BLACK PATRIOTISM: A SPECULATIVE INQUIRY

by

MARCUS JEROME COLEMAN

(Under the Direction of Tina M. Harris)

ABSTRACT

This project addresses an underdeveloped ideological concept among African Americans, patriotism. Using the context of the United States during the presidency of its first non-Anglo-Saxon chief of staff, Barack H. Obama, I pose the question, "How do African-American individuals communicatively conceptualize patriotism?" To answer this query, I offer a critical-qualitative analysis of how patriotism is colloquially articulated among African Americans. Methodologically, focus group interviews were conducted, transcribed verbatim, and analyzed using critical discourse analysis. The emergent themes apparent from participant generated data were the following: (1) Critical Moments: Stories Ground Us, (2) American Exceptionalism, and (3) Metaphors of black patriotism: Unrequited love. An in-depth discussion of the theoretical, limitations and practical implications are offered.

INDEX WORDS: Patriotism, symbolic interaction, communication, and political identity

BLACK PATRIOTISM: A SPECULATIVE INQUIRY

by

MARCUS JEROME COLEMAN

B. A., University of Southern Mississippi, 2004

M. A. University of Kentucky, 2007

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2012

BLACK PATRIOTISM: A SPECULATIVE INQUIRY

by

MARCUS JEROME COLEMAN

Major Professor: Tina M. Harris

Committee: Edward Panetta
James Hamilton
Loch Johnson
Minsun Shim

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to Lorene M. Coleman and John A. Coleman for their

unwavering love and support.

.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people who have contributed to this work that it would be impossible to list them all. In an effort to highlight my intellectual guides who have toiled and strove with me through my intellectual journey: Dr. Harris, Dr. Panetta, Dr. Hamilton, and Dr. Johnson have been invaluable mentors. I am also grateful to those who have been instrumental in creating a nurturing community for me while at the University of Georgia.

To my family, who shapes my view of the world and influence my interactions with others, I love you. To my lady, Loren you have been my love, my friend, my companion, my confidant, my critic, and my supporter, thank you. To my friends and colleagues, I will indeed miss the genuine exchanges and the communion that we have shared throughout these past five years. Cheers!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

…it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted this declaration….

…[Moreover, at the time of the Revolution, blacks were deemed to be] beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights to which the white man was bound to respect.

---Dred Scott v. Sanford (1857); Wilkins (2001)

Roger Taney, Chief Justice, writing the majority opinion for the Supreme Court of the United States

INTRODUCTION

I enter this discussion with considerable understanding of my limitations as an individual. I am an African-American male with a metropolitan upbringing in the southeastern United States. I was born to parents who had limited access to educational resources and descended from those who had marginal freedom, all within the boundaries of the United States. The stories of my family read similar to other sharecroppers and cotton-pickers; indeed, I am generalizing to a spiritually conservative and culturally enriched African-American rural upbringing. As a benefactor of a slavery-descended lineage, my assumptions can be attributed to my own limited experiences of living exclusively within the borders of the United States of America. It is indeed a privilege to travel abroad, and those who have the opportunity must be commended for their ability, but those who do not have the material capability to do so must operate from the perspectives offered to them; thus, I proceed.

Rationale and research questions. Race is usually at the heart of discussions of intercultural communication in the United States. Additionally, discussants should be able to recognize the historical relationship between the race and nation, which is a relationship that has become defined by the dialectic of domination and subordination. Although an academic investigation of race may be characterized as manifold in nature, race is usually emblematic of particularized economic, social, and political perspectives. I attempt to employ a synoptic perspective, not of race as a concept, but of an African-American cultural view of political communication.

As a context for inquiry, I use the ascendance of Barack H. Obama to the Presidency of the United States at a time when most African-Americans admittedly did not foresee the election of anyone other than an Anglo-Saxon male as a possibility. Of course, a brutal history of experiences underlies this mode of thinking by African-Americans that is a consequence of years of fighting to be recognized as human beings equal in ability, capability, and potential to Caucasian Americans. This fight has persisted through the arrival of slaves to what became the United States of America, climaxed during the historic Civic Rights Era and continues to encourage African-American communities to participate in our democracy. Thus, in the era of President Obama, I am compelled to ask, "How do African-American individuals communicatively conceptualize patriotism?"

I approach this study with the desire to expose the linkages and cleavages in applicability of extant political theories to the African-American community and to highlight popular African-American communication about politics, both domestic and international. I do so with the knowledge that there are currently self-identified African-American principles within both American foreign and domestic politics (e.g., President Obama, Secretaries of

State Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice, U.N. Secretary Susan Rice, and Presidential

Senior Advisor Valerie Jarrett). As a result, I am exploring popular African-American

discourse about cultural identity, patriotism, and political issues. The findings from this study

may be a precursor to further exploration into African-American popular opinion into

political issues.

To be clear, I do not assert that President Obama's ascendance to the Presidency is a

panacea for persistent social, economic, political, and health disparities that typify the

relation of minorities to mainstream America. Inevitably, what some will ask is, "Why would

African-Americans claim the mantle of patriotism while perpetually mistreated by a nation to

which they were brought in chains?" In order to derive answers, I pose the questions listed

below:

RQ1: How do African Americans, within the United States, conceptualize patriotism

subsequent to the election of President Obama?

RQ2: In what ways do African Americans believe the election of a Black President

communicates the need for a strong, racial or national identity, individually,

interpersonally, and as public?

RQ3: What are the communicative implications for African-Americans regarding

how they conceptualize patriotism individually, interpersonally, and as a public?

To date, there have only been theoretical forays into the subject of patriotism within

the African-American community. Those theoretical descriptions lack the substance of

mediated discussion and deliberation about principles, ideals, and/or any axioms of what

patriotism means among African-Americans. Patriotism, here, presents a dialectical

relationship between inclusion and exclusion as a nation of citizens who critically support

and serve their country, while also being excluded despite supporting and serving their country.

   Applicability of patriotism research. This research will be useful to the public, political practitioners, and political theorists because of the tremendous influence of African-American values and practices on the United States. In the public interest, values from African-American communities permeate traditional liberal and conservative positions and influence policy issues, (e.g. health care extension, taxes, economic regulation, etc.), which includes persistent enfranchisement efforts for various groups of individuals (e.g. immigration reform) and realist tendencies foundational to American Foreign Policy (e.g. proud military service of African-Americans in United States Armed Forces). The United States is witnessing a unique time in its history when there is diversity in the creation and application of public policy, both domestic and foreign, specifically from our executive branch of government. African-American values and perspectives are expressed via an enclave of African American scholars whose views of African-Americans have usually taken root in the black public sphere.

   For political practitioners, African-Americans have traditionally been reliable Democratic voters and that trend has not changed (Bositis, 2010). The 2010 Census shows geographical movement from African-Americans into the American south (Tavernise & Gabeloff, 2011). The authors mention that 57% of African-Americans live in the south and that only 2% of the African-American population growth in the south has occurred in traditional Black population hubs, while a 20% Black population growth in the south has occurred in counties where there have not traditionally been many Black Americans (Tavernise & Gabeloff, 2011).

These figures allow us to see that African Americans are increasingly moving to the south, which is reliably Republican-leaning in presidential elections; however, African Americans are moving to areas where they may become politically irrelevant, based on the reliably Democratic voting patterns of African Americans. Consequently, the migration of African Americans to the south has resulted in population losses in traditionally urban areas (e.g. Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, etc.). Those population losses are significant to the political aspirations of black citizens, black candidates, and black elected officials (BEO). African-Americans' traditional voting patterns and the population trends highlighted above foments the following question for aspirant black political practitioners: "How will future African-American candidates fare in political campaigns against white candidates in congressional districts that are not majority African-American?

As a theorist, I embark upon an exploratory examination of this phenomenon to assess the political attitudes of African-Americans about patriotism in the President Obama era. Particularly, I will investigate the relationship between patriotism, performed communicatively, and one's political identity.

Understanding US Economic Disparity

The United States has been a place of tragedy and triumph in the area of race relations and community building, but there are some events that help highlight the continued racial divides that have helped shape the racial and political identities within the United States. The effort of African-Americans to develop a place of belonging has been at the forefront of their political action (Smith, 1993). What has also been a staple in African-American communities is their effort to have their issues addressed through whatever means that would create true racial parity within the United States, i.e. political parties (Dawson, 1994). The feelings and

experiences of disenfranchisement among African-Americans have created the necessity of resistance against forces of domination and/or economic depravity. In order to discuss the sources of depravity amongst African-Americans, Dawson's 1994 work, *Behind the Mule,* makes the case that for a theory of depravity and organization on his black utility heuristic[1].

Overall, Dawson (1994) sought to find a countervailing theoretical framework that would expose the intermingling affects of race and class on the hierarchical placement of African-Americans within the United States. What the author illuminates is the economic depravity that continues to plague African-Americans by comparing the progress of African-Americans to white Americans based on the black/white economic gap, black/white income trends, unemployment trends, the poverty index, and other indicators. What can be gleaned from each index is that African-Americans in 1994 were disparaged, but we will also see is that African-Americans in 2011 continue to be disparaged.

Disparity. At the end of 2009, the unemployment rate for African-Americans was 15.8% compared to a 12.9% unemployment rate for Hispanics, both of which are higher than the 9.2% unemployment rate for white Americans (Reidenbach & Weller, 2010). All of the unemployment figures are alarmingly high, but each rose at different rates, starting from the beginning of the recession in 2007. Both African-Americans and Hispanics unemployment rates grew at an average of 3.6 percentage points compared to 2.5 percentage points per year for white Americans (Reidenbach & Weller, 2010).

Household incomes from 2007 to 2008 declined for African-Americans, Hispanic Americans, and White-Americans by $2,252, $1,500, and $1,056 respectively (Pew Research

---

[1] The black utility heuristic is based on the assumption that African-Americans use group identification as a proxy through which to evaluate progress and opportunity in relation to the individual.

Center, 2007; Reidenbach & Weller, 2010). To add, there has not been a change in the disparity levels regarding household income between African-Americans, Hispanic, and Whites. In 2008 Hispanic American and African-American household incomes were 61.8% of household income for white households, but was 66.7% of white household incomes in 2001 (Pew Research Center, 2007; Reidenbach & Weller, 2010) (See Table 1).

Poverty rates for African-American and Hispanic Americans are double those of White-Americans. Poverty data shows that while 8.6% of White-Americans are in poverty, comparatively 24.7 and 23.2 percentage points of African-Americans and Hispanic Americans respectively are in poverty (Reidenbach & Weller, 2010). The numbers reported here paint a picture of the continued economic disparities that persist within the United States. They also help describe both the conditions against and within which African-Americans have fought to reform or separate from the United States.

<div style="text-align:center">Black Political Thought</div>

In light of the history of race relations within the United States, there have traditionally been divergent and competitive political, nationalist, and social ideas within the African-American community, with each possessing a pathway toward enfranchisement (Dawson, 1994; Dawson, 1995; Dawson, 2001). These ideals range from calls for a separate "black nation" to the full assimilation of African-Americans into mainstream American society and include nuanced positions that are textured within the traditional separatist-assimilation dichotomy. The internal debates within African-American communities regarding the most effective manner to exist within the United States have created the necessity of various political ideologies. Smith (1993) provides an initial description of political ideology among African-Americans in response to the corresponding political

climate being articulated. Smith describes three distinct traditions within the United States: radicalism, nationalism, and liberal integrationists.

The Struggle with Radicalism. For the purposes of this project, radicalism is not a major focus. Radicalism has been characterized by its struggle against capitalism. The Marxist and Leninist tendencies within the Radical wings of African-American political ideology have been taken up by organizations like the Black Panther Party and the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) (Smith, 1990; Dawson, 2001). Such organizations were willing to build ethnic coalitions to combat corporate domination of labor practices, actively advocated a strong central government, and ultimately recognized the role of class in relation to racial subordination (Smith, 1993). The stances taken by radicals were to the dismay of nationalist, specifically coalition building, and not palatable for the white allies of the integrationists.

Nationalism. Nationalism, as described by Smith (1993), has been a coherent part of African-Americans communities since slavery[2]. He mentions that slaves widely referred to themselves as African late into the 19th century (Smith, 1993). The lack of identification with the United States was one that was consequence to the overt daily injustices felt and experienced. Functionally, nationalism served as a backlash reaction during times of apparent promise for African-Americans that turned out to be drastically disappointing. Smith (1993)

---

[2] Nationalism has a particular meaning in reference to African-American political thought, but generally Nationalism may simply be described as a love of country, i.e. geography (Li & Brewer, 2004;Wanzo, 2009). Also, nationalism may be defined as politicized ethnicity, i.e. cultural identity (Heribert, 1990. The motivations that spur a nationalistic appeal vary, but motives usually involve a generalized other and universalism, or what Wanzo (2009) describes as a *cosmopolitanism*. In creating a generalized other, exclusivity becomes a marker of nationalistic identities which create incommensurate and contested perspectives toward opposing ontological commonalities.

describes nationalism as a cyclical occurrence. For example, 1790 to 1820 was a time of great promise for America, in general, but not for the inclusion of African-Americans in the founding documents of the United States. Next, during the 1880s, provisions of Reconstruction were being rolled back; and lastly, in the1960s and 1970s, the Civil Rights movement was at its height. These instances served as historical markers of time when African-Americans were encouraged about the social and economic progress of the United States, only to be disappointed.

The cyclical recurrence of nationalism was also apparent during the "Reagan Revolution" of the 1980s (Smith, 1993; Persons, 1993; Dawson, 1994). The election of Ronald Reagan ushered in a new era of African-American politics that was seen as a clear break from Civil Rights era leadership and issues. The development of a "black agenda" had been the overarching effort of African-American economic, political, and religious leaders before and during the Civil Rights movement. Apparent was the united front, i.e. the black utility heuristic, that undergirded the stances taken by African-Americans regarding policy initiatives. Essentially, government intervention regarding political, economic, and social access to opportunity had always been an accepted socio-political stance for African-Americans. That changed, however, after the Reagan Revolution.

Contrary to the numbers reported earlier regarding the depravity of minority communities, the African-American middle class doubled between the years of 1961 and 1990 (Dawson, 1994). The alternative leaders developed by the Reagan administration, e.g. Clarence Thomas (EEOC, Chairman), Clarence Pendleton (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Chairman), and the Council for a Black Economic Agenda, were intent on augmenting the relationship between the United States government and African-Americans.

Their rationale for weaning African-Americans from their "dependency" on the United States government was for the purposes of self-sufficiency and self-determination, which was antithetical to what Civil Rights leaders were arguing. The emergent battle between the alternative conservative leadership of African-Americans and the traditional leadership of African-Americans, each with the purpose of racial uplift, extends from the historical debate between DuBois and Washington as to the most progressive way forward for African-Americans within the United States. The framework of this argument helps set the stage for this project.

Integration: African-American Authenticity. Integrationists have taken a holistic approach toward the condition of African-Americans. Smith (1993) discusses the "utopia" versus "ideology" dichotomy that has traditionally gripped African-America socio-political discussion. The utopia vision of African-Americans emanates from the Nationalist wing of black political thought. Nationalism's idea of utopia is of a separate black nation where black people can be self-determined and self-sufficient. Conversely, the ideological perspective of reforming the United States is done with the necessary assistance of all who are willing to move the country toward hierarchical parody, including Caucasians. As such, there have been myriad approaches to explaining the consortium of struggles that have met African-Americans since their arrival in Virginia in 1619 (Wilkins, 2001). What is not as well discussed, however, is the assertion of African-Americans as American patriots. As can be found in historical documents, there were free and enslaved black people who fought on both sides of the Revolutionary War and every American war waged thereafter (Wilkins, 2001)[3].

---

[3] Not only have African-Americans fought for emancipation from the tyranny of a ruling country, on behalf of the United States, but they have also fought to be included as equal citizens, even as equal humans, in the governance and daily interactions of America. In that

Members of the African Diaspora's desire for an adoptive nation have been a complex interaction that has yet to see a non-combative end. As such, a cultural analysis of patriotism among African-Americans and critically theorizing from this perspective lead me toward the concept of ideology. Ideology bears the weight of history, culture, and communication that over-deterministically influence our lived experiences (Althusser, 1971). History, as defined by Williams (1976), maintains the relationship between the past, present, and a hopeful future. Similarly, culture is defined as the practices of particular people, which connect history, theory, and culture ontologically (Williams, 1976). What does not become immediately apparent in this discussion is the unifying role of colloquy as central and indispensable to this ontological triumvirate.

African-American Ideological Continuum. As an extension of Smith's (1993) and Dawson's (1994) work, Dawson (2001) offers six ideological stances he argues exist within the African-American community: (1) Radical Egalitarianism, (2) Disillusioned Liberalism, (3) Black Marxism, (4) Black Conservatism, (5) Black Nationalism, and (6) Black Feminism. While they will be discussed in greater detail below, these stances offer possible explanations for how African Americans negotiate the schism between their racial, political, and national identities.

In order to provide some background for each of the socio-political stances listed above, I will first offer a brief description of each. Dawson (2001) asserts that Radical Egalitarianism is a belief in an American liberal democratic tradition that assures equality for all American citizens guaranteed in our Constitution. Within that belief, African-American

---

fight, the realities of human interaction have brought about change in the way that people discuss, organize, deliberate, and ultimately participate in our democracy.

activists have argued for their equal rights as a historically marginalized and oppressed people, including such historical figures as Frederick Douglass and President Barack Obama. A part of that optimism, however, has always been tempered by suspicion of the resistance of White Americans to African-American enfranchisement. Similarly, Dawson (2001) describes Disillusioned Liberalists as believers in traditional American liberalism, i.e. constitutional primacy and a belief in strong responsible central government, but with a deep skepticism of White America, usually due to the persistent disdain and mistreatment of African-Americans at the hands of white Americans. For example, in his later years, W.E.B. DuBois was skeptical of the ability of African-Americans to be fully integrated into American society (Dawson, 2001). This was also the case with Martin Luther King, especially after the brutal sanitation worker demonstration in Memphis, TN in 1968.

On the other hand, Dawson (2001) highlights the aversions he believes many African-Americans have had to America's traditional liberalism, namely the emphasis on individualism, free market ideology, and the heightened emphasis on private property. More specifically, characteristics of traditional liberalism may be antithetical to the African-American enfranchisement within the United States. As mentioned before, African-Americans were once legally designated as the private property of other human beings and were subject to the whims of the free market (Wilkins, 2001). As such, perpetual resistance to traditional American liberalism is evident in the African-American community and has been aided by Marxism and its tenets: communal practices, a rejection of individualism, the advocating of a strong central government, and calls for revolution (Dawson, 2001). Each of these stances has been influential in the fight for African-Americans to gain equal rights, e.g. the Black Panther Party (Dawson, 2001).

According to Dawson (2001), the least popular or ascribed to ideology within the African-American community has been that of Black conservatism. The author describes Black conservatism as a thorough belief in private property, free market ideology, and a belief that the individual is truly in control of their own destiny regardless of their circumstances. Black conservatism views skepticism of ethnicities outside of the African-American community, by African-Americans, as historically misplaced and that the responsibility for African-American racial uplift is in the efforts of African-Americans (i.e. self-determination), which is akin to abolitionist Booker T. Washington's perspective on self-determination and self-sufficiency (Dawson, 2001).

Ironically, Black Nationalism holds some of the same principles as Black Conservatism, such as self-determination and self-sufficiency (i.e. financial, political, and social sustainability within and among African-American communities), but it also purports an element of separatism. Dawson (2001) describes Black Nationalist sentiments toward White America as never freely accepting African-Americans as equals, thus resulting in African-Americans seeking to create their own place of existence and living there in perpetuity. Black Nationalism has a long history in the U. S., starting with 19th century activists such as Martin R. Delaney and is currently seen in leaders such as Black Muslim leader, Louis Farrakhan (Dawson, 2001).

Also, what can be seen in the descriptions of the various strains of black political, nationalist, and social thought that have shaped African-American political action is a predominance of male voices and leadership, which have drowned out the proud service of women in the fight for equality for African-Americans (Dawson, 2001). Harriet Tubman, for example, has been canonized as a matriarch of the African-American struggle within the

United States. Also, Sojourner Truth, along with a host of others, has been recognized as an outspoken advocate for female and African-American civil rights. Dawson (2001) avers that what has been their unique battle is their fight to win recognition as women and as *black* women, simultaneously fighting patriarchy and racism while moving toward hard-won victories, nonetheless.

These various strains of black socio-political thought have resonance throughout African-American struggles in the United States and guide my discussion of an age-old discussion within the African-American community that explores the contours of the separatist-assimilation debate.

In the current context of African-Americans' political standing, the election of President Obama has made it salient to understand ideology as a communicative prism through which we can understand the real world implications of identity construction within the realm of political communication. As a continuation of scholarship that attempts to make sense of that complex interaction, I hope to develop an underdeveloped aspect of the black political thought within the United States: Black Patriotism. In order to work towards that end, I propose Research Question 1 (RQ1): "How do African Americans, within the United States, conceptualize patriotism subsequent to the election of President Obama?" I explore the empirical research conducted on patriotism and its lack of African Americans research participants with the intention of carving out a space to inject African American voices into a conversation that examines the relationship between citizens and their nation. To start, I define the traditional and contemporary views of patriotism.

Patriotism: A Black Thing?

Because of the unique circumstances that have allowed for the development of

communities within the United States, a specific kind of nationalistic zeal is apparent in the

United States, namely patriotism. Heribert (1990) describes patriotism as such:

> Patriotism is the undying concept in immigrant societies, such as the U.S. or Canada,
> the multinational state of the Soviet Union or the artificial states of colonial creation.
> With a variety of groups of different religions and languages, the myth of common
> origin obviously cannot be invoked. In such multi-ethnic societies, the creation of the
> state is celebrated in the flag, oath of allegiance and national anthems very much like
> in nation-states. However, the loyalty demanded from the patriots is not based on a
> common history but on the unique opportunities that the new "fatherland" provides.
> (p. 580).

As this definition suggests, nationalism and patriotism have been conceptually bifurcated.

The former has a borderless and universalistic appeal to a common heritage and geographical

affiliation, while the latter is a celebration of opportunity for a new beginning in a new place.

This call for a return to the Motherland is based on a belief of common origin for members of

the African Diaspora as opposed to an opportunity-rich American Fatherland.

Since its social scientific conception, patriotism has been difficult to define and has a

speckled history of possessing both negative and positive connotations (Kosterman &

Feshbach, 1989; Schatz, 1995; Davis, 1999). Generally, patriotism researchers give credence

to cultural identity, which helps mediate the relationship of the individual to the nation,

whether sentimental (affective) or instrumental (benefits/rewards) (Kelman, 1969). As such,

there is a long history of research on the affiliation of an individual with their nation.

The conceptualization of patriotism has usually been tied to nationalism and the

assumptions that follow. The assumptions that undergird nationalism are most often tied to

war and they are usually accompanied by suspicion from those who resist occupation,

imperialism, or extermination; thus, the investigation of the *Authoritarian Personality* by

Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sandford (1950). The authors' work was an effort to understand ethnocentrism, bias, and in-group and out-group tactics to marginalize people. As part of their project, they created a scale for ethnocentrism, but they also created sub-scales to assess the disdain for "negroes" and also a sub-scale to assess *pseudopatriotism*. In their book they make a distinction between genuine patriotism and *pseudopatriotism*. Genuine patriotism is described as, "…can be permissive toward much that he cannot personally accept for himself. He is free of rigid conformism, outgroup rejection, and imperialistic striving…", but *pseudopatriotism* is described as, "blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways, and rejection of other nations as outgroups" (p. 107).

Further, patriotism has been researched as both a uni-dimensional and a multi-dimensional construct. Specifically, one aspect of patriotism's multi-dimensionality focuses on distinction between blind and constructive patriotism (Schatz, 1995; Schatz, Staub & Lavine, 1999). In doing so, the former is defined as, "rigid and inflexible attachment to country, characterized by unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism", while the latter is described as, "questioning and criticism of certain group practices that are driven by a desire for positive change" (Schatz et al., 1999, p. 153).

DeLamater, Katz, and Kelman (1969) were instrumental in personalizing one's involvement with the United States. Their work serves as a seminal work about the relational character of patriotism. The authors explored the nature of national involvement by assessing the dimensionality of patriotism, positing that there were three components of an individual's involvement with their nation: symbolic, normative, and functional. Symbolic involvement is characterized by "strong emotional investment in the nation and its values, and a positive

affect orientation to its symbols" (DeLamater et al. 1969, p. 322). Normative involvement is described as less emotional than symbolic involvement and tied primarily to the "sanctions attached to national role expectations as the individual perceives them" (DeLamater et al. 1969, p. 323). Lastly, the functional commitment that one has to a nation is dependent on the perceived rewards available from participating in the system (DeLamater et al., 1969).

In order to investigate their assertions, DeLamater et al. used a sample (N=129) of 70 males and 59 males. Of the that 129, there were 118 "whites" and 11 "negro", with an age range from 21 to 60+ and an education range from less than high school to graduate education. Interestingly, during their analysis, DeLamater et al. produced an alienation scale in an effort to assess the nature of national involvement an individual may have with the United States. In assessing the viability of the alienation scale, the authors found that those who were functionally committed to the United States were the least likely to feel alienated, while the symbolically committed individuals were most likely to feel alienated from the United States (DeLamater, 1969). Lacking from their analysis of the nature of involvement of individuals with the United States was a representative sample of African American participants, as is characteristic of all peer-reviewed articles that assess patriotism. Additionally, there is no ideological nuance to the way that alienation is discussed. Alienation is merely mentioned in relation to extremist groups, e.g. Black Muslims.

Davis (1999) reprises the rich history of research on the affiliation of individuals with their nation. He states that this research has primarily utilized a priori research methods, e.g. Terhune (1964), DeLamater et al. (1969), Druckman (1994), and Kelman (1997). Davis provides a wonderful account of researchers who have taken up the discussion of individual attachment to their nation, but he does so in an effort to inject subjectivity into the discussion

of individual affiliation to one's nation. Primarily, each of these studies was taken from a socio-psychological perspective, not a communicative one. Additionally, each of these respective studies were variations to adopt and adapt DeLamater et al.'s seminal categorization, i.e. symbolic, normative, or functional, for national involvement for individuals (Davis, 1999).

According to Davis, Mack (1983) identified three human needs regarding affiliation to a nation: (1) belonging, (2) survival, and (3) to be valuable or worthy (Davis, 1999). Terhune (1964) also described categories of affiliation: affective involvement (affiliation), goal involvement (personal benefit/rewards), and ego involvement (achievements or failures and/or criticism or praise that affect self-esteem) (Davis, 1999). In contrast to research that posits a priori categories of the individual perspective of national identity, Davis (1999) asserts:

> National identity is a function of emotional attachment and value-laden interpretations, and any study of the phenomenon should allow individuals to express their ties without restrictive categories imposed by the researcher. Returning to super-imposed scales and categories as a means of interpretation serves only to obfuscate any subjectivity present within the data (p.32).

In order to introduce subjectivity into this discussion, the researcher utilized Q-methodology in order to investigate Basque nationalism. Davis did so by compiling a collection/assortment of conversational statements that were used as a theoretical framework to categorize utterances derived from speeches, poems, song lyrics, newspaper articles, interviews, and scholarly writings. Davis' study used a sample of N=30 (Males=16, Females=14), where he found that there were two distinct factors central to Basque self-identity: the identification with being Basque and affinity for the collective nationalism (Davis, 1999). Davis' study

helps validate the subjective investigation of nationalism with regard to the individual attachment to nation.

