From Shame to Pride in Identity Politics

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we elaborate the concept of pride, and address the relation of shame, pride and solidarity. Specifically, we argue that exposure to and participation in a social movement can engender a sequence of emotions such that pride becomes associated with an attribute that previously had been a source of shame. At the same time, the participation fulfills conditions for solidarity among those sharing the attribute.

Some social movements engage in "identity politics" and "seek to alter the self-conceptions and societal conceptions of their participants" (Anspach, 1979: 765). Anspach describes a social movement generated by the physically disabled and ex-mental patients which has resulted in an image of self-determination rather than helplessness. A goal of this movement is to pass on these new self-conceptions to others, and implicit in this process is development of a feeling of pride. Historically, a number of social movements, like the Civil Rights Movement and the Gay Rights Movement, have arisen specifically to alter social responses to and definitions of stigmatized attributes, replacing shame with pride.

Thoits (1990) points out that social movements present a unique opportunity to study affect and suggests that a movement offers social support in terms of shared and legitimized feelings (at least within the stigmatized minority). While Thoits (1990) seems to suggest that shared feeling (e. g. , pride) is what motivates participation in a social movement, participation itself may transform individual feeling so that it mirrors the shared affect of other members. For example, Stein observed that, as white ethnics fight back against cultural and political oppression, "fierce pride reverses a pervasive sense of shame, and righteous indignation inverts an unrelievable sense of guilt," (Stein, 1975: 283). For the isolated or closeted homosexual, "just seeing a group of openly gay people together at a pride rally, for example, is often an overwhelmingly good feeling" (Hartinger, 1992: 50).

Our aim in this paper is to explicate how a social movement converts shame and loneliness into pride and solidarity. First, we show that shame and pride are associated with distinctive behaviors and that performing those behaviors can induce the emotions. Next we discuss how social movements build and use emotional capital to mobilize participants and propel them into collective actions. Participation in collective actions generates pride and solidarity. We examine the Gay Rights movement in order to explicate these processes in more detail. Finally, we encapsulate our findings in a model that describes how social movements engage in identity politics. Throughout we assume that people with a stigma are favorably disposed toward a social movement that ameliorates their stigma, so their consensus is mobilized and they have a latent willingness to participate (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987).

Actions of Shame and Pride

Scheff (1990) argues that shame and pride are social emotions arising from viewing one's self from the standpoint of another. According to Scheff, shame occurs when one feels negatively evaluated by self or others, while pride is evident when one feels positively evaluated by self or others (Scheff, 1990). Other researchers similarly have conceptualized shame and pride as reflexive forms of affect, involving negative and positive self-attention (e. g. Nathanson, 1987; Taylor, 1985).

Scheff (1990) describes hiding behaviors as indicative of shame, including blushing and averting the eyes. Davitz (1969), in his dictionary of emotional meanings, also says that the desire to hide is an aspect of the experience of shame. There is an urge "to withdraw, be alone, away from others, ... there is an impulse to hide, to run, to get away" (Davitz, 1969: 83). Nathanson suggests that "true of shame is a wish to conceal" (Nathanson, 1987: 184).

While Scheff and others have identified these behavioral correlates of shame, a similar treatment of pride is lacking. Yet pride, like shame, involves more than an evaluation of self, and is reflected in a manner of interacting with others. Prideful behavior occupies public space, or more simply, involves public display. Clear and powerful public discourse, a steady gaze, and even public demonstrations may be taken as indicators of pride. Other manifestations include erect posture, chest out, brightness of eyes, and telling others about one's achievements (Kovecses, 1990). The public nature of pride is noted by Nathanson, who says "The experience of pride is a certain tendency to broadcast one's success to the object world" and pride is that "happy emotion that makes us want to be public" (Nathanson, 1987: 184). Kovecses' (1990) linguistic work on emotion concepts shows that descriptions of pride often follow a theme of increase in body size. For example, "He swelled with pride," "He was bloated with pride," "He was inflated with pride" (Kovecses, 1990: 90). Davitz (1969), too, in his work on the language of emotion, found that pride involves feeling "taller, stronger, bigger, expansive" (p. 77).

