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Emotional Dynamics of (In)security and Politics

Department of European Social Research Chair of
Political Science and Comparative European Research

Campus Saarbrücken
June 11-13, 2024

CREDITS

Book of Abstracts of the Conference:
Emotional Dynamics of (In)security and Politics

Location: Saarbrücken , Saarland University, Campus
Date: June 11-13, 2024

Conference Organization:
Dr. Beatriz Carbone, Prof. Dr. Georg Wenzelburger
(both Chair of Comparative European Politics at Saarland University)

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RATIONALE

In the current age of insecurity, democracy and political polarization are deeply affected by citizens and non-citizens' perceptions of security and insecurity and the emotional needs (e.g. feeling appreciated, safe, accomplished, or part of a community) associated to these perceptions. Emotions such as pride, hope, fear, anxiety, anger, hatred are crucial factors in constructing or breaking ties between citizens. We conceptualize emotional needs as politically relevant needs that have roots in perceptions towards threats. They bring the micro level of an individual's values, affects, identities and social positionings, the meso-level of discourses, social representations and communication, and the macro-level of political reactions through policies that promise to enhance protection together. Fear and insecurity may be driven by actual crises, but also by imagined danger and the way the potential threats are constructed and communicated. Politicians not only engage with shared perceptions and collective insecurity. They may also manipulate and exploit these perceptions, creating demands for more protective policies. Therefore, we are interested in papers that investigate among others: how politicians read insecurity in current societies and whose emotional needs matter in the policy agenda; the role of citizens emotional needs towards protection in the policy-making process; and in which ways politicians intervene in crises and perceptions of threats and insecurity by fostering emotional responses on the part of multi-layered citizens and non-citizens.

Tuesday, June 11, 2024
Location: Building C7.4 Room: 1.17

10:30–12:00	Registration
12:00–12:15	Welcome Speech & Conference Goals Beatriz Carbone & Georg Wenzelburger & VP Dominik Brodowski
12:15–13:45	Panel 1: Emotional Responsiveness: Political and Policy Responses to Subjective Insecurity and European Integration Chair: Georg Wenzelburger & Stefanie Thurm, Saarland University
	A State of the Art on Emotions in the Context of Protective Policies Katja Stempel, Saarland University
	Passionate Europe: Role of Emotions in the European Attitudes and Identity Monika Verbalyte, Europe-University Flensburg
	Lost Souls of Liberal Democracy: How Dark Personality and the Need for Chaos Push Substantial Groups in Germany to the Edge of the Political System Achim Goerres & Conrad Ziller, University of Duisburg-Essen
13:45–14:15	Coffee Break
14:15–15:45	Panel 8: Nationalism, Intersectionality and the Political Space to Manifest Emotions Chair: Beatriz Carbone, Saarland University
	Emotional Motives of Erdoğanism in the Turkish Diaspora Nagehan Tokdoğan, Max Planck Institute, Center for the History of Emotions
	What Is Political About Being Enraged With „Others"? Seray Kumlu, Independent
	Exploring the Impact of AKP's Authoritarianism on Kurdish Diaspora: Psychological and Political Dynamic Hacı Çevik, Humboldt University
	Ayatollah Sistani's Emotional Entrepreneurism During the 2014–2017 Jihad Against ISIS Ali Alsayegh, University of Exeter
15:45–16:00	Coffee Break
16:00–17:30	Panel 3: Policy Entrepreneurs and Emotional Manipulation: Strategies, Policy Areas, and Level of Governance I Chair: Moshe Maor, Reichman University
	Emotions Over Time. Are Political Debates More Passionate Than Before? Gabriella Szabó, HUN-REN Centre for Social Sciences
	(Mis)using History?: How Emotional Memories of Peace and War Shape European Defense Policy Rosa Sanchez Salgado & Dagmar Punter, University of Amsterdam
	Perceive, Accept and Use: Governing Emotions During Dialog Events Between Members of Parliament and Citizens of their Constituencies Laura Emmy Bieder, University of Duisburg-Essen
18:00–19:00	Keynote Speech: What Counts as Protection in an Age of Insecurity? Bethany Albertson, The University of Texas at Austin Location: Building A3 3, Aula (Conference Room)
19:00	Reception Location: Building A3 3, Aula (Conference Room)

Wednesday, June 12, 2024
Location: Building C7.4 Room: 1.17

09:00–10:30	Panel 2: The Role of Emotions for Voting Behavior in European Elections at Different Levels of Polity (Local, Regional, National, EU) Chair: Daniela Braun, Saarland University
	Mixed feelings: Mixed Feelings: The Role of Affective Ambivalence for Attitude Dynamics During Election Campaigns and Voting Behavior Axel Burger, GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences
	From Top to Bottom: The Effects of Elite Polarization on Mass Polarization Alex Hartland, Saarland University
	Are Politically Polarizing Emotions Really Detrimental to Democracy? Analysis of Six European Countries Monika Verbalyte, Europe-University Flensburg
10:30–11:00	Coffee Break
11:00–12:30	Panel 5: Political Psychology of Resentful Affects: Frustrations, Insecurities, and Reactionary Preferences Chair: Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton
	Collective Victimhood - The Shallow Bond of Ressentiment Mikko Salmela, University of Copenhagen and University of Helsinki & Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton
	Lost in Modernization: Populist Radical-Right Voters Between Resentment, Nostalgia and Ethno-Populist Ideology Koen Abts & Julius Rogenhofer, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
	From Grievances to Resentment: Understanding the Alternative für Deutschland's Othering Processes Throughout Crises Lucía Morales Lizárraga, University of Guadalajara
	The Affective Core of Populism: A New Definition Donatella Bonansinga, University College London, Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton, Daniele Albertazzi, Surrey University
12:30–13:30	Lunch Break
13:30–15:00	Panel 6: Marginal Populations and Political Emotions: Policy Feedback, Social Empathy and Political Agency Chair: Peter Starke, University of Southern Denmark
	Political Agency, Activism and Resistance as Means of Addressing Fears and Insecurities in Small Mountain Communities Zlatina Bogdanova, Bulgarian Academy of Science
	Breaking the Silence in a Crisis: Disrupting the German Poverty Discourse via Everyday Storytelling Christopher Smith Ochoa, University of Duisburg-Essen
	Instrumental or Expressive Logics? Untangling the Effects of Economic and Physical Insecurity on Policy Preferences Peter Starke, University of Southern Denmark
15:00–15:15	Coffee Break
15:15–16:30	Panel 7: Different Framings of Political Messages and Their Social Consequences Chair: Katarzyna Hamer, Institute of Psychology of Polish Academy of Sciences (IPPAS)
	The Satirical Birds Aren't Real Conspiracy Theory and the Feeling of Belonging Matthew Hayes, Northern Lakes College
	Emotion Narratives and Populist Attitudes Cristiano Gianolla & Lisete Mónico, CES, University of Coimbra
	Framing of Political Messages: Discursive Constructions of the National and Global Social Identities in the Speeches of Two Opposing Countries' Leaders Involved in the War in Ukraine Katarzyna Hamer, Institute of Psychology of Polish Academy of Sciences, Theofilos Gkinopoulos, Jagiellonian University, Karolina Marcinkowska, University of Warsaw
16:30–17:00	Coffee Break
17:00–18:30	Panel 4: Narratives, Representations, Migrations and Affective Citizenship Chair: Cristiano Gianolla, Centre for Social Studies & Lisete Mónico, University of Coimbra
	Partition, Migration, and Affective Alienation: Reading Bengali Narratives from Assam Udita Banerjee & Sharmita Lahiri, IIT Gandhinagar
	Unprotected: Emotional Needs in Social Representation Related to Migrant Women Miriam Jawadi, CES, University of Coimbra
	Keeping Sane: Safe Spaces and Protective Policies among Migrants and BIPoCs Beatriz Carbone, Saarland University
19:30	Dinner in Saarbrücken Downtown (Self-Paid)

