

## Appendix C

### Test Statistics for Balance in Covariates

Conditions	F-Statistic	P-Value
Control and Pride	.739	.638
Control and Shame	1.12	.343
Control and Anger	.419	.891

### Experimental Treatment Conditions

#### *Control*

We would like you to think of a situation or event where you felt **relaxed as an individual**. Picture this situation in your mind. Please describe how you felt as vividly and in as much detail as possible. It is okay if you don't remember all the details, just be specific about what exactly it was that made you feel **relaxed** and what it felt like to be **relaxed**. Take a few minutes to write down your answer.

#### *Group-Based Pride*

We would like you to think of a situation or event **in politics where a black person or group of black people made you feel proud as a black person**. Picture this situation in your mind. Please describe how you felt as vividly and in as much detail as possible. It is okay if you don't remember all the details, just be specific about what exactly it was that made you feel **proud as a black person and what it felt like to be proud**. Take a few minutes to write down your answer.

#### *Group-Based Shame*

We would like you to think of a situation or event **in politics where a black person or group of black people made you feel ashamed as a black person**. Picture this situation in your mind. Please describe how you felt as vividly and in as much detail as possible. It is okay if you don't remember all the details, just be specific about what exactly it was that made you feel **ashamed as a black person and what it felt like to be ashamed**. Take a few minutes to write down your answer.

#### *Intergroup Anger*

We would like you to think of a situation or event **in politics where a white person or group of white people made you feel angry as a black person**. Picture this situation in your mind. Please describe how you felt as vividly and in as much detail as possible. It is okay if you don't remember all the details, just be specific about what exactly it was that made you feel **angry as a black person and what it felt like to be angry**. Take a few minutes to write down your answer.

## Dependent Variables Question Text

### A. Group Attitudes

Linked Fate Item: To what extent do you think that what happens to [INSERT RACE] people in this country will affect what happens in your life?

- A great deal
- Quite a bit
- Some
- Not at all

Racial Importance: Being black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Feeling Thermometer: I would like you to rate these groups on something called a “Feeling Thermometer.” Ratings closer to 100 mean that you feel favorable or warm to this group, and ratings closer to zero mean you feel unfavorably or cold towards this group.

How would you rate blacks on this scale?

How would you rate whites on this scale?

How would you rate Republicans on this scale?

How would you rate Democrats on this scale?

### B. Black Nationalist Ideology

Blacks should form their own political party. (Separatist BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people should always vote for black candidates when they run. (Separatist BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people should have their own separate nation. (Separatist BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people should form a nation within a nation. (Separatist BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people should shop in black owned stores whenever possible (Community BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Blacks should have control over the government in mostly black communities. (Community BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Blacks should rely on themselves and not others. (Community BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly black communities. (Community BN)

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

### **C. Policy Opinions**

Affirmative Action: Because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion.

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Government Intervention for Blacks and Minorities: The government should not make any special effort to help blacks and other minorities because blacks should help themselves.

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree Nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Federal spending on welfare for blacks should be...

- Increased
- Kept about the same
- Decreased

Federal spending on government jobs for the unemployed should be...

- Increased
- Kept about the same
- Decreased

#### **D. Political Participation**

Some states have enacted legislation containing "stop and frisk programs." These programs allow police officers to stop and question pedestrians without cause, and frisk them for weapons and other contraband. Statistics indicate that the overwhelming majority of individuals stopped and frisked are black. If presented with an opportunity to join a protest march, rally, or demonstration against stop and frisk programs, how likely are you to participate?

- Extremely Likely
- Very likely
- Moderately likely
- A little likely
- Not at all likely

In the future, how likely are you to: donate money to an organization or cause supporting the black community?

- Extremely Likely
- Very likely
- Moderately likely
- A little likely
- Not at all likely

In the future, how likely are you to: talk to others about issues affecting the black community?

- Extremely Likely
- Very likely
- Moderately likely
- A little likely
- Not at all likely



Some states have enacted legislation known as "photo identification to vote laws." Under these laws, voters are required to show some form of identification in order to vote or receive a ballot for an election. Statistics indicate that African-Americans are less likely to have the proper forms of identification that are required for voting. If presented with a petition to get rid of photo identification to vote laws, how likely are you to sign it?

- Extremely Likely
- Very likely
- Moderately likely
- A little likely
- Not at all likely

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION: THINKING BEYOND RACIAL IDENTITY

In this final chapter, I summarize my findings and draw out their implications. I take up a series of distinct but interconnected subjects, each of which illuminates some aspect of the relationship between groups, emotions, and politics: what my findings mean for existing literature in political psychology and racial and ethnic politics; and how affect might operate for additional racial groups in politics. I conclude with a discussion that invites readers to think of the implications of group-based and intergroup emotions beyond racial and ethnic identities along with the normative implications of this project for real world politics.