While shame may lead to hiding and pride may lead to expansive behaviors in public space, causality also operates in the opposite direction with the actions generating the emotions. Hiding creates shame, and public displays create pride. Though somewhat nonintuitive, this idea fits with several theoretical perspectives.

First, there is William James' classic formulation that emotion emerges from the autonomic and behavioral responses elicited in a situation: "we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble" (James, 1890/1950: 450; Laird and Bresler, 1990). A natural extension of James' position is that we feel shame as a result of hiding and pride as a result of displaying ourselves publically.

Affect control theory's treatment of emotions (Smith-Lovin, 1990) also posits that emotions emerge from ongoing events. A person's identity defines the kind of presence he or she ideally should have. Meanwhile specific events modify the person's apparent worthiness, power, and spontaneity. Emotions transform people from their ideal presences into the immediate situated presences that emerge in events. An emotion makes a person in a given role feel and look the way events have made that person seem. We used affect control theory's computer simulation program (Heise and Lewis, 1988) to obtain predictions of what kinds of actions a man might enact toward a stranger in order to feel shame or pride. Actions that might make the man feel ashamed include hiding from or begging the stranger. Actions that might make the man feel proud include enthralling or outdoing the stranger.

Collins' (1981) analysis of interaction rituals (IR) does not focus on specific emotions but has themes supporting the argument that shame and pride can emerge from behavior in groups. "Taking a dominant position within an IR increases one's emotional energies. Taking a subordinate position reduces one's emotional energies, the more extreme the subordination, the greater the energy reduction" (1002). "If one encounters a series of situations in which one is highly accepted or even dominating, or in which the emotions are very intense, one's emotional energy can build up very rapidly. The rhythms of mass political and religious movements are based upon just such dynamics" (1003).

Another basis for proposing that expressive actions generate their corresponding emotions comes from analyses of emotion work (e. g. , Hochschild, 1983; Thoits, 1990) showing that people in one way or another often manipulate their subjective feelings through their expressive actions when they make emotion displays fit the norms. If some feature or action of self warrants shame, that shame might be generated by efforts of concealment. Publically displaying a feature or action that is supposed to produce pride might produce pride even if none were felt initially.

Finally, Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory could predict that individuals would feel tension when engaging in public behavior while feeling embarrassed or ashamed. If an individual displays a stigmatized attribute in public, yet experiences shame, dissonance would likely result (e. g. "I'm ashamed, so what am I doing out here?"). A change in cognition would reduce the dissonance, and given the strong connection between pride and public display, an individual is likely to decide that the proper emotion associated with such behavior is pride. "I must not be ashamed, I must be proud if I'm out here in public."

Affectual Transformations in Identity Politics

Turning shame to pride is no simple matter, and social movements must be involved in several different kinds of processes in order to get the job done.

Social movements involved in identity politics deal with people who initially are ashamed, isolated, and perhaps depressed. The first task is to turn shame and depression into other emotions with higher activation in order to incite and motivate. In the empirical emotion structure described by Morgan and Heise (1988) and MacKinnon and Keating (1989), shame and depression are unpleasant, vulnerable emotions with fairly low activation. Moving to higher activation while leaving the same unpleasantness and vulnerablility leads to fear. Thus theory accounts for an emphasis in identity politics on instigating fear.

A strategy in gay identity politics is to instill fear through discussions of homophobic reactions toward gays. Dramatizing existing and proposed legislative descrimination against gay men and lesbians instigates fear, and publicizing violence against homosexuals is even more effective in this regard. Consider, for example, how this merely factual statement might terrify homosexuals. "As lesbians and gay men have become empowered, and issues concerning them have gained national attention, anti-gay hostility has become more open and virulent... State and local ordinances aimed at blocking equal rights for gay people are proliferating nationwide... [There is] a homophobic backlash against gay people or those perceived to be gay, including murder -- for example, a 127 percent rise in five major cities that keep anti-gay violence records between 1988 and 1993" (American Civil Liberties Union, 1994: 1).

The instigation of fear activates people, preparing them to do something. The trouble is that fear leaves people feeling vulnerable, so they may incline toward flight over fight. Yet a vital component of identity politics is to motivate participants to join the struggle. Thus movement agents must transform vulnerablity into dominance, and in the process change the emotion of fear into the emotion of anger. This involves several tactics.