Importantly, Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) patriotism scale is seminal due to its findings regarding the dimensionality of patriotism. The authors posited that six factors emerged in their investigation of a measure of patriotism and nationalistic attitudes. They created six sub-scales: patriotism, nationalism, internationalism, liberties, world government, and smugness. For our purposes, the patriotism sub-scale listed twelve survey items that were oriented toward affect, i.e. emotional attachment, toward the United States (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). In accordance with DeLamater et al's symbolic commitment to nation, emotional attachment is at the core of individual attachment to their nation (See Figure 1).

In an effort to further understand the conceptual bifurcation of nationalism and patriotism, Li and Brewer (2004) designed an empirical study to understand the relationship between patriotism and nationalism and their effect on cultural identity in the face of uncertainty, such as the tragedy of 9/11. The researchers asserted that patriotism is positively correlated with internationalism, diversity, and liberalism. Conversely, research aligns nationalism with authoritarianism, militarism, and intolerance. Li and Brewer (2004) stated that there are two common approaches to developing social group coherency. Similar to Heribert (1990), national identification is an appeal to a common "essence" or a shared heritage and the other is based on having commonalities in challenges, purpose, and the coordination toward the achievement of goals.

These researchers' divergent paths respectively support the fomenting of nationalism or patriotism. They predicted that under the conditions of shared purpose in the face of threat (unity), patriotism would be heightened and would be positively associated with tolerance for

cultural diversity, but would show little or no relationship to heightened nationalism (Li &

Brewer, 2004). Conversely, if nationalism is defined in terms of essentialism, as opposed to

unity, which would lead to more exclusivity regarding national identity; the researchers

predicted that patriotism would heighten and would be associated with a heightened

nationalism and less tolerance for internal diversity. As a result, the researchers hypothesized

that according to the basis upon which social cohesion is fomented; national identity should

either be more closely aligned with a more exclusive nationalism or a more inclusive

patriotism.

    In order to investigate their predictions, Li and Brewer (2004) used a convenience

sample (N=148; 103 females and 45 males) of U.S. citizens, including 127 who identified as

white Americans, eight who identified as African-American, six who identified Asian-

American, one who identified as Hispanic American, and six who identified as "other."

There were two identical questionnaires distributed randomly that held different priming

manipulations, one that primed for the unity condition and one that primed for the essence

condition[4]. Questions for the questionnaire were adapted from the Kosterman and Feshbach

(1989) patriotism scale.

    Their findings framed nationalism and patriotism as distinct psychological constructs

that can be held by a person simultaneously to varying degrees while mediated by context

and national leadership. The researchers' findings supported their predictions. They

---

[4] Core essence: The tragic events of September 11 have united Americans as never before in
our generation. We have come to understand what we have in common as Americans. As a
nation, our focus is on the core essence of what it means to be an American (Li & Brewer, p.
732).
Common goal: The tragic events of September 11 have united Americans as never before in
our generation. We now have a common purpose to fight terrorism in all of its forms and to
work together to help those who were victims of this tragedy (Li & Brewer, p. 732).

discovered that when both nationalism and patriotism were espoused as aspects of one's political identity, participants were generally less prone to relate nationalistic identification to multiculturalism, minority groups, and a restricted idea of a "true" American. Additionally, patriotism was more strongly associated with nationalism when unity was predicated on homogenous identity.

A limitation of their study is the lack of ethnic diversity involved in their sample, which may have lead to a lack of diversity in opinion or perspective. Conversely, the study's explicit limitation may also strengthen their findings because it essentially assesses how a range of White-Americans sees the relationship between nationalism, patriotism and cultural diversity. In context of what I argue, this observation leaves a hole in the literature in qualitatively and quantitatively exploring African-American popular attitudes regarding nationalism and patriotism.

Additionally, Li and Brewer's (2004) assess nationalism and patriotism among white Americans, who comprised approximately 85% of their sample. The researchers generally found that the white participants were more exclusive and less inclusive/or tolerant of cultural diversity. This finding gets to the question of what patriotism means for a dominant culture versus what it means among African-Americans. The question is important because the assertion of authentic citizenship and the centuries long fight to be enfranchised within the United States is easily defeated from a position of nationalism within the African-American community, but in-turn that fight becomes emboldened from a position of patriotism. Patriotism must not mean blind allegiance to the United States, i.e. *pseudopatriotism*, but instead a constructive black patriotism that recognizes the support given to the United States in spite of the struggle to be humanized, respected, enfranchised,

and ultimately to be leaders within the United States.

Black Patriotism

Patriotism, as previously discussed, is emblematic of commonalities (i.e. social obstacles, common purpose, and heritage) and cooperative action toward achieving goals among people of multiethnic communities. In the context of the United States, patriotism has been an exclusive designation for Anglo-Americans and rarely, if ever, associated with African-Americans (Wilkins, 2001; Wanzo, 2009). If so, it is only done so in ways that display the ambivalent relationship between African-Americans and the United States. Wanzo (2009) explored the patriotic identity of African-Americans toward the United States during World War II via an adaptation of the *Captain America* comic book series by Robert Morales and Kyle Baker, titled *Truth: Red, White, and Black* (Wanzo, 2009). The author recounted the story of three black soldiers who fought on behalf of the United States, but entered into an experiment that would make them super soldiers. Through Wanzo's (2004) analysis, she depicted soldiers who willingly fought for a country that betrayed them and devalued their service. Despite the betrayal, the soldiers continued to support the cause of the United States, which is what Wanzo describes as melancholic patriotism:

> Patriotism consists of formal and informal contractual obligations and affective attachments to the state and what it purports to represent…an existing stand of African-American patriotic identity that must be understood as strongly tied to both an investment in democracy and the affect resulting from its phantasmagoric nature for many citizens (p.341).

Wanzo's description of black patriotism as melancholic is characteristic of a uniquely African-American perspective towards the United States due to the vestiges of slavery. The author highlights that the main character, *Truth*, who is never seen as a "true believer" but is typically a skeptic of the promise of the "American Dream" (Wanzo, 2004, p. 347). This

absence of a true believer rests on the assumption that there is fissure between what the United States espouses and what is possible for African-Americans. The time period chosen by the author provides a glimpse into the highly contentious relationship of African-Americans to the United States during a historic time in our country's history: WWII. During that time in history, African-Americans had not been fully enfranchised in the United States. Neither the Civil Rights Act of 1964 nor the Voting Rights Act of 1965 had yet to be introduced, thus speaking to the displacement African-Americans were most likely experiencing. This poor state of political freedom remained intact until the height of the Civil Rights movement.

Conversely, Wilkins' (2001) book *Jefferson's Pillow: the founding fathers and the dilemma of Black Patriotism* was a comprehensive look at the historical development of African-American nationalistic identity through the actions of the founding fathers of the United States, George Washington, George Mason, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson. Each left an indelible mark on the United States via their contribution to the country's political development. Within the text, Wilkins contrasts the founders' decision-making regarding the country's political development with their relationship to the institution of slavery and their own personal slaves. Wilkins' text is a compelling depiction of African-Americans' contributions to the development of the United States. *Jefferson's Pillow* chronicles the unique positionality of African-Americans in the development of the United States and firmly places the creation of America in the hands of all of its inhabitants, from the time of its inception: namely serving on both sides of the Revolutionary War, passively and aggressively resisting slavery, fighting for and winning civil rights, maintaining strong family ties in the face of forces that set to tear them apart, fighting the Civil War, and

ultimately the Wilkins family's long-established roots in the United States. The micro-elements of building community, symbolic interactionism if you will, are laid with historical precision through Wilkins' impressive efforts to articulate the bifurcated relationship between nationalism and cultural identity.

Conclusion

What are not apparent in the works of the authors who explore Black Patriotism are the principles that undergird such an ideological stance. Unfortunately, they also lack the privilege of seeing an African-American elected to the Presidency of the United States of America. As a student of history who is aware of the extraordinary circumstances of African-Americans at the hands of Caucasian-Americans, I am curious about the factors or even sensibilities among the American public that produced social hierarchical ascendance for African-Americans.

Academic works in this area are important because they allow for general overview of the socio-political attitudes of African-Americans. This is significant due to the distinct, yet scarred history that has shaped a manifold America, politically, socially, and economically. My attempt to explore patriotism from an African-American perspective takes seemingly antithetical constructs and assesses how they fit together. In doing so, African-American socio-political ideals that have long been debated, controversial, and communally guarded are exposed.

Conversely, not available from this academic endeavor are generalizable principles of what patriotism means to and for African-Americans. Here, we can only hope to get a glimpse of how patriotism's audience is comprised and how African-Americans fit within that audience. Of course, the relationship between patriotism and African-Americans has

always been salient, but it is even more so due to the context within which this research is done, i.e. the election of the first African-American president. Not to overstate the potential for this work, we have experienced the first African-American President, but there must be a number of other first before the United States reaches its stated patriotic ideal. If Americans are to maintain our economically competitive edge, maintain a viable democracy, and continue to co-exist communally, we must assess our communicative exchanges and what they mean for us politically. Ultimately, I propose to conduct focus groups to explore the communication behaviors consequent of African American perspectives on patriotism. It is anticipated that from such a study, I will be able to assess how patriotism constructs it audience and how African-Americans fit within that audience.

<div align="center">Project Overview</div>

In order to address the research questions and methodologically provide a theoretical grounding for the use of African-American popular opinion toward the investigation of the communicative elements of patriotism among African-Americans, I first consider the theoretical tenets of symbolic interaction, including culture and metaphor (Dewey, 1927). Next, I discuss the influence of self-categorization theory on political identity in an interpersonal communication context; I also highlight and the pragmatic use of metaphors in communication; I assess Black Nationalism and its critiques; and lastly, I explore the black public sphere (Habermas, 1989; Fraser, 1992; Squires, 2002). Ultimately, I use a qualitative methodology in an effort to explore the communication behaviors associated with racial and political identity construction, which will be discussed later in greater detail. It is anticipated that from such a study, there will be a more clear focus on the positionality of African-

Americans within the political landscape after the historic election of the first African-

American president.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

"Black Americans arrived on New World shores precisely as *property* belonging to the bourgeoisie. They were strategically and rigorously prevented from acquiring literacy. And they were defined by Thomas Jefferson and his compeers among America's Founding Fathers, as devoid of even a germ in their minds that might be mistaken for reason. Historically, therefore, nothing might seem less realistic, attractive or believable to black Americans than the notion of a black public sphere. Unless, of course, such a notion was meant to symbolize a strangely distorted chiasma: a separate and inverted opposite of a historically imagined white rationality in action. Such a black upside-down world could only be portrayed historically as an irrational, illiterate, owned, nonbourgeois community of chattel-legally barred from establishing even conjugal families-sitting bleakly in submissive silence before the state"

---Baker (1995), *Critical memory and the black public*

sphere

The backdrop of Baker's (1995) depiction of African-American history provides a definitive contrast to President Obama's election. It is an achievement by an ethnically diverse coalition of voters that propelled him into a position that is antithetical to how African-Americans arrived to the United States. Surely, the dim history of America and the original sin of slavery has been a blot on the conscience of this country since its inception. Baker's (1995) critical memory of African-Americans aptly presents origins of Africans in America as subservient and bereft of rationale, i.e. not capable of substantive communication. Even so, there are ongoing efforts by African-Americans and others to move towards a more perfect union, as uttered by Lincoln in his Cooper Union Address (Willis, 2008).

In this chapter, I explicate my theoretical perspective of communication, social democratic theory (symbolic interactionism). In this work, I consciously chose the theory of symbolic interaction as an organizational theory to explain the process of human associative

action, i.e. a justification for the change in what Dewey called the Great Community[5]. In

doing so, I recognize the shortcomings of the approach, namely its inability to describe

structural change. Similar to Fox (2009), what can be said regarding the positive

contribution of symbolic interactionism to this project is that it allows me to describe how

those who attempted to define themselves as citizens did so rationally[6]. Moving forward,

public sphere theory is discussed as an extension of social democratic theory. As a theory of

social organization, it is a process that starts with the individual and extends to the

interpersonal and eventually expanding to create various publics. In order to illuminate this

notion, I start with a discussion of Dewey's (1927) conception of the public and I transition

into a complementary discussion of the Habermas' (1989) public sphere, next I explore the

black public sphere and I end chapter two with an overview of Black Nationalism.

An appropriate place to begin, regarding the public and the public sphere, is John

Dewey's often-cited idea of communication, which Czitrom (1992) succinctly describes in

the following quote:

> Society not only continues to exist by transmission, by communication, but it may
> fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication. There is more than a verbal
> tie between words common, community, and communication. Men live in a
> community in virtue of the things they have in common; and communication is the
> way in which they come to possess things in common. (p. 108)

---

[5] Materialism radically critiques symbolic interactionism by placing dissemination at the core
of communicative exchange (Biesecker, 2009). The assumptions that buttress social
democratic theory are considered weak because of the monistic model of dialogue that is
central to symbolic interactionism. Pragmatists have not adequately theorized a suitable
solution to the gap between the independent, but yet interdependent relationship of encoders
and decoders.
[6] In reference to encoding and decoding, Grossberg (1992) describes the fetishization of
difference by structuralist and poststructuralists as such:"…contemporary…theories of
"difference" fail to challenge the structural gap which is the essence of communication in this
model; rather, they fetishize it…" (p. 39).

This quote underscores the idea of building community as a hallmark of the development of the United States, which emerges from unique origins (Carey, 1997). As a frame of reference regarding communication and community, Dewey (1927) discusses the various roles of the state, the role of publics in engendering a vibrant democracy, as well as the eclipse of said public (1927). Dewey defines a public as, "all of those who are affected by the indirect consequences of transactions to such an extent that it is deemed necessary to have those consequences cared for" (p. 15). The state is comprised of officials that are elected by intersubjective publics resultant of human associative behavior. Those behaviors have consequences that extend toward others—consequences. Consequences call a public into being because primary groups are inadequate to do so. As such, agencies called to address the concerns of the public or older agencies are saddled with new responsibilities (Dewey, 1927). Thus, Dewey conceptualizes the state as an intervener on behalf of those who are disenfranchised, e.g. children, elderly and historically oppressed groups. This highlights the ideological congruence of pragmatism that has traditional supported African American arguments for the role of the State, and its apparatuses.

In his thesis of an eclipsed public, Dewey posits the rise of a technological age, which has become an impediment to an idealized face-to-face communication. Dewey's thesis of the eclipse of publics was supplemented by an assertion that proliferating technological advancements assist publics in being heard, but not recognized (Asen, 2003). Dewey's critique was not directed toward the notion of multiplicity of publics, but at the relations between publics (Asen, 2003). This insight comprises claims from researchers like Goodnight (1982), who launch from similar assumptions as those of Dewey and Habermas; namely, that the improvement of human communication will ultimately lead to a more

informed and responsible participatory citizenry. As such, social democratic theory from this

perspective is a call for a Great Community of interconnected publics that fully recognize

and respect each other, not a Great Society that functions as a Tower of Babel (Dewey,

1927).

<div align="center">Symbolic Interaction</div>

The tenets of symbolic interactionism underlie the assertions of adherents to the

Chicago school, i.e. Dewey, Blumer, Mead, and others. As Blumer (1969) avers, "the simple

recognition that human beings interpret each other's actions as the means of acting towards

each other", lies at the heart of symbolic interactionism (p. 79). The Chicago School of

thought seems a fruitful theoretical approach to take toward the reorienting of the US social

hierarchy, in ways described by Carey (1997):

> The Chicago School suggested that we go through recurring, even ceaseless cycles of
> social organization, disorganization, an then social reorganization, cycles when
> existing patterns of social interaction and relations, social institutions and forms of
> life, even forms of individual identity are broken down and dispersed. What follows
> is a moment of mass society, when social disorganization reigns, when identities and
> relations are influx and change. This phase itself is never permanent, however, for
> the social system is reorganized and restructured; new identities emerge; new patterns
> of social relations, usually quite surprising and unpredictable, are forged (p. 28-29).

Extending from the assertions made here, I suggest that the United States is currently

experiencing a cycle of social reorganization, which demands the emergence of new

identities, endogenous and exogenous, specifically for African-Americans. The previous

statement serves as a tacit recognition of a typically negative monolithic identity relative to

other ethnicities.

As such, the tenets of symbolic interaction acknowledge the self as essentially a

socially constructed agency from the most intimate to the most social levels, able to act upon

itself, e.g. able to clothe itself, feed itself, nurture itself, etc. (Mead, 1934), but also able to

take on the role of another or in turn have its role be taken, a capability whose importance is paramount (Blumer, 1969). As the term for this capability, Blumer describes "self-indication" as the ability of the individual to objectify his/her surroundings in order to make decisions. What is important here is that there is no concept of a pre-existing order of objects that determine the actions of an individual. Rather, he/she "constructs his objects on the basis of his on-going behavior" (Blumer 1969, p.84). Self-indication is seen as a process of building toward an action, which involves contemplating various courses of action and the active movement toward a decision based in a constructed framework of knowledge (Mead, 1934).

The assumptions of symbolic interactionism are central to social democratic theory. More to the point, the ability of the individual to take on the ideas of another is central to symbolic interaction due, in part, to its accompanying assumptions. Those accompanying assumptions include: the assumption of presence in opposition to absence; the assumption of self-conceptualization, a set of ideas that people have about themselves; the assumption of evaluating norms; the ability to appeal to a generalized other; and also the ability to identify the self in the generalized other for the purposes of associative action (Mead, 1934). Importantly, Blumer (1969) asserts that symbolic interaction conceptualizes the social construction of the self as the impetus for social change and as the exigency for collective action to address consequences of human action.

The basis of reality in social construction that characterizes symbolic interactionism extends to social democratic theory. The evaluation of consequences, both direct and indirect, replaces causal assertions made by other theoretical perspectives of communication research. Consequences galvanize people to act together, because the actions of members of

a community inherently affect other members of that or other communities, while causality requires and thus constructs an unending search for the initiation of effects. As a result of consequences being the hallmark of symbolic interaction, oversight, regulation, and adjudication (argumentation) become a responsibility of publics (Dewey, 1927; Habermas, 1989). In these ways, symbolic interactionism as a social theory highlights the dialectical relationship between the individual and the efficacy of publics, as each is constitutive of the other.

Culture as context

In an effort to highlight the cultural elements of symbolic interactionism, I employ Carey's (1989) conception of communication as cultural. Carey conceptualizes communication as cultural via Dewey's often-quoted assumption of communication as, "Society not only continues to exist by transmission, by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication" (Carey 1989, p. 13-14). As stated, transmission is paramount as a goal of communication, but less attention is paid to the ritual of communication that helps connect disparate individuals and communities. From a dual concept of communication as both transmission and ritual, follows the assumption of analysis that stems from the effects, i.e. the consequences, direct and indirect, of human associative action (Dewey, 1927; Carey, 1989).

The transmission of messages is indeed based on *difference* and *relationship*, but the organization of people is based on the ritual of social democratic theory and the rich history of African Americans organizing to debate the political future of the United States. As Dawson (2001) states, "The result of a flourishing counterpublic was the accelerated development of autonomous black ideologies, which began to differ markedly from their

white counterparts" (p.52). We must recognize that no monolith in reference to race or ideology existed regarding those who worked toward the advancement of African Americans. Instead, it was necessary for people to organize based on the consequences of human associative action for the purpose of deliberation about the best courses of action toward meeting their goal.

To help move us toward a contextual conception of communication, Carey uses a mapping metaphor emphasize the entropic character of society. This conception of society opens the door for how communication helps order our lives, but also alludes to the structuring ability of language. Carey (1989) uses a map to represent the reality of getting from one place to another as an example of how symbols come to represent reality as substitutes for and of an entropic world which requires ordering.

While identity is derived from shifting cultural practices, an analysis of identity must be sensitive to the communicative actions of those people, which in turn extend from their lived experiences and the culture that help shade those experiences. Thus, the cultural elements of communication place as chief among my concerns of how community constructs cultural identity, which in turn constructs political identities, and ultimately political action. Following this discussion of communication and its ability to transmit and its ritualistic elements is a discussion of the component parts that help articulate my discussion of political action within sectors of African-American communities; namely, identity construction, ideology, and the public sphere.

Community as Metaphor

While the mutual constitution of individual and social identities, then, can be effectively substantiated, as well as the relevance of such a view to African-Americans in the

United States, the task remains of how to best empirically investigate such a complex process. One promising direction is attention to language, specifically metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) describe both structural and ontological metaphors as central to the way we understand our communities and ourselves. Structural metaphors are those where a concept is structured in terms of another (p. 14). Ontological metaphors allow us to describe our experiences in relation to objects and substances as well as to personify objects and substances (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Central to the claims of the authors is that there is an experiential and social basis to metaphor that informs how we conceptualize what happens around us, which means that metaphors are not random or arbitrary. Specifically, the authors suggest how metaphors "allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms- terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics" (p. 34).

The values and indications that underlie individuals and their communities can be comprehended through attention to metaphorical communication, because this is how such social relationships and self-indications are materialized. For example, more is valued as better than less, up is valued as good, where down is not (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Furthermore, these kind of basic distinctions are not universal, but subject to revaluation when put to the test of scrutiny of subculture, something that is accounted for by the authors.[7] However materialized in specific usage, the universality to the values that underlie our

---

[7] A colloquial example of scrutiny regarding the use of universal metaphors is the assertion of *bigger is better* versus *smaller is better*. The sales of small cars are increasing, the race to create sleekest phone is apparent in the technology competitions between Apple, Inc. and Google, Inc. Even so, the effort is to be the most virtuous because more is better, universally.

communities helps to create cultural coherence. The cultural coherence is evidenced by the way that we communicate common metaphors.

This also points to the importance of taking account of experience in how we communicate ourselves. Thus, metaphors are not only means to clarify, but also can be a "constitutive blockage" in attempts to name something that is "essentially" unnamable (Laclau, 2005, p.71). Thus, the fact that a metaphor is characteristically vague becomes apparent due to the inability to have an a priori or determined place of signification for that concept or the people who make up that concept.

Thus, to understand the roles African-Americans play within the American electorate and in the creation of public policy, we must understand the ways in which they conceptualize support for the United States and its policies.

Identity and Politics

Maslow (1954) states that humans have a basic need to affiliate with others and meeting that need promotes psychological health. Similarly, social identity is dependent on being a member of a group, which is a key component of the self-concept (Maslow, 1954). As such, in social situations, self-identity is presented in relation to other people.

Social democratic theory is based on the meaningful exchange of symbols. That formation is usually cast along divisions of labor and material conditions that inform the ideas of the people. Those ideas, in turn, inform the communicative practices of the people and permeate implicit and explicit expressions, (i.e. verbal and nonverbal respectively). Thus, the exchange of symbols and the process of cultivating identity also include the political. To explore this relationship further, I evaluate the pursuit of political interests that inform the development of one's social identities.

This explication of political identification will be best understood through the lens of self-categorization theory (SCT), as discussed below (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987)[8]. Specifically, my research assesses socio-political thought, culture, communication and politics. Here, I pose a general question: how does cultural identity, performed communicatively, inform one's political identity?

Communicating a Political Identity

Orbe and Harris (2008) describe interpersonal communication as dyadic communication, which is usually synonymous with intraracial communication. This is important to point out here as an indispensable step of self-categorization. The ability of individuals to act upon themselves and to be acted upon provides a bridge for social action, but usually that journey starts with interpersonal contact with another person. As noted in RQ2, it is important to understand how African Americans see the election of a Black President as it relates to communication and identity. That process is explored below using SCT as a prism through which to explain social interaction and social-group development.

Generally, I conduct a micro-discussion of the process of self-identity, via self-categorization, the individual development of a group identity, and specifically individual development of political identification. Further, a new conceptualization of political identity

---

[8] Turner et al. (1994) explicitly posit that symbolic interaction and self-identity are distinct concepts. The authors state, "Self-categorization does not see the self as emerging from reflected appraisals in social interaction (the reactions and expectations of others) but from cognitive process of social comparisons and categorization in which the perceiver appraises self in relation to others…nor do we see self-concepts as primarily reflections of normative social structure and the perceiver's social roles, …a conflict model in which the social group, not the social role, is the basic unit." (p.458). I contend that the social group is not knowable apart from its role. Specifically within the context of this project, African Americans who fought to define themselves as citizens did so with a keen awareness of their role and with constant reminders of their perceived inferiority. Such pragmatism buttresses the rationale for mingling these two theoretical traditions.

will be discussed in relation to its association with self-categorization as a group identification process.

Group Identification: Social Identity as self-categorization

Tajfel and Turner's (2004) social identity theory (SIT) posits that people identify themselves in relation to others, which is done through self-categorization. To be more specific, Turner (1982) describes the process of self-identity as such, "individuals structure their perceptions of themselves and others by means of abstract social categories, that they internalize these categories as aspects of their self-concepts, and that social-cognitive processes relating to these forms of self-conception produce group behavior" (p. 16). Similarly, Bar-Tal (2000) asserts that members of a society join together to create boundaries that highlight their similarity in comparison to various out-groups and usually provide criteria for distinction between one's society, i.e. in-groups, and out-groups.

As a subordinate of the social identity theoretical perspective, self-categorization theory (SCT)[9] is described "as attempts to understand, explain and predict how people come to think, feel and act as a psychological group and, importantly, the circumstances when this will occur and its consequences (Turner & Reynolds, 2012, p. 400). Further, self-categories are cognitive groupings of the self that reflect an individual's self-perception (Turner et al., 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994; Voci, 2006; Schmid & Hewstone 2011). Specifically, SCT can be contrasted from SIT as an explanation of why people discriminate

---

[9] Huddy (2001) discusses the deficiencies of social identity approach, including SCT. Specifically, the researcher highlight the inability for the social identity perspective to account for the lack of equivalence regarding permeability between acquired identities and ascribed identities, i.e. African-Americans cannot readily access a more fitting ethnic category in the same manner that is readily accessible for a permeable category like graduate students. Additionally, Huddy (2001) points out that social identities tend to be more fluid than political identities.

regarding in-group versus out-group interactions. In order to highlight SCT, it addresses why individuals identify with perceived out-groups and act in ways that reflect that membership, while SIT addresses why the perceived out-group identity is activated for them (Turner & Reynolds, 2012).

The principles of self-categorization have been discussed in various fields of study, such as social influence (David & Turner, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001) and minority psychological wellbeing (Outten, Schmitt, Garcia, & Branscombe, 2009). The heuristic nature of self-categorization is illustrated in the voluminous works that utilize its principles; only a small sample of those works is previewed here. Even so, the principles of SCT are diffuse throughout socio-psychological and psychological literature. For instance, what has become apparent in works using the principles of self-categorization is that in-group membership is essential to be seen as a prototype eligible for leadership (Turner & Reynolds, 2011). Thus, those who they see most like themselves influence people.

Also, self-categorization has been assessed in relation to prejudice and discrimination. For example, Outten, Schmitt, Garcia, and Branscombe (2009) address group identification and psychological wellbeing. In their article they utilize the principles of self-categorization; there they assert that social categories can sometimes serve as a shelter for disadvantaged groups, i.e. African and Latino Americans, against stressful situations. Further, Turner and Reynolds (2011) discuss work on social identity or stereotype threat that illustrates the salience of negative stereotypes on cognitive ability.

Dimensions of SCT

Accessibility. In addressing why individuals self-categorize, researchers have commonly discussed three dimensions of SCT, accessibility, fit, and depersonalization

(Oakes, 1987; Turner et al., 1994; Voci, 2006; Schmid & Hewstone, 2011; Turner & Reynolds, 2012). Accessibility has been described as the "readiness" of an individual to utilize a category available to them (Oakes, 1987; Turner et al, 1994). Voci (2006) lists three determinants of accessibility regarding categorization (Turner et al., 1987, 1999): accessibility hinges on how important, i.e. salience, a category is for self-definition; also, the perceiver's past experiences are considered in relation to the "effective" use of the category; and lastly the perceiver's current motives, values, goals, and needs are considered.

