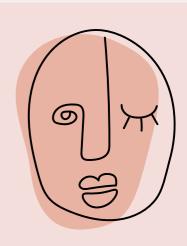# EMOTIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY IN GLOBAL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE WEST AND THE REST

SYMPOSIUM 2022

Abstracts

Organized by

Instituto Cultura y Sociedad (ICS)
Public Discourse Research Group
Universidad de Navarra, Spain
7-8 June 2022

It has been almost two decades since the emotional turn in the studies of international relations (IR). There is a growing literature in the discipline exploring affect and emotions at different levels of analysis: (a) at the level of individual actors, especially analyzing political leaders' emotional responses; b) at the level of groups such as social movements, political parties or social identities by drawing on the sociological theories, especially benefiting from intergroup emotions theory; c) at the level of states, mainly using discourse analysis, social psychological theories and constructivist theories. There are also impressive hybrid works by well-known scholars who attempt to cut across all these levels to explain how the emotions play into the developments in world politics and interstate relations.

This two-day hybrid symposium at the Universidad de Navarra aims to bring together scholars who work on the role of emotions in foreign policy in 'non-Western' geopolitical contexts by taking different experiences, histories, and agencies into account and/or focusing on the relations of the Global South countries with the 'West' (i.e. Western European Countries and the USA).

Scientific Committee*

Prof. Dr. María Teresa Gil Bazo, Universidad de Navarra, Spain
Prof. Dr. Ruth Breeze, Universidad de Navarra. Spain
Prof. Dr. Asunción De La Iglesia Chamarro, Universidad de Navarra, Spain
Prof. Dr. Emre Erdogan, Bilgi University, Turkey
Prof. Dr. Cengiz Erisen, Yeditepe University, Turkey
Prof. Dr. Simon Koschut, Zeppelin University, Germany
Prof. Dr. Pablo Pérez López, Universidad de Navarra, Spain
Prof. Dr. Yonca Ozer, Marmara University, Turkey

*Alphabetical by surname

Symposium Webpage: https://www.unav.edu/web/instituto-cultura-y-sociedad/proyectos/emoforte-europa-turquia/call-emotions-foreign-policy-global-international-relations

09:30- 10:00 a.m.

**Keynote Address - Passions from the Past:
Emotions, History and International Relations**

Simon Koschut
Chair of International Security Policy
Zeppelin University, Germany

Simon Koschut is Professor of International Security Policy at Zeppelin University in Friedrichshafen, Germany. His research interests are international relations, in particular regional security governance, norms and emotions in world politics. Previously, he was a Visiting Professor at Freie Universität Berlin, Fritz Thyssen Fellow at Harvard University's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Fulbright Scholar at San Francisco State University, and Assistant Professor at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. He is currently leading a research project on Emotional Communities in World Politics that looks at how emotion norms govern social relations between NATO members.

10:15 - 11:45 a.m.

Session 1. International conflicts and emotions

Yuri van Hoef (Chair)
Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

Emre Erdogan & Mustafa Gokcan Kosen, Bilgi University, Turkey

Liquidity and interchangeability of emotions in the wartime discourse
The characteristic of emotions leads researchers to consider the context in which they are involved. Simply because the journey of emotions includes judgmental and cognitive processes. The judgmental and cognitive functions of emotions are exposed to outsider effects. They might be manipulated or instrumentalized by the first-information gatherer, who spreads the information or narrator. However, the nature of emotions is inherently part of the context of politics. The context of war might be distinguished from others as it intensively affects day-life and citizens. The instincts of pursuing life, sustaining basic needs, and staying alive might trigger different emotions such as anxiety, fear, shame, pride, or (in)secure. Despite the fact that the context of war is one of the open places to measure and understand certain emotions, its context provides to understand other characteristics of emotions; liquidity and interchangeability. The threat that arises from the war might affect the judgmental and cognitive processes. Due to the threat, emotions might be replaced by other emotions or might leave themselves another dominant one. In other words, the emotions might be liquid or changeable among each other under the threats of war. Therefore, wartime discourses play a facilitating role over emotions. The emotion of shame can be replaced by the pride through the nations' success or mobilizing the audiences, or the anxiety that emanates from the idea of perpetual loss can become the reason for feeling secure by victory in the war. Thus, the trigger role of discourse leads audiences to how they should feel, understand and evaluate the war. The emotions in the narrator's discourses do not only provide a space for manipulation or instrumentalization but also be a guide for how to feel, understand, and evaluate. This research aims to understand the facilitating role of discourses over the liquidity and interchangeability of emotions in wartime discourses.

Yasmine Zarhloule, University of Oxford, UK

Theorizing Emotions in IR: A Maghrebi perspective on the concept of rivalry
The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) is a political union and a regional bloc which includes more than a hundred million people from the North African countries of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania. Its establishment in 1989 aimed to create a common economic market with the free circulation of people and goods. Thirty years after its creation, however, the level of intra-Maghrebi trade remains lower than nearly all of the world's other trading blocs. Among the explanations provided for the current state of Maghrebi integration, inter-state rivalry between Morocco and Algeria is cited as the primary obstacle. This paper, using a number of official speeches and state archival materials on the first inter-state border war (La Guerre des Sables) between Morocco and Algeria in 1963, historicises and examines the concept of rivalry through emotional narratives. It sheds light on the multi-layered dynamics which contribute to the shaping of historical grievances and the strategic mobilisation of nationalism in the period following independence. I argue that the use of emotions shifts our attention from the macro-level, widely acknowledged, 'carrot and stick' strategy to the mechanisms and practices that legiti-

mise claims to sovereignty and infuse the national territory with sanctity. Such claims do not only justify political authority but legitimise the very international system, and the modes of operations, within which they become significant – reifying a sense of linearity and stability in the postcolonial state. This is a realm of continuous struggle and battle for meaning making which takes place at the national and international levels. This chapter harnesses the explorative use of emotions in the Maghrebi scenario to inquire about the extent to which studies of emotions have included perspectives and empirical cases beyond the West; and conversely, how can approaches to non-Western IR contribute to researching and understanding emotions in the discipline?