Ferree and Miller (1985) apply a social psychological model of cognitive processing to the issue of individual participation in movement activities, focusing on "beliefs about the nature of social relationships, one's position in the social structure, and the causes and consequences of social action" (p. 42). The dominant "western ideological myth" that social position is due to individual achievement, they assert, discourages people from "seeing their outcomes as the result of controllable forces external to themselves" (Ferree and Miller, 1985; p. 44). The alternative ideological account offered by many social movements provides justification for making an attribution about the system rather than the self. Even those who suffer objective hardships will not experience them as grievances if they adopt an explanation that attributes the outcome to their own qualities. Indeed, "the persecutor desires the victims to remain ignorant of their oppression" (Katz, Gay American History: 335). Movement communications provide people with a basis for seeing their outcomes as the result of controllable forces external to themselves. This recognition delegitimates the system; "we argue that a perception of stable external causality is a prerequisite to sustained action for change" (Ferree and Miller, 1985: 44).

As social movements spread the ideological position that particular identities are not inherently deviant or bad, but are defined as such by society and therefore may be challenged, stigmatized individuals are likely to replace feelings of fear with feelings of anger. Not only is the system explicitly held accountable for defining specific attributes as "deviant," but movement ideology also unambiguously denies the personal focus of socially constructed images of inherent inferiority, immorality, or illness. By modifying the frame from one of innate deviance to one of oppression, individuals may come to feel angry not only because the system is unjust, but angry that they have been made to feel ashamed.

Literature from the inchoate Gay Liberation Movement reflects just such a struggle to arrive at an external attribution. While the fight for homosexuals' civil liberties and equality under law is now a given, some early gay rights organizations perceived homosexuality as deviant. Daughters of Bilitis, an early lesbian organization, listed one of it's missions as "Education of the variant...to enable her to understand herself and make her adjustment to society...this to be accomplished by establishing a library on the sex deviant theme" (Gay American History, 1992: 426). When the notion that homosexuality was not inherently deviant was proposed, it was a controversial issue, even within the gay community. "When [Frank Kameny] articulated the idea that homosexuality was not a sickness, that was a controversial thing to do in the movement. When Kameny said that in the absence of scientific evidence to the contrary, we are not sick - homosexuality is not a sickness - many movement people disputed him, saying 'We have to leave that up to the experts.'" (Gay American History, 1992: 427)

Finally, however, a model of oppression replaced the model of homosexual inferiority and sickness, and focus moved from internal matters to external sources of humiliation. Anger and indignation began to emerge. "We've got to radicalize, man... Be proud of what you are, man! And if it takes riots or even guns to show them what we are, well, that's the only language the pigs understand" (Marotta, 1981: 79). Noting the similarity to activities of blacks during the Civil Rights Movement, a participant in the Stonewall Riots recalled, "this time it was like the black woman who wouldn't give up her bus seat in Montgomery. This time, our own time had come. We took to the streets... and we're not going back to the closet, the back-of-the-bus" (Teal, 1971: 24).

Fear of the enemy also is replaced by anger by urging individuals to stand and fight in defense of liberty and justice. Early resource mobilization theorists suggested that "they [social movement organizations] approach them [potential participants] with some vision of justice or equity with which they hope to raise some righteous anger" (Fireman and Gamson, 1979). Even if considerations of justice do not rouse anger (Scher & Heise, 1992), such considerations serve to justify anger, allowing angry individuals to see themselves in a moral war.

Much of the propaganda disseminated by lesbian and gay SMOs utilizes the metaphor of battle with opponents of Gay Liberation portrayed as the enemy. "In states and communities across the nation, the Religious Right is pushing for new anti-gay civil rights initiatives... Rabid opposition of educational efforts to prevent AIDS... the vilification of gays and lesbians... These are just some of the items high on the Far Right's agenda... People for the American Way understands the threat posed by a political movement that thrives on the exploitation of hatred, superstitions, and fear" (People for the American Way). "Virulent homophobes in Pat Buchanan's religious war' against equality and freedom for gay and lesbian Americans, with a warchest of over $10,000,000, are well funded... and a force to be reckoned with... To win the ultimate victory all of us must fight together" (Human Rights Campaign Fund).