Thursday, June 13, 2024
Location: Building C7.4 Room: 1.17

09:00–10:30	Panel 9: Emotions in Political Crisis Communication: A Strategic Game Between Fear and Security?! Chair: Katja Demler, Saarland University
	Danger Alert! The Role of Threat and Intolerance in the Climate Discourse of Radical Political Actors in Belgium and the Netherlands Jasper Praet, Ghent University
	The Role of Emotions in Policy Narratives: How Can It Be Analyzed? Sonja Blum, Bielefeld University, Nora Habelitz, Bielefeld University, Johanna Kuhlmann, University of Bremen
	An Emotional Perspective on the Multiple Streams Framework Moshe Maor, Reichman University
10:30–11:00	Coffee Break
11:00–12:30	Panel 11: Emotional Dynamics in International Conflicts and Crises Chair: Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton
	Text Visualizing for Russian Online Discussion on Ukrainian War Akira Sano, University of Tsukuba
	Fostering Mass Antagonisms: Empirical and Theoretical Results from the Afghanistan-Pakistan Borderlands Johann Chacko, SOAS, University of London & Azeema Cheema, Verso Consulting
	The Erosion of Political Responsiveness: Unveiling the Psychological Disconnect in Western Balkan Politics Elira Luli, Luarasi University
	It Seems Tense: The Relationship of Loneliness and Perceived Social Conflict Alexander Langenkamp, Goethe University Frankfurt
12:30–13:30	Lunch Break
13:30–14:45	Panel 10: Policy Entrepreneurs and Emotional Manipulation: Strategies, Policy Areas, and Level of Governance II Chair: Moshe Maor, Reichman University
	Emotional Entrepreneurs—political opportunist enhancers, exploiters or both? A case study analysis of Australia's 2023 Constitutional Recognition Referendum Andréa Cullen, Charles Darwin University
	Emotional (Policy) Entrepreneurs: A Research Agenda for Future Multiple Streams Framework Research Moshe Maor, Reichman University
	Ayatollah Sistani's Emotional Entrepreneurism During the Iraqi Elections Ali Alsayegh, University of Exeter
14:45–15:00	Coffee Break
15:00–15:45	Concluding Keynote Lecture: Sense of Security and Civic Responsibility: The Identity of Ukrainians in the Conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian War Iryna Hubeladze, Institute for Social and Political Psychology of the National Academy of Educational Sciences of Ukraine
19:00	Social Event

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UNIVERSITÄT DES SAARLANDES

PANELS AND PAPERS

PANEL 1:
EMOTIONAL RESPONSIVENESS: POLITICAL AND POLICY RESPONSES TO SUBJECTIVE INSECURITY AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Chair: Prof. Dr. Georg Wenzelburger & Stefanie Thurm (M.A.), Saarland University

A State of the Art on Emotions in the Context of Protective Policies

Katja Stempel (M.A.), Saarland University

Abstract: Emotions are an integral part of human and thus political life. In recent decades, social scientists have paid increasing attention to the study of emotions. Advances in political psychology challenge a binary understanding of cognition pitted against emotion and point to the relevance of the latter regarding behavioural tendencies, decision-making processes or attitudinal change. In the context of political science, emotions do not only influence voting behaviour but also affect public support or rejection of specific policies. I build on insights and advancements in the fields of political psychology and political science in order to provide a state-of-the-art that sheds light on the role of emotions in studying protective policies. For a more comprehensive and profitable understanding of policymaking, it is paramount to pay closer attention to the effects of emotions in political communication. In times of populist rhetoric and multiple insecurities, policymakers and scholars alike are well advised to grapple with emotions and values in addition to knowledge as they may have profound consequences for the prosperity as well as demise of democracy.

Passionate Europe: Role of Emotions in the European Attitudes and Identity

Monika Verbalyte (M.A.), Europe-University Flensburg

Abstract: In the last decade, there was an emerging research on European integration and emotion (see Abts et al. 2022, Boomgaarden et al. 2011, Clarke et al. 2017, Erisen et al. 2019, Garry 2014, Palm 2018, Sanchez-Salgado 2018, 2022, 2023, Schumacher 2017, Vasilopoulou et al. 2017, Verbalyte et al. 2018, 2022), however systematic analysis of the relation between specific emotions and attitudes towards the EU is missing. Although many agree that European support and identity have relevant determinants beyond political issues, economic calculations and party cues, the knowledge on how emotions in general and how specific emotions in particular are supportive of European integration is still in its infancy.

In this paper, using the data from six European countries (France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Italy and Poland), I will investigate how specific emotions – anger, contempt, anxiety, sadness, and hope – are related to European trust, support of European law superiority, and European identity. The paper discloses unique relations emotions have to European attitudes and identity, how they differ across countries and how they are moderated by the party support in national contexts.

Lost Souls of Liberal Democracy: How Dark Personality and the Need for Chaos Push Substantial Groups in Germany to the Edge of the Political System

Prof. Dr. Achim Goerres & Dr. Conrad Ziller, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract: Liberal democracy has been under pressure from the success of populist radical right parties, high levels of affective polarization, and an increasing number of citizens who feel left behind and wronged by established political elites. While research on populism and democratic support has much focused on citizens' political discontent as a motivational foundation, it is unknown if the disenchanted can become enthusiastic about democracy again if their situation

improves. In this study, we examine personality types that we hypothesize to be more or less out of touch with democracy. To do so, we focus on the combination of socio-political destructivism (i.e., people who want to see the world destroyed, captured by the recently developed "need for chaos" concept) and dark personality traits (Machiavellianism and narcissism). We argue that people high in both, destructivism and dark personality, are lost souls of liberal democracy, whereas other combinations are less out of touch with democratic principles. Using survey data from a large-N sample in Germany (stratified for age, gender, education, and region) conducted in 2023, we use latent class analysis to assess the prevalence of the lost souls' personality type. In the second step, we show which socio-demographic factors relate to this personality type and illustrate its political relevance. Our study has important implications for public and scientific discourse about polarization and developments that potentially erode liberal democracy.

THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS FOR VOTING BEHAVIOR IN EUROPEAN ELECTIONS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF POLITY (LOCAL, REGIONAL, NATIONAL, EU)

Chair: Prof. Dr. Daniela Braun, Saarland University

Mixed feelings: The Role of Affective Ambivalence for Attitude Dynamics During Election Campaigns and Voting Behavior

Dr. Axel Burger, GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences

Abstract: Emotions can play a powerful role in politics. The present contribution focuses on the phenomenon that individuals can have mixed feelings toward political attitude objects such as politicians, political parties, or policy proposals. Using data from multiple surveys of the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES), I explore potential causes and consequences of affective ambivalence toward political candidates and parties in the context of election campaigns. These analyses show, for example, that affective ambivalence measured at an early stage of the campaign predicts the stability of global attitudes during the campaign, the likelihood of switching vote intentions during the election campaign, and the predictive value of global attitudes for the voting decision. Interestingly, while political interest is negatively correlated with affective ambivalence, the influence of affective ambivalence on the volatility of global attitudes during the election campaign is stronger at higher levels of political interest. With respect to predictors of affective ambivalence, I provide evidence that the association of political ideology with affective ambivalence is curvilinear with lower levels of ambivalence at both extremes of the left-right ideological spectrum. Prior research, which focused on the linear ideology-ambivalence link had yielded inconsistent findings. Indicators of how individuals deal with affective ambivalence toward political attitude objects and the consequences of affective ambivalence for political participation will be discussed.

From Top to Bottom: The Effects of Elite Polarization on Mass Polarization

Dr. Alex Hartland, Saarland University

Abstract: Mass polarisation is a persistent problem of modern politics. Widening societal divisions on pressing issues such as migration, climate change, and gender equality undermine trust in elected representatives and democratic institutions. Growing evidence ironically points to the role of elite polarisation in driving a wedge between voters by increasing issue salience and emphasising party divisions. Though easily thought of as a challenge for two party systems like the United States, the problem has spread to multi-party systems in Europe, particularly following the recent rise of radical right parties. However, despite extensive previous research, a reliance on expressed preferences, expert surveys, and uni-dimensional scale measurements has meant that the exact nature of both mass and elite polarisation and their interrelationship is not well understood. How does elite polarisation and its associated dynamics affect mass polarisation? To address this question, I use a novel dataset collected via web scraping for the Horizon Europe-funded ActEU project on political trust and polarisation in Europe. I use quantitative text analysis to study the social media interactions between politicians and members of the public in ten European countries. Multidimensional scaling enables me to measure the ideological positions of individual politicians and their parties based on their social media output, and to study their effects on the revealed preferences and emotions of the general public. By studying the polarising role of radical right positions, actors and parties across salient issues, I identify the key factors in the forces which are driving political distrust and democratic insecurity.