Hüseyin Batuhan Şar & Furkan Durmaz, Yeditepe University, Turkey

Turkish Foreign Policy during Cyprus Crisis of 1964 and 1974: An Operational Code Analysis
The primary objective of the paper is to answer the question of why Turkey conducted a military intervention in Cyprus in 1974 while it did not conduct a military intervention in 1964? From the perspective of this question, this study focuses on the 1964 and 1974 Cyprus issues that can be seen in the literature of foreign policy as a tension between Greece and Turkey. To understand this issue in terms of individual level, we implemented at a distance assessment to Ismet Inonu, Prime Minister of Turkey during 1964 conflict and Bulent Ecevit, Prime Minister of Turkey during 1974 conflict. We used Operational Code Analysis method to analyze the role of leaders. We analyzed speeches, interviews, columns, and letters of Inonu and Ecevit. We coded 31,269 words from 42 texts pertaining to foreign policy issues. All texts were in Turkish. We included speeches according to Schafer and Walker's (2006) minimum fifteen verbs criteria, and we followed speech selection rules of Walker, Schafer, and Young (1998): (1) the subject and object are international in scope, (2) the focus of interaction is a political issue, (3) the words and deeds are cooperative or conflictual. According to our analysis, Inonu's belief system is based on cooperation, while Ecevit's belief system is based on conflict. The differences between the two leaders in terms of belief system show the different policies of Turkey during 1964 and 1974 Cyprus issues. While the literature focuses on explaining the study's research question via system-level and state-level analysis, we focused on answering this question via individual level. We prepared this study for Prof. Dr. Cengiz Erisen's PHD lecture in order to indicate the importance of leaders in foreign policy analysis. Moreover, we also shed light on a foreign policy issue via individual level that is not only important for Turkey but also for the region.

Katharina Storch, Fernuniversität Hagen, Germany

Why don't they act more reasonably? Understanding courses of conflict through developing collective relationships
The analysis of inextricable conflicts often mentions the problem of collective emotions, which hamper rational, expedient conflict resolution. Despite that, courses of conflict are hardly analyzed including those factors. Although a few studies have been done, an analytical approach is still missing that addresses how actors dynamically shape the course of conflict. Conflicting parties behave and react to others' behavior and perceive their counterparts through the lens of their own worldview. Through their perception of the other party, a thread is woven, which opens up a socially constructed space between their groups. Every visible demonstration of their relationship forms the course of conflict. Such a relationship changes through actions and communication and could become closer or more distant with increasing time, dependent on the parties escalating or

de-escalating behavior. Collective emotions play a crucial role as they determine how actions are understood and how reactions are shaped. Thus, a conflict does not evolve naturally but is inextricably linked to collective emotions, ideas, narratives, and discourses of the conflicting parties. In order to address the research gap, an analytical framework is developed that concentrates on actors and their behavior. A moderate social constructivist approach allows for the inclusion of ideologies, emotions, and other 'soft' variables that become increasingly relevant in conflicts. The complex conflict between India and Pakistan is selected as an empirical test. This approach offers a dynamic perspective, which allows for scrutinizing collective actors and analyzing actions and reactions within an overall course of conflict. Additionally, the model concentrates on dynamics and processes and thereby avoids a dichotomous distinction between war and peace. As a particular strength, this approach allows scholars to visualize courses of conflicts in a graphic model.

12:00- 13:30
Session 2. Emotional Foreign Policy: the west and the rest

Simon Koschut (Chair)
Zeppelin University, Germany

Yaprak Gürsoy, London School of Economics, UK

Emotions and Narratives of the Spirit of Gallipoli: Turkey's Collective Identity and Status in International Relations
This paper examines Turkish narratives of the Gallipoli Campaign fought during the First World War, based on newspaper archival research covering the last 50 years. It argues that the memorialisation of the Gallipoli Campaign reflects collective emotions underpinning Turkish national identity and self-perceptions of ambivalence in international relations. Compared with the Sévres Treaty, which is the most frequently cited episode of the First World War, the Dardanelles Victory provides a more nuanced understanding of Turkish collective identity and international status. Fought primarily against the British and resulting in victory, the narratives reveal the emotions of humiliation and betrayal, as well as desires for validation vis-à-vis Europe. However, the spirit of Gallipoli also signifies the birth of collective consciousness, restoration of honour after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and compassion for the victimised soldiers of the opposing side. Thus, its memorialisation sets Turkey's status above the colonised nations while manifesting aspirations to place Turkey on an equal footing with the West. This duality in the narratives reproduces Turkey's own understanding of its ambivalence and liminal status between the West and the East.