The possibility of potent action as a member of a powerful collectivity in opposition to the enemy is another factor in transforming fearful vulnerability into an angry sense of dominance. Joining a social movement can evoke the sense of power necessary to transform fear to anger.

Communications of the Gay Liberation Movement allude to grassroots massiveness and political action when transforming fear to rightuous anger. "Lesbians, gay men, bisexuals... are being assaulted city by city and state by state across the country in the Christian Right's homophobic war against us. We must not back down. We need to take charge of our own struggles for civil rights. But we cannot fight from the closet. Instead, we must build a grassroots movement of visible, out lesbians and gay men from every income, race, and region working together for real social change. A movement in which lesbians.. and gay men... attain visibility and power. A movement of equal voices and common goals, mobilizing against the bigotry and hatred of the Christian Right. We will not sit in silence. We are fighting for our lives" (Lesbian Avengers Civil Rights Organizing Project, 1994: 4).

Gay Liberation Movement organizations claim to have effective responses to specific threats to inculcate an impression of potency. "The backlash against growing national gay and lesbian visibility and progress has already begun. That's why NGLTF is recommitting itself to fight the Right in 1993. We are mobilizing activists around the nation to turn back extremist attacks...We are unleashing an arsenal of tactics" (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force). "Every year the Pride Agenda develops a Legislative and Public Policy Agenda to outline the legislative, electoral and organizing priorities for the lesbian and gay community of New York State. In 1997, in addition to the Non-Discrimination Bill, constituents will address the need to pass an inclusive Hate Crimes Bill and will speak against a recently re-introduced Anti-Gay Marriage Bill.... [On March 4, 1997] over two hundred lesbian and gay constituents came from almost all 61 Senate districts to meet with their representatives [to lobby for the Sexual Orientation Non-Discrimination Bill]" (Empire State Pride Agenda press release, March 4, 1997).

Public Demonstrations

The activated sense of dominance and displeasure that is involved in anger can be used to mobilize a variety of actions, from vigilantism, to voting, to public demonstrations of solidarity. Only the last is relevant to the question of how social movements turn anger into pleasurable feelings of pride. Anger, a powerful and active emotion, can create pride by booting participants out of hiding and into a public arena of collective action. As noted in *The Village Voice* , (1992: 111), "Protest activity could be used to encourage homosexuals to become proud, open, and political in ways that would force the public to acknowledge the validity of gay life." The presence of anger, however, does not insure that individuals will band together into the demonstrations needed to instil pride.

Rationalistic approaches to collective behavior emphasized that people who join crowds have experienced some prior frustration. "We shall assume, for instance, that perceived structural strain at the social level excites feeling of anxiety, fantasy, hostility, etc. " (Smelser, 1963, p. 11; see also Allport,1924). Yet McPhail observed that studies of race riots in the 1960's "demonstrated that participants could not be distinguished from nonparticipants on the basis of deprivations or frustrations shared in common," (McPhail, 1991; p. xxi). Discontent, and in particular the emotion of anger, may be a precursor and facilitator to collective behavior, yet it is not a sufficient condition for action.

McCarthy & Zald (1977) asked how social movement organizations are able to convince individuals to engage in collective action. In contrast to classical theories of collective behavior in which the central goal was to explain the actions of individuals behaving collectively, McCarthy and Zald's resource mobilization theory directed the research agenda toward a structural approach in which there is a focus on efforts of movement organizations to manipulate available resources to their advantage (Jenkins, 1983; Ferree and Miller, 1985). Resource mobilization theorists mainly propose that movement organizations moblize money and labor, though some have included less concrete resources such as organizational skills or expertise (e. g. Freeman, 1979).