Comparative Fit. What becomes apparent regarding the discussion of accessibility is its necessary partnership with the concept of fit (Turner et al., 1994; Voci, 2006). Fit is described as intra-group differences that are usually perceived as smaller than inter-group differences within the relevant comparative context (Turner et al, 1994). Thus, context becomes one of the linchpins of SCT. Specifically, fit is described as either normative or comparative: comparative fit is based on intra-group perception of similarity relative to the amount of difference regarding alternative groups, e.g. women as a comparatively different gender from men. Alternatively, normative fit it based on content, i.e. attitudes and actions, but also specific contextual differences of opinion or position, e.g. Protestant versus Catholic differences in opinion on the issue of abortion.

As a consequence of the interaction between accessibility and fit, the contextual reality of an individual's categorical choices will help determine where he or she will place themselves in relation to others, i.e. the meta-contrast principle (Turner & Reynolds, 2012). What should be noted is the difference between one's personal identity and their social identity, which is also necessary to the adjudication of an appropriate category. Turner et al. (1994) assert that personal identities are self-categories that determine the uniqueness of an

individual, while social identity is described as the shared categorical self. To elaborate, an individual may categorize others as well as the self in terms of shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to those in other social categories.

Depersonalization. Turner and Reynolds (2012) discuss the individual's negotiation of personal identity and social identity, i.e. depersonalization, as the outcome of psychological activism of context-based accessible categories that fit the individual's reality. Turner et al (1994) describe depersonalization as the individual cognitively aligning themselves with the in-group creating a shift from personal to group-based perceptions and behavior resulting in a self-stereotype. Voci (2006) describes depersonalization as the key variable to determining social group phenomena, i.e. intra-group cooperation, in-group favoritism, and in-group cohesion. These descriptions of state depersonalization is distinct from depersonalization disorder, or trait depersonalization, which is defined as "an alteration in the perception or experience of the self so that one feels detached from, and as if one is an outside observer of, one's mental processes of body (e.g. feeling [as if] one is in a dream) (Simeon, Kozin, Segal, Lerch, Dujour, & Giesbrecht, 2007, p. 304).

Operationalization of SCT

In order to discuss the interaction of accessibility, fit, and depersonalization, Voci (2006) conducted two field studies that investigated whether depersonalization of self-perception could be seen as a mediating variable between in-group and out-group categorization and group phenomena, while also assessing the moderating ability of accessibility.   In order to measure these phenomena, new measures of comparative fit and depersonalization were created based on meta-contrast ratios. The meta-contrast ratio is a derivative of the meta-contrast principle, which states that categorization is based on the

likelihood of similar stimuli being organized into a single entity in comparison to the degree

of apparent differences from all other available stimuli (Turner, et al., 1994; Voci, 2006).

Thus, a meta-contrast ratio is the ratio of average inter-category distinction to the average

intra-category distinction (Linville, Slovey, & Fisher, 1989; Voci, 2006).

    Conceptionalization. The descriptions offered above for operationalization for

comparative fit and depersonalization are each state indexes that measure the amount of both

at the time of the occurrence. What is missing from self-categorization is a measure of

degree or relationship, i.e. relationship, complementary to accessibility, comparative fit, and

depersonalization. As an attempt to augment SCT, I propose a reconceptualization of self-

categorization, i.e. ideological identification. In doing so, attributes will be adopted from the

rich literature of social identity, complemented with ideas from social psychology. Thus, it is

necessary to recognize that self-confirmation is key to self-categorization due to the ability of

categories to be assigned and chosen (Schmid, Hewstone, Al Ramiah & 2011).

    Additionally, SCT researchers assert that there are no *a priori* categories for

individuals, accessibility and fit for categories are always influx. Thus, self-categories are

not fixed or absolute, but instead are relative, varying, and context-dependent (Turner et al.,

1994). As such, the perceived autonomy to change categories based on accessibility and fit

has been central to collective action (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). With that

said, self-categorization is a fluid process that essentially dichotomizes the individual from

the social, in contrast to symbolic interaction in which the individual and the social are

conjoined (Turner et al., 1994). Although, self-categorization and symbolic interaction have

been theorized as distinct in their idea of the self in relation to others, depersonalization is

inherently an assessment of the self in relation to others who may also inhabit an acquired or

ascribed category[10].

     Reconceptualization. Previous research has established the relationship between comparative fit, accessibility, and depersonalization. Particularly, Voci (2006) states, "…the interaction between accessibility and comparative fit of an ingroup-outgroup categorization affects depersonalization —that is, self-categorization as a group member. Depersonalization, in turn, determines group phenomena" (p. 75). What I initiate here is exploration of the relationship between accessibility, fit, *belonging* and depersonalization. One may ask what is the difference between fit and *belonging*. Fit, as mentioned before has been conceptualized as either normative or comparative, i.e. what kind of placement do I have. Whereas, *belonging* may be conceptualized as a relational element that assesses the degree to which a person envisions themselves in a certain category via their service to, rewards/punishments from, and the symbolic appeal of that category (Kelman, 1969, DeLamater, Katz, and Kelman, 1969; Schatz, 1995).

     As such, the idea of *belonging* is a dimension of self-categorization that has not been explicitly discussed. Walton and Cohen (2007) define belonging as the self-perception of connectedness. In addition, the authors assert that belonging is positively associated with perceived availability of social support for mental and physical health, compliance with authority figures, and academically extracurricular activities (Cohen and Walton, 2007). I assert that the relationship between comparative fit of an ingroup-outgroup categorization and *belonging* is mediated by depersonalization of self-perception, and moderated by category accessibility, which determines group phenomena.

---

[10] For instance, there are examples of individuals whose personal identities are not congruent with their socialized identities, e.g. politicians. In those examples we see the idea of depersonalization become perverse because the social category becomes the proxy for personal actions, e.g. partisanship.

Viewing categorization through the prism of *belonging*, allows us to not only examine group phenomena, but it may also permit the assessment of the emotional investment to the category, expectations from the category, and the perceived rewards gained from being a part of the category. Thus, I posit that the relationship between comparative fit of an ingroup-outgroup categorization and *belonging* is mediated by depersonalization of self-perception, and moderated by category accessibility, which determines group phenomena. In other words it is necessary to determine the amount of fidelity one has to their self-determined category in exchange for recognition by that category.

Belonging is Exclusive

The process of developing group identification is further discussed by Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory (ODT). ODT posits that two motivations underlie social identification: assimilation and differentiation. These underlying assumptions coalesce with Turner et al. (1987) SCT due to individuals' tendency to self-categorize, meaning that they simultaneously assimilate themselves to those with whom they fit and differentiate themselves from others who do not fit their self-categories (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994; Voci, 2006; Schmid & Hewstone, 2011; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Regarding the exclusivity of a possible category, cultural-minority groups are considered minimal groups (Turner & Reynolds, 2011). Thus, the smaller the cultural group, e.g. African-Americans, the scarcer the identities available to that group in comparison to a large cultural group, e.g. European-Americans, (Pickett, Silver, & Brewer, 2002). To add, Brenman (1940) avers that minority status creates a dialectical identification of individuals with their acquired cultural heritage, or not, which is moderated by the individuals' ability to

identify with those outside of their acquired cultural heritage, regardless of normative or comparative fit.

Further, Conover (1984, 1988) asserts that there are two components to minimal group identification: self-awareness by individual of his/her membership of the group and psychological attachment to the group. Conover (1984) uses a schematic approach in order to explain the process of connecting the individual to the group and also the formation of a group consciousness in order to influence political decisions. The researcher asserts that schemas are used in order to organize information for the purposes of developing accurate perceptions. Additionally, schemas are created for the formation of perceptions of the self and others with regard to salience and distinction. An amalgamation of the knowledge of oneself and of the other, with which an individual may categorize him/herself, leads to a self-schema (Conover, 1984).

Bridging Social Identity and Political Identity

Operational Definition. Huddy (1998, 2001) also offers an illustration of identity that bridges social identity and political identity. Building on the work of Conover (1984), Huddy (1998) asserts that psychological attachment ties the individual to the political group due to that individual feeling similar to a purported prototypical political group member; this similarity is usually built around core values, i.e. normative fit (Huddy, 2001). This illustrates the notion of a prototypical political group member who sets the standard for the group and represents an ideal to which one should strive. Further, the psychological approach to identity development insinuates an affective component when discussing the outlook of members toward the in-group versus the out-group (Turner, 1982; Conover, 1984; Huddy, 1998). As a result of this approach, a valence is assigned to the self and others as well as to the members

of each group (e.g. in-group and out-group). Cole and Stewart (1996) advance a definition of

political identity as:

> …a pattern of beliefs related to the social and structural relationships that connect the individual to social groups: specifically, that human existence is interconnected, that disadvantaged groups are limited by systematic obstacles rather than individual shortcomings, that the political realm is personally relevant and meaningful, and that collective actions are the best responses to social problems (p. 132).

To be clear, I do not posit a monolithic view of communities or political agendas

because not everyone who acquires an identity ascribes to that designation, but there are

those who do not acquire a specific socially assigned identification that may ascribe to its

cultural markers. In either case, acquired or ascribed, neither denotes a political identity. In

an effort to describe political identification (Huddy, 1998; Conover, 1984) in terms of self-

categorization (Turner et al, 1987; Turner et al, 1994), a new formulation of political identity

is posited. *I assert that political identification is self-categorization by an individual, leading*

to the socio-psychological connection of that individual to the socio-political perspective that

most reflects the position held by the individual, regardless of but with adherence to cultural

group status. This definition seeks to incorporate disparate elements set forth by the earlier

researchers regarding political identity (Conover, 1984; Turner et al., 1987; Turner et al.,

1994; Cole & Stewart, 1996; Huddy, 1998) to create a generative definition political

identification that highlights the intentionality of choosing and enacting political identity. As

such, due to political identification, collective categorical politics responsive to the

consequences of human interaction is fostered, i.e. policy positions and interdependence.

This definition is distinct from Dawson's (1994) black utility heuristic in the sense that it

does not make the racial group a proxy for individual progress. The iteration of political

identity discussed here recognizes racial disparity and racial cohesiveness, but it also recognizes that individuals ascribe to groups outside of their acquired racial labels.

Ultimately, A major blind spot in this definition of political identity is the assumption that all actors are rational or even informed about the their surroundings. It is fair to think of rationality (colloquy) as generally based on the assumption of morality and good manners/pleasantness (Dawson, 2001). Alternatively, the infusion of emotion into an overtly rational discussion of communication brings the charge of irrationality. It is indeed rational to be emotional about injustice as a way to alter the practices of people considered unjust. As a result, the designation of what is rational must also be reconsidered.

Thus far, I have broadly discussed patriotism and self-categorization as political identity in the context of the individual and as interpersonal communication, but it is also necessary to consider the counter arguments against African American conceptualizations of patriotism. As the antithesis to Black Patriotism, Black Nationalism, as will be discussed, has a rich and productive history as a prominent ideological[11] position that, for some, continues to guide African American political action; a portion of that history is reprised below.

<center>Black Nationalism: A Separatist Ideology</center>

As a project that investigates African Americans perspectives toward patriotism, it is necessary to explore an ideological stance that has traditionally stood in opposition to the integration of Africans in America, Black Nationalism. Black Nationalism is an example of an ideology that essentializes black political identity (Dawson 2001; Gordon, 2003; Price, 2009). There have traditionally been stark divisions between the United States and African-American communities. Some sectors of African-American communities continue to speak,

---

[11] Ideology is an actively inhabited constellation of political beliefs for which individuals and groups pursue action (Dawson, 2001; Grossberg, 1992).

write, and theorize from an assumption of separation between African-Americans and the United States proper. Ideologically, Black Nationalism has had resonance within the African-American community since the Martin Delany's (2004) *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*. He makes fervent claims to American citizenship by basing his argument in both the Constitution and Christianity, but also in self-determination:

> The degradation of the slave parent has been entailed upon the child, induced by the subtle policy of the oppressor, in regular succession handed down from father to son—a system of regular submission and servitude, menialism and dependence, until it has become almost a physiological function of our system, an actual condition of our nature. Let this no longer be so, but let us determine to equal the whites among whom we live, not by declarations and unexpressed self-opinion….but by actual proof in acting, doing, and carrying out practically, the measures of equality. (p. 73)

This passage helps represent the origins of Black Nationalism as an approach towards life, but also as an academic tradition. Delaney's life experiences as a trained physician and explorer, of royal African ancestry, during a time, i.e. 1852, when the legal standing of black Americans as slaves truly made him a cultural enigma.

In his extensive body of research, Dawson (1995) chronicles how Black Nationalism has been at odds with liberal American tradition, and was created in response to a repressive state apparatus (see Dawson 1995 for full review). In the same ideological vein of Black Nationalism, Asante's (1980) Afro-centrism has been a heuristic idea of communication, patterns of association, and taken-for-granted approaches to knowledge for many African-Americans scholars, thus serving as the impetus for much work in the communication discipline (Mazama, 2001). Price (2009) posits that there are four tenets of Black Nationalism: (1) self-determination as opposed to servitude; (2) self-sufficiency, i.e. financially, politically, and social sustainability within the African-American community; (3)

separation from white supremacists or even total avoidance of whites in general; and (4) Pan-Africanism, i.e. promotion of unity and emancipatory effort throughout the African Diaspora. Black Nationalism indeed serves as a heuristic idea that continues to stand the test of time for theorists interested in the plight of peoples in the African Diaspora. Gordon (2003) asserts that, "Black Nationalism is a discourse in action, that remains fluid in response to vicissitudes of American life" (p. 6).

Black Nationalism serves as a fruitful lens through which to view the struggles of African-Americans, despite a lack of support among the African-American public.[12] It is a central thesis for contemporary African-American scholars about race relations or political activity, particularly those who do not see themselves as Africans in America. As one prominent scholar who holds Black Nationalist ideas, Asante (1980) proposes a thesis of Afrocentrism, which asserts that cultural identity is constructed via memory, fantasy, narrative, and myth. Further, he claims that myths function as fundamental patterns by which we subconsciously organize our experiences (Asante, 1980). Conversely, they also operate on a conscious level and maintain our symbolic life at a phenomenal level. Asante (1980) asserts that unique to the mythoforms of members of the African Diaspora is that cultural identity formation springs from a resistance to colonization, hegemony, and all other forms of domination from those outside the culture of origin.

---

[12] Price (2009) quantitatively examines the lack of resonance of black nationalism among African-Americans using four indicators from the National Black Election Survey, i.e. the Black Nationalist Index: attendance of Afrocentric schools, separatist views from whites, shopping habits within the African-Americans community, and voting habits in reference to black candidates. Price (2009) reports that on a 5 point likert-type scale including respective categories: strong nationalist, nationalist, neutral, nationalist rejecters, and strong nationalist rejecters, that approximately 12 percent of respondents fall within the nationalist to strong nationalist categories, while 59.2 percent fall within the nationalist rejecters to strong nationalist rejecters categories.

The logic and indispensability Asante's claim is captured in Price's (2009) description of the necessity of Black Nationalism's cause and Afrocentrism as an outgrowth of such a cause. Price (2009) explains that, "Because expectations of white attitudes and behavior toward blacks were so low, Black Nationalism saw reforming black thinking and behavior as key to black liberation" (p. 85). Thus, scholars from this perspective argue that African Americans should place their cultural traditions at the center of their lives.

Even though the need for such a stance seems necessary for African-Americans, who have been placed in precarious and (seemingly) powerless positions since their enslavement upon arrival to United States shores, there remains the issue of practicality; again, praxis is a necessary and a sufficient condition (Dawson, 2003; Gordon, 2003). Dawson's (2003) outstanding discussion of political ideologies within the African-American community provides context to how publics within this community have articulated and often times engaged in political action. Dawson explains this way of thinking as follows:

> The critics of ideology do recognize that which ideology is dominant at any given time, which is politically important in any given society, is historically contingent (Arendt 1966; Horkheimer 1972). Ideologies form, are articulated, and take root among the grassroots as a result of specific social processes (Horkheimer, 1972). The process of white racial backlash, for example often helps provide an atmosphere within which Black Nationalism flourishes. (p. 48)

Considering the current sociopolitical context in the United States and the election of the first non-Anglo-Saxon president, Black Nationalism continues to be a prominent ideology within the African-American intellectual community. I make the dichotomy based on the various publics that exist within the African-American community, of which I discuss at length below via the public sphere. Harold Cruse's (1967) *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* also made the distinction between those who were of common profession versus those who serve as the intellectual vanguard of the African-American community. Cruse

(1967) asserts that the individual is not a useful unit of analysis because he/she cannot be untied from his/her group. Knowledge of the political theater of the United States, both foreign and domestic, creates an impending substantial diminishing or eradication of Black Nationalism in a time of social transformation, in relation to other black ideologies. Scholars as McWhorter (2000), McPhail (1998), Gresson (1995), Gordon (2003), and Price (2009) call into question major premises of Black Nationalism, due to these difficulties.

For example, McWhorter (2000) posits a triumvirate of concepts that, in concert, produce a perpetually disadvantaged people: victimology, separatism, and anti-intellectualism. Victomology alludes to persistent charges of instantiated systematic disadvantage at the expense of African-Americans regardless of socio-economic status. Separation is defined by the desire to not interact with mainstream culture as a defense mechanism against imposed oppressive practices by the dominant culture. Lastly, he asserts that African-Americans reject formal academic education because it is conceived as a "white thing" and antithetical to living an essentialized black existence.

McPhail (1998) also critiques essentialized identity in general and Afrocentrism in particular as a way of viewing African-Americans. He sees Afrocentrism as an oppositional discourse to Eurocentrism not only in its claims, but also in its function of defining itself via "negative difference" (i.e. we know what Afrocentrism is by what it is not) (Gordon, 2003, p. 18). Thus, McPhail's theory of coherence is one that sees the coming together of oppositional discourses within the "racialized context of domination and subordination" (Gordon, 2003 p. 18). Conversely, Gresson (1995) sees Spivak's (1988) strategic essentialism, i.e. the ability of marginalized groups to temporarily essentialize themselves among constantly shifting identities that is characteristic of a linguistically and practically

articulated culture, as necessary to critiquing subordination and domination (Gordon, 2003).

As a result, we can see the ascendance of African-Americans in our social hierarchy as well

as "rhetoric of recovery"[13] (Gresson, 1995) as a response to a feeling of loss by some

members of mainstream society (read white Americans).

      In an effort to address RQ3, I consider the communicative implications of patriotism

for African-Americans as a public. In order to do so, I position African American political

identity within a symbolic interactionist framework, i.e. the public sphere. Public sphere

theory explains the process of how individuals band together out of shared interest in order to

redress the injustices of the State via passionate deliberation and collective action. Having

seen the limitations of Black Nationalism and discussed the formation of political identity, I

now discuss the negotiation of the public sphere for African Americans.

<div align="center">Negotiating the Public Sphere and Counterpublics</div>

      Public sphere theory was initially a discussion of a bourgeoisie public sphere limited

to white males who assembled as private individuals to deliberate in public spaces

(*öffentlichkeit*) (Habermas, 1989). In these public conglomerates, private citizens ideally

come together face-to-face, in public spaces, to discuss their concerns comprising a public

sphere.

---

[13] Gresson's recovery rhetoric, "a human necessity: a response to loss with an effort to regain balance by taking back that which has been lost" (p. 21). Recovery rhetoric employs a narrative structure to tell a story, a story often marked by reversals and ironic inversions. It is a signifying practice that employs metaphors and myths to "twist reality, a reality of self and Other" (Gresson 24-25) (Gordon, 2003, p. 21). Recovery rhetoric has been central to the claims of the conservative political grassroots organizations and political action committees, i.e. The Tea Party and Restore Our Future. His work is built from "…Richard B. Gregg's Ego-function of the rhetoric of protest (1971).

Fraser's (1992) "rethinking" of the public sphere recognizes not just a single public sphere, but multiple publics that create room for alternative publics to function simultaneously with the bourgeoisie public sphere. She works to address dubious assumptions that accompany Habermas' public sphere theory, such as the ability to bracket identity; the value of a multiplicity of publics for democracy; the outright move toward a common good in lieu of private issues and interests; and, lastly, that distinct separation between civil society and the state. These assumptions collectively function to make room for *subaltern counterpublics*, which Fraser (1992) defines as "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter-discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (p. 123).

Black Public Sphere

Working in the same way as Fraser to enlarge and diversify how a public sphere might be conceptualized, Dawson (1995) suggests the necessity of a black public sphere, illustrating the overlapping, yet, divergent approaches taken within the black community toward social activism and issues that comprise a black political agenda. To describe the necessity for exploring the black public sphere, Dawson (2001) states:

> Societies which are marked by racial apartheid are not only likely to develop separate public spheres, but those spheres themselves become the bases for the articulation of divergent, often conflicting, group interests. The subordinate group, in particular, is likely in bourgeois democratic societies to perceive ideology through the lens of whatever social cleavage is the basis of its historical oppression, whether its members believe their oppression to be based on religion, class, or (in the American case) race (p. 53).

Not only is it the desire of African Americans to assemble to discuss their relationship to and with the United States, it is necessary. The necessity of African Americas to develop various outlets for addressing their concerns, e.g. Frederick Douglass's *North Star*, David Walkers

Appeal, The Niagara Movement, the NAACP, with the United States, within their own communities but also to a larger audience, is evidence of this diversity and plurality. It calls attention to counterpublics created for and by African Americans, but it also highlights a theoretical deficiency of symbolic interactionism to account for the affective elements of social organization. Often, as in other social movements, theorists are simultaneously activists, community organizers, financiers, family members, etc. Those various subject positions are indeed *relational*, but they are constituted in opposition/antagonism/resistance to a normative rationale of domination; while it is tempting to see a dichotomy between emotion and rationale, physical and conceptual, and universal and particular, we must resist such dualisms.

The *dispersion* of discourse particular to the political perspectives of African Americans in the United States allowed for the creation of spheres of public discussion mainly inhabited by African Americans. History also tells us that the discussion of African American political ideology was not exclusive to one cultural formation of people.

Other scholars have laid the terrain regarding the black public sphere. Gordon (2003) infuses this discussion with an introduction of race into the discourse of ideology and its ability to alienate. He seeks to show that the Black Nationalism is a response to the intentional alienation of African-Americans via white ideologies of oppression. Gordon (2003) asserts that

> The bracketing of race accentuates the lack of theorizing about a Black Nationalist ideology because, notwithstanding the protestations of many whites, race is of primary importance both in the dominant white ideologies that seek to oppress black (some more explicit that others) and in the ideology of black abolitionists that sought black liberation. (p. 24)

As this explanation suggests, Gordon's (2003) assertion allows us to see that not only does class have the ability to consign individuals to various social statuses, but race can also function in a similar manner. Additionally, the relationship between rhetoric and ideology has been illuminated to show how topoi such as domination, alienation, and oppression have been entrenched in American white supremacist language practices. As Gordon (2003) explains,

> black alienation was an experience felt in the encounter with the language of white supremacy. This was a language that functioned in tandem with the full complex of social conditions of white supremacist America. The language of master versus slave and superior versus subordinate was a concrete aspect of this experience of American blacks" (p. 27).

Similarly, Baker (1995) calls attention to the critical memory of African-Americans, which he compares to a wrong-headed nostalgic approach taken by conservative African-American scholars. He asserts that nostalgia substitutes history for allegory and glorifies a more virtuous past, whereas critical memory "judges severely, censures righteously, renders hard ethical evaluations of the past that it never defines as well-passed" (p.3). Further, Baker (1995) posits that critical memory reminds us that we remain a people without a nation, only with an origin.

Generally, these two works highlight the essentialist tendencies of Black Nationalism. However, the black public sphere has never been monolithic in its identity, nor have its perspectives on and/or approaches toward the achievement of racial equality. Recognizing this, Squires (2002) challenges scholars and African-American publics to "rethink the black public sphere," which is in large part grounded by the arguments for a more inclusive public sphere advanced by Fraser (1992), Dawson (1995), and Baker (1995). Squires (2002) created a vocabulary relative to three public spheres that she argues function to comprise the

black public sphere: (1) the enclave public, (2) the counterpublic, and (3) a satellite public.

According to Squires (2002),

> A public can *enclave* itself, hiding counterhegemonic ideas and strategies in order to survive or avoid sanctions, while internally producing lively debate and planning. It is also possible to create a *counterpublic* which can engage in debate with wider publics to test ideas and perhaps utilize traditional social movement tactics (boycotts, civil disobedience). Finally, a public that seeks separation from other public discourses from time to time acts as a *satellite* public sphere. (p.448)

Squires' (2002) work is seminal to the discussion of the black public sphere because it creates labels for the respective publics discussed: enclave, counterpublic, and the satellite. She also defines the rules of engagement for and the impediments often encountered by each public. Again, these categories are useful yet problematic because each works from a separatist ideological assumption wherein the black public sphere is discussed as separate from the mainstream or as a counter public (Baker, 1994, Dawson, 1995; Squires, 2002).

Squires (2002) posed a foundational criticism against Dawson's conception of a black public sphere. Squires claims that Dawson conflates the organization of a sphere with its success as a sphere, but it is a tempting assumption, e.g. the civil rights movement is an appropriate comparison of conditions. The organization of a sphere does not assure its success or its sustainability as a sphere. Also, one may not be able to assign internal homogeneity to a sphere (Squires, 2002)[14].

In the same theoretical seam, Fox (2009) uses public sphere theory to highlight the practically of the actions taken by African Americans post-Reconstruction to assert themselves as citizens via the Black Convention Movement. Fox casts the fourteenth amendment as the backdrop for his argument that organization was necessary for equitable

---

[14] History is brimming with examples of coalitions that have worked together to achieve enfranchisement, e.g. Socialist Democratic Party, the American Communist Party, the Black Panthers in concert with the Young Lords.

apportionment of rights. For this reason, both symbolic interaction and public sphere

theories serve not only as descriptions of human associative action, but also of human

associative advocacy. Black individuals saw themselves in relation to others as

disenfranchised and banded together with other black individuals who consciously

recognized that there were others who suffered the same plight in order to hold the State and

its representatives accountable for their acts of mistreatment. As such, I highlight the

continued struggle for black individuals to define themselves as citizens and as patriots.

Specifically here, we will discuss the ongoing process of the aforementioned definition of

redefinition of African-Americans, as citizens, in relation to patriotism.

<div align="center">Research Questions</div>

The research questions guiding this study are designed to explore the assertion that

President Obama's foundational premise of authentic and legitimate African-American

citizenship in the United States is an ideologically underdeveloped perspective in black

public spheres, e.g., Black Patriotism[15]. As a focal point of this project, communication takes

center stage in the construction of political identities.

Thus, RQ1 asks, "How do African Americans, within the United States,

conceptualize patriotism subsequent to the election of President Obama?" Extant research

does address the context of said question for African Americans, a historically

disenfranchised group. In the context of having the first African American president of the

United States, an overtly historical transition that disrupts centuries of discriminatory practice

---

[15] Of course, I do not take the election of the first African-American president in a vacuum;
instead I fully acknowledge its occurrence relative to other component elements that
simultaneously influence human actions (e.g. a failed Bush Presidency, a toxic national
political environment, two unpopular wars, and persistently high unemployment).

within the United States. As a result, it seems plausible that African Americans would not only have an emotional connection to this historical presidency, but also a rational, i.e. communicative, investment in President Obama's historical achievements. I assert that this research will extend extant research on patriotism (Adorno et al.,1950; Terhune,1964; DeLamater et al.,1969; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Heribert, 1990; Schatz, 1995; Druckman, 1994; Kelman, 1997; Schatz, Staub & Lavine, 1999; Davis,1999; Mack, 1983; Wilkins, 2001; Li and Brewer, 2004; Wanzo, 2009).