Mohammad Soltaninejad, University of Tehran, Iran

Iran's Emotional Foreign Policy: The Role of Resentment, Honor and Fear

Anti-Americanism and sponsoring Shia organizations that are the two major orientations in Iran's foreign policy are formed more by ideational, cognitive and emotional factors than rationalist determinants. The theories developed to rationalize foreign policy of Iran in defensive-realist terms are insufficient to explain Iran's disinclination to resolve its problems with the US and Tehran's sponsorship of militant groups in the Middle East. Nuclear program of Iran and its regional involvements are matters related to Iranian leadership's cognition of Iran's history, its current status in the world and the opportunities and threats that Iran is facing. Resentment, honor and fear are the primary emotions that determine the Iranian leadership's mindset when it comes to its relations with the West and the Shia organizations in the region. The sense of humiliation inherited from the history of neglect and disrespect Iran has received from the great powers generates a resentment from the US that forms the basis of the distrust Iran has about Washington. This humiliation makes Tehran sensitive to preserving its honor and to be seen "great" by both its friends and foes. In line with that, Iranian leadership has a deep-rooted feeling of fear from the US that is translated into aggressive postures of Iran. The lack of enough self-esteem in the face of Washington puts Tehran in a position to try to be seen formidable. The aggressive behaviours of Tehran and its reservations/hesitations to normalize relations with the US are out of Tehran's fear of being placed in the inferior position in any arrangements it may enter with Washington. Iran prefers to be known as the bad guy on the street so that others (the US), would not dare to harass and bully it.

Melike Akkaraca Kose, Universidad de Navarra, Spain

Geopolitical Emotions: A historical look at EU-Turkey relations

This article explores the links between the geopolitics, national identity, and emotions by focusing on Turkish Foreign Policy Discourses between 1997-1999. The end of the Cold War disturbed the settled role of Turkey within the dynamics of bi-polar world by increasing ambiguities and unpredictability in its relations with the neighbor countries, and the rest of the World in general. It also amplified Turkey's security concerns by unsettling the function and raison d'etre of NATO. First Iraqi war, American intervention, and the war in Balkans accompanied by shifting alliances in Europe led to a crisis in Turkish foreign policy which was functioning according to the similar rules and definitions for the decades during the Cold War. The EU's exclusion of Turkey from the list of official candidates in 1997 not only signalled that Turkey is not taking part in the newly emerging coalitions and alliances while the existing structures such as NATO are losing their conventional roles. It also posed a direct threat to an important component of the national identity: Westernization/Europeanization as a sign of improvement and evolution. The period from the 1997 Luxembourg summit to the 1999 Helsinki Summit is a special period in the history of Turkish Foreign Policy: at best, a period of anxiety and disappointment in Foreign Affairs and a period of crisis in terms of national identity. Increasing security concerns with ambiguities of re-positioning Turkish Foreign Policy in a modified but not yet re-settled international system created an atmosphere which was called anxious geopolitics (Eberle 2021). This study makes the emotions the primary focus of its discourse analysis which will be conducted to understand how geopolitics becomes a part of identity articulations in foreign policy discourses.

Juan Diego Molina Méndez, Universidad de Navarra, Spain

From "Civil war" to "War against terrorism": Uribe's government facing the Colombian conflict

During the latest years of the XX century, Colombia became one of the greatest examples of what a failed state could be. The combination of drug dealing, Marxist guerrillas and paramilitary groups made the country one of the most violent in the world and put its whole society to its knees. In 1998 president Pastrana got the White House to finance an extremely ambitious cooperation project called Plan Colombia that was intended to strength the Colombian armed forces and solve the social problems the thirty year long civil conflict had created in the core of Colombian society. In parallel, the government held negotiations with the FARC, trying to reach an agreement for a ceasefire and the introduction of the combatants to civil life. The failure of the Caguan process made the people to stop believing in a peace process, and thus, made a space for political discourses focused on armed solutions for the conflict. Álvaro Uribe was a liberal politician who was little known in national politics, he was known in Antioquia for being son of a landowner assa sinated by the FARC in early eighties, and for his charge as Governor during the bloodiest periods of the war. The campaign issued by Uribe during the 2002 presidential elections was focused in ending corruption and facing the guerrillas with an open war that was suddenly transformed from a "civil war" to a "war against terrorism" in a moment in which the world still remembered the attack to the World Trade Center. This changed the whole discourse on the fight against the guerrillas and paramilitaries, and helped the Colombian government gather the attention of the world. I will assess this shift in the official narrative regarding polls and the discourses of the principal actors of domestic and international politics.

13:30-15:30 Lunch Break

15:30 - 17:00
Session 3. Post-colonialism and emotions

María Teresa Gil Bazo (Chair)
Universidad de Navarra, Spain

Bianca Naude, University of the Free State, South Africa

Dealing with a bruised ego: A former colony's journey with the emotions of guilt, humiliation, pride and shame

Studies on emotion in International Relations (IR) are plenty, and the claim that interstate relations are driven by largely by affect, is increasingly welcomed in mainstream IR. Research located within the Ontological Security stream of IR, in particular, has contributed significantly to our understanding of the role that emotions play in both the construction of identity, and in the relationships that IR actors maintain with significant others. Importantly, we now know that state actions are aimed, to a large extent, at soothing the anxiety that uncertainty about the social world generates in actors. Building on the substantial body of literature that emotion research has generated within the field of IR, this research demonstrates how states respond to the self-conscious emotions of guilt, humiliation, pride and shame through an exploration of literature on the concepts of narcissism and ego defences, as found in the discipline of psychology. Claims advanced in the research are supported by a qualitative analysis of South African discourses on its relations with former colonial powers, which provide important insights into the ways that former colonies respond to the feelings of humiliation, shame, and emasculation that they experienced as a result of colonial rule. These experiences continue to shape the foreign relations of former colonies in important ways, especially where contemporary global political phenomena reactivate past narcissistic traumas.