Micro-mobilization research focuses on social networks as the "pull" that turns readers into activists (McAdam, 1986). Having gotten mad, people still need to get connected before they will take to the streets. "Citizens are quite often recruited or mobilized to join protests by friends and acquaintances. ... Personal contacts support people who are ready to participate on attitudinal grounds. They are important in transforming attitudinal affinity toward collective action into real participation (Ohlemacher, 1996: 197). This idea fits with Kurt Lewin's group dynamics approach to promoting action (Borgatta, 1981), and with the community oriented strategy of missionaries who operate on networks of family and friends as a means of fostering individual religious conversion (Heise, 1967). Such connecting typically occurs in micro-mobilization contexts like churches and schools that have little relevance to the focal issue (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1988) - contexts that help legitimize the call to action (Ohlemacher, 1996).

Public activity of people who are displaying pride might recruit other individuals through emotional contagion. The more people who can be observed emitting pride, the more compelling the contagious draw becomes. At Gay Pride parades, for example, watchers flow into the streets at the end of the parade, becoming part of the parade itself. Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson (1992) define emotional contagion as "the tendency to mimic another person's emotional experience/expression and thus to experience/express the same emotions oneself." Turner and Killian (1957) suggested that contagion of mood or sentiment is facilitated by the process of milling in crowds. "As milling continues, with an increase of verbal activity and physical movement, it becomes a more compelling stimulus. The individual finds it increasingly difficult to disregard the distracting activity about him" (Turner & Killian, 1957; p. 61).

Solidarity

While a physical stigma like race is observable in the cohort of others who have the stigma, their emotions and actions in social predicaments involving the stigma are not likely to be salient while one is engrossed in covering oneself. A behavioral stigma like homosexuality hampers awareness of others in a more insidious fashion. Multiplied throughout the cohort, hiding isolates those with the stigma and creates a condition of pluralistic ignorance where all believe they are uniquely afflicted with the stigma, not even being cognizant of the others. It is hard to see one's stigma as deriving from social oppression when one lacks appreciation of anyone else being in a similar predicament. Thus shame over a stigma results in sequestration, undermines empathic unity and a sense of alliance with similar others, and prevents bonding through a shared relation to an oppressor. This condition is the very opposite of solidarity.

Heise (forthcoming) identified the following factors in the emergence of empathic solidarity between persons *a* and *b*.

> *a* and *b* invest identities that put them in the same relationship with a pivotal figure, *p*;

> *a* and *b* experience the same event with *p*, resulting in the same emotions and the same impulses to action with regard to *p*;

> *a* and *b* observe each other's emotions, whereby each obtains a sense of unified consciousness with the other, and they observe each other's behavioral reactions to *p*, whereby each obtains a sense of alliance with the other;

> *a* and *b* each assures that the other perceives the self's emotions and actions, whereby each believes the other is reciprocating a sense of unified consciousness and a sense of alliance.

Processes involved in identity politics have an impact on each of these factors, and thereby identity politics not only change shame to pride, they also transform sequestration into solidarity.

First, social movement writings and activities clarify that someone with the stigma is not an idiosyncratic individual but rather is a member of a definable plurality. There are others with the characteristic, and all can identify with their commonality when they get together. For example, the first halting steps of the Gay Rights Movement involved making individual gay men and lesbians known to one another. "For people who are invisible, overcoming invisibility is a major step in improvement of self-image, in coming to grips with who you are. Think of all the isolated gay people for whom the sheer existence of groups of their own, that they could turn to, was an enormous improvement over the old situation where they felt totally cut off" (Katz, 1976: 430).

Additionally, social movement writings define the identity of an oppositional character whose actions constitute the problems of the oppressed, and whose identity is defined at least partly by those who are oppressed. For example, the invention of "homophobe" represents a crucial development in the Gay rights movement, as reflected in the following statement. "The AIDS crisis has illuminated the issue of homophobia that we talked about in the seventies. All of those issues that we claimed existed -- discrimination in jobs, discrimination in housing, hatred for gay people on a very basic level because we're different -- have been made more palpable by the AIDS crisis. I don't think that there's new bigotry or homophobia. I think this is the same homophobia, but AIDS has given people permission to say it out loud. We're seeing that, in fact, we were right." (Marcus, 1992: 416)

Movement literature that describes cases of persecution of the oppressed by the oppressor allow a secluded reader to identify with other oppressed individuals and to anticipate a sense of empathic solidarity that might be felt in assemblies. Literature that is effective for this purpose involves clear portrayals of typical actions of the oppressor toward the oppressed, vivid descriptions of emotions - such as fear or anger - felt by the oppressed, and details of common, non-heroic reactions enacted by the oppressed. Thereby the reader realizes that he or she feels and reacts the same as others in the oppressed group, when encountering the oppressor.