Are Politically Polarizing Emotions Really Detrimental to Democracy? Analysis of Six European Countries

Monika Verbalyte (M.A.), Europe-University Flensburg

Abstract: Increasing affective polarization has been observed in many Western countries, however, there are not that many studies on what impacts on this process on the individual level beyond partisanship and sociodemographic characteristics. First, it is little known on how specific emotions drive this conceptually strongly affective process. Also, although the strong belief prevails that affective polarization is detrimental to democracy, and we know that it is driven by support for populist and radical right-wing voting, there are no empirical evidence that these people are also not favoring democratic form of governance. In this paper, using the data from six European countries (France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Italy and Poland), I will investigate what specific emotions – anger, contempt, anxiety, sadness, and hope – increase or mitigate political polarization and also whether and how these emotions are related to (anti-)democratic and (il)liberal values and attitudes. Results are surprising since polarization per se does not seem to be related to polarization, yet emotion like contempt does. I suggest that this means that political polarization is still an expression of democratic form of confrontation and is not detrimental to democracy but some polarizing emotions are.

PANEL 3:
POLICY ENTREPRENEURS AND EMOTIONAL MANIPULATION: STRATEGIES, POLICY AREAS, AND LEVEL OF GOVERNANCE I

Chair: Prof. Dr. Moshe Maor, Reichman University

Emotions Over Time. Are Political Debates More Passionate Than Before?

Dr. Gabriella Szabó, HUN-REN Centre for Social Sciences

Abstract: Scholarly interest in emotions and political talks has increased over the past decade, with particular attention to the strategic and institutional ways in which emotions in politics are used and disseminated. While there has been ample literature on affectivity in political debates, less is known regarding the longitudinal characteristics of emotionalization. This paper offers a long-term big-data investigation into the differences between parliamentary speeches (incl. interpellations, urgent questions, pre-agenda speeches, post-agenda speeches, oral questions) regarding the display of basic emotions in Hungary. Based on Paul Ekman's classification, we register the verbal and textual manifestation of anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise. Our sentence-level quantitative analysis reveals the dynamics over time covered over a longer period. The second question asks whether a trend can be detected in the communication of political actors being more saturated with emotional expressions on specific issues/events (e.g., security issues, migrations, rights to LGBTQ+ people, economic crisis, COVID-19 pandemic, or climate changes). The time frame of the project covers the period 2010-2022. As far as parliamentary data is concerned, we rely mainly on existing corpora already collected by CAP (https://www.comparativeagendas.net/), CLARIN (https://www.clarin.eu/), and OPTED projects (https://opted.eu/), which are well-suited for text mining techniques. The AI-supported analysis relies on multiple steps, including a fine-tuned BERT model for emotion identification complemented by name entity recognition and topic modelling. The preliminary findings of the computational analysis on 27 888 832 sentences of 193 921 speeches confirm the tendency of emotionalization: the manifestations of emotions increase over time, which is especially true for joy and anger. The ideology does not matter, political position, however, makes some difference in communicating emotions. Our data indicate that the MEPs of the government parties mostly express joy, while the parliamentary opposition tends to use anger, disgust, and sadness-related language more frequently. Despite the differences, in the long run, all parties' rhetoric can be characterized by affective diversity and increasing emotional tonality.

During the presentation, we discuss the results of the topic modelling and provide further quantitative insights into the tendency of emotional displays in politics.

(Mis)using History?: How Emotional Memories of Peace and War Shape European Defense Policy

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Rosa Sanchez Salgado & Dagmar Punter (M.Sc.), University of Amsterdam

Abstract: This article explores how memories of war and peace have been strategically (mis)used in Security and Defense debates in the European Parliament (EP). Taking the presence of the word 'peace' and 'war' in EP plenary debates speeches as the prime focus, this paper analyzes how historical memories of peace and war are connected to emotions and discusses the consequences of this nexus for policymaking. From this perspective MEPs and EU officials can be perceived as emotional entrepreneurs tapping into both historical as current emotional needs activated in the context of EU security threats fueled by past and present collective emotions relating to these threats. EP plenary debates published between 1994 and 2022 are analyzed combining qualitative content analysis with emotion discourse analysis (EDA). This research shows how emotions attached to memories of war and peace are used to give salience to certain policy-aims.

Our findings show how most historical events are interpreted within the EU as 'peace project' normative frame (related to hope and confidence) with an emphasis in economic relations and interdependence. Alternative and less frequent interpretations display a power politics frame (related to fear) emphasizing support for the development of mi-

litary capacities. Narrative contestation dynamics show how different political actors may use similar memories and narratives supported by different emotional strategies to pursue very different political interests.

Perceive, Accept and Use: Governing Emotions During Dialog Events Between Members of Parliament and Citizens of their Constituencie

Laura Emmy Bieder (M.A.), University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract: Civic feelings like fear, anger or anxiety naturally occur when it comes to threats. However, they lead to several challenges for a political system. One of the most prevalent human threats is change – which is inevitably connected to governance. A crucial part of governing an entity is thus addressing emotional needs of citizens.

Since the re-rise of emotions in political science, this thesis theoretically receives widespread support. Empirically though the idea collides with the prevalent dominance of liberalism in western societies. Liberalism generally tends to negate the raison d'être of emotions in the political sphere. Rather they get assigned to the private area of people's life (cf. Heidenreich 2012). The primitiveness of emotions can lead to the misconception they are not rulable. But what we know from Psychology is: emotions are only uncontrollable when ignored. Perceiving, accepting and facing both negative and positive emotions enables individual and collective actors to address them with their rational mind and thereby take back control – to some extent (cf. Kahneman 2011). Research about citizens' and political leaders' emotion during elections and campaigning is comparatively vast, in governance research the amount of work is more approachable. Existing studies tend to focus on the idea of using emotions for strategic political communication or manipulation. This paper focuses on the psychological potential of working with emotions – respectively by using and regulating them (Maor, Gross 2015). At the interface of political psychology and governance research, it wants to contribute to knowledge about how working with emotions in a political context can: 1) enhance a political agenda or policy process (emotions as input in a governing process) as well as 2) increasing contentment and political support of citizens towards politicians through addressing emotional needs.

In preparation for a following study based on an experimental research design, the paper will outline a conceptual framework, enabling the examination of the emotional responsiveness of political leaders in context of citizen dialog session as well as their effects on the citizens perception. In the German electoral system, members of parliament are supposed to have a well-functioning relationship with citizens associated to their constituencies. Besides bilateral consultation hours, multilateral dialog events are a common way to discuss political issues. In face-to-face conversations an emotional interrelationship can be directly observed. Theoretical base will be, amongst others, Goleman's emotional intelligence theory (1995), Damasio's (1994, 2003, 2021) elaborated definition of terms like emotion, feelings, affects as well as Maor and Gross' (2015) typology of emotional entrepreneurs.

Keynote Speech: What Counts as Protection in an Age of Insecurity?

Prof. Dr. Bethany Albertson, The University of Texas at Austin

Abstract: While historically emotions were seen as destructive forces in politics, modern social scientists know that affect is central to an informed and engaged citizenry. In _Anxious Politics_ we argued that anxiety causes people to seek protection. Through a series of surveys and experiments, we showed that anxious people sought protection through the news they read and remembered, the people they trusted, and the policies they supported. As with all research, some of our findings have more staying power than others. I suspect that our research on anxiety over immigration and climate change would produce similar results today. On the other hand, our research on anxiety and public health requires dramatic revision. Relatedly, in some policy areas, there's near consensus over what counts as protection, while in others, there's tremendous variance. More troublingly, one person's protection can be the sources of another person's anxiety.