Sarah Hebbouch, Mohammed V University, Morocco

Emotionality on the Radar: Perspective on Moroccan Foreign Policy and the Spanish-Moroccan Diplomatic Crisis

The effects of emotionality in foreign policymaking and international interactions have been brought center-stage in the last two decades, and have become a bone of contention among foreign policy experts and sociologists. In thinking about how emotions inform international and human behavior, one can arguably postulate that the intergroup emotions can be amenable to a crisis in international relations. The current paper examines how emotions constitute a central focus in Moroccan foreign policy, and explores the significant role that emotions can play in shaping international relations. More importantly, in the case of the Moroccan foreign policy, the covert hosting of the Polisario separatist militias' leader Ibrahim Ghali in Spain has sparked a cyber-warfare, culminating thereby in a huge political drama. The announcement of this illegal hosting has triggered an infuriated backlash from troll-like accounts in Morocco spreading pro-government and institution messages, and pumping ideologically-driven hypotheses and conspiracy theories. The Moroccan government has developed a populist discursive emotional plan, -communicated through 'sympathy scammers', fraudulent accounts, and e-flies- to gain broad popular support. The outflow of a 'staged wrath' came with a set of accounts dedicated to reap a number of followers, likes, and shares, and hence, reinforce Morocco's stubborn attitude. In this respect, this paper elucidates how the Moroccan foreign policy's use of an ideologically-loaded language revolving around an "emotion-nexus", and the rumination of certain norms like history was to generate a "a symbolic war" and construct an "extraneous enemy" in the eyes of the general public. Intrinsic to scholarship on international relations, this research project seeks to debunk the discursive elements of such an emotional response, and unravel emotionality-embedded international relations.

Armando José Santana Bugés, University of Jaén, Spain

Emotions as the key to understand the EU foreign policy in Post-colonialism

We use to view EU foreign policy as a rational and technocratic exercise. However, emotions also play a role in shaping foreign policy outcomes. From the early 2000s, the distinctive role of emotions in international relations was increasingly recognized. We want to highlight what can be termed the 'norms-emotions nexus'. Though emotions have been largely neglected in the domain of EU studies, they are closely linked to the concept of 'norms' in EU foreign policy. To fully understand the interaction between norms and emotions in the EU's external relations, we need a multi-level perspective. An illustrative example is the impact of EU accession on the UK and Ireland and how membership of the EU not only affected these states at the European level, but also shaped their bilateral relations. EU membership provided both of these states with a new 'emotion norm' concerning the way in which their bilateral relationship should be conducted. This norm has been challenged throughout the course of the Brexit process. Overall, we put forward three arguments for why researchers should integrate emotions into the study of EU foreign policy in Post-colonialism. First, emotional reactions (or their absence) can help researchers identify the norms that really matter for EU foreign policy. Second, the study of emotions is a promising entry point for decoding the constitutive elements of EU foreign policy. Finally, studying EU foreign policy through the prism of emotions can shed light on what has been termed the 'emotions-action gap' in EU foreign policy.

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Hande Musullulu, Universidad de Navarra, Spain

Negative emotions and politics: a socio-psychological perspective

Emotions in intergroup relations have been worked extensively in the field of sociology and social psychology since the 1990s. Inter-group emotions are closely linked to identity and identification. Group-based emotions could not be formed without the feeling of belonging into a group. Intergroup Emotions arise in response to events impacting a social category to which one belongs rather than in response to personal self-relevance. Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET) (Mackie & Smith, 1998) has been used by many scholars in the field of politics to explore the political emotions at macro-level. There is an extensive empirical work which supports the IET and some of them are more closely related to the field of politics since they investigate emotions on the basis of national, ethnic or ideological identification/ self-categorization. This paper aims to present a review of these empirical studies conducted in the field of group-based emotions by especially focusing on the negative emotions such as anger, fear, hate and shame.

17:15- 18:45
Session 4. EU Foreign Policy and Emotions

Eric Van Rythoven (Chair)
Carleton University, Canada

Seda Gürkan, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

Do emotions matter in the EU's crisis diplomacy? The cases of norm violations in the EU's Neighborhood
In the last decade, individual players in the EU's neighborhood such as Russia or Turkey have increasingly contested the EU's norms. While the norm literature has largely focused on the promotion/contestation of democratic values by these actors, the impact of these countries' conflictual relationship on the EU's crisis diplomacy, in particular the impact of these norm violations on the EU's responses to these crises has remained understudied. This paper approaches this less studied aspect through the political psychology perspective and seeks to answer the following question: How do emotions shape the EU's response to crises arising from norm violations in the neighbourhood? The aim of this paper is twofold: First, to map various emotions that international norm contestation trigger in the EU's institutional actors. Here the purpose is to discern the linkage between international norm transgressions and emotions (what type of norm breaches lead to which emotions in the EU?). Second, to explore the linkage between emotions and action/non-action in the EU (do emotions experienced by the EU lead to action in the EU's crisis diplomacy? Is it possible to discern an emotion-action pattern?). In order to respond to these questions, the paper adopts an inductive approach and analyses three recent regional crises where the EU took diplomatic action at varying degrees, namely "Putin's war" in 2022, the weaponization of migrants by Belarus in 2021 and the tensions in the Eastern Mediterranean following the drilling activities conducted by Turkey in 2019-2020. The data come from the comparative qualitative content analysis of the official statements and declarations made by the two main institutional actors, namely the European Council/European Council Presidency and the High Representative, as they have been the most prominent and decisive actors in formulating the EU's response to these crises.