For example, a Gay rights history (???) reports: "As gay life became more visible and gay men, women, and organizations became more vocal, police harassment and repression kept pace. Police raids of gay bars continued, and despite the volatility of the times, this traditional police action most often inspired more fear than resistance among the patrons" (p. 171) Another document reports: "We retreat into a bar. Outside, a police car swoops down on a hapless demonstrator. He is dragged kicking and punching into the car, and it roars off. 'They'll come in here next,' says Bittor. The bar empties, and we run to the far end of the square." (Jackson and Persky, 1982: 215) An autobiographical statement (Willer, 19??) allows readers to identify with the other pole of response: "Just the assumption that I was gay was justification enough for one policeman to pick me up by the front of my shirt and slap me back and forth. He called me names...you god-damned pervert. You queer. You S.O.B.... I was so angry at the policeman I could have killed him! I wasn't frightened; I was angry! He had no right to do that to me!" (p. 128)

However, movement literature alone cannot transform sequestration into solidarity. If members of an oppressed group merely attend to movement media productions, they are not a solidary group but rather are an audience similar to people in a theater identifying with a stage character. Individuals have to demonstrate their emotions and actions to each other so that each becomes an object of identification for others. Then, and only then, can each individual understand that the experience of unified consciousness and alliance is two-way, from self to others and also from others to self. "Each time I extend a casual greeting to an unknown gay man and receive the same in return, we both affirm that which joins us together and come away from the exchange newly knowing that it's good to be gay. We have added to the bond of gay community. And, in both of us, fear and shame, the wounds inflicted on us while we were too young to protect ourselves, heal a little more. Three or four years ago, I got little positive response to my necessarily tentative gestures of solidarity. Now I find that gay men smile more readily.... Whether we've been active in it or not, the gay movement has touched us all." (Jackson and Persky, 1982: 73)

Seeing one's own feelings and actions in others generates empathic unity and a sense of alliance. Then the two-way bond of solidarity ties tight as one infers that others are gaining strength by observing one's own feelings and actions as well. Thus the move to public demonstrations, where those with the stigma display their feelings and actions to each other as much as to outside observers, is a powerful step for achieving solidarity, just as it is for achieving pride. Solidarity gets generated in collective events wherein each participant builds emotional energies (Collins, 1981) both by observing others and also by knowing others are observing the self. "The march on Washington [in 1987] was an opportunity I couldn't miss.... When I got to Washington, it seemed like everybody there was lesbian or gay or supportive of lesbian and gay people. I'd never seen people just be themselves on public streets in daylight.... It's not that people were demonstrating their affection for one another. It was just the way people talked, their body language, the way they were so exuberant. People who didn't know each other talked openly about who they were and where they were from.... I'd never been so out. I'd never felt so safe." (Marcus,1992: 468)

Development of solidarity is evident in the Gay Pride parades that have become an annual public activity in many major U.S. and European cities. "Being surrounded by thousands of queers extinguishes that terrible loneliness we experienced when we feared we were the only ones on earth who were that way'" (Caster, 1992: 49). Solidarity also is evident in other kinds of gatherings: "Things have changed much more than I dreamed possible! The sheer growth of the movement in size and the variety of organizations is something I wouldn't have thought possible when I first joined the movement in 1958. I'm just thrilled that we have gay marching bands, gay choruses, gay outdoor groups, the Gay Games, and gay rodeos in addition to the standard political-action groups and legislative efforts.... These groups bring gay people together who start talking about their problems and eventually start talking about how they might solve them. It was how the movement got started in the first place" (Gittings and Barbara, 19??: 225)

Conclusion

The resource mobilization model admits emotion in the form of discontent as a resource to be mobilized: "discontent may be defined, created, and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organizations" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1215). This point deserves deeper consideration than it has been given, though, especially in the area of identity politics.