In a similar vein, RQ2 asks, "In what ways do African Americans believe the election of a Black President communicates the need for a strong, racial or national identity, individually, interpersonally, and as public?" As such, interpersonal communication, i.e. dyadic communication, is seen as foundational to communication, and also to identity construction. The ability of individuals to commune with other individuals for the purposes of addressing the consequences, direct or indirect, that result from human associative action is essential initiating, maintaining, and revitalizing political identity. The theoretical perspectives used to bring light to this project are self-categorization theory and symbolic interactionism. As a theoretical perspective, self-categorization provides agency for individuals to decide their own social group orientation via accessibility, fit, and depersonalization (Oakes, 1987; Turner et al., 1994; Voci, 2006; Schmid & Hewstone, 2011; Turner & Reynolds, 2012). In concert with deciding one's own category or group, the role of said group is inherently salient due to the consequences of human associative action (Dewey, 1927; Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969). Invariably, self-categorization is a precursor to collective action, which is cogently described via symbolic interaction (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008).

Finally, RQ3 asks, "What are the communicative implications for African-Americans regarding how they conceptualize patriotism individually, interpersonally, and as a public?" As stated earlier, the rational, i.e. communicative, investment made by African Americans into the Obama presidency requires thorough explication. A generative place for that discussion is within the black public sphere (Baker, 1995; Dawson, 1995; Squires, 2002). From research in this area, we know that the public sphere is inherently political (Habermas, 1989), but we have not been exposed to African American public perspectives of patriotism. As such, by using a qualitative methodology to critically engage African American conceptualizations of patriotism and political identity through the prism of symbolic interaction, this project will extend the reach of extent research to include previously neglected African American perspectives.

For these reasons, the research questions and the literature review for this project position communication (symbolic interaction), black patriotism, and political identity (self-categorization) as theoretically salient. An examination of the proposed phenomenon of patriotism among African-Americans (i.e., their national and/or political identity) requires an investigation of the vastly different lived racial experiences of members of this racial and ethnic minority group. Using focus groups, I will qualitatively investigate how patriotism is articulated among African Americans in light of the election President Barack Obama. I will do so by assessing how African-Americans communicate themselves, politically, as individuals, interpersonally, and as members of various spheres within the black public.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Pragmatism is the primary lens that I propose to use to answer the research questions guiding this current study. Pragmatism asserts that the utility of utterances rids us of a dualism between objective discovery and subjective making (i.e., quantitative and qualitative methods of investigation). According to Rorty (1996),

> …for pragmatists there is no sharp break between natural science and social science, nor between social science and politics, nor between politics, philosophy and literature. In areas of culture are parts of the same endeavour to make life better. There is no deep split between theory and practice, because on a pragmatist view all so-called 'theory' which is not wordplay is always already practice. (p.xxv).

The necessity to investigate human phenomena through whatever valid and reliable means, qualitative or quantitative, is what undergirds a pragmatic approach, thus its appropriateness for conducting this study. I purpose to employ a method of investigation that seeks to understand and reflexively analyze the perceptions of African-Americans regarding the concept of Black Patriotism in response to the election of the first African American President of the United States.

Methodologically, I explore this phenomenon in an effort to understand current political attitudes towards the U. S. and, upon further reflection, whether there has been a noticeable change in political orientation for African-Americans. Our current Commander-In-Chief, President Barack Obama, is the nation's first African American president to hold this office. His election to the most powerful political office in the free world is symbolic (and historic) for many who voted him into this incredibly important and powerful position. While some argued that his racial identity played a critical role in his being "their candidate" of choice, others were inspired by his political agenda and promise for change. Yet others

recognized this critical event as essential to their newfound interest in our political landscape. In either case, it can be argued that there has been and will continue to be a heightened level of attention paid toward politics, domestically and internationally, fomented by the election of the first African-American president.

This study is a qualitative inquiry that attempts to understand the ways in which African Americans communicate about and label contemporary ideological stances in response to the election and governance of President Barack Obama. As a continuation of scholarship that attempts to make sense of that complex interaction, I attempt to unveil an underdeveloped aspect of the black political thought within the United States: Black Patriotism. I do so by qualitatively assessing the socio-political ideological utterances of African-Americans by using focus groups. I anticipate highlighting an underdeveloped ideological stance regarding African-American political thought based on participant responses to focus group interview questions.

Focus Groups

Focus groups are a quasi-naturalistic approach toward conducting research due to the autonomy imputed to participants versus a lab setting where participants are constrained by their context (Kreuger & Casey, 2000). A fully naturalistic approach to research involves observing people in their environment interacting without disruption; even so, focus groups allow participants to express their views freely. This method is used to produce generative conversation that is facilitated by a moderator. Additionally, I employ focus group interviews as a qualitative method of inquiry in this study instead of quantitative methodology due to the tendency of surveys to artificially blend isolated narratives. As a result of my methodological choice, my data will not be generalizable to a public outside of the groups being interviewed.

The goal of qualitative research is not to apply the findings to the general public; rather, this type of inquiry functions to offer insight into a phenomenon that is unique to those specific participants. What are available from focus group interviews are the combined rich local, social perspectives of participants (Larson, Grudens-Schuck, &Allen, 2004) in relation to assessing the ideological components of Black Patriotism. Because this is a speculative inquiry into the idea of patriotism taken from an African-American point of view, the method of inquiry used allows for as many points of view as possible. Creswell (1998) recommends not analyzing focus group data using numerical values as to avoid the illusion of statistical significance and generalizability. In order to allow readers to make sense of the dense qualitative data, numeric values in tables and talk turns will be utilized to provide precision in reporting, but not as a means of generalization.

Bradford, Meyers, and Kane (1999) suggest that focus groups have their utility in gathering in-depth, participant-driven information taken in a generative setting that encourages participation. Bradford et al also aver that this approach to qualitative methodology decreases the power difference between moderator and participants and among participants, which may serve as a barrier to gathering useful information. By offering a group context for deliberation, participants may feel more comfortable with being open about their opinions on the topic of politics, no matter how much they differ from others, which may result in the increased possibility for self-disclosure.

Additionally, the strengths and weaknesses of focus group interviews rely on the researcher's focus and the interaction of the participants. Focus groups allow researchers to keep participants on task during the collection of data gleaned interviews (Morgan, 1997). Along with that control is the responsibility of maintaining the focus of the group interaction.

Participants will generate a significant amount of data, which will afford me as the researcher the opportunity to draw preliminary conclusions based on observation instead of post hoc conclusions typically associated with one-on-one interviews (Morgan, 1997).

In terms of cultural identity, conducting focus groups is an appropriate methodology because of the cultural familiarity for participants to contribute without fear of being excluded from conversation based on assumed power dynamics. The emphasis on creating a safe space for participants to self-disclose may create an atmosphere for unrestricted discussion of what are sometimes deemed sensitive topics, namely: race and politics. Another implication of qualitative methodology is the collective cultural identity often on display by African-Americans. By being in a small group comprised of individuals who are willing to disclose, this may create an environment that affords participants the opportunity to share narratives and anecdotes about their experiences with intrapersonal (or intraphysic), interpersonal, and group communication related to the intersection of race and politics, which would not be as easily attainable via survey methods (Bradford, Meyers, & Kane, 1999) or within an interracial context. It is also possible that an interracial focus group or a focus group facilitator of a different race may be counterintuitive to the goals of a study exploring cultural and political experiences of certain individuals; therefore, the current study ensures that all individuals involved with the study are African American.

The target audience for this particular study is African-Americans men and women of all socio-economic statuses and education levels who ranged in age from18 to 80. Squires (2002) defined the enclave public as "hiding counterhegemonic ideas and strategies in order to survive or avoid sanctions, while internally producing lively debate and planning" (p. 448). Thus, it is plausible that African-American university undergraduate and graduate

students serve in an enclave capacity; therefore, I use a convenience sample of University of Georgia students who are enrolled in Communication Studies courses and eligible to fulfill the departmental research requirement through their participation.

Squires' (2002) taxonomy of black public spheres, i.e. counterpublic, satellite, and enclave publics, also affords the researcher the opportunity to compare, contrast, aggregate, and thematize focus group information from the respective publics. As a result, in tandem with using a convenience sample, I recruited African-Americans who were not students, in concert with African-Americans who were students. Research study requirements were that participants range in age from 18 to 80, be of various education levels, and work in varied occupations.

Recruitment

The participants in this study are all African-Americans; however, because African-Americans are not a monolithic group, I sought input from members of this racial/ethnic group who represent diverse walks of life. The ability to receive critical input from African-Americans with a variety of experiences allows for a comprehensive and robust inquiry into political ideology amongst distinct African-American communities. In order to do so, men and women were recruited who were between ages 18 and 80. I used a snowball method of recruiting, which allowed me to recruit participants through: the Communication Studies research pool, the Graduate and Professional Scholars (a minority graduate student organization) listserv, FaceBook posts and messages, a local black male barbershop, and colleagues in the Atlanta metro area. Initially, the goal of the study was to recruit eight undergraduate participants, eight graduate student participants, and 16 community members for a total of 32 participants.

Recruitment efforts yielded 30 participants, 15 males and 15 females. I held five focus groups: three in Athens, Georgia and two in Atlanta, Georgia, during spring semester of 2011. Three focus groups were held in Athens, GA, (Focus Groups1, 2, and 5), which were conducted in a classroom in the Department of Communication Studies. Focus Groups 3 and 4, respectively, were conducted in the Atlanta metro area, with Focus Group 3 taking place at the Fair Oaks Recreation Center and Focus Group 3 at the home of a colleague. Each was tape recorded and video recorded for data collection purposes.

All non-Communication Studies majors and non-student participants were offered a $10.00 honorarium. Participants who were students in introductory level communication classes and participated completely in the focus group interview successfully fulfilled their research requirement. No extra academic credit or other incentive was provided.

Regarding employment, participants included 12 who are gainfully employed, one who is self-employed, one who is retired, and 16 who are currently enrolled students. Information on specific occupation was not obtained for this study because we believe the demographic socio-economic information provided is adequate information to inform us their of individual perspective on political occurrences. Also, participants were from various income brackets (see Appendix B). In addition, participants were of various education levels, including high school/GED (N= 5); some college (N= 5); college graduate (B. A./ B. S.(N = 11); and post-graduate school (Master's degree) (N = 9). As noted, each participant had at least a high-school diploma or a GED. As is characteristic with snowball methodology, the idiosyncratic characteristics of participants are beyond the control of the researcher; however, all participants met the requirements of the study's parameters, which are that they be at least 18 years of age and African-American. Through using these methods, I gleaned information

about how patriotism creates its audience and how African-Americans fit within that audience.

Procedure

Of the 30 participants, 18 participants received an email request (See Appendix A) to participate in this study, a consent form (See Appendix B), and a demographic sheet (See Appendix C) prior to their participation in the focus group interviews. The remaining 12 participants received the consent form and the demographic sheet, on the day of the focus group. The details of research procedure will be discussed below in relation to the recruitment of participants and the description of the participants.

Participants were informed of the purpose of its group and were asked if they would like to participate. Via email, I provided participants with a consent form, a description of our proceedings, and a demographic sheet prior to participating in the focus groups. I did so because it helped expedite the process of administering research related forms and prepared participants for what to expect of the focus group experience before consenting to full participation. This also gave participants time to make an informed decision about participating in the current study. Participants attended Focus Groups 1, 2, and 5 in the Communication Studies building in Athens, GA because it is a space in the department designated for conducting focus group interviews. This was also a very convenient location to assemble student participants who could easily access the research site.

Once participants confirmed their participation, they were all contacted a second time via email to confirm the location and time of their focus group (See Appendix D) and provided their commitment to participation. Written consent was provided upon arrival to the

site. Participants were informed prior to participation that they would be both videotaped and audio recorded.

Participants attended Focus Groups 3 and 4 in Atlanta at the Fair Oaks Recreation Center and a colleague's home as a matter of convenience for those participants living in the Atlanta area. (I must also note that the colleague hosting the focus group was also a participant.) Focus group sessions were recorded in order to reliably capture the responses of the participants; to ensure accuracy of assigning talk-turns during the transcribing; to allow the focus group facilitator to better manage the time allotted for the focus group and in-depth discussion of the topic; and in reporting the results of the focus group analysis, which did not exceed 90 minutes. In order to protect their true identities, they were also informed all identifying information will be concealed and that pseudonyms would be used in the final written report.

I conducted the focus group using an interview guide with questions about the political orientation of African-Americans toward the United States (see Appendix E). The interview protocol includes 13 questions designed to create a healthy discussion on Black Patriotism. Questions 1-4 are attempts to foment discussion among participants on their projections of affiliation with the United States individually and as a group. Also, their ideas of patriotism, in general, were assessed and also a discussion of their association of that patriotism to African-Americans. Questions 5-9 are attempts to generate discussion on the principles Black Patriotism and the association of those patriotic principles to African-Americans. Lastly, questions 10-13 are attempts to foster discussion about participants' political perspectives, including their domestic and foreign policy concerns among African-Americans (e.g., education, immigration, taxes, and economics).

The focus group questions were asked in their original order in an effort to maintain consistency across all focus groups, as any deviation would skew the data and prohibit a full understanding of the intersection of racial and political identities of the participants. This also functioned to generate intergroup dialogue about politics, culture, and the presidency, and allowed for a relatively egalitarian atmosphere among participants. As such, all participants were afforded the opportunity to either respond themselves to the interview questions or to defer to others in their group. After the interviews were completed, participants were debriefed (see Appendix F), and for those who were eligible, they were then provided their $10 honorarium. (The honoraria were solely provided with the researcher's personal funds.)

The audio-recordings of the focus group interview sessions were then transcribed. The researcher transcribed focus groups 1, 2, and 3, and a professional transcriptionist was hired to manage transcripts 4 and 5. As they were completed, the researcher verified their accuracy by comparing the hard copies of each transcription to the audiotapes of the corresponding focus group. The verification process involved confirming that the talk-turns matched the respective participants, assigning pseudonyms to each participant, and ensuring the entire focus group was transcribed verbatim.

Once all transcriptions were verified and completed, a total of 86 pages of data were generated from the focus groups for further analysis. In order to ensure an accurate and thorough analysis of the data, the methodology of discourse analysis was employed. As will be discussed below, this methodology was deemed most appropriate given the nature of the data collection process and a commitment to preserving the richness of the data.

Participants

In order to provide a clear depiction of the participants who were willing to be a part of this study, I will provide a brief description of each. All participants in this study are African-Americans and ranged in age from 18 to 80, thus providing for a wide range of experiences and perceptions. To start, Focus Group 1 involved seven participants who ranged in age from 18 to 29, four females and three males. Of the four females, three are graduate students and one is an undergraduate, and all three males are graduate students.

Focus Group 2 is comprised of six people, four females and two males. The range of ages for participants is 19 to 32, one of the females being in graduate school and the remaining three being undergraduates. Of the two males, one is a graduate student and the other an undergraduate. Both focus groups were held in the Communications Studies building.

For Focus Groups 3 and 4, a male colleague volunteered to help recruit participants in the Atlanta metro area for this study. He invited me to do a recruitment presentation for the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. at the Fair Oak Recreation Center in Marietta, GA as part of the Guide Right program for young men. After the speaking engagement, four members of the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. and two mothers of Guide Right members stayed behind to participate in this study, their ages ranging from 28 to 67. The participants had been made aware of the focus group prior to their participation via my colleague, but had not received any recruitment or study materials (e.g. consent, demographic sheet, etc). Instead, the materials were distributed at the beginning of the focus group and returned prior to the interview process. Each participant was granted the opportunity to cease participation at any point during focus group participation.

Similar to Focus Group 3, Focus Group 4 was comprised of three males and three females, ranging in age from 26 to 35. Of the three males, one is a graduate student and the remaining two are employed. Of the three females, one is a graduate student and the other two are employed non-students. The dynamic of focus group four is different from the other focus groups because it was hosted at someone's home and contained the smallest distribution of age. As a result, participants had similar markers of cultural and political significance due to their generational, cultural group, and socio-economic similarities.

As with Focus Groups 1 and 2, Focus Group 5 was conducted in Athens, GA at the Communication Studies building and is comprised of five participants, three males and two females. This focus group had the widest age distribution, ranging in age from 20 to 80. This vast difference among the few participants created some distinct differences in how they responded to the inquiries offered. Of the three males, one is retired, one is employed, and one is a graduate student. Of the two females, one is employed and the other is an undergraduate.

<div align="center">Critical Discourse Analysis</div>

Established by Fairclough (1995), critical discourse analysis assesses the relationship between text, language, and discourse in order to determine how power and inequalities are reproduced communicatively (Perakyla, 2005). Fairclough (2003) "see[s] discourse analysis as 'oscillating' between a focus on specific texts and a focus on what I call the 'order of discourse'" (p. 3). Additionally, similar to the dual level of analysis available with conducting focus groups (Morgan, 1997) (i.e. among and between individual and group interactions), critical discourse analysis (CDA) allows for an "oscillation" of focus between specific texts (transcripts) and the structural implications of discourse on the topic at hand.

Fairclough does not assert, however, that social practices are exclusively discursive; rather, he recognizes the influence of cultural theorists who interpret the social structuring of society as entropic. Thus, Chiapello and Fairclough (2002) assert that CDA is based on semiotics, "an irreducible element of all material social practices" (p. 193). Congruent with the materialism motif of this project, the symbolic relation of discourse to entropy serves as an organizing mechanism for individuals in relation to themselves and others.

Barker and Galasinski (2001) assert that two types of questions should be offered to discourse analysts regarding context: (1) *what* does the utterance *mean* in this context? and (2) *Why* is this utterance being spoken or meant in this context? In other words, what is being asked are questions of diction and syntax; the former is addressed via the meaning of an utterance in context and the latter addressed by asking why does that utterance fit that context to mean what it does. Thus, the questions posed are regarding diction and syntax. Conversely, Grossberg (1992) argues that meaning should not be the primary source of our analysis as researchers. For the cultural theorist, context should be at the center of our focus in order to evaluate the factors that create the outcomes that we, as researchers, seek to find. By doing so, we allow the cultural elements that influence social outcomes to become lucid via our research questions, chosen methodology, our reporting of the findings, and critical discussion of the finding's implications. As such, culture will be at the center of this analysis, but will be informed by the political, ideological, economic, and cultural identities of the participants.

Analytic Process

Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as my method of analysis, I ultimately sought to glean emergent themes from focus group discussions centrally to the focused on African

American culture and patriotism. The emergent themes reflect the varying levels of cognitive processing regarding patriotism. In reference to the cognitive processing of patriotism, self-construction of individuals in interaction with other individuals leads to social construction of a nation, but also it leads to the creation of cognitive frames (Eisenberg & Riley, 2001). Cognitive framing does promote the idea that people are synchronous in their beliefs and actions, but it does emphasize that people are tacitly displaying general tendencies or express general ideas, e.g. abiding by the speed limit or covering one's self when cold. Similar to the previous discussion on metaphor, the synchronous experiences of people leads to cultural coherence. As such metaphorical analysis will function as part of CDA in this project.

Fairclough (2003) asserts that "language is an irreducible part of social life", which creates a dialectical relationship between itself and social processes (p. 2). Without reducing social occurrences to discourse, I employ CDA as a means towards "interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretive) discursive processes and the text and explanation of the relationship between the discursive process and the social processes" (Fairclough 1995, p. 97). Thus, through my analysis I have been able to interpret the utterances of the participants regard patriotism among African Americans, while also explaining what implications the participants' proclamations mean practically for the relationship between communication, politics, and African American culture.

To achieve the goal of analysis, I first considered the relationship between the research questions and the interview guide. I categorized the interview questions according to their intent and determined which questions were tailored toward the three research questions, as highlighted under the sub-section entitled: Procedure. Once, the interview

questions were accurately aligned with their research question, responses from respective focus groups was matched to the interview question that they addressed. Following, each participant categorized by their focus group, income level, gender, age, and association or disassociation with patriotism (both individual and communal) (see Tables 2-5). Next, per focus group, their responses were analyzed for themes and those themes were compared to the themes emergent from the other focus groups. Once the themes of the respective focus groups were compared and contrasted, similar themes were combined and dissimilar themes were disaggregated. In order to check the accuracy of the emergent themes, an independent researcher was consulted.

Summary

Moving forward, Chapter Four is a reflection of the fluid, but standardized process of collecting data, interpreting the data, and explaining the participants' assertions pragmatically. As such, Chapter Four is descriptive of the emergent themes gleaned from focus group interactions. Following in Chapter 5, I have both evaluated and theorized the data and its contributions to and implications for political communication.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

As previously noted, the focus of this project is on the salience of cultural identity and how it informs political identity and communication about that aspect of the self. The results from the data suggest that the material relationships of the participants to each other, their communities, economics, and their ideological perspectives help shape their discourse about Black patriotism in light of the election of President Barack Obama.

Grossberg (1992) argues that an analysis of culture should go beyond the discursive creation of meaning. As such the latent content that emerged from the focus group conversations is analyzed. I report thematic representations of the utterances offered by participants, both individually and among respective focus groups. This analysis includes both emergent themes discussed in individual analysis and overall focus group analysis. The emergent themes are as follows: (1) Critical Moments: Stories Ground Us ; (2) American Exceptionalism; (3) Metaphors of Black Patriotism: Unrequited Love; (4) Black Patriotic Dissidence: "Goring the Ox"; and (5) America's Global War on Terror (GWOT). Overall, the themes represent the substantive discussion offered regarding patriotism and reflect a general sentiment of focus group participants. What is not present is a separate or comparative analysis of responses from students and non-students. While participants were diverse in terms of education and employment, analysis did not reveal significant differences between them to suggest or argue that these two demographic variables should be germane to understanding this phenomenon; thus, the focus was limited to culture, gender, and political identity.

As such, less than half of the participants identified themselves as patriots, 14 of 30 (See Table 3). A patriot can be defined as an individual who is willing to critique but also support the ideals and actions for the betterment of the United Stats. These findings were generated from the interview question 10-13 that asked participants to rank order from most important to least important five issue areas including: immigration, taxes, education, GWOT, and the economy. Additionally, a majority of participants, 20 of 30 (See Table 4) expressed the sentiment that patriotism was not something that they would associate with African-American communities, regardless of socio-economic status; however, there was variance in how patriotism was conceptualized.

Dominant Emerging Themes

Critical Moments: Stories Ground Us!

Research Question 1 asks: "Overall, how do African Americans, within the United States, conceptualize patriotism subsequent to the election of President Obama?" Participants offered narratives, or critical moments, in response to questions 5-9. These questions were attempts to generate discussion on the principles related to Black Patriotism and their association with African-Americans. The research question was predicated on the assumption that there has been a change in the way that African-Americans communicate about their socio-political circumstances within the United States as a cultural group and as individuals (See Appendix E).

Thompson, Bell, Holland, Henderson, McGrelis, and Sharpe (2002) describe critical moments as derived from narratives, in context, in the unfolding of a story, the pivot, or complication on which a narrative structure turns. I focused on the stories that participants shared about their experiences, within a socio-political context in order to answer this

question. What is interesting is that a number of the stories were not prompted, nor were they overtly political. Rather, their stories usually connected to community and contributed to the development of their political perspectives.

Separate v. Different. A latent aspect of participant utterances usually hinged upon the idea of African-Americans as a separate culture versus a different culture. More clearly, the question of separate versus different is one of separation of cultures based on societal positions of domination and subordination versus the alternative perspective of perceived differences based on distinctions between cultures such as equivalent links of a chain (Laclau & Mouffe, 1986). For example, in an exchange between three female participants in FG1, the participants highlight the tension of the separate versus different cultural dichotomy in relation to questions about the association of the principles of Black patriotism with African Americans. Students, Harriett, Layla, and Rhonda[16] debate each other regarding cultural separation versus cultural difference. As a result, Harriet, a 22-year-old graduate student and FG1 participant,responds to Layla, saying:

> 1.76   Harriett: I have a, I guess like a complaint with one of the things that you were saying before. In how we are separate…it's not a matter of I separate myself. We're separate. There are some things that are inherent um I know for me. So, most of the time my classmates don't think, "oh thats the only black chick in the class." Um, but I have to be conscious of it, because let something happen in those…and that home black come out that stuff that you not supposed to show around white folks and that's when everybody will remember, oh yea she black and that's when they'll notice. Oh, I have to fit basically and assimilate to not, to

---

[16] Regarding talk-turns, 1.76 represents the first focus group (1) and the 76th (76) response, as counted within the original transcript.

not be separate and that's where I think the problem is that we can't have

different cultural, different cultural quirks and it not be noticed, we're different.

Harriett's fear of exposing idiosyncrasies of her culture to a seemingly disapproving

mainstream culture makes her keenly aware of the appropriateness of her actions in a

majority Caucasian setting.

Alternatively, Layla, a 24-year old student and focus group 1 participant, explains

that, "But I think that difference is something different than being separate... Yea, I just think

that there's a difference between saying that I'm different and then saying I'm separate than"

(1.77/1.79). Rhonda, a 25 year old graduate student, is in agreement with Layla: "I think

that's right, I was thinking about it when you were saying it and I was thinking like you are

saying it is bad, but its really like how you perceive it" (1.80). To sum up discussion of the

separation versus different cultural dichotomy, Layla adds:

Yea, right for me it's like if I separate myself and the other students in the classroom,

first I'm saying to myself. "I'm not supposed to be here." Then, I'm saying to myself,

"They are thinking that I'm not supposed to be here." Um, but if I'm saying that I'm

different than, then I'm recognizing that no I don't look like them and not supposed to

look like them, I'm not supposed to come from the same background. If I walk into a

classroom full of black people, I'm different from them too you know and so.

Separatism is not the same as difference, so… (1.81)

This exchange from FG1, helps capture the thoughts of some African Americans in relation

to other races and ethnicities. It shows a tension between taking ownership of space, the

feeling of being allowed, or of borrowing space. As such, we see Layla implicitly highlight

Harriett's feeling of being *inauthentic* (i.e. do I belong here or am I supposed to be here?). As

such, the issue of belonging becomes paramount in a dual sense. Belonging is salient to a community because separation from others is based on an exclusive/particular identity, but alternatively belonging also refers to community in the sense of being a part of an inclusive/universal identity.

The tension described occurs due to the articulation of critical community moments that signal difference and rests upon the desire for people to be in association with each other. We may see these moments as points of political action also because they happen within a context that is racially, culturally, and politically charged.

Stories as essential. Critical moments are representative of turning points to individuals and have generally been held as central to African-Americans (Asante, 1980). The second sub-theme that relates to Research Question 1 addresses the stories that have been passed from generation to generation in African-American communities carrying messages of hardship and triumph. In this section, I highlight the talk turns that participants offer as narratives that speak to this topic.

Andrea, a 29-year-old FG 4 participant, highlights the importance of such stories to African-Americans:

I find it interesting that I was in the salon/ beauty shop. Um, the shampoo girl; I think she is probably in her early 20s and I could not believe what she said. She basically said that we are as one...there shouldn't be a division, you know, like Caucasian are the same as me. I don't say…I don't believe in black history, you know, we should get rid of that, you know, that's in the past. And I just could not believe it... (4.43)

As this talk turn suggests, Andrea expresses her disbelief with the young lady's state of mind in the anecdote. Andrea does not understand how anyone who grew up in a community with

African-Americans would not be influenced by the stories told by Civil-Rights era African-Americans. Her assumption is that those stories allow for socially just distinctions to be made between African-Americans and Caucasian-Americans. As such, Andrea does not think that Black History should be disregarded and was taken aback by the young lady's assertion that it should.