Ambiguity over protection presents challenges for social science

research. Typical experimental designs require that we posit from the outside what brings people security, but security can be deeply personal and heavily contextual. Emotions researchers have shown how various emotions play out differently depending on partisanship, race, and gender, for instance. In this talk I explore complexity around the concept of protection in contemporary politics and propose two strategies for better theorizing: 1) careful attention to group dynamics, and 2) open-ended interview and survey approaches that allow participants to offer their ideas about protection.

PANEL 4:
NARRATIVES, REPRESENTATIONS, MIGRATIONS AND AFFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP

Chair: Dr. Cristiano Gianolla, Centre for Social Studies & Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lisete Mónico, University of Coimbra

Partition, Migration, and Affective Alienation: Reading Bengali Narratives from Assam

Udita Banerjee (M.Phil.) & Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sharmita Lahiri, IIT Gandhinagar

Abstract: The Indian state of Assam has seen the influx of Bengali migrants since the British colonial period. Even after the partition of India in 1947, the subsequent large-scale migrations in the east, especially from Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan) to Assam, have also had far-reaching significance in the political ecology of the entire state. In post-partition Assam, the us-other binary was reinforced because of the demographic changes that took place due to these migrations and compelling differences in terms of ethnicity, language, and culture between the two communities – the Assamese indigenes and the Bengali migrants. It is in this context that Bengali literature from Assam has depicted the postcolonial existential crisis of the Bengali migrants in the face of violent ethno-linguistic conflicts. The persuasive argument presented here focuses on the analysis of select short stories, namely „The Wake-Up Call" and „Radio," as compelling tools to unravel the web of affective politics operating within the state. Offering an interpretive lens to understand the alternate histories of Bengali migrants, the article would illustrate how affective politics derives much of its potency from the different emotive evocations of both the native and the migrant - the overwhelming sense of hatred and xenophobic intolerance among the Assamese natives and the palpable fear of forced eviction and statelessness among the Bengali migrants. Drawing upon Sara Ahmed's concepts on the cultural politics of emotions and employing a perceptive re-reading of the literary texts, it explores how the constant circulation of emotions, such as hate and fear, has the profound power to shape the very history and context they inhabit, establishing and appropriating a pervasive and divisive ideology

where the ‚unhappy' other and the outsider always stands in conflict with the insider, the indigene, and the ‚happy' host. Thus, this article would interrogate how the migrant's cultural identity juxtaposed with the native's cultural identity is often subjected to a curated sense of ‚affective alienation' and gets deconstructed and reconstructed from time past to time present through the socio-culturally conditioned and emotionally influenced gazes and perceptions of the indigenous community, further re-producing, re-locating and reinforcing the profane and the political binaries within the state.

Unprotected: Emotional Needs in Social Representation Related to Migrant Women

Miriam Jawadi (M.A.), CES, University of Coimbra

Abstract: The knowledge and experience of experts have a great influence on the representation on migrant women and their narratives, pertaining to the perceptions, opinions, and images people produce about them. Emotions are manipulated and subjectivities distorted, producing a limiting effect on women's enunciation. The emotional needs of these women motivate their experiences and shape how they are perceived and represented in society. These needs include the necessity for social and familial support, overcoming of emotional trauma, and a sense of belonging and security in the new social context. Satisfied emotional needs promote well-being and facilitate social cohesion. Postcolonial and intersectional literature has generated enlightening insights to address gaps, offering a critical understanding of discursive constructions and social practices influencing the perception and representation of „others", referring to marginalized groups by the dominant society. It allows to investigate how emotions are inherently intertwined with processes of alterity interconnected by multiple factors such as race, gender, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation. On the one hand dominant social prejudices shape emotions of migrant women and produce their discrimination. On the other hand migrant women hold emotional needs that are produced by the intersectional oppression to which they are exposed and are silenced in the dominant narrative. Therefore the focus on the role that emotions play in generating social representation, and the consequences of these on the production of oppression of migrant women, is as important as incipient in the literature.

This archival research builds upon intersectional literature in order to disclose understandings of the main socio-cultural dynamics in relation to migration in Italy. The preliminary analysis focuses on social representation and emotions theories. The concept of „social representation" was developed within social psychology. This study aims to adopt this concept based on an interdisciplinary perspective, integrating elements of both social psychology and sociology. Attention is posed on how social processes influence the creation and dissemination of meanings and symbols within a society. Social representations on migrant women are determined by power dynamics (knowledge and role of experts), historical contexts, and social structures. Emotions are analyzed in relation to the impact of social representation on migrant women. The study aims to understand the impact of representations of migrant women in Italy on the political subjectivity of migrant women, which significantly influences their ability to actively participate in the political sphere, express their opinions, and be involved in decision-making processes which concern them directly. Assuming that social representations of migrant women are misguided by the lack of consideration of emotional needs of subjects, the research aims to (a) understand the emotional dynamics generated by dominant Eurocentric narratives on migration and (b) explore the emotional needs of silenced migrant women subjectivities.

Keeping Sane: Safe Spaces and Protective Policies among Migrants and BIPoCs

Dr. Beatriz Carbone, Saarland University

Abstract: The provision of protection is one of the most important pillars of the social contract between citizens and the state. In liberal democracies, protective policies seek to enforce laws and norms to protect not only life, borders, property, and individual rights, but also values and identities. Besides the material conditions to meet these rights, emotional needs play a very important role in the establish-

ment of trust between the state and civil society. BIPoCs (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color), both migrants and citizens, are prone to different levels of vulnerability and insecurity as their access to full citizenship tends to be either formally limited (in the case of migrants) or experienced in fragmented ways. Therefore, it is expected that their emotional needs for protection, including feeling appraised, physically protected, and recognized as part of the community are impacted by their perceptions of discrimination towards themselves and their communities. Whereas there has been advancement (though incipient) on policies to prevent and enforce open forms of discrimination, an aspect that public policies seldom address or still have incipient tools to confront is everyday racism, especially when it is manifested through micro-aggressions. Against this background, BIPoCs employ self-initiatives and bottom-up workshops to create safe spaces aimed at building awareness, empathy and solidarity as healing resources to promote 'empowerment'. In this paper I seek to conceptualize the construction of safe-spaces for healing from everyday racism and racial trauma as a way to address the gaps of providing protection to migrants and BIPoC citzens.

PANEL 5:
POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF RESENTFUL AFFECTS: FRUSTRATIONS, INSECURITIES, AND REACTIONARY PREFERENCES

Chair: Dr. Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton

Collective Victimhood – The Shallow Bond of Ressentiment

Prof. Dr. Mikko Salmela, University of Copenhagen and University of Helsinki & Dr. Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton

Abstract: This presentation aims to study the spread of victimhood identities that threatens liberal democracies externally and from within. We identify 1) dominant group self-victimisation (Reicher & Ulusahin 2020; Sharafutdinova, 2020; Illouz, 2023) 2) continuous victimhood narratives that persist from the past with different perpetrators (Lipinski and Szabo, 2021; Kazlauskaite, 2022); and 3) the new victimhood culture on the progressive left (Campbell & Manning, 2018) as anomalous cases that extant research is incapable of explaining because it focuses on actual victims of oppression or intergroup violence. We aim to explain the proliferation of victimhood identities through the theoretical lens of ressentiment. We hypothesise that the present social, economic, and ideological conditions in contemporary neoliberal societies feed ressentiment which makes the espousal of victimhood identities appealing. Ressentiment is relevant for two reasons: first, it is driven by negative emotions involving a self-reproaching victim position which in ressentiment is transformed into a morally superior victim identity which, secondly, provides justification for the other-directed moral emotions, as well as a foundation for collective victimhood that is validated and reinforced with peer others (Salmela & Capelos, 2021). Finally, we propose a theory of ressentimentful victimhood identities and examine the elements that set it apart from paradigmatic victimhood identities. Ressentimentful victimhood is characterised by lack of empathy, inability to forgive, and inability to overcome the victim position perpetuating powerlessness, self-pity, and moral hypermnesia. It is linked to collective narcissism, heightened moral elitism, victimhood competition or exclusive victimhood, rumination of victimhood and its associated emotions, and depen-

dence upon benefits that accrue to victim status. Paradigmatic, non-ressentimentful victimhood displays different key elements such as empathy towards other victims, a sense of inclusive victimhood, the ability to forgive and avoid rumination through reconciliation with per-petrators and mourning one´s losses, the finally the ability to overcome victimhood towards survivor identities that integrate into democratic society by seeking political recognition of victimhood and restorative justice.