Given the instrumental role of fear and anger in motivating protest, one can interpret fear and anger as important resources for a social movement. Besides money and labor, people bring "emotional capital" to a social movement. As social movement organizations create or define discontent (McCarthy and Zald,1977) they are raising emotional capital to be spent pursuing movement goals. For example, we have seen that pamphlets and newsletters disseminated by prominent SMOs in gay liberation often have an explicitly affective countenance, and strive to arouse the emotions of fear and anger. Movement propaganda is designed for this purpose.

Theories of social movements will benefit by accommodating affect within their frameworks. The concept of emotional capital, while overlooked by resource mobilization theorists, seems implicitly understood by social movement organizations. The role of movement communications is not only to spread information, promote attitudinal change, and to urge contributions, but to incite emotion in potential participants. By understanding that there are important affective precursors (such as fear and anger and related affective states) to individual participation in movement activity, students of resource mobilization may attend to the "emotion work" that social movement agents and organizations engage in as they create mobilization potentials.

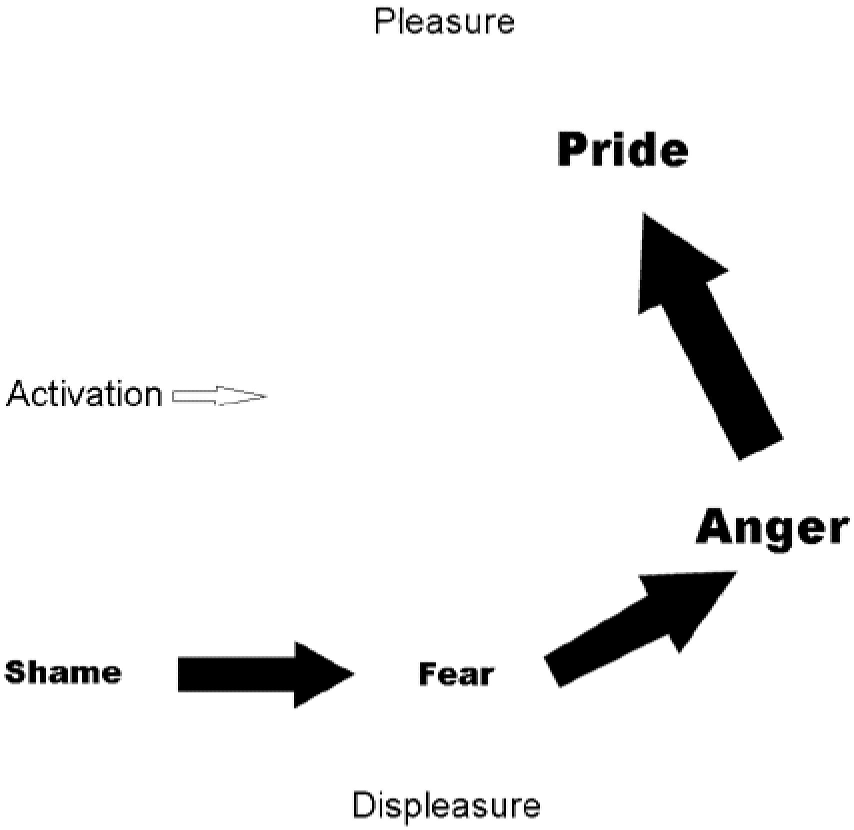

Figure 1. Emotion transformations in identity politics.
Vulnerable states are shown in small type, dominant states in large type. Dark arrows represent social processes - e.g., media campaigns to change shame to fear and anger, and public demonstrations to change anger into pride.

Figure 1 summarizes key aspects of our model of emotional transformation in identity politics. Hidden stigma is associated with shame. Ideological campaigns by social movements transform the emotion of shame into fear and then transform fear into anger, thereby creating activated and dominant participants disposed to join collective actions. These individuals get pulled into demonstrations through network ties and crowd contagion. The collective public display of their stigma develops empathic solidarity and pride.

The emotional transformation likely does not end with pride. Pride may be regenerated repeatedly through collective public displays, and that may be necessary to erase earlier feelings of shame, but ultimately individuals come to accept the stigmatized identity as simply another component of the self. Pride is a prerequisite to acceptance of the identity, and the threshold to its de-emotionalization.

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