In order to illustrate the type of story valued by Andrea and lambasted by the protagonist in her anecdote, let us consider Pops', an 80 year old retiree, account of his struggles as an African American family man. He has lived through the Civil Rights era and now in the 21st century and can speak to the historically discriminatory treatment of African-Americans on their march towards citizenship within the United States across many decades:

> Support for this country? We love it. We love it. We just wish everybody was playing by the same rules. You know, uh, what's fair for you is fair for me. You know, again, I remember red lining. I remember when the Supreme Court considered us 3/5 of a human being. I remember restrictive covenants. Uh, the list is endless. The list is endless. (5.32)

Pops references the Dred Scott decision of 1857 where African-Americans were determined to be 3/5 of a human for purposes of counting the population. He also mentioned restrictive covenants, which were used to deny African-Americans and other minorities homeownership in racially segregated neighborhoods. He remarks, "the list is endless" in an effort to say that discriminatory practices have plagued the African-American community and they may still be a deterrent from the "unencumbered" exercise of freedom.

Even though Pops is scarred by the unfair treatment of African Americans, he, along with a majority of the participants from other focus groups, expressed an explicit affection

for the United States, e.g. "we love it" (5.32). Thus, this story is full of discriminatory practices that Andrea also references when she advocates for a social justice distinction between African-American and Caucasian. It also shows pride in being an American citizen.

The stories at the heart of this section extend to the lives of post-Civil Rights era African-Americans in this project who also experience community discrimination within integrated communities, but also in an intraracial context. The stories of two participants from FG3 (Chelsy and Chris) best illustrate this theme. Chelsy, an 18 year old college student, discusses an incident she encountered growing in an integrated suburban neighborhood:

> …When I was a little girl, we had a…we always had like black Santa Clause and stuff. And outside in the front yard the Nativity scene was black. And, we had a few people up the street from us…I was probably like 6 or 7 years old and one night they spray-painted like a whole lot of racial, like, racial stuff on them. And, we had a neighbor that like happened to see them and they like kind of told us who it was and we like talked to their parents. And that…these were white people and their parents were like, these boys are in high school so they knew better. They're just kids and they were just messing around and they're just playing, its not a big deal. But my parents were like you shouldn't do that at all. Their parents wanted to brush it off like it was kid thing, but you know my parents were like you know you don't need to take stuff like that because we're just as good as you are. So, they got…you know they actually made those boys um like volunteer a whole bunch of hours at a black soup kitchen in the black community for like several months to like learn their lesson….
> (Chelsy: 2.43)

Chelsy's story of home vandalism is an example of disregard for the property of others, but also a disregard for their humanity. The affect that this incident had on Chelsy comes through in her telling of the story almost thirteen years later. She is still scarred by the indecency of her neighbors and the lack of respect for her cultural identity.

Similarly, Chris, a 32-year-old graduate student, shares a story that illustrates the necessity for him to affirm his cultural identity to both those outside of and within his own culture:

> Now, um I'm in the barbershop, right. The guys, they refer to me as
> Schoolboy…cause I'm in school. I have to constantly remind them that I'm a
> schoolboy to yall, but I'm still a black man to the world or to everybody else. So, the
> same rules apply. So, when I tell them stories about me being racially profiled
> because of the truck I drive when the music…when I drive by and the police hear the
> music they automatically assume that, ok…when they see the TVs in the
> truck..."wait, who is this? Let me see what's going on." Its because of the truck.
> Then they find out, oh you working on a PhD, seriously. So, its one of those things of
> caution you know. Don't prejudge people because I'm still in school that I don't
> have…we still have that same plight. (Chris: 2.40)

This passage helps us see a fissure amongst African Americans regarding the implied ubiquitous nature of inequality. The participant seemingly validates himself as one of the guys by exposing his stories of being considered a suspicious character because of his vehicle and his choice of music. Enthymemetically, there is an association of suspicious character with African Americans, but also there is a tacit social acceptance of that suspicion in order to "belong".

The passages offered above are only a portion of the stories/narratives that participants shared as a part of this project. Each focus group transcript is replete with stories that chronicle hardships, community challenges, individual perseverance, discriminatory practices against family, and triumph in the face of adversity.

Again, the stories offered were not solicited; rather, they were introduced in response to the influence of participants' cultural practices on their ideological stances regarding politics. The scope of these stories is not divorced from economics as an influential element of African American culture. Specifically, economic disparity lies at the heart of the various political perspectives within the United States, which is a sentiment that is present in many African American communities. Thus, I feature utterances of participants who offered poignant statements that tie the plight of African American communities to their economic pasts and futures.

It's the Economy, Stupid! This sub-theme continues to highlight the undercurrent of the critical moments discussed by participants, i.e. belonging, in response to interview questions about the principles of Black patriotism. Belonging is central to the separate versus equal dichotomy, as well as with the stories of community shared by participants above. Continuing in the same vein, the sense of belonging is not outside the scope of economics. Each of the focus groups expressed that there was a feeling of not receiving the opportunity, rights, or economic rewards commensurate with their work. There were not any participants who felt that the United States owed them something because of their race. As such, the passages offered should be taken as representation of the larger idea of economic frustration among African Americans.

When asked to discuss principles of Black patriotism, participants expressed their dissatisfaction with the lack of economic opportunity available to them, which they feel is not commensurate to their efforts. That sentiment is expressed by Lena, a 41-year-old participant in FG3:

> …when I think about myself and I did everything that I thought was in my right mind to go college, to get a degree, to advance myself, to stay in the workplace to try to advance myself and my career and then to lose my job when I did everything that I thought I was doing right. To not feel that I am not angry right now or just be where other people are and to feel like at this point to transition, not to say that we haven't come through something like this, but the conversations and things I have you know…looking at people losing their jobs and people trying to recoup from that how it has it affected me and how do we raise your children to not you know to value the things you have to put into them to show these things can happen… (3.29)

In this talk turn, Lena conveys her frustration with the lack of opportunity available to her due to a flailing economy. She articulates an unrequited trust in the United States because she has done everything she thought she was supposed to do and has not received what she believes she is due: a job. Nevertheless, she still emphasizes a very important point, which is how to pass the idea of the American dream along to her kids even though she is losing faith.

Greg, a 33-year-old participant in FG4 responding to a question about the principles of Black patriotism, associates the patriotism of African-Americans with their socio-economic status.

> I agree with that point. Um, I think, unfortunately, a lot of it has got to be with the socioeconomic conditions of our people but we see, its...its...knowing our people, its

probably more so to see in our people than others, but again, the more higher

educated, the more income, the better that they are doing for themselves and their

families, they are going to be more involved, have their civic duties that they are

performing as compared to people in my position. (4.64)

Here, Greg posits that a relationship exists between socio-economic status and patriotism

among African-Americans; thus, the lower the economic status of African-Americans the

lower the amount of patriotism. Conversely, the higher the income and the better the

education level, the better the chance an individual would be civically involved (i.e.

patriotic).

Cheryll, a 32-year-old graduate student and policy analyst who participated in FG4,

also chimes in on the discourse regarding the influence of economics on patriotism among

African-American communities:

I think this is anecdotal, but one thing that I always find interesting is when you go to

like the when you go to sporting events and you see who puts their hand over their

heart or who like...like…the different....the different ways people go to honor so

that's kind of like the symbol of patriotism. You know, like we will like sing a song

and like having friends who chose not to do that and listening to why they don't, it's

just that like they don't feel patriotism or just kind of oneness with the United States.

You know, and not that they hate being here but they...and their criticism maybe so

harsh that they can't like even associate with like the patriotic, I guess major of it.

But I think some of that has to do with how disenfranchised you feel. And I think the

more disenfranchised you feel according to what Greg was saying, you know, it's the

low SES and poor health they don't feel the rewards of the country and that makes

sense that you don't feel that patriotism and that's probably why it is so problematic. (4.65)

Cheryll posits that the feeling of disenfranchisement goes hand-in-hand with low socio-economic status and poor health. As intimated by Lena, Cheryll states that there are some within African-American communities that do not feel "the rewards of the country" even though they have done everything they were told was necessary to receive those rewards (e.g., go to college, get a degree, and be a productive, law-abiding citizen). The lack of belongingness discussed throughout this section undergirds the stories that help comprise this section, but those stories also convey an unrequited love that participants reflected.

American Exceptionalism

RQ2 asks, "In what ways do African Americans believe the election of a Black President communicates the need for a strong, racial or national identity, individually, interpersonally, and as public?" This question is one that was meant to set the stage for ideological shifts, but it also assumed variation in political awareness of participants and variation in ideological stances held by participants. The assumption underlying the question is that there is a need for a strong racial, national, individual, interpersonal, and public identity.   I felt the assumption is necessary in light of the election of an African-American president.

Interview questions 1-4 were asked during the focus group to understand what President Obama means to African Americans. The questions attempted to foment discussion among participants on their projections of affiliation with the United States individually and as a group.

What emerged from the data was a notion of American exceptionalism, which reflects the belief that the United States is uniquely equipped and ordained by God to lead the world. This belief is grounded in five pillars that buttress such transcendent values: (1) liberty, (2) egalitarianism, (3) individualism, (4) populism, and (5) laissez fair (Lipset, 1996). This type of perspective on America's role in the world has been a source of controversy internationally, serves as a litmus test for Presidential aspirants, and undergirds American domestic and foreign policy. As a charge in stark contrast to the American view of American exceptionalism, it has also been used as a demeaning accusation against African-American academics and theorists (Gilroy, 1993). While participants were not asked questions that inquired about American Exceptionalism, this perception of the United States organically emerged from the data.

What became apparent from the interview questions on how participants thought about the United States were their expressions of affection for and positive affiliation with this country. Also, participants made it clear that both individual and civic responsibility to our communities is always at the core of being a citizen of the United States, (i.e. what is the proper balance of responsibility between the individual and the government?) Here I examine three thematic prongs of participants' responses regarding patriotism: the association of patriotism with African-Americans, individual responsibility, and civic responsibility.

Association. In relation to the sub-theme, association of patriotism with African-Americans, a solid majority of focus group participants, 20 of 30 (Males=10; Females=10) did not associate patriotism with African-Americans. Only seven of 30 (Males=5; Females=2; and 3 of 30 (Males=0; Females=3) were neutral in their response to questions or discussion about the relationship between African Americans and patriotism.

We can infer from the patterns that emerge from the data that males and females were decisive about the degree to which patriotism is not associated with African-Americans communities. In positing such a perspective, participants were willing to discuss their reasons for their perceptions about patriotism. It must also be noted that there was an undercurrent of responsibility to act in the interests of the others, (i.e. African American communities particularly or America generally).

Participants in FG1 unanimously did not make this association. Everyone was in consensus in response to the question, "So, as a whole, the African-American community, like with patriotism. Does that come to mind when you think of the African-American community?" (Moderator: 1.48)[17]. Harriet stated that, "Those two words don't pop into a sentence for me" (1.57). A second participant, Layla who is a 24-year-old graduate student (1.59), explained this thought process as follows:

> I think that we've been trained not to think that way and maybe verifies my
> conspiracy theory, but um we think about…but really when we think about what
> we've talked about…at least my educational background…in elementary school we
> sang my country tis of thee, we do the pledge of allegiance everyday, and we learn
> about black history, but we learn about black history in a certain kind of way. And,
> that…well for me elementary school was our foundation. Um it creates a certain
> level of assumptions and they don't talk about the civil rights movement as being a
> part of an American story. We don't…we didn't talk about things in the context of
> America. We talked about as black people trying to make a change, but we didn't

---

[17] Regarding talk-turns, 1.48 represents the first focus group (1) and the 48th (48) response, as counted within the original transcript. Similarly, 3.50 would represent the third (3) focus group and the 50th (50) response, as counted within the original transcript.

historicize it saying who else was involved other than black people and what other

things are going on in America at that time.

Layla comments on the educational aspect of learning the history of America as a place

where the concept of patriotism would be embedded for United States citizens. Thus, she is

arguing that African-American history has been truncated from a larger American historical

context (i.e., culture).

Congruent with FG1 members, FG2 participants were also adamant about the lack of

association of patriotism with African-American communities. Adrina, a 28-year-old

graduate student, voices her perspective of the divergent African-American view of

patriotism:

I think an African-American view on patriotism is slightly skewed um compared to

that of I would say someone of the Caucasian race. Um, if you were to ask me [to]

personally describe what it is to me, I have [a] sense of pride in the accomplishments

that my culture, that my race has um contributed to the development and the

progression of the country, which in itself therefore makes me proud. (2.65)

 As this talk-turn suggests, there is a viewpoint that separates the views of African-

Americans from a more mainstream view of patriotism. Adrina has pride in her culture,

within the United States, but by inference, not in the larger culture of the United States.

Chelsy, a 19-year-old undergraduate student, adds,

I don't feel like they fit together. When I think of patriotism, I don't jump to thinking

the African American community as patriotic. Um, and that probably comes from you

know…historically speaking, no matter how hard African Americans work their still

not good enough. They are always trying to prove themselves to everybody else. If

they're even worthy of you know being on the back corner somewhere. So, I don't

jump to match those two words together. (2.68)

Chelsy's assertion matches the sentiments of not only her focus group, but those of

FG1 as well. While FG1 and FG2 were unanimous in their assertion of negative association

of patriotism with African-Americans, FG5 participants were unanimous in their belief in a

positive association between this political ideology and racial identity. Mable, a 42-year old

paralegal explains this way of thinking:

> I think patriotism relates to the black community because, to me, patriotism is...you
>
> have a certain amount of rights. You have a right to choose in this country, you have
>
> a right to vote, you have a right to marry...you know, you have rights. And even
>
> though, you may not agree with some of the things the government...uh, and those
>
> that they are doing...I believe...I believe in patriotism. I think it's still a part of the
>
> black community. (5.34)

In this talk turn, Mable alludes to the possibility that she is a patriot and thinks that there is a

place for African-Americans within an audience that conforms to a patriotic ideology. She

appeals to the Constitutional value of individualism, which allows every person the right to

pursue his/her goals.

Pursuant to the achievement of one's goals, is the opportunity to do so. Here, Jeremy,

a 31-year-old graduate student, when asked about the association of patriotism with African

Americans, offered the following response:

> I think it's...I think it's part of the black community but I think there is a lot of
>
> dissonance regarding...regarding patriotism in the black community because I...we
>
> have...on the...on the books, on the books, we have the rights, but in practice, we

don't have the unencumbered exercise of our rights. You know, for instance, I...I...I

think it's...I think it's terrible when you have a criminal justice system where if you

don't know your rights, they don't exist. I think it's...I think it's terrible...I

mean...like what...what...what is, there is something fundamentally wrong when you,

people will...people will deny other...people will not exercise other people's rights

because they know...they...they don't know... (Jeremy: 5.35)

This talk turn demonstrates a measured look at the concept of patriotism among African-

Americans. Jeremy concedes that patriotism exists among African-Americans, but he also

charges African-Americans with the responsibility to be knowledgeable about their

individual rights. He explains that responsibility should be placed on the individual as well

as the State so that one is transparent in their efforts and accountable in their duties to their

fellow citizens. It may be concluded that Jeremy is actively advocating for the unencumbered

right of pursuing goals.

Individual Responsibility. The second sub-theme is the notion of Individualism,

which is recognized as a hallmark of American Exceptionalism and a staple of Black

Conservatism (Dawson, 2003). Although this was a naturally evolving theme, it reflects

extant aspects of African-American political ideologies. Again, American exceptionalism is

an appeal to America's unique ability to be a leader on the international stage, but it also

relies on individualism as an appeal to individual effort toward the achievement of personal

goals. Black Conservatism uses an appeal to individual effort toward the achievement of

personal goals, but this ideological stance is in stark contrast to the traditional African-

American community position as strong proponents of central government or even of

government intervention.

More specifically, the Civil Rights Movement at-large was an attempt to force the hand of the Federal government to act on behalf of its African American citizens, e.g. the Freedom Rides, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, each of which were acts of government intervention on behalf of African-Americans' right to enfranchisement. There have conventionally been voices within African-American communities that were supportive of an individual approach to the daily happenings of African-Americans, e.g. Booker T. Washington.

In the current study, individualism is alive and well among African-Americans. This is evidenced by Tom's, a 67 year-old philanthropist, description of himself as an American. The following talk-turn is in response to the interview question that asked, "What does it mean to you as an individual to be an American? I hear what you are saying about the country, but what does it mean to you individually?"

I kind of look at…at least from my perspective ah not first as an American, but as an individual that presumes my individuality comes first no matter where I was. The same ways that the country provides for the environment in which you can do whatever it is that you want to and you have a responsibility to yourself and to those that are around you ah to perform or to serve. (3.19)

Tom's assertion of independence and his personal responsibility to other humans to be the best human they can be is at the heart of American Exceptionalism. As Tom states, he sees himself as an individual before he identifies with African-American culture particularly or with being an American in general.

Draak, a 33-year-old small-business owner, offers a similar understanding of patriotism in response to the same question:

Okay, contributing citizen. I think that that is a good way to see it. It is actually kind

of funny in that we may just get into a topic later but it's good you can see yourself as

an African American and I have got to get some viewpoints on that because although

my family history of origin is from Africa, I am not from Africa, I am a black

American. I have been born and raised here and the immediate family, my immediate

family, was also born and raised here. (4.14)

His explanation that he was born in America is a repudiation of any separatist ideological

stance that does not allow for a claim of authentic American citizenship, regardless of the

origin of African-American culture. Additionally, Draak explicitly states that he sees himself

as a "Black American," which means that he sees himself as an American who happens to be

black.

Again in response to questions regarding the association of patriotism with African

Americans, Shawn, a 43-year-old software technician, offers another aspect of individual

responsibility as the ability to be unfettered in the pursuit of opportunity:

I think it, uh, does relate a little bit to my view on what the United

States is. It gives me the opportunity to pursue, again, anything I so desire. Um, you

know, I'm not necessarily forced into any particular line of work. Um, I don't have

to be apprised of the environment where I was, you know, born. You know, I do

have choices outside of, uh, where I was born. You know, I've had the opportunity to

travel... to go do work in different states. You know, choose my...my profession of

choice, you know, amongst...I have a wide range of things. I was not, you know,

forced into a particular line of work because that's what the area of the country where

I grew up. It is what they did, you know, um, so, that, for me is what is being an

American is all about. You know, the freedom of choices...(5.8)

Shawn expresses the viewpoint that the United States allows freedom of opportunity

according to this ability. Here, he discusses his thoughts of freedom in the United States

where he highlights choice as the ultimate cornerstone of freedom.

Dan, a 22-year-old graduate student, offers a viewpoint of individualism that

highlights how interdependence and individualism are tied together:

I agree to an extent…I think that…If I could just add another dimension to this

discussion. I think that sometimes we live our lives in these silos and then act as if we

know the struggle, you know. As if we can make it without that interdependence and

I think that that's not true and the reason that I am optimistic about where we are and

where we are going is because, one… because a coordination of efforts of many

races, of course, helped us get out of civil rights…for of out of that theory; um you

know, second, you know we've all experienced racism. (1.26)

Dan's point is important in two senses. First, no matter how we see ourselves individually,

we need others in order to function (i.e. interdependence), and secondly, our individuality

calls attention to the responsibility of the collective (i.e., civic responsibility) to be

responsible to individuals and, in some cases, *for* individuals.

Civic Responsibility. Civic responsibility is a third sub-theme of American

Exceptionalism that emerged from the data. This label is reflective of Dawson's (2001)

discussion of the "proper" role of government in relation to African-Americans. In so doing,

there is an assertion of responsibility on behalf of government to its African-American

citizens and vice versa.

In fulfilling those civic duties, Felicia, an 18-year-old college freshman, discusses her idea of civic responsibility as such to illustrate her observation of civic responsibility.

> Well, me and my family…we talk about it. My mom talks about it more than my dad. My mom does like to talk about things like that, but I don't know why. My mom will talk about it. She will tell me all of the time that you're not in the same situation…She'll just tell me that things are not the same. My dad is just going to look at things from the military aspect, but my mom is just like you have fight harder…there are just some things that you have to do that other people don't have to do. Like, umm, like even when I go to my mom's side of the family is really very…like, they are very old timey and back at home they have stories, but it kind of makes me feel better about myself because knowing that they went through all of this and I have more privileges than they do. It drives me to do better, it drives me to be a better person, it drives me to do what I need to do. (Felicia: 1.32)

Felicia refers to the stories that her family tells and the advice that her parents offer as sources of grounding her sense of civic responsibility to the United States.

On the other hand, Pops is an 80-year-old retiree who is a veteran of the United States Armed Forces. He has a unique way of expressing and describing his sense of civic responsibility, which suggests that:

> As an American, I am a veteran. I served the country. That's the highest calling a citizen can have as far as I'm concerned. Um, I have always been a law-abiding citizen. I obey its laws. I have valued the privilege of the vote… Uh, I love the principles, uh, like I said, I'm an American who obeys the American ideals and principles (5.15).

As his talk turn suggests, Pops draws his sense of civic responsibility from his service and also believes in the principles upon which the United States were founded. Pop's patriotic fidelity is only a portion of what participants discussed regarding civic responsibility, but is thematically representative of the subject.

Participants also discussed the necessity of political knowledge as a dimension of civic responsibility and of being able to recognize oneself in relation to others. When asked about the association of patriotism with African-Americans, Karesha, a 21-year-old undergraduate student, explains that:

> Yeah, I was going to say that I agree with that as well. And what you just said was kind of what I was thinking because, um, I'd look at it being involved but knowing what's going on. You know, you need to know...don't just say...don't just listen...look at the media or say, Okay, I'm just gonna agree. No, you need to know what is going on because if you are agreeing with something that is totally opposite of what we really want, then it's not effective. So, if you are critically involved knowing what's going on, you know, then, it's like, okay, you are able to exercise your vote efficiently, not just say, Oh, well he's a black man so let me vote for him.…So, I mean, no voice, no power. Like, you can't, say...you can't complain. No vote, no voice. (5.28)

Karesha's assertion of "no voice, no vote" comes with the responsibility of being an engaged citizen. Thus, she does not approve of citizens voting based on the race of,the candidate, but instead advocates voting according to salient political issues. This assertion sounds ideal, but goes against data that suggest that African-Americans candidates more likely to be elected in heavily African-Americans congressional districts (Bositis, 2006, 2010a).

Similar to Karesha, Pops, Felicia, and Dan's belief that civic responsibility is a core responsibility as African Americans, the solid majority of participants agreed that civic responsibility is important, particularly within African American communities. This point is echoed in each focus group. Conversely, Layla pointedly calls attention to the interdependent nature of civic responsibility in relation not just to African American culture, but also to the United States; Layla offers a nice and clear summary of this idea:

> …struggle is struggle um and I think that we can look at black nationalism as our way of always separating ourselves from um…in a lot of our conversations we separate ourselves. Even in the classroom, we come in and yes we are the only one, you know the one black person in a room full of white people, so subconsciously we are separating ourselves from that environment. I think that speaks also to what happens in our political environment and it's like ok we're the minority you know white people don't treat us well…the rules and the laws are not made for us, they're not made to help us they're made to work against us. And so subconsciously we are separating ourselves from America and think that honestly…that hurts us as a community and it…it's hard to, and I'm not saying that I'm at the point where I can say that I'm a strong American and I'm proud of everything about that, but I think it is a step that we have to take as a community, um, to say that we deserve to be…we are American and we deserve the right that are privileged to us as Americans. (1.73)

In this talk turn, Layla specifically mentions Black Nationalism as an ideological rationale for African-Americans who choose to separate themselves from other cultures or ethnicities in an effort to achieve enfranchisement within the United States.

In summary, as these talk turns suggest, responses addressing Research Question 2 call attention to a propensity for African-Americans to separate themselves. The thematic statements here also highlight the interdependence among African-Americans and non-African American communities, but do so by highlighting the necessity of African Americans to carry out their civic responsibility with acknowledging themselves as *authentic* Americans. An overarching question that became apparent in responses from participants was, "How has the United States responded to the devotion and critique of African-Americans for its political ideals and its communal actions?" As a response, we consider research question 3.

Metaphors of Black Patriotism: Unrequited Love!

Research question 3 asks, "What are the communicative implications for African-Americans regarding how they conceptualize patriotism individually, interpersonally, and as a public?" The question was designed to assess impact of having the first African American president in US history on the communication of African American socio-political identities. From the data, we see models and/or models of political ideology emerge via participants' patriotic metaphors. The talk turns offered by participants were in response to questions regarding 10-13 (See Appendix E). These questions are attempts to generate discussion about participants' political perspectives, including their domestic and foreign policy concerns relative to African-Americans (e.g., education, immigration, taxes, and economics).

As mentioned earlier, metaphors are described as a "constitutive blockage" in an attempt to name something that is "essentially" unnamable (Laclau, 2005, p.71), usually described in relation to analogy, and associated with the vagueness of a concept. Thus, the fact that a metaphor is characteristically vague emphasizes the inability to have an a priori or

determined place of signification for that concept or the people who make up that concept, i.e. patriotism/black patriotism.

As previously mentioned, less than half of the participants (14; Males=8, Females=6) self-identified as patriots. Conversely, 5 explicitly rejected the label of patriot (Males=5, Females=0), and the remaining 11 (Males=2, Females=9) were neutral or ambivalent about their own personal association with patriotism. In order to discuss the patterns of association and non-association, I will discuss distinctions among male and female participants as well as between focus groups.

In a comparison of males and females, males were stauncher in their support for the United States, or their lack thereof, than were female participants. As such, there was not much neutrality on the part of male participants. As one can see, a majority of those participants (8 of 14) who considered themselves patriots were males. On the other hand, female participants were overwhelmingly neutral toward the concept of patriotism, with 9 of 15 being neutral in their response.

When asked about the association of patriotism with African-Americans, routinely participants would use the most suitable metaphor they could muster to describe said relationship. In general, participants metaphorically posited two themes that help represent the patriotic relationship between African-Americans and the United States, Parental Guidance, Complicated Relationship, and Black Patriotic Dissidence. The utterances offered are representative of holistic viewpoints toward how patriotism manifests itself among African Americans. Participants in each focus group did not discuss these specific metaphors of patriotism, but each discussed the tenets of each metaphor as a portion of their respective focus group conversations. We will explore the metaphors offered below.

Complicated Relationship. Within that metaphorical vagueness, participants were consistent in their uses of metaphors to describe patriotism, which seems difficult to associate with African-American communities. Dan describes patriotism as such:

> The second question will be answered by me first. Yes, I am patriotic and the reason
>
> that I know that I am patriotic…it's almost like the Supreme Court definition of
>
> pornography almost…you've heard that before? You don't know what it is, you can't
>
> define it, but you know it when you see it. And it is the same thing for me with and
>
> my patriotism. Its mainly because I know that I feel something when I hear the
>
> national anthem; I feel something when I see our military, I know that they are
>
> fighting for our freedom and its something that is done on my behalf, without me
>
> actually having to do it. I know that I believe in American principles, especially that
>
> free, especially that things that are in our constitution. So, I know that I have some
>
> sort of feeling for this country; I don't agree with everything that my country does, I
>
> don't agree with our prisons, my president, representatives do, but I know that I have
>
> a feeling for this country that I would defend it if I had to. I would fight for…in the
>
> interest for our nation and our flag and I know that the colors me means something to
>
> me. So, I can't define as a specific definition, but I know it when I see it, I know it
>
> when I hear it and I know that it unifies us know matter what race. (1.40)

This lengthy talk turn captures the essence of the vagueness of patriotism among the participants. His comparison of patriotism to the Supreme Court's definition of pornography calls attention to the legitimacy of both African-Americans and patriotism but in a perverse manner. Dan's definition identifies what he believes is an element of perverseness (in the form of pornography) that may also be applied to feelings of patriotism toward the United

States from African-American communities. As Dan describes patriotism within African-American communities, he is also saying that the relationship between African-American communities and the United States is perverse.