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Pierre-Frederic Weber, University of Szczecin, Poland

'Westsplaining' and trans-European shaming patterns in foreign policy
Since the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe by the end of the 1980s, Western Europe and, to a larger extent, the West has become used to the fact that societies and decision makers in countries of the former Eastern Block have been eager to catch up to fill the gap between East and West, and foster deeper integration of the European continent in various aspects concerning especially hard powers and the material dimension. The main field of integration has been, for sure, economy. Yet the West has also been the norm setter for many questions in the realms of soft power, as far as the definition of integration itself, sovereignty, state identity, political culture or remembrance politics are concerned. The discrepancy between Central/Eastern and Western partners in Europe, settled in different experiences of the "age of extremes", has been repeatedly a source of tensions and conflicts in trans-European communication at the level of foreign policy – within the European Union or with its neighbours and partners. Different perceptions have led to misunderstandings and fuelled negative collective emotions between leading historical founders of the structures and institutions of postwar integration processes in Western Europe on one side, and Eastern "newcomers" on the other side.

After the post-Cold War honeymoon of the 1990s, the West's attitude in bilateral and multilateral contacts with their Eastern partners has been growingly perceived by the latter as 'Westsplaining' associated with forms of shaming towards the 'East' (for example through temporal 'othering' or the "denial of coevalness", J. Fabian, Time and the Other, 1983, p. 32). The paper shall analyse: how shame has risen to a dominating political emotion in trans-European international relations; why a shift can be observed recently; and whether this should be seen as a new trend in Europe's emotional regime(s).

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Patryk Wawrzynski, Nicolaus Copernicus University & Alpaka Innovations, Poland

Promoting compassion in political narratives: prosocial behavior in international relations
The paper develops an issue of compassionate non-populist political narratives and their role in inspiration of prosocial behaviour in political activism. It places the question in the context of international relation and humanitarian affairs to discuss possible applications in foreign policy and cultural diplomacy. The paper opens with an introduction to experimental findings on emotional communication and it discusses how different narrative styles influence responses to political story-telling. It explores differences between pride-oriented narratives and compassion-oriented narratives to investigate how non-populist emotional communication may target political audiences and produce prosocial behaviour. The research findings are confronted with humanitarian aid cases in the European Union with particular focus on its eastern border - from migration crisis to the war in Ukraine. The objective of this comparison is observation of mediating role of compassion in political communication and an impact of foreign policy as story-telling.

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Yonca Ozer & Fatmanur Kacar Asci, Marmara University & Kahramanmaras Sutcu Imam University, Turkey

Right Wing-Populist Discourse and Visualization of Negative Emotions Regarding Refugee Issues
During the populist times all over the world but especially across Europe, the refugee issue which broke out in 2015 has been one of the most referred and instrumentalized topic. Right-wing populist actors included the refugees in their discourses both semantically and visually to construct a discourse based on intense negative emotional expressions. Taking the AfD and the RN as its primary cases, the study focuses on the discourses which include vivid emotional expressions. It focuses on negative emotions, that emanate from economic, societal, and security concerns regarding migrants/refugees, and conducts multimodal discourse analysis studying various interdependent modalities like texts and visuals, which are all crucial components of communication within a given context. Accordingly, the study poses the question of how negative emotional expressions and their meanings constructed and conveyed by RW populists such as the AfD and RN to access to more electoral support. The analysis suggests that the AfD and the RN instrumentalizes migrants and refugees both in domestic politics as perpetrators of economic, societal, and security-related threats and in foreign policy as objects of fear and terror.

10:00 - 11:30

Session 5. Media Discourses, Popular Culture and Emotions

Ruth Breeze (Chair)
Universidad de Navarra, Spain

Stefanel Adriana, University of Bucharest, Romania

The use of emotions in reporting the Russian invasion in Ukraine
For many Romanians Russia invasion of Ukraine has triggered powerful emotions. Geographical proximity, historical similarities as well as geostrategic differences inflamed fears and anxieties and increased the need for explanations and assurances. The traffic on the main online news platforms grows, both as number of visitators and as time spend on it (cf. SATI-the Romanian biggest audience study). In this context, it important to find what are the emotions that were transmitted by media and to what intensity. The aim of this study is to quantify the usage of the emotions in Romania' media coverage of the conflict in the first week of it and to find the words that are used by journalists that are strongly associated with each of these emotions. The corpus will consist in the articles posted on the most visited 10 media platforms (cf. SATI) during the first week of the war, the intention being to identify the strongest emotions, their maximum level of intensity and the associated words. We employ the pragmatic perspective and critical discourse analysis to identify emotions and quantitative analysis to quantify the results. This mixed approach in which a quantitative analysis of texts completes the qualitative reading will emphasise the affective-discursive patterns

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Elżbieta Foltyniak, Jagiellonian University, Poland