#### Summary of Findings

In this project, I used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods to explore group-based pride, shame, and intergroup anger in African-Americans politics. Accordingly, my second chapter uses focus groups to understand how members of the African-American community experience emotions in politics. While I find that the experience of pride and anger as an African-American is associated with various types of political participation, the experiences of all three emotions lead to changes in intra-and-intergroup attitudes. In my third chapter, I analyze data from the 2004 ANES and 2008 CCAP to further validate the claims made by focus group study participants. When compared to the 2004 ANES, I find that group-based pride and intergroup anger are stronger predictors of attitudes toward political elites, racial policy opinion, and various forms of political participation in the 2008 CCAP. In the fourth chapter I use a survey experiment and find that the experiences of group-based pride, shame, and intergroup anger have different effects on group attitudes, attitudes toward political elites, racial and redistributive policy opinions, political participation, and Black Nationalist ideology.

## **Contribution to Existing Literature**

Explorations of the psychological aspects of politics tend to focus on the role of cognition and or individually experienced emotions. The American Psychological Association defines cognition as “processes of knowing, including attending, remembering, and reasoning; also, the content of the processes such as concepts and memories;” and emotions as “complex patterns of changes, including physiological arousal, feelings, and behavioral reactions, made in response to a situation perceived to be personally significant.” The findings from this project add nuance to existing literature on race and ethnic politics as well as political psychology by suggesting that cognitive and emotional processes are interconnected.

The emphasis on cognitive aspects of group identification is endemic in racial and ethnic politics literature. The overwhelming majority of scholars discuss the effects of group consciousness on a range of variables involving political participation, public opinion, and civic engagement (Wolfinger 1965; Olsen 1970; Verba and Nie 1972; Miller et al. 1981; Shingles 1981; Conover 1984; Jackson 1987; Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson 1989; Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Tate 1994; Dawson 1994; Sanchez 2006; Junn and Masuoka 2008). Operationalized by the linked fate construct, this line of research suggests that the more one identifies with the group, the more likely they are to support group-related policies and political participation; that is, increased levels of racial group identification result in increased effects on group-related policies and political participation.

In contrast to standard approaches in racial and ethnic politics literature that focus solely on racial group identification, findings from this project suggests that there is an affective component to group-related public opinion and political decision-making. In the future, scholars studying racial groups in politics should also explore the role of affect. Moreover, these findings

demonstrate that one's racial identification is malleable. In the survey experiment, those in the pride and anger conditions increased in linked fate when compared to those in the control. If racial identification can wax and wane it has tremendous implications for the current state of literature which assumes that racial identification is static. That is, if we can manipulate the levels of racial group identification, it suggests that its effects on political variables of interest might also fluctuate. Conversely, scholars should also consider whether high or low identifiers experience group-based and intergroup emotions differently. One could imagine that those who strongly identify with the group might experience stronger emotions as a member of the group.

These findings also contribute to existing psychology and political psychology literature as they demonstrate that one's cognitive functions, in this case decision-making and perceptions of candidates are deeply affected when African-Americans experience emotions as members of their racial group. These results also have implications for those subscribing to the rational choice school of thought which focuses on human behavior as interest-calculation (Somit and Peterson 1999). The findings in this project suggest that the experience of emotions from the perspective of groups might usurp one's rational choice and lead them to make an affective choice (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000). Emotions are normatively interesting because they play a role in how we think and behave on a daily basis. How we feel about certain people or situations affects whether we take action, emotions help us make decisions; they also allow other people to understand us and allow us to understand others (Cherry; Eysenck and Keane 2000). In the future scholars should study how the experience of emotions from the perspective of groups affects cognition to provide a more nuanced understanding of the psychological factors that influence political decision-making.

## **Thinking Beyond Racial Identity**

While this project emphasizes how emotions matter for African-Americans in politics, the comments of several focus group study participants highlighted how identifying with other groups leads to changes in political participation. One participant discussed how being a public defender made her proud to donate to a local campaign when her former boss ran for mayor. The effect of gendered emotions was demonstrated in two separate contexts. In one instance, a participant discussed how her gender identity made her proud to vote for Hillary Clinton in the 2008 primary. In another instance, a participant discussed how she found the current debate about women's reproductive rights very frustrating and that frustration led her to speak to women's rights groups and activists in the state.