The difficulty of describing patriotism was evident throughout all five focus groups. Adrina, a female participant in FG2, describes her ambivalent relationship with patriotism. When the group was asked, "Do you think the African-American community embraces the United states and says that this is my country and vice versa or do you think that there is an alternative way of seeing it?" (Moderator: 2.46), she offered the following response:

I kind of look at it as um a complicated relationship. Um, just kind of in terms of the transition in progress that we've made. Um, at one point I kind of feel like they were certain administrations were giving black people things to right the wrongs of the past or kind of soothe some of the wrongs of the past. Um, for instance separate, but equal um…instead of not having anything…I mean before you weren't even considered a full American citizen you had a value of like 13% of you know like a white counterpart, so it's kind of like…we'll give you this to kind of soothe you over because it's better than what you have. And, I kind of feel like that a progression of our country over the years. At first we started off literally getting no respect, we're slowly starting to get respect, but do I believe that it is at a level where it should be, no. (Adrina: 2.52)

Her use of the metaphor, a complicated relationship, helps describe not only her relationship to patriotism, but also the connection she and several others are making between patriotism and being African-American. Adrina's particular utterance is replete with ambivalence towards the United States. Because Adrina assumes that all relational parties are equal, they

should show respect towards each other. Adrina's disillusioned liberal stance places African-Americans in equal standing with all other ethnicities and calls for stanch respect from the United States.

  Parental Guidance. Parental guidance is the second emerging sub-theme from the data and is representative of participant discussion regarding patriotism. This theme can be described in terms of a parent/child relationship, where the United States is depicted as a unsuitable parent and African Americans are cast as disgruntled children. Rory, a 29-year-old participant in FG1, describes the African-American patriotism as such:

  I don't know…It's kind of like a bad parent, I guess. You know like, you got the

  parent who basically provides for you, they're not the best parent, they do somethings

  to piss you off, but at the end of the day, that still you know, the person who kinda

  makes a way for you, so that kinda what it sound like what you're saying. You know

  um, so you still on that negative thing. You just don't agree with everything. That's

  how I kinda feel like I don't know if I put too much stock in being an American

  patriot. Um, I went to military school for two years, you know what I'm saying, um.

  I think I was a little bit more patriotic at that time um. I was in uniform all of the

  time, so um wearing the uniform everyday of the week I always had to be…(1.44)

Rory's perception is that African-Americans love a country that does not adequately care for them, yet they continue to serve its interests despite the inadequacy of the care being provided, hence the parent (i.e., the United States) metaphor. He views this parent/child relationship as a negative relational connection that is not seeking to be severed, but instead corrected.

Conversely, Draak is a professed patriot and also uses a parent metaphor to describe the relationship between African Americans and the United States.

> I mean, just being as a child. You know, you would support the child, you do what you have to do in order to lead the child in the right direction. If your child is going in the wrong direction, of course, you would say something to that individual to put them on the right track. So that's the way… and you know, that support definitely will always be there no matter what that individual chooses to do, you should support them. But you will always give them your opinion because you have experienced what's wrong and they are going down the right track to want to put them on. (Draak: 4.55)

Draak positions African-Americans in a parental role in relation to the United States. Draak says that the United States is like a child in need of directions from those with the wisdom and experience necessary for assisting an immature or ill-prepared "other."

Jamie, also a participant of FG4, addresses the issue of patriotism also using a metaphor of paternalism:

> Um, patriotism. …for me, patriotism does not mean an undying commitment to all ideals. There may be some ideas that you disagree with, but, patriotism is...for me, is having pride in being American and supporting America in things that you should support America about but also in being willing to criticize America for things that it should be criticized about. "The reason I love my country, that's why I criticize it every day." So, it's just like, you know, um, with anybody. Your mother, for example. You know, sometimes my mother, she is hard, she is hard on her kids and what not but not because she doesn't love them, because she loves them so much or

what not. But, patriotism is being willing to support and criticize and to be a part of America and to be proud of being an American but not necessarily everything that America stands for. That's what it is to me. (Jamie: 4.53)

Jamie takes patriotism head-on and does not allow for an absolutist definition. Criticism is central to his patriotism in that he thinks it demonstrates a true, possibly unconditional, love for another (e.g., like a mother/child relationship). In contrast to the other participants, African-Americans have been placed in the position of a parent and the United States is the child who needs guidance and critical support. It is interesting that both Jamie, a contemplative black nationalist, came to a similar conclusion as Draak, a black patriot, regarding the patriotic relationship between African-Americans and the United States. It is also important to note opposition to the concept and the categorization of black patriot, as assessed below.

Black Patriotic Dissidence: It depends on whose ox is being gored! Black patriotic dissidence, or the overt denial of patriotic principles among African Americans, was espoused in each focus group by at least one participant. As such, all participants were exposed to this point of view. Thus, each focus group discussed, considered, and shared experiences that included black patriotic dissidence. As stated, black patriotic dissidence was evident throughout the focus groups, particularly among black male participants; specifically, there was one black male participant in each respective focus group that did not identify with patriotism. There may be a number of reasons posited for such a stance from that demographic, but we will allow them to speak for themselves.

Cal, a 30-year-old graduate student who participated in FG1, describes his feelings of indifference towards the United States:

I don't know…I don't really think about it that much to be fair about it. Its not really something that I think, "what's it like to be an American?". I don't know, I'm more focused on the black person in the white classroom. I ahh, I walk around campus and folks ask me if I play ball and I'm like nah, I'm getting a PhD. And their like they got tryouts next week (laughter), you know what I'm saying. They don't care if I'm wasting in the classroom to get a PhD, they think I should be out playing football and stuff. Being an American doesn't mean that much to me. I mean at the end of the day, I'm not like resentful, I'm more indifferent, you know what I'm saying. It doesn't mean that much to me, umm, I'm sorry I apologize because I know everything that people have gone through, I've done research, (Cal: 1.19)

Cal's experiences of being typecast because of his size, in conjunction with other experiences in his life, have jaded him toward the United States. As Cal mentions, he is a graduate student earning a PhD, but there is a static evaluation of him due to the perception of others who see him. He sincerely feels that there continues to be a lack of respect of his humanity even though there are those who fought that he would be fully respected as an American citizen and as a person.

Similarly, Chris' idea of support focuses on African-Americans exclusively. He states, "It's like I'm more so proud to be AFRICAN-American instead of just American" (Chris: 2.72). Chris asserts his pride in his culture and race, but not in his country.

Odell, a 57-year-old outspoken participant of FG4, denies himself the space of being associated with patriotism:

I agree with what he said. I don't know…if you believe the ideals of the country, but I've never personally felt like a patriot. I have always felt that I know I'm American,

but I'm not a flag waiver, I'm not this…when I look at that I have to say that the

brother has said that those people have different agendas. Their patriotism it all

comes down to how you define it. How you define what it means because to some

people it means being a certain way…it means being racist and white only and you

know old south that's their way of being patriotic. You need to be very clear when

you say patriotism…what is the definition of it because I am an American, but am I

an American patriot I don't own that space. I don't fit in that space. (Odell: 3.50)

He conveys a feeling of legitimacy within the United States, as an African-American, but he

does not express any measure of support for the purported ideals of the United States. His

lack of support for those ideals of "flagwaivers" is due to the perverseness of their acts and

their utterances. As such, Odell does not claim the mantle of patriot.

Jamie, our contemplative black nationalist from FG4, provides us with a glimpse into

his mode of reasoning regarding his stance toward patriotism:

… I used to not stand and look or whatever but actually the physical hand on the heart

is kind of hard for me. Like, its just the heart being...I remember, um, at being at a

Toastmasters meeting, whatever, and they were pledging the allegiance. I mean, like

I pledge allegiance to the flag, and I could get a little closer, but to actually say it, I

couldn't say it cause, I'm not pledging allegiance to the flag so while I say I want to

be more of a patriot, I want to insert that into my, you know, identity or what

not....And I certainly understand why people wouldn't want to do that and why we

don't identify with patriotism because it goes back to economics and certainly a part

of your story like the history of your people, your story, is being disenfranchised and

its gonna be hard to be...you know, make a part of your story again being a patriot**.**

(4.66)

Jamie sees himself going through an evolutionary process toward a closer relationship with the United States and possibly becoming a patriot, but the strains of history still sting. He tells a story of not wanting to pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States because it did not feel natural to him, i.e. a lack of belonging.

Jamie was not the only contemplative black nationalist; Jeremy, a FG5 participant, was also somewhat combative towards the United States. He states:

Well, I grapple...I...I grapple with that word....as a patriot...I'm sorry, that's so tough because…I am proud about in terms of what......what America is, and what America is doing….There's a whole lot that I grind my ax on…one of the points that I always bring up in regards to all the progress that has been made, is you know, well, America says how that you stick a knife...you know, this is in my back, and then pull it out three. You know, it's not...it's not progress...it's just not progress. The knife is still...it's still in my back and when you look at... Things have changed but, you know...need to keep continuing to...continue to focus on how far we have to go…for instance, when Barak Obama was, was elected ....a lot of the argument...a lot of the argument was, you know, okay, well you know, ya'll finally made it. Who's the ya'll you're talking about, you know, and what...and..where have we made it to. So a black man is in the White House, you know, how...there's a reason why it's called the White House…but just being that...being a patriot. I think to me is...it means to be critically, just critically involved in the...in like the political...political, social, economic...being, being involved in all those different areas of American...of...of

social life…to espouse the greatest good for the greatest amount of

people....(Jeremy:5.22)

Jeremy indeed grapples with his relationship with the United States and with how he

conceptualizes the relationship of African-Americans with the United States. As he states,

there has been progress, but to what end and who is intended to benefit. The lack of self-

purported belonging and disclaiming of the United States is critical, as stated by Jeremy, but

it is a justifiable critique? There is explicit mention of President Obama and his stay in the

White House as a "black" man as a nod toward the perverse nature of the United States.

While intriguing, this type of ideological perspective was in the minority amongst all focus

group participants.

Global War on Terror (GWOT)

GWOT has been a pertinent issue within the United States, at least since 9/11. As

such, African-Americans have been uniquely affected by fluctuations in United States

foreign policy, as has every other American citizen. These palpitations have seen the United

States fight two hot wars (e.g., Iraq and Afghanistan) and be involved in military

interventions in Libya, Yemen, and Pakistan, just to name a few. The Arab Spring that we

are witnessing in Middle East countries: Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia, and Jordan is

seemingly a positive move for those countries toward Democracy, but conversely they are a

perilous move for the United States signaling Middle Eastern instability.

It is altogether appropriate to ask African-Americans their perceptions about such

happenings abroad due to their involvement in, oversight of, and civic commitment to the

United States' efforts domestically and internationally. Thus, I asked participants to rank

order concepts to gage where they ranked GWOT in relation to economics, taxes, education,

and immigration. In each focus group, GWOT was either rated last or next to last.

Participants were asked, "…Why is the GWOT last as a group? As a group, how did y'all

come to that conclusion? I don't think I heard too much push back on that. So, rationally,

how did you get to that decision?" (Moderator: 2.96) Some reasons offered are:

> Chris: To me, I thought because…I think that terrorist when they think about
>
> terrorizing America they not thinking about my community…they not thinking about
>
> my people, per se…if that makes sense. (2.97)
>
> Adrina: they look at it as America..(2.98)
>
> Chris: and not the African American community. (2.99)
>
> Moderator: Is everyone in agreement with that? (2.100)
>
> Group: Yes (2.101)
>
> Moderator: From what I just heard…the African American community is separate
>
> from America. Is that how you are conceptualizing this whole thing? (2.102)
>
> Chris: Well not separate, but ah…can we be separate? (2.103)

This discussion of GWOT subtly highlights the association of America's activities abroad

with African American perceptions of their individual and communal involvement with those

actions. Both Adrina and Chris assert that terrorists, whoever they may be, are not targeting

African Americans, but they are targeting Americans in general. Adrina elaborates on this

question:

> I mean technically if…for instance 9/11…I think if they were targeting a certain
>
> demographic of Americans then they would have structured their attack to be
>
> different. Um, there were all nationalities in the you know at the world trade center.
>
> That city itself is very diverse…because that was like the place in which a lot of

people from other countries enter into America. So, that's why I'm thinking if they were really intent on attacking a particular race they would structure their attacks to kind of…(2.104)

Chris: they would have attacked FAMU (laughter) (2.105)

Adrina: I think certain…I think it depends on what the issue is, which allows you to kind of see whether or not African Americans are separate from Americans or not (2.106).

M: because in the answer that you gave you basically said that you think that they were thinking about black folks (2.107).

Adrina: I don't think they were thinking about any certain nationalities, they were just thinking about Americans (2.108)

M: If we are a part of America, was that attack on us also because we are Americans too right? (2.109)

Chris: That's a good question (2.110).

As we see, focus group 2 made a distinction between the United States and African-American communities. The distinction was subtle, but present and as the moderator I wanted to know how what was insinuated resonated with the participants. Adrina is making the case that terrorists were not targeting African-Americans, but Americans in general, but the semantics of the argument still place African-Americans outside the sphere of Americans, as a sub-group.

This type of distinction was not overtly present in any other discussion of GWOT from any other focus group. Focus group 3 expressed the idea that GWOT is not salient to African-American communities because there are more important domestic issues that are

pressing. In response to the questioning on foreign policy, Lena and Odell discuss the point

in consecutive talk-turns:

> I think that it is something that does not hit home in your back yard. We don't feel
> the effects of talking about it until it hits home…(Lena: 3.94)
> It's not part of our daily…like every single day, when gas goes up. They might have a
> viewpoint, but not to the level where they are going to act on it or protest in the
> streets (Odell: 3.95).

Both, Lena and Odell call attention to the salience of American foreign policy to the

mundane experiences of African-Americans. Grey, a veteran of American armed forces, also

addresses this issue when asked to rank order the concepts mentioned above:

> The problem with the US is that foreign policy changes every four years. No other
> country changes their foreign policy with the president coming in. We don't have a
> standard that we're defined and set t. The goals change…ah, I think it is driven more
> by economics than it is by the desire to help out patrons. (3.88)

His contention is that the lack of attention paid to foreign policy in general is due to the lack

of standardization in American foreign policy. It may be concluded from participant

responses that there is paucity in the voice of popular African-American opinion regarding

American foreign interests.

In reaction to the dearth of African-American voices in American foreign policy,

outside of President Obama, Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice, and Susan Rice, FG4 had a

robust discussion about GWOT. Focus group 4 in congruence with all other focus groups

also ranked GWOT last among economics, education, taxes, and immigration. But,

participants were willing to discuss the issue in depth and eventually exposed some real

efforts on behalf of African-Americans to move American foreign policy forward.

Cheryll, a particularly insightful participant, discusses her foreign policy ignorance

and her identification with African-American principles of American foreign policy:

> …I mean, now people are better at blaming FEMA, but, we don't like to blame Barak
>
> Obama when things don't go well. We try to be more honest about what didn't go
>
> well in defense of him because there personalizes and identifies with them so we are
>
> looking out...we kind of have his back in a different way, but I think some of the issue
>
> too, is, we don't take the chance to get to know black officials. Because, yeah, Colon
>
> Powell and Condaleeza Rice were appointed by, um, you know, white chief, you
>
> know, white president but did we get to know them and try to identify. Exactly. And
>
> I think it's because we are so quick to other certain black people based on certain
>
> things. I don't know that that has to do with why we are not good at kind of getting
>
> more involved in foreign policy but I think that's a factor. (4.29)

Cheryll speaks to the personalization and identification of blacks with their leaders based on

her assertion that African-Americans have a tendency to "other" each other based on their

religious, economic, sexual, educational or lack there of, and/or political affiliation. These

comments, for Cheryll, are a rationale for the lack of interests in American foreign policy and

the apathy that accompanies that lack of interest.

Jamie discusses his struggles with American foreign policy and how patriotism

among African Americans helps influence their involvement or inactivity.

> …Do we feel that us engaging in foreign policy, our efforts to engage or
>
> advocate...do we feel that we could actually make a contribution to the betterment of

America in that aspect…I don't know that I can do that and am actually gonna do that or is America's foreign policy going to be what it is… Do I actually feel like I can advocate that...I can contribute. I don't know for myself. I don't know. I watch the news and I watch PBS and I watch CNN and put it America did this or whatever...whatever...and it's a quick thing although there was some casualties. And then PBS, well, a hundred people…They made it seem like it was some kind of good thing, or big deal and it was minor...they blew up all these people and I'm like...can…that's just how it is....how do I be that definition that we created in that area. I don't know that I can. (4.62)

In the beginning of his statement, Jamie references the definition of patriotism created by FG4 as being supportive, yet also critical of the United States for the betterment of the United States. In doing so, he contrasts the efforts of American foreign policy against his ability to support American interests abroad.

What Jamie is not willing to do put aside his feelings of resistance to domination due to him being African American. As African-Americans, all focus participants acknowledged a measure of disenchantment with the United States and its policies. There was not one participant who showed blind support for the efforts of the United States domestically or abroad.

Again, Cheryll offers a poignant comment that helps push closer to how African-American publics have contributed and continue to contribute to American foreign policy:

For me, I'm gonna see, not even generally, but I want to see particularly why, like me and my foreign policy ignorance. I just don't follow it well. Um, so I think...I don't know why as a community...to me the question why aren't we as...why aren't we

more involved in maybe advocacy related to policy and if that's the question, it's almost like in my mind, I'm like, well, everybody's gotta have their nitch. And, my advocacy is blank. You know, to be honest...when I talk about not just my opinion of it, but what can I actually be advocating for, what can I work in to better my community, like this is my niche...and I have not pushed myself to get outside of that and to become more of an advocate. So, I don't know. (4.2)

For Cheryll, the question of foreign policy is not one of community, but one of individualistic effort or of niche interests. She advocates for everyone to discover and to determine how to work within that niche to move the United States forward. The combined individual efforts of people will create a better community. This perspective encapsulates a symbolic or pragmatic form of patriotism.

Similar to FG3, FG5 was more concerned with the domestic concerns of the United States instead of America's international exploits. Shawn, from (FG5) expresses this point in his comments:

I mean… within our community, you know, you...you cross the wrong people, you know you done made your bed. Um, but, you know, when I look at global war on terror versus immigration, um, it...it...it's a matter of...we just focused on home. Because what's going on in those other countries...while it may be deplorable to us, you know, they may be doing some horrible things...we...that doesn't mean we need to go out and be the world police. You know, we have enough homeless people here in our streets. We have enough people struggling... (5.120)

Shawn's concern is with African-American communities and not necessarily with the social issues plaguing other countries. He further explains that policing behaviors enacted by the US should be avoided at all costs and directed towards its own citizens.

In contrast to FG5's general assertions that we should all work towards the betterment of the United States, Pops, the oldest participant of them all, believes that being an African-American patriot can be perilous:

> They used, uh, Colin Powell because of his tremendous credibility because they didn't have any and they used Condaleeza Rice and...and they used...uh...uh...they found out when it came to foreign policy, they didn't have a credible foreign policy, so they started going and digging into the African-American community because they had credibility because most of the world's population is non-white anyhow. And, uh, uh, Colin Powell...the Bush administration used him because he had such tremendous credibility...he was a man that was accepted worldwide. (5.131)

Pops warns that United States will take advantage of the effort, commitment, and support of African-Americans towards the United States, e.g. Colin Powell's appeal for war to the United Nations in February of 2003. His example serves as a clear reminder of that possibility. As such, the critical support of African-Americans toward the betterment of the United States is best observed with a scant amount of caution.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Methodologically, focus group interviews were conducted, transcribed verbatim, and

analyzed using critical discourse analysis. The emergent themes apparent from participant

generated data were the following: (1) Critical Moments: Stories Ground Us, (2) American

Exceptionalism, and (3) Metaphors of black patriotism: Unrequited love. An in-depth

discussion of the theoretical, limitations and practical implications were offered[18]. In this

chapter, I report my findings regarding patriotism; most significantly, I describe three

relational models offered by participants from my research. Also, I discuss the political

ascendance of Herman Cain through the prism of patriotism. To add, I discuss the influence

of an African American conception of patriotism on American Foreign Policy. Lastly, I

propose a relational approach toward patriotism.

Patriotism

Patriotism has been defined as the critical love of country in an effort to improve the

United States (Adorno et al., 1950; DeLamater, 1969; Staub, 1991; Schatz, 1995). As the

findings from this current study suggest, the definition of patriotism typifies the view

communicated by participants. The goal of this project was to reveal what influence African-

American culture has on patriotism, and vice versa. Assessing the interaction of the

dimensions of either African American culture or patriotism is difficult because neither can

be essentialized, i.e. African Americans are not monolithic in their ideological stances and

---

[18] The target audience for this particular study is African-Americans men and women of all
socio-economic statuses and education levels who ranged in age from18 to 80. I used a
convenience sample of students who are enrolled in Communication Studies courses at a
large southeastern university who were eligible to fulfill the departmental research
requirement through their participation (See Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5)

patriotism is not an exclusive practice of any one ethnic group. In doing so, I chose to not

overtly use race as a prism through which to evaluate patriotism, which was not a small

decision; there is much historical and theoretical baggage that accompanies a racial

exploration. The labels that accompany race tend to bias not only the reader but also the

researcher and, therefore, limit the possibilities for the implications of a study. Alternatively,

the moniker of culture was chosen as a prism because the practices of people are more

determinative than their racial label. As such, African-American racial agents may perform

their culture in whatever manner they see fit without any essentialized practices.

Through this investigation of patriotism, I sought to identify principles espoused by

African American men and women that would help enrich the definition and general

understanding of patriotism within the United States. Patriotism is a concept that resonates

with Americans, but the question for this project is, how much resonance does it have among

African-Americans? The context in which this question was asked was as important as the

question. More importantly, it was posed in response to recent population trends that show

the migration of African-Americans, who reliably vote Democratic in national elections, to

the southeastern United States, which is consistently Republican in national elections

(Dawson, 1994; Bositis, 2010a). So, in light of the election of the first African-American

president, Barack Obama, the issue of ideological malleability is salient within African-

American communities. Ideological malleability refers to the ability of African Americans to

critically consider and vote for political perspectives congruent and incongruent with their

own, as a voting bloc and as individuals, in order to become more pragmatic political actors.

This is important for African-Americans so that they may remain politically relevant in

future local, state, and national elections, as viable voters, but also as political candidates. In

order to address this problem, I proposed three research questions that were being investigated via focus group interviews. I will address the implications of this study according to responses elicited by each research question.

Research Findings

Critical Moments: Stories Ground Us! In response to RQ1, what became quickly apparent from my interactions with participants was their equating of the political with the communal. The stories from which the themes emerged were usually stories of community distrust of African-Americans or of community intraracial discord.

There is an ever-present discussion of separate versus different that underlies this study. The idea of separation is one that is central to Black Nationalism, but the idea of cultural difference is the assertion that African-American culture is equal to any other culture, in sum, but mutually exclusive in its practices. That aspect of this study is one that highlights "belonging," which is a dimension of the relational nature of patriotism (Staub, 1991; Schatz, 1995; Bar-Tal, 2001). Regardless of the legitimacy of patriotism among African Americans, the need to belong within the United States has been criticized (Gilroy, 1993). This criticism presumes African-Americans are not *authentic* American citizens despite the fact that African Americans have historically been integrated into the happenings of the United States (Wilkins, 2001; Wanzo, 2009). In response that criticism, African Americans were collectively brought to the United States under the auspices of servitude, but have individually and collectively ascended to highest heights of the American public. Even so, participants posited a synchronous relationship between poverty and patriotism. So, the lower the economic status, the less the amount of affiliation one feels to their nation and vice

versa. As such, economic disparity persists among African-Americans and helps explain a lack of affiliation with the United States (Reidenbach & Weller, 2010)

Additionally, this research question allowed participants to talk about stories that they share with their African-American families, friends, and peers. Participants placed narratives at the core of African-American culture because those stories provide "proper" guidance for how African-Americans should view themselves in relation to other Americans. There was consistent disagreement, however, among participants regarding the consequences of perpetuating stories of hardship, triumph over discrimination, overt disrespect for earned economic status, and lack of respect for military service and personal property. Contrarians to the "proper" use of those stories posited that traditional narratives are limiting to the development of a healthy in-group perspective of African Americans and does not cast a future free of assumed African-American subordination.

The narratives that unfold during the focus groups reflected a relationship between the communicative character of ideology and patriotism. The communicative nature of ideology is characterized by the active occupation of certain political, social, and economic positions within a non-arbitrary constellation of experiences (Grossberg, 2003). As a result, the experiences that one has in relation to the United States helps shape what they think and how they actively participate (or not) in their communities, which is inherently a form of political action, i.e. political communication. As a theoretical and practical extension of previous works on patriotism, this research highlights the lack of empirical research and social commentary concerning patriotism among African Americans.

For example, Black Marxist, Black Conservatives, Black Feminist, Black Nationalists, Radical Egalitarians, and Disillusioned Liberals have, at different times,

advocated for the protection or the extension of individual/group rights, as guaranteed by the Constitution, on behalf of African-Americans (Dawson, 2001). Each of the aforementioned ideological standpoints has reached similar conclusions regarding the political outcomes necessary for African-Americans. Although each of them is distinct in its approach to participating in the political process, constructive patriotism has traditionally been an undercurrent that has run through African American socio-political thought. However, there have not usually been overt elements of Adorno et al.'s (1950) *pseudopatriotism* that have enjoyed national prominence as a legitimate African-American ideological stance.

Accordingly, we are currently seeing the national legitimating of *pseudopatriotism* among African Americans via the 2012 Republic Presidential candidate, Herman Cain. To some, Cain's legitimacy as a candidate signals a definitive break with traditional African American socio-political views that are resonating nationally with potential electoral voters for the 2012 Presidential election (See Table 6). In addition, Herman Cain and his message have become national fodder, providing a stark contrast between himself and President Obama[19]. This may seem like an argument of liberal versus conservative ideologies, but there is more to patriotism than political affiliation; there is the matter of *relationship*. Both men reportedly feel a sense of belonging to this country, but we are compelled to ask, "What is the content of each man's *relationship* to the country that has them occupying such contrasting political positions?"

Herman Cain is a product of the Civil Rights era in the Southeastern United States, while Barack Obama came of age in the 1970's (i.e. a post-civil rights upbringing in Hawaii).

---

[19] Culturally, both men ascribe to African-American norms. Ideologically, both men are staunch supporters of the United States; however, they have contrasting views on the role the Federal Government in the daily lives of individuals, particularly African-Americans.

Both men worked hard to attain the accolades that help make them credible leaders: Herman Cain is the former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, MO and the former CEO of Godfather's Pizza, and Barack Obama is a former U.S. Senator and the current President of the United States. Thus, each man has a sense of prestige within the United States that would afford him a stature of prominence in most, if not all circles. Nevertheless, they have not come to similar conclusions about the role of government in the lives of individuals, particularly about socio-political stances among African-Americans. Curiously, almost all ideological stances chronicled in African American history have agreed at some level about the role of the Federal Government, particularly in the lives of African-Americans until the Reagan Revolution of the 1980s (Smith, 1990; Dawson, 2001).

American Exceptionalism. In response to RQ2, 20 of the 30 participants (Males=10; Females=10) did not associate the concept of patriotism with African-Americans, which was contrary to the general societal assumption about the resonance of patriotism with African-Americans following the 2008 Presidential election. According to participants, the association of patriotism with African-Americans was neither an idea that was taught in schools nor was it reinforced socially within or outside of African-American communities.

For these participants, the unencumbered pursuit of opportunity became the metric against which participants assessed their individual and group progress. Although a majority of participants did not associate patriotism with African-Americans, participants were very positive about the ideals or their individual projections of how they perceive the United States as a nation.

Overall, most participants were advocates for individual responsibility, namely being knowledgeable about local, state, and national politics, which is translated into being

responsible voters and serving the country in whatever capacity necessary. They were also careful to put responsibility for the disenfranchisement of African-Americans squarely on the shoulders of the United States. As such, participants do not make a one-to-one correlation between their feelings for the United States and for Caucasians; thus, there is not a subversive comparison made by participants between these two entities. The findings suggest that participants did not describe the United States as Caucasian in its ethnic heritage nor did they make any assertions of moral equivalence between Caucasians and the United States. This is important because it means that there is no carryover effect when considering participants' positive affect toward the United States in comparison to Caucasians and vice versa. Thus, it may be concluded that there may be space for reconciliation and collaboration with Caucasians, while also engaging in unconditional civic and military service on behalf of the United States.