From Grievances to Resentment: Understanding the Alternative für Deutschland's Othering Processes Throughout Crises

Lucía Morales Lizárraga (M.A.), University of Guadalajara

Abstract: Since its foundations, and through an agenda of mobilizing fear and uncertainty in times of crises the Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) originated as the "new alternative" for the right within the modern German political spectrum. This paper presents an analysis of the evolution of the AfD, examining its trajectory from a liberal-Eurosceptic party to a nationalistic populist right party. The study delves into the impact of crises, such as the European debt crisis, the migration crisis, and the COVID-19 pandemic, on shaping the party's ideology and discourse. The discussion navigates through the intricate interplay of identity politics, populism, and the dynamics of resentment within the AfD's narratives. Emphasizing this decade's crises, the study explores how the AfD has undergone a radicalization process, positioning itself as a resistance movement against the democratic system, media outlets, and the government. The examination of emotions, polarization, and identity politics reveals the party's strategies of ‚belonging' and ‚othering' with a focus on the pursuit of dignity. The paper employs Mudde's definition of populism, emphasizing the party's shift towards the portrayal of society divided into ‚the pure people' versus ‚the corrupt elite'. Methodologically, Critical Discourse Analysis is employed to examine the electoral programs of the AfD from 2013, 2017, and 2021, framed under the European debt crisis, the humanitarian migration crisis, and the health-economic crisis caused by the global COVID19 pandemic Additionally, topic modeling and sentiment analy-sis are employed to understand the tendencies and relations between the themes addressed and emotions. The study aims to illuminate the nuanced development of the AfD within the populist Zeitgeist, demonstrating how the party's discourses capitalize on crises to consolidate a pronounced exclusionary nature. The trajectory of the AfD reflects broader trends in contemporary politics, where populism, radicalization, and identity-based exclusion shape the political landscape. The paper also explores the role of resentment within the AfD's narrative, highlighting how the party leverages perceived grievances to mobilize support and foster a sense of collective indignation. Resentment, intertwined with nationalism and the pursuit of dignity, emerges as a central driving force in shaping the AfD's discourse and contributing to the broader dynamics of contemporary politics.

The Affective Core of Populism: A New Definition

Dr. Donatella Bonansinga, University College London, Assoc. Dr. Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton, Prof. Dr. Daniele Albertazzi, Surrey University

Abstract: This paper investigates the theoretical connections between populism and insecurity to develop a novel definition of populism that takes into account its affective foundational core. The paper brings together elements of different literatures - from political science to international relations and political psychology studies - to first offer a multidisciplinary take on how (in)security has been politicised and integrated into populist discourse. Theoretical arguments are then illustrated with an examination of French populist radical left leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon and his party, La France Insoumise. By focusing on the 'less likely scenario' of the populist radical left (given the left's traditional 'discomfort' with security), the paper argues that insecurity is a key dimension of the populist ideology that structures how populists conceive the struggle people vs elites, that is, as a relationship of insecurity where the people are in danger and the elites are the danger. The research offers three contributions to the literature on populism. The first contribution is developed by demonstrating that insecurity is a key ideational resource that different populists use to

articulate the struggle 'people vs. elite', and hence by proposing a novel definition of populism that considers insecurity as a core concept in the populist ideological structure, taking into account populism's foundational affective core. The second contribution is developed by problematising how other populist actors beyond the 'usual suspects' of the populist radical right politicise insecurity, hence unpacking the agency of populist actors in interpreting social reality and guiding processes of sense-making. The last contribution is developed by bringing populism studies in conversation with other research traditions most notably in the field of security studies and political psychology, hence adding to the cross-fertilisation between disciplines that is of vital importance to understanding complex real-world phenomena such as populism

PANEL 6:
MARGINAL POPULATIONS AND POLITICAL EMOTIONS: POLICY FEEDBACK, SOCIAL EMPATHY AND POLITICAL AGENCY

Chair: Prof. Dr. Peter Starke, University of Southern Denmark

Political Agency, Activism and Resistance as Means of Addressing Fears and Insecurities in Small Mountain Communities

Dr. Zlatina Bogdanova, Bulgarian Academy of Science

Abstract: Based on empirical research this paper will address one current issue: how people from small village communities in the Rhodope Mountains (Bulgaria) have united to take measures against the realization of private business interests and investments – the opening of quarries for the extraction of marble and ballast that would disrupt the established regimes of environmental protection in the region of the Middle Rhodopes - these are the protected areas included in the UNESCO biosphere reserve Červenata stena (Red wall) and the ecological network "Natura 2000". The ongoing research is focused on people's strategies for coping with change and uncertainty such as voicing their anxieties and fears, organizing protests that mobilize public support and social empathy. By actively engaging in political networks with various opposition parties, these people seek protection and political responses to their insecurities. The following issues will be discussed in more detail: the emergence of new political, cultural, and ecological awareness of mountain communities fighting against the environmental exploitation of their territories; the political agency of inhabitants in preserving local livelihoods, and the many forms of negotiation on living together, including different visions and even conflicts on practices of resource management, sustainability, and heritage. The case reviewed here is exemplary of small-scale activism where local inhabitants have become activists aiming towards community transformations through social resistance and engagement in local politics and elections. Facing uncertainties exacerbated by the current political, economic, social and health-related crises in Bulgaria, grassroots activism has been gaining prominence. Throughout the

country local groups of activists pursue a common aim of enhancing resilience, forging transformations in local communities and reimagining societies, focusing on ecology and environmental protection of settlements. Even if these projects are small in scope and mostly invisible to a larger public, they can be important vehicles of bringing a direct change to people's lives, especially in marginalized settings. They can also be a laboratory of ideas and practices that may inspire wider societal changes, ranging from reformative to revolutionary. Theoretically, these projects do not fit easily in the social movement literature because they do not have the predominantly organized structures, explicit aims, broad claims, or adequate resources that define a social movement (Tilly, 2004). They can rather be seen as forms of resistance that challenge politically established interests and business lobbies, corruption practices, and administrative decisions that have negative consequences for certain groups of marginalized populations or, as prefigurative practices which at the local scale test various ideas and attempt to forge alternatives to the status quo (Yates, 2015). Even though they are small in scale, the total of initiatives taking place in a certain area may work like a "quiet encroachment" (Bayat, 2013), through which marginalized communities directly work towards envisioning alternative futures. The analysis is based on an ethnographic study carried out in the villages of Cherven, Dolnoslav, Gornoslav, Dobrostan and the town of Asenovgrad - the center of the local Municipality within the research project „Anthropology of Uncertainty"(2021–2024) supported by the Bulgarian Science Fund.

Breaking the Silence in a Crisis: Disrupting the German Poverty Discourse via Everyday Storytelling

Dr. Christopher Smith Ochoa, University of Duisburg-Essen

Abstract: The COVID-19 pandemic and ensuing energy crisis reignited debates in Germany about poverty and the basic social assistance system; a topic that has long been marred by moral contention, the dominance of complex quantitative measures, and a disregard for individuals' subjective experiences. Both crises simultaneously resulted in emergency reforms, culminating in November 2022 in a controversial reform to the basic social assistance system (formerly colloquially Hartz IV) now known as the citizens' income (Bürgergeld). Since May 2022, the citizen-led social media movement #IchBinArmutsbetroffen (#IAmAffectedByPoverty) has raised awareness of the everyday hardships faced by the poor and those receiving basic social assistance. Using emotional, personal storytelling, thousands of individuals have shared their experiences to explicitly counter dominant meritocratic poverty narratives anchored both in media and politics while demanding fundamental change to the existing welfare system. This represents a major shift in how poverty is narrativized in Germany, providing a platform to those both most affected by and at the margins of social policymaking. This contribution therefore aims to analyze the new storytelling practices of #IchBinArmutsbetroffen, while examining how the movements has hitherto impacted the German poverty discourse. Based on a quantitative text analysis of all the tweets in the first year of the movement as well as a narrative discourse analysis of activists' tweets, speeches, and interviews with participants, this contribution reconstructs central narrative strands and contextualizes them in the general dynamics of policy conflict over poverty in Germany. The findings contribute to understandings of how poverty is discursively constructed, debated, and politically addressed amidst crisis and major reform change. Ultimately, it shows how marginalized citizens utilize methods of testimony, self-empowerment, and emotionalization to challenge established narratives, to influence the policymaking process, and effect social change.