(Re) inventing emotions? Role of 'tradition' in the Indian media discourse of love
The notion of "romantic love" emerged in the Indian public discourse as a reflection of social practice, stereotypically associated with the urban middle class. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of marriages in India are being arranged. Those two models of love practices – arranged marriages and romantic love are depicted not only as oppositions, but also concepts related to tradition and modernity respectively. Therefore, the emotional sphere becomes a space of tensions between two concepts of reality, and love and marriage themselves serve as "pivotal institutions in the discourse of Indian modernity" (Donner, 2016). Moreover, the tension indicated above in a certain sense follows the division between Eastern and Western models of social practices. However, one of the key questions of my paper is to what extent this division is valid as a distinction tool in terms of media influence on emotions. After all, globalization and widely accessible mass media play a crucial role in shaping our love practices (Illouz, 2012) which leads to the universalization of the love experience and expectations. This paper aims to explore the media strategies and policies of representing love and marriage in the English-speaking sources mostly targeted to the non-Indian, Western audience. Particular emphasis will be put on the role of "traditionally Indian" elements and ways of reinventing the "Indianness" in the context of emotional engagement. I argue that media representations of "romantic love" are rarely pure and unrelated to the traditional elements of arranged marriages. Therefore, the existence of the third, hybrid form will be stressed. Moreover, a specific notion of "tradition" understood as a certain model of depicting reality more than the praxis from the past will be implemented. This synchronical approach helps to research a complex issue of tradition which is entangled in the colonial history of the nation.

Karan Vora, Presidency University, India

Use of Memes in Foreign Policy: An Emerging Trend

The growth of Digital Diplomacy has led to the appropriation of Internet culture in Foreign Policy communication as well, and the usage of Memes is one of the most important emerging means to communicate to a larger audience what an entity perceives or feels about a particular situation or scenario. Richard Dwarkins describes Memes as the means of propagation of social memories and cultural ideas. The peculiar idea of communicating on Social Media is that the medium knows no national boundaries. The internet allows for these messages to not be intended for a particular set of people and the distinction between citizens and foreign nationals gets blurred. This paper seeks to analyse the message intended and the impact of the usage of memes in Foreign Policy communication by institutional bodies on select social media platforms. This paper seeks to argue, with select examples and illustrations, that reasonable use of memes can effectively communicate to a large audience and when used opportunely.

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Buse Ozdirench, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK

Deny or Adore: The Representation and Normalization of Cannabis in Popular Culture

Cannabis is a naturally grown plant, but it is also a narcotic substance and has been subject to social research and medical investigation for centuries. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime(UNODC) mentioned in the World Drug Report that cannabis consumption has expanded by up to four times in some parts of the world within the last 24 years(2021, p.3). In recent periods, primarily due to the expansion in technology and globalisation, research assembled to criticise or support illegal substance use and normalisation of illegal substances and people's personal experiences with drugs have become a more prominent topic (Power 2013). Also, by changing popular culture through television, radio, and music, the growth of social media plays a significant role in cannabis normalisation. Social media has changed how we view cannabis, both positively and negatively. According to Blackman (2004), the media plays a contradictory and significant role in supporting and promoting drug normalisation as a regulation discourse sustained by penal government policy (p.147). The main aim is to explore how cannabis represents and is normalised in popular culture. Also, it will explain the Normalisation Theory and its relation to cannabis. The primary method is qualitative, including ethnographic and textual research. Belhassen et al. (2007) observed that cannabis consumption has become far more prevalent today in the daily leisure time of so many people in Western cultures, prompting current research to contribute to a trend of normalisation of cannabis consumption, among other recreational substances, including such cocaine, amphetamines, and GHB in Western societies (p.304). The literature addressing this standardisation method suggests that cannabis use has become a widespread practice among diverse communities in the West. It is typically linked to specific current subcultures (for example, rave) and recreational practices (e.g., nightclubbing) specifically to social developments in cannabis.

12:00- 13:30
Session 6. Global issues and Emotions

Emre Erdogan (Chair)
Bilgi University, Turkey

Mrinalini Kumar, Amity University, India

The Global South and Climate Change: The Emotional Spectrum of Justification
Understanding international relations through the lens of emotions is a relatively new phenomenon. Traditional political thought believed that emotions played no role in politics, and in fact only obstructed 'rational' decision making. However, they have proven to be useful tools as they shape and are shaped by the socio-political environment. Following this line of thought leads us to what Gustafsson and Hall theorise as the 'distributive politics of emotions'. Herein, the concern lies with who gets to feel what, when and how those feelings matter. Both states and individuals experience myriad emotions in terms of the climate crisis like concern, sadness, anger, guilt, fear, powerlessness and so on, according to Iniguez-Gallardo and other scholars. These murky waters are what gave rise to the principle of 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities' in the Rio Summit of 1992 and led to Mia Mottley's (Prime Minister of Barbados) call to 'Try Harder'. In this light, this paper seeks to situate the emotions experienced by the Global South in terms of climate change in the theorisation of the 'distributive politics of emotions'. It aims to understand the historical and power connotations that lay hidden beneath these emotions. Furthermore, it seeks to understand how the current spectrum of climate emotions is linked with the indifference towards the issue of climate migration. It will delve deeper into the spatial dimension of climate emotions, wherein a single stimulus i.e., climate change is perceived differently across spaces, thus, sharpening the divide between the Global North and the Global South. This will enable us to recognise the emotional spectrum within which justifications for state actions, regarding climate change, emerge and settle.

Orazio Maria Gnerre, University of Perugia, Italy

Removal and return of violence in the age of global governance
According to the famous German jurist and political scientist Carl Schmitt, in history there is a process of "neutralization and depoliticization" aimed at undermining the possibility of resorting to violence in relations between societies and within societies themselves. This ideological complex, often dictated by objective necessities, has taken on a completely new face with the birth and multiplication of military nuclear power. Unfortunately, however, Schmitt warned us how this type of ideology, wanting to remove the possibility of the use of force, paradoxically multiplies the use of violence in international society and within states, which however takes on new forms and new names. This speech intends to deepen this paradox, highlighting the ideological bases of its historical line of development, and deepening, thanks also to the work of René Girard, its psychological-political implications.