In relation to RQ2, patriotism was truly a mystery for the participants because it is filled with blind spots. The narratives tell a story of the participants' political experiences within their own communities as disclosed during group conversations. Ultimately, the definition of patriotism among participants was similar to constructive patriotism (Adorno et al., 1950; DeLamater, 1969; Staub, 1991; Schatz, 1995). The examination of such contrasting examples of the active occupation of patriotism leads us toward relational models of patriotism considered for African-Americans.

Metaphors of Black Patriotism: Unrequited love. In response to RQ3, participant narratives confirmed the assumption that African-Americans have a deep and abiding love for the United States. It was also learned, however, that less than half of the participants identified themselves as patriots, 14 of 30 (Males= 8; Females=6). Males exhibited strong

opinions about patriotism, whether identifying with it or not. On the other hand, female participants were largely neutral in their self-identification as patriots, 9 of 15. The strong opinions of male participants and the heartfelt ambivalence of female participants speak to a love of country that is indeed melancholy (Wanzo, 2009).

Throughout the focus group interviews, it was consistently difficult to create a cogent definition of how participants communicated about patriotism. The challenge that faced participants in their efforts to provide examples and constructs in order to create a definition highlights the vagueness of the idea of patriotism among African-Americans. The problem lies with the common perception of patriotism, not its definition. A popular description of patriotism is one of unconditional support for the ideals and the actions of the United States (Schatz, 1995). For participants, there was a swift repudiation of uncritical patriotism, also referred to as *psuedopatriotism*.

Participants' use of the relational metaphors, complicated (tumultuous), paternal and subordinate relationships, displays their view of how African Americans dramatistically cast themselves as American citizens. The metaphor that cast the relationship of African Americans with the United States as complicated is a play on the popular use of the "complicated relationship" relational option on the social networking site Facebook. It is also more than that; it is recognition that while both partners should be invested in the relationship, one partner is taking advantage of the other. This precarious situation involving relational conflict leaves the disadvantaged partner disgruntled, yet not to the point of breaking up. Rather, the disadvantaged partner works toward making the relationship better and more viable. As such, there are inherent intimate relational patterns such as dominance-submission, immediacy, trust, depth-superficiality, emotional arousal, equality and

composure (Burgoon & Hale, 1984). This explanation of a "complicated" or tumultuous relationship demonstrates that although there are both sentimental and instrumental commitments to a nation (Kelman, 1969), individuals may also attribute interpersonal relational principles to their nation.

Schatz (1995) discussed the affective relationship between individuals and their nation in relation to blind patriotism versus constructive patriotism. Schatz also mentioned that there have been various aspects of the relationship investigated: belongingness, responsibility, loyalty, and pride. Each of these attributes is an element of interpersonal relationships. Relational communication is built on principles of interpersonal communication that assess the communicative aspects of relationships. Relational messages are the core of the interpersonal exchanges and function as an apparatus to identify, command, report, affiliate, and define the connection between relational partners (Burgoon & Hale, 1984). In doing so, relationships are seen as dynamic and constantly influx (Burgoon et al., 1987). Similarly, individual perceptions of belonging, responsibility, loyalty, and pride may also be thought of as dynamic and fluid conditions often communicated via participation or non-participation in mundane human interactions. Specifically, Bar-Tal (2000) posits that, "Patriotism, thus, is a mobilizing, cognitive-affective force that not only binds individuals together but also provides the necessary ideology, explanation, and justification for action on its behalf" (p. 85). This statement alludes to the communicative nature of a multi-dimensional patriotism, which is highlighted by ideology (interpellation), explanation (narratives), and justification (debate) indicative of patriotism and *pseudopatritism*.

In order to explore two additional relational models offered during participants' discussion of patriotism, we explore two elements that are enduring aspects of African-

American history: belonging and unrequited love. Participants' parent/child and intimate dating metaphors implicitly cast the role of African Americans as egalitarian with a tacit acknowledgement of cultural difference.

Conversely, participants also discussed parental guidance as a relational model to describe African American positionality within the United States. Interestingly, the metaphor was used in two distinct ways, as both subordinate and paternal. African Americans are cast as (1) mature wards of the State who are critical and hold their guardians accountable and (2) guardians who should be sought by the United States for advice on how to become more responsible. The casting of African Americans as mature wards of the state places the United States in a supervisory role, while placing African Americans in a subordinate role in this relationship. It also imputes a responsibility to the State to be accountable for those in its care. The questions that emerge ask that we, as a society, identify how to hold the State accountable to its most vulnerable citizens. Also by using this metaphor, the ability of African Americans to be self-reliant and self-determinate is greatly mitigated.

With regard to the participant-generated guardian metaphor, participants perceived both parties as having the ability to be invested in the relationship. To the United States' disadvantage, their hesitancy to seek the counsel of the unconditionally loving yet critical guardian (e.g. African Americans) moves the nation toward being domestically and internationally reckless because of a lack of discipline. The obstinacy of the United States to engage with African Americans concomitant with the desire of African Americans to engage with the United States illustrates the assertion of unrequited love.

Expressions of belonging and unrequited love undergird this study as well as resentment and indifference, which were mainly experienced by male participants. There was

at least one unpatriotic male dissident in each focus group (i.e. Black Nationalists). Their

utterances illustrated feelings of frustration with not having equal opportunity and

(perceived) betrayal by a country that does not value their culture, and offered a definition of

patriotism that did not suit them as individuals. Interestingly, these participants were not

economically deprived, as gleaned from their self-reported demographic information. Rather,

they saw themselves through the prism of a disaffected culture. Whether or not they are

doing well individually does not matter if their cultural group is not also economically

comfortable, which highlights a linked fate or a black heuristic index perspective.

The three relational metaphors discussed tell of unrequited love, i.e. repeated

forgiveness for unfair treatment, in the form of support for the ideals of the United States as

well as referring to aspects of belonging, paternalism, tumult, and subordination. To

emphasize belonging, it is especially important because it highlights the affective component

of patriotism (Bar-Tal, 2000). The descriptions offered by participants bring greater

understanding of how African-Americans fit within the audience perceived to constitute

patriotism (See figure 2).

Global War on Terror. Critical support of American Foreign Policy (AFP) is also a

dimension of patriotism, as it has been defined empirically (DeLamater et al., 1969). In

general, Americans are aware of National Security issues, but they are more focused on

boosting the economy and job creation, respectively first and second in polling (See Table 6).

Participants (N=1000) in the October 2011 Hart & McInturff's (2011) NBC/Wall Street

Journal poll rated national security and terrorism as the fourth most important issue for the

federal government to address out of nine possible choices (See Table 6). Accordingly,

participants' discussion of foreign policy focused on its distance, both literal and figurative,

from their local communities. Not only were participants somewhat uninformed about foreign policy on the basis of distance from their lived lives, but they also expressed a lack of affiliation with African Americans who have served in positions of influence relative to AFP (e.g. Colin Powell, Susan Rice, or Condoleezza Rice). The lack of affiliation of participants with African American principles of AFP was attributed four major issues: (1) disenchantment with America's actions abroad; (2) the perception that AFP is distinct from more salient domestic issues; (3) mistrust of America's intentions regarding the GWOT; and (4) the tendency for African Americans to "other" African Americans. As such, African Americans are not atypical in their lack of attention to matters of national security.

What is encouraging is that participants offered a gateway to the sustained and informed support of AFP from African Americans as "niche actors" who contribute to America's foreign policy initiatives on a local scale. Niche actors can contribute to public diplomacy efforts culturally via various aspects of art and community engagement. For example, Schneider (2010) describes four aspects of cultural diplomacy that are germane to niche actors: (1) two-way engagement that is collaborative such as teaching, mentoring, exchange of information, techniques, perspectives; (2) contextualization of experiences; (3) the pleasure of engaging with others; and (4) flexibility, creativity, and adaptability in an increasingly technical convergence.

Ultimately, the idea of foreign policy seems mystifying when, in fact, it merely requires American citizens to be genuinely inclusive and respectful of cultures distinct from our own indigenous sub-cultures, which necessitates a move away from *ethnocentrism and psuedopatriotism* (Adorno, et al., 1950; Schneider, 2010).

Research Implications

This study contributes to the efforts by social scientists to explicate the intermingled materiality of politics and culture. What has become apparent from the extant deductive research and the inductive investigation of this project is that Black Patriotism among African Americans can be characterized through the lenses of both constructive patriotism and *pseudopatriotism.* Generally, there are African Americans who support the ideals of the United States and have served America in myriad ways (i.e. military and civic) and others who support the United States but have marched against its domestic and/or international practices. Still, there are also those who do not support the United States and take every opportunity possible to speak against America's domestic and international efforts. Finally, there are those who are indifferent to the ideals and actions of the United States and only see themselves as inhabitants of an arbitrary space. This continuum of political activism, ranging from passive to active and from Black Nationalist to Black Patriot, reflects the many variations of political action and inaction within African American communities. The distinction between more academically researched ideological stances in African American communities and Black Patriotism is the assertion of *authenticity*, which is distinct from a reliance on the Constitution, (i.e. the Fourteenth Amendment) to ensure citizenship.

Regarding political communication, the current study helps get us closer to establishing that an individual's cultural identity is performed communicatively via their communal involvement or indifference, which subsequently informs their political identity. In future research, we may be able to infer that the relational modes provided by participants, (e.g. paternal, tumultuous, and subordinate) moderate a relationship between belonging, as relational modes, and one's relational commitment to their nation. As a result, the nature of

an individual's relational commitment to the United States will help determine the political ideology to which they subscribe, patriotic or not.

To highlight the relational models offered by participants, they moderate the affiliation that an individual feels toward their nation. For example, a person who feels that they are a part of a tumultuous relationship may be more prone to exhibit characteristics of symbolic affiliation to their nation. Further, for those who express a paternal relationship may be more prone to have a functional affiliation to their nation. Additionally, for those who express a subordinate relationship, they may be more prone to have a normative affiliation to their nation. As a consequence of characterizing belonging as relational modes, a person's commitment to their nation will be exhibited through a combination of varying levels of the common topoi of interpersonal relationships: immediacy (affection, trust/receptivity, similarity/depth), equality, composure, economic valence/task orientation, formality/recognition, and dominance. Subsequently, dependent upon a person's level of relational identification and the evaluative description of that relationship, the person's patriotic type (e.g. symbolic, functional, or normative) will become apparent. As a result, the patriotism of African Americans will, as an aggregate, begin to take shape empirically (See Figure 3).

To add, the infusion of interpersonal relational principles and psycho-social research is a journey into new terrain. There may be some who are hesitant to see interpersonal communication and American politics mixed in such a manner, but I submit that it theoretically broadens our capability to see the nuances of socializing politically. Simply because it highlights: the rationality of communication, the communicative aspects of ideology, the lack of work done regarding African Americans and patriotism, the

positionality of people with regard to their nation, the personal relationship of a person to their nation, how the personal connection to one's nation affects their political activity, the salience of relationships to political affiliation, and the ability to see the communal as inherently political. All of these highlights are residual of the amalgamation of culture, politics and communication.

What is brought to the fore in this research is the relationship that African Americans have with patriotism, but what is highlighted is the personal nature of one's affiliation with their nation. Oftentimes, we think of a nation as a disaggregated collection of people who inhabit a geographic area, but that is not the way we communicate about it. We must be able to see the nation as cultural, in that it is constituted via patterns of human action, via articulation (Eisenberg & Riley, 2001). Through this lens, we can take the various models or metaphorical relationship descriptions of patriotism among African Americans and apply them to different areas of American domestic and foreign policy. To discuss the broader implications of this work, I draw attention to the correlation of patriotism and African American culture regarding both domestic and foreign policy.

Domestic Implications

Domestic Politics. Although African Americans have traditionally been supporters of government intervention on behalf of individual rights, the ascendancy of Black Conservatives can be seen prominently in the 2012 candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination, e.g. Herman Cain. Cain has been attacked for his position on issues and also his utterances concerning the voting habits of African Americans, but he must be seen as a credible candidate for the Republican Presidential Nomination because polling shows that he is a viable candidate.

Gallup (2011) reports that Cain's positivity intensity score among Republicans and Republican-leaning Independents has gained 8% points from September 2011 to October 2011 (from 61% to 69%). Additionally, Cain leads in favorability rating among 2011 republican presidential contenders (favorable=77%, unfavorable=13%, net favorability=64%), which is 10 percentage points higher than Mitt Romney, the former governor of Massachusetts and presumed frontrunner for the Republican nomination. Most importantly, when Republican and Republican-leaning Independents are asked their preference for the 2012 Republican Presidential Nomination, 20% prefer Romney and 18% prefer Cain (Cain has gained ten percentage points since May 2011) (Gallup, 2011; also see Table 6). However, when placed in a head-to-head competition with President Obama, Mitt Romney is in a virtual tie with the President, with polls showing President Obama at 46% and Mitt Romney at 44%. When Cain and Obama are contrasted, Herman Cain only garners 38% versus President Obama's 48% (Hart & McInturff , 2011). The facts of Herman Cain's ascendance in the polls shows that he is well liked by Republican and Republican-leaning voters, but he may not be able to win a head-to-head political contest against President Obama[20].

Nationally, Herman Cain has been accepted as an *authentic* conservative Republican and his credentials are credible; however, he does not have enough *ethos* to be the President

---

[20] The numbers reported are prior to Cain's suspension of his campaign on December 3, 2011 due to repeated allegations of sexual harassment and an extra-marital affair. Some may argue that Cain was never a serious contender for the Republican Presidential nomination and that he may only be a footnote in American history. Additionally, there may also be the contention that Colin Powell would have been a better candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination; that may be so, but we will never know. Regardless of his political leanings, Herman Cain serves as the first credible African American Republican candidate for the American Presidency in contemporary times, as evidenced by his favorable standings in the polls.

of the United States. In one sense, it is encouraging to see that there is an intellectual and conceptual space for African Americans to break away from the traditional consigned position of Democratic pawn in the game of national politics. Conversely, it is dangerous for African Americans to lend their credibility to the nefarious practices of those who do not intend to act on the interests of African Americans of any ideological position (e.g. Colin Powell making the case to invade Iraq to the United Nations). One may take a further step and align Black Conservatives with *pseudopatriotism*, but that would be a mistake in application. Black Conservatives cannot be painted with a broad brushstroke, e.g. Michael Steele's, former Republic National Committee Chair, support for Affirmative Action initiatives in business hiring practices and his opposition to war in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Conversely, other African American ideological stances, such as Radical Egalitarianism, Disillusioned Liberalism, Black Feminism, Black Nationalism, and Black Marxism, should not unconditionally consign themselves or be unconditionally consigned with criticizing the United States, except for issues that deal primarily with enfranchisement of African Americans[21]. For example, there are instances where African Americans are truly proud to be American, e.g. 9/11, support of military veterans, Olympics, World Cup Soccer. In other words, African Americans are not monolithic, but neither is any other cultural

---

[21] Traditionally, there have been African Americans of distinct ideological stances who have fought for the enfranchisement of all disaffected people within the United States. As a result of populist disenfranchisement within the United States, there are myriad sub-movements that have coalesced to overcome negative difference. They have also simultaneously utilized that negative difference as a tool to highlight the social ills being propagated against disadvantaged citizens (e.g. the Occupy Wall Street protest as a global phenomenon). In the end, sclerosis characterizes the political stances of oppositional parties and advocacy groups relative to both United States domestic and foreign policy; exemplified by the lack of agreement and planning on stimulus spending, cutting the deficit, corporate regulation, GWOT, unemployment benefits, and the role of government).

constellation of people.

According to the inclusiveness/exclusiveness dichotomy of in-group and out-group formations (Bar-Tal, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 2004), there is a necessity of the separatist elements within African American communities to be mitigated. As an exclusive group identity, which can be attributed to or ascribed to, African Americans have gained strength from internal critique, but also from legitimate public critique. The sensitivity that is fomented by legitimate public critique toward African Americans creates *psuedonationalism*, i.e. an uncritical support of African American practices regardless of their social affects, deleterious or not. African Americans must combat *psuedonationalism* because it leads to a lack of sophistication and rationality. What I am not saying is that *pseudonationalism* is exclusive to African American communities, but what I am saying is that it is disproportionately damaging to African American communities because of the realities of their hardships within the United States.

Black Elected Officials. Moving forward, because of the population trends outlined in the introduction of this study and the necessity of African Americans to remain politically relevant, Black Elected Officials (BEOs) will be forced to promote issues that are not considered central to the "Black Agenda", e.g. AFP or tax reform. What we know is that African-Americans, who live in the southeastern United States, are not and have not been Balkanized and do not suffer from political apartheid. Bositis (2006) reports that majority-minority congressional districts in the south average 47% non-black populations. As such, minority-majority districts, as a provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, should allow the majority population of that district to elect the candidate of their choice, i.e. a BEO regardless of the ethnicity of their opponent (Bositis, 2006). Even so, Hispanics have traditionally been

omitted from discussion of majority-minority congressional districts (Mann & Gillespie, 2004). They report that many times African-Americans and Hispanics live side-by-side and compete in a zero-sum game for political representation of their interests.

The Supreme Court's 1986 *Thornburg v. Gingles* decision allowed for the formation of majority-minority congressional districts during the 1990 reapportionment (McDonald, 2006). The *Gingles* decision helped create 15 new congressional districts; following, seventeen of the majority-minority congressional districts in the South elected BEOs; therefore, summarily increasing African-American representation in the House of Representatives (McDonald, 2006). However, ideological malleability creates candidates like President Barack Obama, Gov. Douglas Wilder, and Republican presidential candidate, Herman Cain, which is necessary to increase the overall amount of BEOs.

Indeed it is verifiable that the party apparatus, or the party-in-the electorate (voters and identifiers), the party organization, and the party in office does not culturally identify with African-Americans (Bositis, 2006), but what must also be considered is that interpersonal relational modes that frame a person's relationship to their nation may be predictive of patriotism, psuedopatriotism, pseudonationalists, and other ideological perspectives among African-Americans. As a result, the Black Agenda must become fully integrated into all other American citizen concerns and BEOs should be critically considered in both parties, Democrat and Republican. As a result of voter dilution advocated by Democrats and the decreasing number of majority-minority congressional districts propagated by Republicans, necessity and contingency will influence the patterns of individual and cultural affiliation of African Americans to the United States, i.e. the proliferation of patriotism, both critical and *psuedopatriotism* among African Americans.

International Implications

GWOT. Internationally, GWOT is an abstract idea that has both stigmatized and marginalized adherents to Islam (Van Ham, 2007). Even as an abstract idea, its practical application has resulted in protracted wars, e.g. Iraq (2003-present) and Afghanistan (2001-present). President George W. Bush's foreign policy was seen as a "velvet fist in an iron glove" (Melissen, 2005 p. 15). The realist assumptions that buttressed President Bush's foreign policy initiatives were predicated on interaction with competent, state-centric, and cooperative nation-states (Fukuyama, 2008). What we have seen since the end of the Bush Presidency is the adoption and adaptation of Bush era war strategy by President Obama's Administration (e.g. President Obama's 2009 Afghanistan surge of 30,000 troops; predator drone attacks in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen).

In contrast to President Obama receiving a Nobel Peace Prize, the President delivered an address to cadets at West Point in 2010 where he stated,

> When I took office, we had just over 32,000 Americans serving in Afghanistan, compared to 160,000 in Iraq at the peak of the war….That's why, shortly after taking office, I approved a long-standing request for more troops…as commander-in-chief, I have determined that it is in our vital national interest to send an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to Afghanistan" (NYTIMES, 2010).

This quote places full responsibility for ramping up war efforts in Afghanistan on President Obama. As an African American male and a Democratic president, it was tacitly assumed that he would be a conciliator, re-brand the United States via public diplomacy, and ultimately end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; however, that has yet to come to fore. Although there are examples of conservative efforts to assist minority groups (e.g. Nixon's open housing initiative and George W. Bush's education reform), African-American ideology orthodoxy has manifested itself in votes for the Democratic Party because of its

perceived position on public policy. Regardless of President Obama's political pragmatism, the promise of his presidency for African Americans persists, specifically in the area of public diplomacy.

   Public Diplomacy. As the communicative exchange of cultural practices in efforts to purport an appealing representation to foreign publics, public diplomacy can be used as a guiding principle behind becoming niche actors (Melisson, 2005). America exports its cultural elements via its entertainment industry, which may prove beneficial to America's image to highlight the strong work ethic and pride of its citizens. For example, Scheider (2010) discusses the role that African Americans played during the Cold War. The State Department dispensed Duke Ellington and Dizzie Gillespie to Communist countries to entertain and to serve as ambassadors on behalf of the United States. The State Department's effort was to promulgate American culture via African American musical artists in order to combat an image of racial intolerance in the United States and to highlight the dynamism of American cultural diversity. As a result, we see that African American culture has long been at the core of America's effort to spread its influence to its enemies and its allies. Again, this is done with the intention of building a mutual respect of and further engagement with foreign cultures.

   Ultimately, the ability to empirically measure political malleability among African Americans regarding American domestic and foreign policy will allow future black elected officials (BEO) to provided more choice in policy positions in order to appeal to a diversity of potential voters. In addition, there may be a growing interest in American Foreign Policy (AFP) among African Americans. With increased emphasis in that area, either as niche actors or as principles, African American traditional ideological stances on America's

involvement abroad may lead to a sea-change regarding GWOT, meaning more muli-lateralism, e.g. Libya, and increased liberal order building, e.g. United Nations support of Palestinian statehood.

<center>Conclusion</center>

This study is a qualitative inquiry into the nature of patriotism among African Americans. As such, subjectivity lies at the core of the research design including the: research articles, research questions, methodological design, and the reporting of the results, and the discussion of the findings. A strength of this project was that there were not a priori categories or expectations to how participants would define patriotism and other concepts. As is a characteristic limitation of a qualitative methodological approach, this work is not generalizeable to a larger population of participants, thus this work is valid but not reliable.

In order to create a credible research procedure, interview guide questions were not followed verbatim, but were asked in a standardized manner. The focus group interviews were conducted in various locations, such as a classroom, a colleague's home, and a recreation center. In a quantitative study, the lack of standardization would compromise its validity, but the validity of this study was enhanced due to the lack of standardization in focus group environment. This is so because I wanted to have a comprehensive research experience that allowed for participant comfort, which would allow me to glean robust data from focus group sessions. This was also the reason for targeting the proposed sample, African American men and women of various socio-economic statuses and education levels, ranging from age 18 to 80.

Regarding the proposed population of this study, I did not have participants considered functionally impoverished, i.e. the working poor or dependent upon government

assistance. Conversely, I did not have participants making over $150,000 in annual salary. The lack of both perspectives, African Americans who are functionally poor and those who are wealthy, limits the types of responses received from participants because of the stark divergence of life experiences characteristic of each socio-economic position. As a result, the sample used lacked economic diversity. To add, this project may be replicated with the aforementioned populations, e.g. the functionally impoverished and the wealthy, but also with military veterans. It would be interesting to see how military service influences one's relationship to their nation.

Another limitation was the absence of same-sex focus groups. Conceptually, there may have been different themes that emerged and a preponderance of gendered perceptions expressed. That lack of same-sex focus groups did not allow a collectivity of men and women, respectively, to narrate their experiences regarding community, politics, and communication within their same-sex relational encounters.

As is mentioned earlier, the principles of patriotism discussed regarding this project are congruent with those discussed deductively. Additionally, the literature on patriotism highlights the dimension of affiliation as closely correlated to patriotism, which highlights an affective relationship between individuals and their nation. Where this project uncovers the relational communicative elements apparent between an individual and their country, future research may be able to empirically assess the interpersonal characteristics inherent to patriotism (see Figure 3).

REFERENCES

Adorno, T. W. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sandford (1950) The Authoritarian
    Personality. New York, NY: Harper.

Althusser. L (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses: Notes toward an
    investigation. In *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, translated by Ben Brewster
    (pp.127-186). New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Anonymous (2007). Optimism about black progress declines: Blacks see growing values gap
    between poor and middle class. Pew Research Center: A Social & Demographic
    Trends Report.

Asante, M. K. (1980). *The Afrocentric Idea*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Baker, H., Jr. (1995). Critical memory and the black public sphere. In Black Public Sphere
    Collective (Eds.), *The Black Public Sphere* (pp. 5-38). Chicago: University of Chicago
    Press.

Barker, C. & Galasinski, D. (2001). Cultural studies and discourse analysis: a dialogue on
    language and identity. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bar-Tal, D. (2000). Shared beliefs in a society: Social psychology analysis. Thousand Oaks,
    CA: Sage.

Biesecker, B. A. (2009). Introduction. In Barbara Biesecker and John Lucaites (Eds.),
    Rhetoric, materiality, & politics, pp. 17-42. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Blumer, H. (1969). "Society as Symbolic Interaction" and "Suggestions for the Study of
    Mass Media Effects" in *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method,* Englewood
    Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, pp. 78–89, 183– 194.

Bositis, D. (2006). Voting rights and minority representation: Redistricting, 1992-2002.

Washington, DC: University Press of America, Inc.

Bositis, D. (2010a) In anticipation of November 2: Black candidates and the 2010 midterm

elections. Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

Bositis, D. (2010b). Blacks and the 2010 Midterms: A preliminary analysis. Joint Center for

Political and Economic Studies.

Bradford, L., Meyers, R. & Kane, K. (1999). Latino expectations of communicative

competence: A focus group interview study. Communication Quarterly, 47(*1*), pp. 98-

117.

Burgoon, J. K. & Hale, J. (1984). The fundamental topoi of relational communication.

Communication Monographs, 51, pp. 193-214.

Burgoon, J. K., Pfau, M., Parrott, R., Birk, T., Coker, R., & M. Burgoon (1987). Relational

communication, satisfaction, compliance-gaining strategies, and compliance in

communication between physicians and patients. Communication Monographs, 54, pp.

307-324.

Burke, K. (1966). Language as symbolic action: Essays on life, literature, and method.

Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Condit, C. (2007). Race and genetics: Discursive materialism and biological bodies in space-

time. Unpublished manuscript.

Czitrom, D. (1982). *Media and the American mind: From Morse to Mcluhan*. Chapel Hill,

N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.

Carey, J. W. (1989). "Cultural Approach to Communication," in *Communication as Culture;*

Essays on Media and Society, Boston, Mass.: Unwin Hyman, 1989, pp. 13–36.

Carey, J. (1997). The Chicago School and the history of mass communication research. In the

James Cary: A Critical Reader, Eve Styker Munson and Catherine A. Warren (Eds.). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 14-33.

Chiapello, E. & Fairclough, N. (2002). Understanding the new management ideology: A transdisciplinary contribution from critical discourse analysis and new sociology of capitalism. Discourse and Society, 13 (*2*), pp. 185-208.

Cole, E. R. & Stewart, A. J. (1996). Meanings of political participation among black and white women: political identity and social responsibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71*(1), 130-140.

Conover, P. J. (1984). The influence of group identification on political perception and evaluation. *The Journal of Politics, 46*(3), 760-785.

Conover, P. J. (1988). The role of social groups in political thinking. *British Journal of Political Science, 18*(1), 51-76.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cruse, H. (1967). The crisis of the negro intellectual. New York, NY: The New York Review of Books.

Davis, T. C. (1999). Revisiting group attachment: Ethnic and national identity. Political Psychology, 20 (*1*), pp. 25-47.