Instrumental or Expressive Logics? Untangling the Effects of Economic and Physical Insecurity on Policy Preferences

Prof. Dr. Peter Starke, University of Southern Denmark

Abstract: In this paper, we examine the causal effect of both economic and physical (especially fear of crime) insecurity on individual policy preferences with respect to protection and punishment, bringing together two literatures which hitherto have been separate. Research in both criminology and political economy has shown that insecurity will raise the demand for protection in line with a straightforward

instrumental logic. Economic insecurity will increase support for the welfare state and physical insecurity will increase support for criminal justice investment and harsher sentences. However, alternative hypotheses can be derived from the notion of ontological security (and related approaches) which follows an expressive logic. First, according to an expressive logic we expect cross-over effects of insecurity between the domains of social policy and criminal justice. Second, more than anything punitiveness should rise across these domains, including punitiveness toward welfare beneficiaries. We test instrumental and expressive effects of economic and physical insecurity in an original survey experiment fielded in Denmark and Germany. By exposing respondents to either a physical or economic insecurity shock, we shed light on the relationship between types of insecurities and political preferences.

PANEL 7:
DIFFERENT FRAMINGS OF POLITICAL MESSAGES AND THEIR SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Chair: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Katarzyna Hamer, Institute of Psychology of Polish Academy of Sciences (IPPAS)

The Satirical Birds Aren't Real Conspiracy Theory and the Feeling of Belonging

Prof. Dr. Matthew Hayes, Northern Lakes College

Abstract: "Birds Aren't Real" is a satirical conspiracy movement started by American youth activist Peter McIndoe. Shortly after he dropped out of college, McIndoe attended a women's march in Memphis, Tennessee and in response to the presence of pro-Trump counter-protestors, McIndoe quickly created a protest sign by writing what he called three random words: Birds Aren't Real. Without realizing it, McIndoe was filmed at the march improvising a conspiracy theory about how the American government began "genociding" birds in the 1970s and replacing them with surveillance drones that now capture our every movement, and the video/idea went viral. Birds Aren't Real (BAR) is now a fully-fledged movement, selling merchandise online to fund billboards to spread the message, with McIndoe appearing regularly on TV news saying and doing outrageous things, and drawing in fans and detractors alike. BAR is satirical - it is hilarious and clever and young people, especially, have gravitated to its messaging. McIndoe may have played an outrageous and fictional character to promote the theory, but the underlying message is deeply serious: BAR is an attempt, especially by young people growing up awash in misinformation and a virulently affective political sphere, to use satire to counter pro-Trump and far-right political rhetoric in North America. In other words, BAR is attempting to push back against certain beliefs and especially emotions, by cleverly and subtly creating space for political discourse about how we feel about politics and conspiracies by (superficially) pandering to those who truly believe in conspiracy theories like QAnon. McIndoe and his peers are angry and confused and sad, and feel betrayed by those who came before and those in power. They feel left out

and left adrift, and are using BAR's satire - one of the only tools available to them - to speak back to power in a way that they feel those in power will actually understand: BAR expertly mimics the language and rhetoric and deeply emotional nature of conspiracy theory, skewering outrageous beliefs and mainstream media's tactic of false balance or "bothsidesism". This paper proposes to analyze the origin of BAR and its social and political consequences to date, and may fit into panels 6, 7, or 8, given that it will address issues affecting marginal populations (youth; Gen Z) and their political agency, the way in which political messages are framed and how underrepresented populations might engage effectively in the political sphere when offered so few options, and how and when political space may open up to critique nationalism and manifest emotions undesirable to the status quo. BAR uses satire to create discursive space for its adherents to express emotions denied them in daily life and politics (when, for instance, baby boomers and those in power label them as "whiners" or "ungrateful" or "lazy" when they express how they feel about capitalism), by turning familiar and conventional images and history and political messaging on their heads, to confound and entertain. I believe this analysis can make a meaningful theoretical and empirical contribution to the conference theme.

Emotion Narratives and Populist Attitudes

Dr. Cristiano Gianolla & Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lisete Mónico, CES, University of Coimbra

Abstract: Populism literature analyses the impact of emotions on the demand side on political behaviour, however there are no studies that simultaneously focus on the supply side as well. The literature shows that negative emotions related to political grievances (anger rather than fear) have a strong impact. However, there is only fragmented research focused on the emotional impact of current political facts (about democratic system, power structures, ethnic diversity, political history, role of the media), and 'hypothetical' scenarios (on authoritarianism, rise of migration and diversity, anticorruption, securitization of the state, expansion of the use of referendum). How are these emotions connected with the narratives of political leaders? Through a mixed method comparative study of Portugal (PT) - until recently considered an exception - and Italy (IT) - a country of 'multiple populisms', this paper assesses the discurse of political leaders and their impact in the 'emotional reactions' by citizens. Data collection methods include: a) original survey data (2022) collected with 1796 respondents (906 PT and 890 IT) exploring two batteries of questions we assess the emotional reaction to 'existing' and 'hypothetical' political scenarios (12 items each). These data are correlated with 14 semi-structured interviews to Members of Parliament (6 Chega, 8 Fratelli D'Italia) inquiring leader's emotions in relation to the political system, the people and minorities. Finding show how populist emotion narrative influence perception of current democratic and possible authoritarian political scenario in Portugal and Italy assessing how ideas and emotions of populist leaders and voters correlate.

Framing of Political Messages: Discursive Constructions of the National and Global Social Identities in the Speeches of Two Opposing Countries' Leaders Involved in the War in Ukraine

Prof. Dr. Katarzyna Hamer, Institute of Psychology of Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Dr. Theofilos Gkinopoulos, Institute of Psychology, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Karolina Marcinkowska, University of Warsaw

Abstract: Today's crises, especially wars, challenge the peace and security of the world. Wars and their consequences extend beyond a single nation, affecting many other countries and the international community. Sometimes, as it is with the war in Ukraine, they are a risk of becoming world wars. In communicating declaration of wars and for mobilizing purposes, leaders can frame their political messages in different ways, using inclusive social categories on different levels, from national identifications to global social identifications such as citizens of the world. Therefore, a self-categorization theory lens is an informative one to draw insights from in terms of how it is used in political discourse and for what purpose. In our paper, we analyze address speeches released by V. Zelenski and V. Putin at the begin-

ning of the war in Ukraine to their own citizens and to the world. Since global social identities are becoming an increasingly significant factor in solving global problems, and there is still no comprehensive study of how they are used in the context of war, our focus is especially on the ways that a global inclusive form of identity is discursively constructed by the opposite sides involved in the war in Ukraine. We identify differences in the framing, content, and functions of the discourses of the two opposing political leaders which, in turn, uncover the different and often competing identity stakes that a major event, such as the war in Ukraine, has had for foreign politics of countries-victims (e.g., Ukraine) and countries-perpetrators (e.g., Russia). Findings are discussed around the social-psychological importance and implications of constructions of global social identities in the context of international conflicts. Our paper is the first among the emerging body of literature that juxtaposes discursive constructions of global social identities in the context of war and the discursive identity functions behind these constructions.