These qualitative findings are important because they demonstrate that the experience of group-based emotions and their effects in the political arena extend far beyond one's racial group. Contrary to popular belief, these findings further indicate that one's racial identity is not the only identity brought to bear on the public opinion and political participation for African-Americans. Brewer (1991) suggests that individuals possess a number of personal and social identities (i.e. gender, race, religion, class etc.) and depending on the context, any one of these identities can be activated. The decision to focus exclusively on *one* of those identities limits the depth of knowledge one can unearth about opinion formation and political participation among African-Americans. In the future, scholars should explore the multitude of identities African-Americans bring to bear on their public opinion and political decision-making in greater detail.

## **Group-Based and Intergroup Emotions in the Post-Obama Age**

How might explorations of emotions from the perspective of group identity lend itself to examinations of other elections, candidates, and groups? In regards to African-Americans in the

context of presidential elections, I suspect that the experience of group-based and intergroup emotions will have a limited effect on policy opinion and political participation. Indeed, findings from my qualitative data analysis suggest that Barack Obama's nomination served as the motivating force for political action. Moreover, observational data analyses indicate that the experience of group-based pride and intergroup anger among African-Americans had no statistically significant effects on policy opinion or political participation in 2004 when John Kerry was on the ballot. Therefore, I do not expect the experience of group-based or intergroup emotions among African-Americans to play a consequential role in their public opinion and political decision-making in the 2016 election unless there is an African-American Democratic nominee on the ballot.

However, I suspect that we might be able to observe group-based and intergroup emotions among African-Americans in the political arena if we look at state and local elections. State and local elections provide a larger pool of African-American candidates that vary in ideology and partisanship. Explorations of group-based and intergroup emotions in these particular contests might allow us to delimit the boundaries associated with emotional experiences from the perspective of African-American identity; that is, who can elicit these group-based and intergroup emotions in politics—can black Republicans and Democrats draw out the same emotional response; what types of rhetoric might be used to elicit emotional responses when two black Democrats are competing for the nomination on the state or local level? These types of studies will provide the literature with a more nuanced understanding of the role of emotions in African-American public opinion and political participation.

In regards to additional racial and ethnic groups, the role of group identification in politics extends far beyond African-Americans to groups like Asians, Hispanics, and those of

Middle Eastern descent. While Lee (2008) discusses the problems associated with extending the black utility heuristic (operationalized as linked fate), it remains unclear how group affect might factor into the public opinion and political participation of additional racial and ethnic minorities. Junn and Masuoka (2007) assess the contextual nature of racial identification through experiments that prime racial pride in their national survey of Asian Americans. They show respondents pictures of high-ranking Asians in the United States government to understand how exposure to these pictures changes how the respondent identifies with their group. Junn and Masuoka (2007) find that Asians viewing the headshot of the United States Cabinet Officials were more likely to say they felt closer to their racial group. While this study enhances our understanding of how identity may change as a result of the experience of emotions, it fails to illuminate how changes in Asian-American group identity manifest in public opinion and political participation. In the future, scholars should study additional racial groups to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the roles of cognition and affect in politics.

Based on my findings, I suspect that the experience of emotions as members of various groups might have some effect on public opinion and political participation. Groups are social categories that help us organize our social and political world around us. Groups are important for the individual in that they satisfy a host of psychological needs and are even more important in politics because much of how we think and behave in the political arena surrounds our membership in groups whether they are gender, racial, religious, partisan, sexual orientation or otherwise. Would I expect all left-handed people to be angry enough to vote for Democratic presidential nominee? No. However, I could imagine left-handed students on a college campus getting angry at the lack of left-handed desks and signing a petition to have their concerns

addressed by the administration; thus, the experience of emotions as a member of a group and any resulting action should be tied to a group-related outcome.

Beyond racial and ethnic groups it is rather challenging to speculate about the pieces that have to be in place for group-based and intergroup emotions to be activated among the masses. Perhaps the best way to go about exploring the experience of emotions in the context of other groups like gender, religion, or sexual orientation is to identify key political events where a particular identity might have been activated and observe the usage of emotional appeals by political organizations and entrepreneurs. Learning how political entrepreneurs and organizations manipulate the emotions of groups to mobilize coalitions of support or opposition for various candidates, policies, and issues are critical to our understanding of the policy-making process and, ultimately, governing as a whole. For example, if one was interested in exploring gender, one might start by examining the Women's Suffrage Movement, the mid-1960s to late 1970s when the battle for legal abortion raged on before, during, and after *Roe v. Wade*, and the contemporary battle for reproductive rights in the 2012 presidential election. Findings from qualitative analyses could then be used in an experimental context to assess whether and how these group-based and intergroup emotions might be activated and whether they have any effect in the political arena. These kinds of examinations will provide a more nuanced understanding of emotions in politics; how and what gets members of groups fired up and how those feelings are then translated into meaningful political action.



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