Jo M. Katambwe, Université du Québec, Canada

The emotions of the new world order: A communication analysis 'In their own words'
China and Russia produced a long joint communiqué on February 4, 2022 made public by the China Aerospace Studies Institute. This international policy statement is entitled In their own words . Joint statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on the International Relations Entering a New Era and the Global Sustainable Development . International communication is the scene of movements of various moods. Some of these moods or emotions are projected and highlighted to be the subject of an international persuasion which takes its receivers to witness. The objective of our contribution is to propose a discourse analysis of this joint press release in order to extract the salient emotions and their functions in the process of persuasion and enrollment in which it clearly fits. To be able to demonstrate and deconstruct these expressive, ideological and informational/evaluative functions, we will adopt the framework of the theory of the moral rationality of emotions put forward by P. Livet (2002). In this, emotion is a redundancy of affective resonance (di/similarity) between situational traits and consequences. It is the comparison between a perceived and characterized situation on the one hand and the imagined consequences on the other hand which gives rise to a more or less intense emotion according to the value or values attached to these consequences. Our analysis will first consist of identifying the salient situations indicated, the imagined consequences, and the underlying values that are at the origin of the differential that is emotion. And in a second step, we will identify, from these more or less intense emotions, the different typical strategic, ideological and informative/evaluative functions that they fulfill in this discourse. Livet, P. (2002). Emotions and moral rationality [Emotions and moral rationality] . PUF. Paris.

13:30 - 15:30
Lunch Break

DAY 2: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 08, 2022

15:30 - 16:45
Session 6. Chinese Foreign Policy and Emotions

Melike Akkaraca Kose (Chair)
Universidad de Navarra, Spain

Yuri van Hoef, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands

The Oath of the Peach Garden: Friendship in Chinese IR Theory
This article makes both the case for the burgeoning field of Chinese IR theory to incorporate affective friendship as an area of study, and for scholars interested in emotions to account for Chinese theorizing on friendship, which differs highly from the current dominant western accounts. In doing so, this paper addresses the lacuna that IR 'does not reflect the voices, experiences, knowledge claims, and contributions of the vast majority of the societies and states in the world, and often marginalizes those outside the core countries of the West' (Acharya 2014). While fully in development, the growing field of Chinese IR is currently understood through three specific schools. There is the school of Zhao Tingyang, focusing on the establishing of China as the Middle Kingdom, Yan Xuetong and the Chinese Journal of International Politics, focusing on developing a distinctive Chinese, but universally applicable theory, and the school of Qin Yaqing, critiquing Yan's approach for being a decidedly rational, and thus western, method. In this pilot study, I make the case that introducing a decidedly Chinese perspective on friendship in IR not only connects to each of these three schools but also adds an additional layer of understanding to both the emotional turn in IR and furthermore contributes to contemporary efforts to dewesternize friendship theory in contemporary IR. The article illustrates each of these strands by drawing upon the Oath of the Peach Garden from Luo Guanzhong's Romance of the Three Kingdoms.

Matthew Hurst, University of Oxford, UK

How did Margaret Thatcher and Deng Xiaoping Feel about Hong Kong?
When leaders of nations meet behind closed doors, it is difficult enough to discern what they said to each other, let alone how each felt. Traditionally, the hard power concerns of military might, economic coercion and legal leverage have tended to dominate international relations. Yet, with the turn towards seeing political actors as agents who are embedded within particular cultural contexts – and with the declassification of some leaders' personal files – we are increasingly able to ask how they felt about certain issues. This talk will examine the 1979-1982 prelude to the pivotal negotiations over the future of Hong Kong, zoning in on how British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and China's Deng Xiaoping felt about Hong Kong. It will reveal that when the two titans of world politics met in the 1980s to determine the future of the British colony, their discussions were guided not only by the realist concerns of power and might, but also by emotional concerns that included national identity, historical affinity and pure emotion. By examining Thatcher's files alongside primary Chinese language sources through an explicitly constructivist frame, this talk will conclude that emotion played an enormous role in the negotiations. As vehement protests have shaken Hong Kong as recently as 2019, this talk finds that emotions were also running high on the Hong Kong question at least as early as the 1980s in the hallways of the elite politicians that determined Hong Kong's fate. This talk contributes an illustration of how emotion is inextricably linked with international relations, re-examining a pivotal moment in British colonial and East Asian histories through the under-utilised lens of constructivism.

Ulaş Başar Gezgin, İstanbul Galata University, Turkey

The Political Psychology of 'China Threat': Perceptions and Emotions
In this study we first briefly introduced political psychology of international relations, and moved to the notion of threat perceptions in political psychology which extends from national threats to group threats. Thirdly, we focused on the so-called 'China threat' which is mostly considered as a theory, a perception, a discourse or a thesis, but also as an issue, a theme, a hypothesis, a notion, a charge, a narrative, a debate, an image, a coverage, a topic, a school of thought, a public discourse, a story, a perspective, a proposition, a specter, a view, a syndrome, a school, a fear, a sentiment, an idea, a terminology, a rhetoric, a possibility, a mentality, and an atmosphere, in the order of frequency. We also see other scholars preferring to use 'the so-called China threat' as they don't believe it. The notion of 'China threat' is mostly associated with China's military build-up which is visible in South China / East Vietnam Sea territorial disputes. China is at odd with most of its neighbors due to its revisionist moves. Emotions play a role in all parties to the conflict including the Asian neighbors and U.S.. Chinese government, reminiscent of the past humiliations, wants to be respected; but China's military moves are viewed with fear, mistrust and suspicion among other parties. National threat perceptions are updated accordingly. As a response to China's rise, conservatives and Republicans support containment policies, while the liberal and Democrat response is engagement. This division is also related to the attitudes towards Chinese people and Chinese government. China has its own logic in its moves, but to what extent it is rational is to be disputed. The study concludes with further discussions about China's rise, considering the possibility of peaceful rise or confrontation.