PANEL 8:
NATIONALISM, INTERSECTIONALITY AND THE POLITICAL SPACE TO MANIFEST EMOTIONS

Chair: Dr. Beatriz Carbone, Saarland University

Emotional Motives of Erdoğanism in the Turkish Diaspora

Dr. Nagehan Tokdoğan, Max Planck Institute, Center for the History of Emotions

Abstract: For twenty years now, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the leader of AKP, the former prime minister and the current president of Turkey, has enduringly been a symbolic figure through his speeches and behaviours regarding both internal and foreign policies. Not surprisingly, Erdoğan's leadership and the ever-increasing support he has received from the masses have been a subject of academic interest throughout the years. Yet, almost all the literature about the AKP rule and Erdoğan's leadership has somehow ignored the emotional motives of the masses supporting Erdoğan. Today, "Erdoğanism" has exceeded the borders of the country and we have witnessed that he gets a remarkable support from Turkish origin migrants in all around the world. For instance, in the presidential poll of May 2023, Erdoğan got 65 percent of votes among Turks living in Germany. Regarding this massive support, discussions in Germany revolved around the argument that "voting in favor of the AKP and Erdoğan is a sign of 'loyalty to Turkey' – and thus, of failed integration – and an absence of a commitment to democratic values and norms" on the side of the Turkish-origin immigrants living in Germany. But I believe this massive support from within the Turkish diaspora deserves deeper academic enquiry. Drawing on the literature on politics of emotions, this paper will attempt to uncover the emotional roots of Erdoğanism in Turkish origin migrants living in Germany, relying on the empirical data collected from the in-depth interviews with the right-wing, conservative members of the Turkish diaspora in Germany.

What is Political about Being Enraged with „Others"?

Dr. Seray Kumlu, Independent

Abstract: In recent years, we have been shaken by the news that ministries of loneliness have been established.[1] As far as we know, the modern state has always been put in the public sphere theoretical-ly which means that it exclude morality, personal bonds, familiy and friendship. But now, it has been recalling to intervene in our private li-ves and it is a bit confusing in terms of its promises. A question can be raised: „Has it ever stayed away from the private sphere?". On the ot-her hand, behind the governments' approach to the issue of loneliness, it is possible to detect traces of a deeper, unsettling crisis: Something is happening to the togetherness we call „we". First of all, if the promi-ses of modern political affiliations that presented themselves as a kind of community of friends (or brotherhood) as well as a community of ci-tizens (just like the principles of friendship, a kind of equality, freedom, partnership and even warm feelings) have failed and we face the peop-le who do not feel any sort of belonging, this may have consequences. Especially since the political power of alternative political belongings (e.g. revolutionary comradeship) was broken after the 1980s in the liberal representative democracies which we live in, those who at-tempt to politicize „big" issues, structural problems, concepts whose boundaries are determined by the sovereign power (equality, freedom), the order of distribution of rights and commodities, and the sexism that permeates discourse and practices, face immediate sanctions. Moreover, it is more difficult to look for this possibility of politicization in societies where ministries of loneliness have been or are about to be established and collective groupings have already dissolved. The togetherness to which we feel we belong, especially the coexistences promised to be created by nation-states, are dissolving; something has been happening for a long time that perhaps looks like „a harrowing tremor in the structure or the experience of belonging"[2] . What remains, unfortunately, are highly exclusionary groupings that create micro-en-mities and resentment, and a horrifying and destructive hatred direc-ted at those who are seen as the cause of this lack of belonging (, fo-reigners' from outside, groups that harm the morality of society from within). The pandemic period we have been experiencing as the whole world has increased this exclusion to a great extent. While trying to heal the psychological wounds of the isolation they were exposed to during the Covid-19 pandemic by mingling with people again, without finding a cure for their chronic loneliness, individuals did not have dif-ficulty in finding rational excuses for their indifference towards others (whether within the borders of the country or in other countries) who were further impoverished and isolated by the same crisis. What is critical here is that the state is never free from this exclusion, in fact, the ground on which micro-nationalisms and enmities flourish is that it moves from the contours of the „we" in these nation-state scales and draws strength and legitimacy from these limitations. As such, the age we live in seems to us to be an age of enmity, not of friendship. The-refore, one of the things that can help us to imagine another kind of politicization, the responsibility of thinking about another kind of „us", should be undertaken by us.

1 https://time.com/5107252/minister-for-loneliness-uk/,
   https://www.dw.com/en/japan-minister-of-loneliness-tackles-mental-health-crisis/a-57311880

2 Jacques Derrida, (2005), The Politics of Friendship, trans. Georges Collins, London: Verso, p.80.

Exploring the Impact of AKP's Authoritarianism on Kurdish Diaspora: Psychological and Political Dynamic

Dr. Hacı Çevik, Humboldt University

Abstract: Recent years have witnessed a concerning surge in aut-horitarian tendencies within Turkey's AKP (Justice and Development Party) government, prompting widespread apprehension about its repercussions on diverse societal segments, particularly the Kurdish diaspora. This presentation aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the psychological and political ramifications of this phenomenon on diaspora Kurds. Primarily, I will scrutinize the influence of the AKP's authoritarian trajectory on diaspora Kurds. This entails conducting an in-depth appraisal of the policies and measures implemented by the AKP government and their resonance within diaspora communi-ties. Additionally, I aim to assess the extent to which this authoritarian shift has affected the political-psychological bonds between diaspora Kurds and Turkey. I intend to conduct extensive interviews with Kur-dish individuals residing in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart—cities whe-re the AKP and the Kurdish Movement garnered nearly equal support.

Through this method, I aim to unearth the subtle intricacies of their evolving political identities. The selection of these cities is deliberate, as they serve as microcosms of the broader diaspora, providing a nuanced outlook on the diverse reactions to the authoritarian transition. Furthermore, my research endeavours to dissect the interplay between authoritarianism in Turkish politics and the psychological affinities of diaspora Kurds towards Turkey. By means of qualitative interviews, I aspire to uncover the intricate tapestry of emotions, perceptions, and attitudes that mold their political allegiances and sense of belonging. This research bears significant implications for both scholarly discourse and policy formulation. It casts a revealing light on the multifaceted dynamics shaping diaspora communities amidst an era marked by democratic regression and heightened political uncertainties.

Ayatollah Sistani's Emotional Entrepreneurism During the 2014-2017 Jihad Against ISIS

Ali Alsayegh (M.Sc.), University of Exeter

Abstract: In 2014, ISIS were less than 30 kilometres away from the Iraqi capital Baghdad. In response to this nation-wide existential crisis, Grand Ayatollah Sistani announced a call to jihad against ISIS. In response, hundreds of thousands of his followers and other Shia volunteered with the Iraqi Security Forces or non-state militias to partake in the fight against the terrorist group. The jihad fatwa (edict) unleashed very powerful emotions such as anger, fear, pride, hope, and joy to motivate his followers to answer his call to action. However, without the continuous re-invocation of these emotions over the three-year period of the gruesomely fear-invoking war, their empowering effects would have certainly lessened or disappeared. In recognition of this potentiality, Sistani created a system of emotional sustainment to maintain the mujahideen's (fighters) morale during the war. This system stimulated a plethora of intense emotions such as hope and joy of martyrdom and inevitable victory, fear of existential threat, pride of participation, shame of nonparticipation, hope of moral righteousness and many other empowering emotive configurations.

By utilising 40 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2022 with Sistani's emulators and other seminary and academic personalities in Iraq, the present paper seeks to highlight how Sistani and his networks were able to engage in this form of emotional entrepreneurism through discourse and action. Examples of such emotive entrepreneurial techniques includes the Ayatollah's one-to-one interactions with his fighters, sending motivational preachers to the frontlines of war to deploy encouragement mechanisms, and the emotional effect of logistics support provision. This work also aims to provide greater nuance to the understanding of emotions by underscoring how there exists a variety of different types of emotions from within the same emotive category (e.g. the hope of inevitable victory is not the same, ontologically and functionally, as the hope of martyrdom). The paper will do this by shedding light upon the disempowering emotions each empowering emotion specifically counteracts in the quest to motivate Sistani's mujahideen.

PANEL 9:
EMOTIONS IN POLITICAL CRISIS COMMUNICATION: A STRATEGIC GAME BETWEEN FEAR AND SECURITY?!