Dawson, M. C. (1994) Behind the mule: Race, class, and African-American politics. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Dawson, M. C. (1995). A black counterpublic? Economic earthquakes, racial agenda(s) and black politics. In Black Public Sphere Collectives (Eds.), *The Black public sphere* (pp.199-227). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Dawson, M. C. (2001). Black visions: The roots of contemporary African-American political ideologies. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

DeLamater, J., Katz, D., & Kelman, H. (1969). On the nature of national involvement: A preliminary study. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 13 (*3*), pp. 320-357.

Delaney, M. R. (2004). The condition, elevation, emigration, and destiny of the colored people of the United States and the official report of the niger valley exploring party. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.

Druckman, D. (1994). Nationalism, patriotism, and group loyalty: A social psychological perspective. Mershon International Studies Review, 38, 43-68.

Eisenberg, E. M. & Riley, P. (2001). Organizational Culture. In Federic M. Jablin and Linda L. Putnam (Eds.), The New Handbook of Organizational Communication: Advances in Theory, Research, and Methods, pp. 291-322.

Fox, J. (2009). Fourteenth amendment citizenship and the reconstruction-era black public sphere. Akron Law Review, 42, pp. 1245-1277.

Derrida, J. (1978) "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," In *Writing and Difference*, translated by Alan Bass. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 278–293.

Dewey, J (1927). "The Eclipse of the Public," and "Search for the Great Community," In The Public and Its Problems (New York: Henry Holt), 110–184.

Elliott A. (2004). "Pretext: You'll Never Dream the Same Dream Twice" and excerpt from "Social Theory Since Freud; Traversing Social Imaginaries," in *Social Theory Since Freud; Traversing Social Imaginaries* (New York: Routledge) pp. 16–36.

Fairclough, N. (1995). Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language. New York,

NY: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research. New York,

NY: Routledge.

Fraser, N. (1992). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually

existing democracy. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), Habermas and the public sphere (p. 109-142).

Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fraser, N. (1992). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually

existing democracy. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), Habermas and the public sphere (p. 109-142).

Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fukuyama, F. (2008). Soft talk, big stick. In Leffler, Melvyn, and Jeffrey W. Legro, (Eds.).

To Lead the World. New York: Oxford, pp. 204-226.

Gallup (2011). In GOP field, only Cain's image better than earlier this year. Retrieved

November 5, 2011 from: http://www.gallup.com/poll/150482/GOP-Field-Cain-Image-

Better-Earlier-Year.aspx

Gilroy, P. (1993). The black atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness. Cambridge, MA:

Harvard University Press.

Gordon, D. B. (2003). Black Identity: Rhetoric, ideology, and nineteenth-century black

nationalism. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Gresson, A. D. III (1995). The recovery of race in America. Minneapolis, MN: University of

Minnesota Printing.

Grossberg, L. (1992). We gotta get outta this place: Popular conservatism and postmodern

culture. NY: New York, Routledge.

Habermas, J. (1974). The public sphere: An encyclopedia article (1964). *New German*

Critique, (3), pp. 49-55.

Habermas, J. (1989). The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a

category of bourgeois society (T. Burger, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/Decoding. In Culture, Media, Language; Working Papers in

Cultural Studies, 1972–79, (Eds.). Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson.

Hall, S. (1980b). Race, articulation, and societies structured in dominance, In Unesco,

Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism, Paris: Unesco, pp. 305-45.

Hall, S. (1986). The problem of ideology—Marxism without guarantees. *Journal of

Communication Inquiry* 10 (*2*), pp. 28-44.

Hart & McInturff (2011). NBC News/Wall Street Journal Survey: Cain now leads GOP pack.

Retrieved October 26, 2011 from:

http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/44881446/ns/politics-decision_2012/t/nbcwsj-poll-

cain-now-leads-gop-pack/

Heribert, A. (1990). Exclusive nationalism versus inclusive patriotism: State ideologies for

divided societies. *Innovation*, *3* (*4*), pp. 569-588.

Huddy, L. (1998). The social nature of political identity: Feminist image and feminist

identity. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science

Assocation, Boston.

Huddy, L (2001). From social to political identity: A critical examination of social identity

theory. *Political Psychology, 22*(1), 127-156.

Kelman, H. C. (1969). Patterns of personal involvement in the national system: A socio-

psychological analysis of political legitimacy. In James N. Rosenau (Ed.), International

Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory, Revised Edition, The

Free Press.

Kelman, H. C. (1997). Nationalism, patriotism, and national identity: Social-psychological dimensions. In D. Bar-Tal & E. Staub (Eds.), Patriotism in the lives of individuals and nations (pp. 165-189). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Krueger, R. A., & Casey, M. A. (2000). Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kosterman, R., & Feshbach, S. (1989). Toward a measure of patriotic and nationalistic attitudes. *Political Psychology, 10*, 257–274.

Laclau, E. (1977). Politics and ideology in Marxist theory. London: New Left Books.

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1986). Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics. London & New York, Verso.

Laclau, E. (1992). Universalism, particularism, and the question of identity. *October*, *61*, 83-90.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Larson, K., Grudens-Schuck, and Lundy, A. (2004). Can you call it a focus group? Ames, IA: Iowa State University Extension.

http://www.extension.iastate.edu/Publications/PM1969A.pdf

Li, Q. & Brewer, M. B. (2004) What does it mean to be an American? patriotism, nationalism, and American identity after9/11. *Political Psychology, 25(5),* pp. 727-739.

Linville, P. W., Slovey, P., Gregory, W. F. (1989). Perceived distributions of characteristics of in-group and out-group members: Empirical evidence and a computer simulation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *57*(2), pp. 165-188.

Mack, J. E. (1983). Nationalism and the self. Psychohistory Review, 11 (2-3), 47-69.

Mann, C. B. & Gillespie A. (2004). Redistricting in a multi-racial context: majority-minority
    districts and the maximization of substantive representation for blacks and Hispanics
    in congress. Conference paper from the Midwestern Political Science Association, p.
    1-39.

Marx, K. & Engels, F. (1932). The german ideology. Moscow: The Marx-Engels Institute.

Maslow, A. H. (1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York, NY: Harper.

Mazama, A. (2001). The afrocentric paradigm: Contours and definitions. *Journal of Black
    Studies*, *31*(4), pp. 387-405.

Mead G. H. (1934). The Social Foundations and Functions of Thought and
    Communication," in *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago, Ill.: University Chicago Press,
    pp. 253–260.

Melissen, J. (2005). The new public diplomacy: soft power in international. Basingstoke
    [UK]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

McDonald, L. (2006). Redistricting and voting rights issues, 1992-2002: A legal analysis.
    Voting rights and minority representation: Redistricting, 1992-2002. Washington, DC:
    University Press of America, Inc.

McPhail, M. L. (1998). From complicity to coherence: Rereading the rhetoric of
    afrocentricity. *Western Journal of Communication* (*62*), pp. 114-40.

McWhorter, J. (2000). Losing the race: Self-sabotage in black America. New York, NY:
    Harper Perennial.

Morgan, D. L. (1997) Focus groups as qualitative research (2nd Edition). Thousand Oaks,
    CA: Sage.

Mouffe, C. (1992). Citizenship and political identity. *October, 61*, 28-32.

Oakes, P. J. (1987) The salience of social categories. In J. C. Turner, M. A. Hogg, P. J.

Oakes, S. D. Reicher, & M. S. Wetherall (Eds.), *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory.* Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Obama, B. (2010) Obama's address to the ward in Afghanistan. Retrieved November 6, 2011

from:

http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/02/world/asia/02prexy.text.html?pagewanted=all

Outten, R. H., Schmitt, M. T., Garcia, D. M., Branscombe, N. R. (2009). Coping options: Missing links between minority group identification and psychological well-being. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *58*(1), pp. 146-170.

Orbe, M. & Harris, T. (2008). Interracial communication: Theory into practice. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Peck J. (2001). "Itinerary of a Thought: Stuart Hall, Cultural Studies, and the Unresolved Problem of the Relation of Culture to 'Not Culture'," *Cultural Critique* 48, pp. 200–249.

Persons, G. (1993). Introduction. Dilemmas of black politics: Issues of leadership and strategy. New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1-11.

Perakyla, A. (2005). Anlyzing talk and text. In Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research, pp. 869-886. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pickett, C. L., Silver, M. D., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). The impact of assimilation and differentiation needs on perceived group importance and judgments of ingroup size. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 546-558.

Price, M. T. (2009). Dreaming blackness: Black nationalism and African-American public opinion. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Reidenbach, L. & Weller, C. (2010). The state of minorities in 2010: Minorities are suffering disproportionately in the recession. Center for American Progress.

Rorty, R. (1996). *Philosophy and Social Hope*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Schatz, R. T., (1995) On being a good American: Blind versus constructive patriotism. Unpublished Dissertation, Amherst, CT: University Microfilms International.

Schatz, R. T., Staub, E., & Lavine, H. (1999). On the varieties of national attachment: Blind versus constructive patriotism. Political Psychology, 20 (*1*), pp. 151-174.

Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., & Al Ramiah, A.(2011). Self-categorization and social identification: Making sense of us and them. In D. Chadee (Ed.) Theories in Social

Psychology (pp. 211-230). Oxford: Willey-Blackwell.

Schneider, C. (2009). American public diplomacy after the Bush Presidency. Center for International and Regional Studies. Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar.

Schneider, C. (2010). The unrealized potential of cultural diplomacy: "Best Practices" and what could be, only if… The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society, 39 (*4*), pp. 260-279.

Simeon, D., Kozin, D. S., Segal, K., Lerch, B., Dujour, R., Giesbrecht, T. (2008). De-constructing depersonalization: further evidence for symptom clusters. *Psychiatry Research*, *157*(1-3), pp. 303-305.

Smith, R. C. (1993) Ideology and the enduring dilemma of black politics. In Georgia

Parsons, ed., Dilemmas of Black Politics: Issues of Leadership and Strategy. New York: Harper Collins College Pubishers, 211-224.

Spivak G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? In Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, (Eds.), Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, pp.271–294, 308–311.

Staub, E. (1991). Blind versus constructive patriotism: Moving from embeddedness in the group to critical loyalty and action. Paper presented at the meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Helsinki.

Squires C. (2002). Rethinking the black public sphere: an alternative vocabulary for multiple public spheres. *Communication Theory*, *12*(4), pp. 446-468.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (2004). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In Mary J. Hatch & Majken Schultz (Eds.). (pp. 56-65). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Tavernise, S. & Gabeloff, R. (2011). Many U.S. Blacks Moving to the south, reversing trend, Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/25/us/25south.html

Terhune, K. W. (1964). Nationalism among foreign and American students: An exploratory study. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 8, 256-270.

Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In Henri Tajfel (Ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 15-36). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.

Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., McGarty, C. (1994). Self and collective: Cognition and social context. *Personal and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, pp. 454-462.

Turner, J. C. & Haslam, S. A. (2001). Social identity, organizations and leadership. In M. E. Turner (Ed.). *Groups at Work: Theory and Research*, pp. 25-65. New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.

Turner, J. C. & Reynolds, K. J. (2011). Self-categorization theory. In P. A. M. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.). *Theories in Social Psychology* (2nd ed.) pp. 399-417.

van Ham, Peter (2005). Power, Public Diplomacy, and the *Pax* America. In Jan Mellisen (Ed.). *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. New York: NY, pp. 47-63.

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward and integrative social identity model of collective action. A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*, 504-535.

Voci T. (2006). Relevance of social categories, depersonalization and group processes: Two field tests of self-categorization theory. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36,* 73-90.

Von Kanel, J. & Quinley, H. (2008). Exit Poll 2003 Presidential Election. Retrieved 2008. http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#USP00p1.

Walton, G. M. & Cohen, G. L. (2007). A question of belonging: Race, social fit, and achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(*1*), pp. 82-96.

Wanzo, R. (2009). Wearing hero-face: Black Citizens and Melancholic Patriotism in Truth: Red, White, and Black. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, *42* (*2*), pp. 339-362.

Wilkins, R. (2001). Jefferson's pillow: The founding fathers and the delimma of black patriotism. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Williams R. (1976). Keywords. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 119-120.

Williams R. (1980). Base and superstructure in marxist cultural theory. In Problems in Materialism and Culture. London: Verso, pp. 31–49.

Williams, R. & Orrom, M. (2001). "Film and the Dramatic Tradition," in *The Raymond Williams Reader*, edited by John Higgins, Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, pp. 25–41.

Willis, G. (2008). Two Speeches on Race. *The New York Review of Books, 55*(7).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTORY EMAIL

Greetings,

Thank you for signing up for my study! As mentioned in the instructions, your registration has provided me with your phone number and also your e-mail address. In order to conduct the focus group, we will have a session that is both video and audio recorded. In an effort, to protect the identity of participants and ensure the most comfortable environment for discussion, only I will have access to the recordings.

Please, provide me with a schedule of your availability so that I can set a time that is most amenable to your schedule. In doing so, please provide times and days that you are available (including weekends).

Again, thank you and I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Marcus Coleman

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to participate in research being
conducted by Marcus Coleman of the Department of Speech Communication at the
University of Georgia, under the direction of Tina M. Harris (120 Terrell Hall, 542-4753).
This research is entitled "*African-American political reorientation to the United States:
Communicating change.*" I understand that my participation in this research is entirely
voluntary; I can refuse to participate or withdraw my consent at any time without penalty or
loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I understand, though, that once the research
is completed my contributions will no longer be identifiable.

The purpose of my project focuses on the elements race, identity, communication, politics,
and ideology. Specifically, I will share my experiences with race and politics are
communicated to others and in my understanding of how they work together to inform my
political identity.
The follow points have been explained to me:
1.   Participation in this project is completely voluntary. Participants must be 18 years or
        older to participate in this study.
2.   I will answer questions about my daily experiences, political beliefs, and political
        decisions, which may take 1.5 hours. The interviews will be audio taped for the
        purpose of data collection.
3.   There are no foreseen stresses or discomforts due to my participation in this research.
        There are no foreseeable risks due to my participation in this study
4.   The results of my participation will be confidential, and will not be released in any
        individually identifiable form without my prior consent, unless required by law. Once
        data is collected, my name will be removed from everything that pertains to me and
        replaced with an identification number. The interview tapes will be stored in a locked
        file cabinet in the primary researcher's office. The consent forms and audiotapes must
        be retained for 3 years after completion of the project.
5.   I may ask the investigator to answer my questions or provide more information about
        the study at any time. If I so choose, I can request that a copy of the results of this
        study be provided to me as soon as they are available.
I will receive an honorarium for fully participating in this interview, which includes
answering any and all questions with which I am comfortable. If at any point I feel
uncomfortable with the interview questions, I may withdraw at any time. In order to process
the payment for my participation, the researcher(s) need to collect my name, mailing address,
and social security number on a separate payment form. This completed form will be
gathered at the time of the interview and submitted to the Department of Speech
Communication's Office Manager and then to the UGA Business Office. The researchers
have been informed that these offices will keep my information private, but may have to
release my name and the amount of compensation paid to me to the IRS, if ever asked. The
researchers connected with this study will protect my private information and will keep this
confidential by storing all documents and materials in a secured location.

My signature below indicates that the researcher(s) has answered all of my questions to my satisfaction and I consent to volunteer for this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____   _____   _____
Signature of the Investigator   Signature of Participant   Date
(601) 896-5496
mjclass1@uga.edu

                                                  _____
                                                  Participant's name PRINTED

PLEASE SIGN AND DATE ONE COPY OF THE CONSENT FORM AND RETURN IT TO THE INVESTIGATOR. KEEP THE OTHER COPY FOR YOUR RECORDS.

For questions or problems about your rights please call or write: The IRB Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; e-mail address IRB@uga.edu.

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC SHEET

African-American political re-orientation to the United States: Communicating Change

Please do not write your name on this form. It will be stored separately from any other information that you complete during this study and will not be linked with your responses in any way. The information will allow us to provide an accurate description of the sample.

For the following items, please select the one response that is most descriptive of you.

Q. Gender: ☐ Female _____   ☐ Male _____

Q. Age: _____

Q. Ethnicity
☐ Asian or Pacific Islander   ☐ Asian Indian
☐ Black/African-American (non-Hispanic)   ☐ Caucasian/White
☐ Native American   ☐ Latino/Hispanic
☐ Puerto Rican
☐ More than one race (specify) _____

Q. What is the highest level of education you've completed?

☐ Less than High School _____   ☐ High School/GED _____
☐ Some college _____   ☐ 2-year college degree _____
☐ 4-year college degree _____   ☐ Master's degree _____
☐ Doctoral Degree _____   ☐ Advanced Degree (JD/MD)

Q. Employment Status
Are you currently...?
☐ Employed for wages   ☐ Self-employed
☐ Out of work and looking for work   ☐ Homemaker
☐ Out of work but not currently looking for work ☐ Student
☐ Retired   ☐ Unable to work

Q. What is your total household income?
☐ Less than $10,000   ☐ $10,000 to $19,999
☐ $20,000 to $29,999   ☐ $30,000 to $39,999
☐ $40,000 to $49,999   ☐ $50,000 to $59,999
☐ $60,000 to $69,999   ☐ $70,000 to $79,999

☐ $80,000 to $89,999   ☐ $90,000 to $99,999
☐ $100,000 to $149,999   ☐ $150,000 or more

APPENDIX D

CONFIRMATION EMAIL

Greetings,

Again, thank you for signing up to participate in my focus group project. I have requested times and dates from each of you and in the interest of time, I propose that we meet on Sunday February 20, @ 4 p.m. in the Terrell Hall building on north campus.

Terrell Hall is located on Jackson Street, houses the Undergraduate Admissions Office, and is next to the Office of the President. For parking accommodations, the north campus parking deck is across the street from Terrell Hall, but contact me if you need more information. Also, let me know if this time and date does not work for you.

I will provide light snacks and beverages in addition to a $10.00 honorarium. Attached are forms that must be signed for your participation in the focus group, i.e. debreifing statement, consent form, and the demographic sheet.

I look forward to seeing you on Sunday February 20 @ 4 p.m.

Marcus Coleman

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Facilitator: "First, let me begin by thanking you for your participation in this very important study. Your insight is most appreciated. For the next 30-60 minutes I will be asking you a series of questions about your experience with American foreign policy in general and African-American patriotism in particular. If at any point you are unclear about a question, feel free to ask for clarification. If there is a question asked that you do not wish to answer, you are free to cease your participation. The questions are designed to create healthy discussion on the topic of African-American patriotism."

1. What does the United States of America mean to you? What does it mean to be an American?
2. What kind of conversations do you have with family, friends, and colleagues/peers about your relationship with America?
3. How would you describe the African-American community's relationship with the US, in general? How do you speak about yourself as an African-American in relationship to being American?
4. What does it mean to be a black nationalist? In what ways is it a realistic stance to put into practice as an African-American community?
5. How would you define patriotism? Do you consider yourself an American patriot? Why or why not?
6. Do you associate African-Americans with patriotism? Why or why not? In your opinion, how do you describe the patriotism of African-Americans?
7. What significance, political, economic, social, or otherwise, do you see in the election of the first African-American President of the US? **What kinds of conversations have you had that have been extremely important to you that have shaped your political and cultural identities?**
8. What impact, if any, will it have on race relations in the US?
9. Specifically what impact, if any, will it have on African-American's relationship with the US?
10. As a group, how would you rank these political issues in their level of importance to you? (Are you going to have each person share their ranking? Or will you just ask them to explain what they believe is their primary? With 6-8 people, this might get messy.

   Education
   Immigration
   Economics
   GWOT (Global War on Terror)
   Taxes

11. Why have you chosen to rank these issues this way?
12. Probe on GWOT (Global War on Terrorism)
13. Is there anything else you would like to add that has not been discussed?

This brings us to the end of our interview. Please, feel free to ask any questions that you may have. If you have questions once in the coming days or weeks, feel free to contact me at mjclass1@uga.edu.

APPENDIX F

DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

Title: African-American political reorientation to the United States: Communicating change

Investigators: Tina M. Harris, Ph.D, and Marcus Coleman

Thank you for your participation in our study. This study seeks to explore how African Americans navigate the changing political environment in the United States regarding the practice of racial identity. I argue that an outdated Black Nationalistic concept of communicative ideology has enjoyed predominance among African-American scholars, even in the face of an un-receptive African-American public. Instead, I propose a move toward more patriotic ideological stances among African-Americans. Here, patriotism is defined as not only in military service but also as civil service. I use the election of President Obama as an indicator of change. Ultimate, I would like to show an ideological shift in the assumptions that underlie the writings of black intellectuals away from a separatist perspective toward an assumed inclusiveness.

However, should you feel discomfort or distress for any reason upon completion of this study, please contact UGA Counseling Services at 706-542-2273. If you should have any questions concerning your participation, please feel free to contact either, Marcus Coleman (mjclass1@uga.edu) or Dr. Tina M. Harris (tmharris@uga.edu) Department of Speech Communication, 120 Terrell Hall.

Thank you very much for your participation in this study. Your input is very important and valuable in our understanding of race and political identity. We appreciate your time a report of this research should be ready for circulation by the end of January 2011. If you would like to receive a copy, please send an e-mail to either Dr. Harris or Marcus Coleman expressing your interest in the results and providing your e-mail address. Thank you again for your participation.

TABLES

Table 1. Black Household Income as a Percentage of White Household Income

Year	%
2008	61.8
2000	64.8
1989	61.5
1979	61.2
1969	56.7

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks.
Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the current population

Table 2: Focus Group Demographics

Focus Group	Age Range	Female	Male
#1 Participants (N=7)	18-29	4	3
#2 Participants (N=6)	19-32	4	2
#3 Participants (N=6)	28-67	2	4
#4 Participants (N=6)	26-35	3	3
#5 Participants (N=6)	20-80	3	3

Table 3: Income Distribution for focus group participants

Income	Number of Participants
Less than $10,000	5
$10,000 to $19,999	4
$20,000 to 29,999	5
$40,000 to $49,999	2
$50,000 to $59,999	2
$60,000 to $69,999	1
$70,000 to $79,999	11
$90,000 to $99,999	1
$100,000 to $149,999	4
$150000 or more	2

Table 4. Identification with patriotism among focus group participants

Gender	Males	Females	Total
Patriot	8	6	14
Neutral	2	9	11
Non-Patriot	5	0	5
Total	15	15	30

Table 5. Association of patriotism with African-Americans

Gender	Males	Females	Total
Association	5	2	7
Neutral	10	10	20
Non-Association	0	3	3
Total	15	15	30

Table 6. November 2011 Republican Primary Polling Data

Poll	Date	Sample	Cain	Romney	Gingrich	Perry	Paul	Bachmann	Santorum	Huntsman	Spread
RCP Average	**10/14 - 11/3**	**--**	**25.5**	**23.0**	**11.0**	**9.8**	**8.2**	**3.5**	**1.5**	**1.2**	**Cain +2.5**
ABC News/Wash Post	10/31 - 11/3	438 RV	23	25	12	14	9	4	1	1	Romney +2
Rasmussen Reports	11/2 - 11/2	1000 LV	26	23	14	8	7	2	1	2	Cain +3
Quinnipiac	10/25 - 10/31	869 RV	30	23	10	8	7	4	1	2	Cain +7
FOX News	10/23 - 10/25	328 RV	24	20	12	10	9	3	3	0	Cain +4
CBS News/NY Times	10/19 - 10/24	455 RV	25	21	10	6	8	2	1	1	Cain +4
CNN/Opinion Research	10/14 - 10/16	416 A	25	26	8	13	9	6	2	1	Romney +1

See All 2012 Republican Presidential Nomination Polling Data
Source: Real Clear Politics (RCP) retrieved October 18, 2011 from:
http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2012/president/us/republican_presidential_nomination-1452.html
The table provided represents aggregate date figures from October 3, 2011 to October 16, 2011

Table 7. Ranking of political issues

Issue	1st Choice %	2nd Choice %	Combined Choice %
Job Creation	39	19	56
The deficit and economic growth	22	18	40
Health Care	12	16	28
National Security and terrorism	9	11	20
Energy and the cost of gas	7	13	20
The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan	6	7	13
Immigration	4	8	12
Egypt, Lybia, and the political unrest in Arab countries	1	4	5
Other	-1	1	0

Source: NBC News/Wall Street Journal Survey FEBRUARY/October 2011
THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY HIGHEST 1ST CHOICE PERCENTAGE

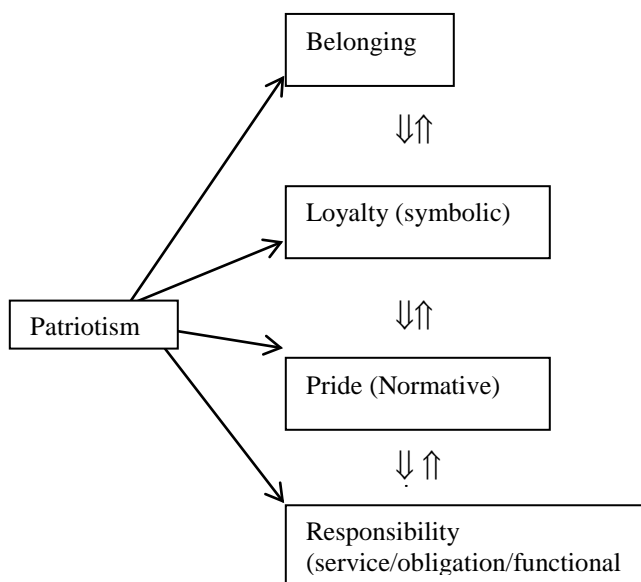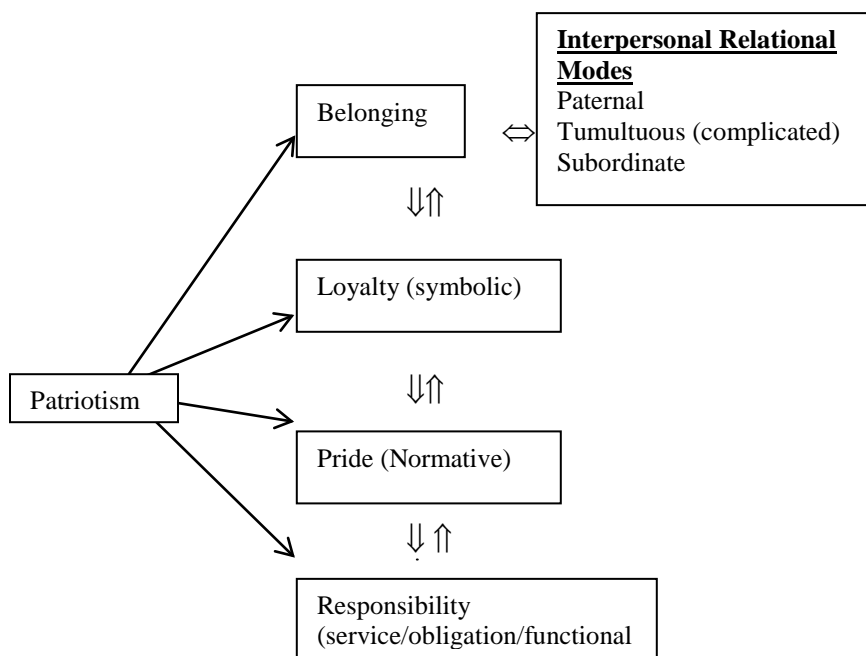FIGURES

Figure 1. Dimensions of Patriotism

Figure 2. Relational Patriotism

Figure 3. Interpersonal Patriotism

<u>Relational Dimensions of Patriotism</u>

Patriotism

Loyalty (symbolic)

⇓⇑

Pride (Normative)

⇓ ⇑

Responsibility (functional)

<u>Belonging</u>
Paternal

Tumultuous

Subordinate

**<u>Interpersonal
Relational Themes</u>**
Dominance-Submission
Immediacy
Trust
Depth-Superficiality
Emotional arousal
Equality
Composure