17:00- 18:30
Session 8. Linguistics, Emotions and Politics

Ana M. Fernández (Chair)
Universidad de Navarra, Spain

Ruth Breeze, Universidad de Navarra, Spain

Studying Emotions in Political Discourse
In this paper I look at the basis for studying emotions in political discourse and its possible relevance for international relations. First, I build an understanding of emotion that comprises both a surge in feeling or affect and also the sociocultural understanding and expression of emotion in discourse(s). I then move on to discuss the operationalisation of emotion in affective-discursive practices, and the way this has been transformed through the spread of social media, looking at examples from political discourse. I conclude with some considerations about the application of this approach to international relations.

Marina Díaz Sanz, Universidad de Deusto, Spain

Emotions and global political hierarchies in travel narratives of Iran in Spain

Popular culture is a space of generation and negotiation of meanings about "us" and "them" directly involved in the production of the world. This statement is particularly apt if the field of popular culture we are thinking of is travel literature. In their most basic sense, travel narratives are essentially the product of the connection between a "here" and "there"; in many instances, a foreign objectified "there" through whose narrative the traveling subject emerges. "Here" and "there" are not points of a flat topography, but landmarks of a dense global space that travel literature constitutes around standards of civilisation (rationality/irrationality, secularism/religiosity, modernity/tradition, etc.). Therefore, beyond the consideration that travel literature may be an innocuous genre, here we start from the premise that it is directly involved in the production of global hegemonies. Travel literature is a particularly important genre for the production of the idea of Iran in Spain. The stories of Spanish travellers in Iran are a privileged space for the analysis of our cultural and geographical imagination of the West Asian country. Avowedly, the debate on the significance of modern Iran for international politics has been particularly intense since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of 1979. Such a debate updates the West/Rest frame of thought, and its corresponding political-emotional ontology. How is travel literature situated in the production of that framework and what role do emotions play? Based on a critical discourse analysis of the two travel books to Iran by the Catalan writer Ana María Briongos, the paper reflects on how emotions like excitement, annoyance, admiration, fear, sympathy or pity are part of the discourse on the Iran "of the ayatollahs" that is articulated in travel narratives and a mechanism of perpetuation of Self/Other hierarchies.

Aliia Ismagilova, Kazan Federal University, Russia

The linguistic landscape of Kazan (The Republic of Tatarstan)

The linguistic landscape research is of great interest and importance, because it is a source of visual communication and a reflection of modern society's linguistic interests. Ergonyms are one of the layers of the city toponymy, taking part in the linguistic landscape formation. This paper provides an overview of studies dedicated to the state of affairs in the research of ergonems, their functions and role in the formation of the sociocultural linguistic landscape of the city Kazan. The investigation identifies lingua-cultural norms of modern ergonimy of Kazan implemented in borrowings from foreign languages and the use of state languages in nominations. Language policy of the Republic of Tatarstan provides the nomination of state objects on Russian and Tatar languages, but individuals, organizations and companies that create public and commercial signs tend to use borrowed words in ergonimy of the city. Borrowings from foreign languages are markers of changes in linguistic landscape and socio-linguistic preferences of native citizens. The linguistic landscape of Kazan is formed under the influence of two social processes: globalization and glocalization. Glocalization is opposed to globalization due to the fact that the global can't be developed and understood without the local. Nominators use a variety of creative mechanisms, changing the shape of local and borrowed words as contamination, transliteration, hybridization that provides the diversity of the linguistic landscape. At the same time the linguistic landscape's diversity indicates the partial loss of national and ethnic identity.

Ricardo Connett, University of Zaragoza, Spain

Verbal affectivity in populist discourse. The case of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela

The specialized bibliography has revealed that populism is a global phenomenon (Moffitt, 2016) that has generated intense interest within the academic debate (De Cleen, 2019). This debate is clearly inter and multidisciplinary, but those who approach the study of populism as discourse are numerous (cf. especially Laclau, 2005; Charaudeau, 2009, 2019; Aslanidis, 2016; Stavrakakis 2017; Bolívar, 2018, 2019; Connett, 2021). From this perspective, it has been observed that one of the main features of populist discourse is the use of exacerbated verbal affectivity in the speaker's utterances. To do this, the populist speaker resorts to the use of a set of discursive strategies that are part of the so-called dramaturgie politique in which the emotions generated by his/her words play a crucial role in the persuasion and seduction of the masses (Charaudeau, 2011). Given that Hugo Chávez is one of the most representative figures of Latin American populism of the 21st century, the aim of this communication is to analyze these strategies based on a corpus of speeches delivered by the aforementioned political leader throughout his career as President of Venezuela. (1999-2013). This study shows the particular way in which Chávez established an affective bonding of a positive type with his followers and a negative one with his political opponents.

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