Chair: Katja Demler (M.Ed.), Saarland University

Danger Alert! The Role of Threat and Intolerance in the Climate Discourse of Radical Political Actors in Belgium and the Netherlands

Jasper Praet (M.Sc.), Ghent University

Abstract: Research in political psychology has long shown that people's authoritarian attitudes get activated under the condition of perceived threat. When individuals feel threatened, heightened levels of ressentiment and a punitive intolerance towards moral, ideological, or cultural deviants are detected. In this paper, I analyse whether radical political actors reflect this threat-intolerance dynamic in the context of climate policy debates. First, I compare how radical right-wing parties, radical left-wing parties, and radical climate movements in Belgium and the Netherlands deal with the threat posed by climate change. I expect that every radical party or movement will identify dangers related to global warming, albeit differently. Extinction Rebellion, a radical climate movement, is expected to identify global warming as something that threatens society's very survival. In contrast, radical left-wing parties are expected to see socio-economic dangers emerging from both a changing climate and policy decisions to mitigate carbon emissions. On the other hand, I hypothesize that radical right-wing parties focus solely on the threat posed by climate mitigation policies to society's welfare and way of life, while ignoring or downplaying the danger coming from climate change itself. Second, I assess and compare the reaction of these political groups in response to perceived threats. If radical political actors identify a threat, they are expected to attack those whom they hold accountable for these dangers, such as political elites or ideological opponents. Moreover, considering threats should activate authoritarian attitudes, we expect more appeals to authority when dangers are associated with global warming or climate mitigation policy. By employing a supervised machine learning model on public statements of radical actors in Belgium and the Netherlands, this research clarifies how political actors appeal to the emotions of citizens in an effort to convince them of the need to vote for them (in the case of the parties) or to support their cause (in the case of the radical climate movement). By focusing on how the climate discourse of political actors connects with individual emotions, it bridges a gap between political psychology and political science. Ultimately, the paper aims to improve our understanding of how political actors mobilize individuals by shaping and tagging into the latter's attitudes.

The Role of Emotions in Policy Narratives: How Can It Be Analyzed?

Prof. Dr. Sonja Blum, Bielefeld University, Nora Habelitz (M.A.), Bielefeld University, Dr. Johanna Kuhlmann, University of Bremen

Abstract: The Narrative Policy Framework acknowledges the crucial role that emotions play within the framework. With the homo narrans as the micro foundation, it places emotion at the center of attention and stresses that "affect-imbued stories" (Jones et al., 2022: 139) are key for how individuals make sense of the world and, consequently, navigate through the policy process. Still, scholars of the Narrative Policy Framework have only recently started to investigate emotions more thoroughly (e.g. Pierce et al., 2022). In this paper, we aim for a systematic assessment by asking which role emotions play for the construction of narratives, thereby relying on appraisal theory from psychology. How are emotions linked to different narrative elements, and how do they contribute to the overall 'radiance' of a narrative? In this regard, we argue that it is possible to link the different components of the emotion process in appraisal theory to the different narrative elements in the NPF. The paper presents a conceptualization of emotions in policy narratives and discusses operationalization. Empirically, we present first findings from a case study on climate and energy policy.

An Emotional Perspective on the Multiple Streams Framework

Prof. Dr. Moshe Maor, Reichman University

Abstract: Emotions are central to human behaviour and, consequently, play a significant role in policy-making. While the Multiple Stream Framework (MSF) incorporates the notion of 'public mood' into the political stream, this concept primarily focuses on a fleeting, less intense, diffuse emotional state not necessarily linked to a specific triggering event or policy-related object. To address this limitation, this paper draws on robust findings from political psychology to view and interpret the MSF framework through an emotional lens. Consequently, we investigate the intersections between emotions and MSF assumptions and structural elements, introducing innovative concepts such as emotional agenda (policy) window, emotional decision window, emotional (policy) entrepreneurs, and emotional policy storms (e.g., the intense policy demands shaped by the global emotional waves of #MeToo). We conclude by discussing how an emotional perspective on the MSF can help scholars generate nuanced and falsifiable hypotheses, overcome the MSF's metaphorical language, gauge when policy may be in search of a rationale, and explain ground-breaking policy changes.

PANEL 10:
POLICY ENTREPRENEURS AND EMOTIONAL MANIPULATION: STRATEGIES, POLICY AREAS, AND LEVEL OF GOVERNANCE II

Chair: Prof. Dr. Moshe Maor, Reichman University

Emotional Entrepreneurs—Political Opportunist Enhancers, Exploiters or Both? A Case Study Analysis of Australia's 2023 Constitutional Recognition Referendum

Dr. Andréa Cullen, Charles Darwin University

Abstract: After decades of work[3] towards constitutional recognition for its First Nations Peoples—in 2017, Australia's First Peoples issued the Uluru Statement from the Heart—asking for formal recognition of its Peoples in the Australian Constitution together with a constitutionally enshrined Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Voice to Parliament. This proposal was given to the Australian people as an invitation from Australia's First Peoples to walk with them to a better future for Australia as a nation and democracy. The Australian people voted on this proposed constitutional recognition in a Referendum held on 14 October 2023. Across the world there are a variety of examples of how nation-states with First Peoples have instituted in their domestic political arrangements substantive recognition mechanisms to accommodate the voices of their First Peoples and in doing so give full expression to their right to self-determination. These respective journeys provide good examples of how "emotional entrepreneurs"— individual and collective actors—have honed their craft to influence political and policy processes that underpin the consideration and adoption of these recognition mechanisms. The extent of this influence can have positive or negative implications. Within the context of the role of affect and emotion in the political sphere—this paper will provide a case study analysis of the campaign conversation phase and outcome of Australia's 2023 Constitutional Recognition Referendum. The Referendum held on 14 October 2023 sought to amend the Australian Constitution to formally recognise Australia's First Peoples and to create a constitutionally enshrined Indigenous Voice to Parliament.

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3 This period refers to a contemporary body of work that culminated in the Uluru Statement from the Heart and the work following that culminated in the referendum held on 14 October 2023.

The Referendum was unsuccessful and the status quo remains. Specifically, the case study will consider how "emotional entrepreneurs"—individual and collective actors—sought to influence the political and public policy processes underpinning the constitutional recognition journey. This will include identification of constitutional, institutional, and structural enablers, and other influences that provided fertile ground for "emotional entrepreneurs" to hone their craft to exert influence. Using this analysis, it will seek to explore whether "emotional entrepreneurs" are political opportunist enhancers, exploiters or both.

Emotional (Policy) Entrepreneurs: A Research Agenda for Future Multiple Streams Framework Research

Prof. Dr. Moshe Maor, Reichman University

Abstract: Emotions are central to human behavior and, consequently, play a significant role in policy-making. While the Multiple Stream Framework (MSF) incorporates the notion of 'public mood' into the political stream, this concept primarily focuses on a fleeting, less intense, diffuse emotional state not necessarily linked to a specific triggering event or policy-related object. To address this limitation, this paper draws on robust findings from political psychology to view and interpret the MSF framework through an emotional lens. Consequently, we investigate the intersections between emotions and MSF assumptions and structural elements, introducing innovative concepts such as emotional agenda (policy) window, emotional decision window, emotional (policy) entrepreneurs, and emotional policy storms (e.g., the intense policy demands shaped by the global emotional waves of #MeToo). We conclude by discussing how an emotional perspective on the MSF can help scholars generate nuanced and falsifiable hypotheses, overcome the MSF's metaphorical language, gauge when policy may be in search of a rationale, and explain ground-breaking policy changes.

Ayatollah Sistani's Emotional Entrepreneurism During the Iraqi Elections

Ali Alsayegh (M.Sc.), University of Exeter

Abstract: In the post-2003 period, in an unstable and insecure state, Iraq began its transition from Saddam Hussein's dictatorship to a more democratic form of government. This new mode of governance meant that the war-stricken country had to prepare for elections (which the United States eventually conceded to after protests from citizens, Grand Ayatollah Sistani himself, and other political actors). However, in a context where a culture of democratic electoral participation was non-existent, this necessitated a form of emotional entrepreneurism from the foremost Shi'i leader (Sistani) in Iraq, to galvanise his followers and other Shia to vote. The words of the Ayatollah 2005, would play a primary role in making voter turnout skyrocket to 75% in 2005 (Katzman, 2005: 6). Until today, his followers maintain a relatively stable participation rate in the Iraqi elections. However, the question remains of how Sistani was able to emotionally move his followers to vote, and what emotions they felt in that context.

By utilising 40 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2022 with Sistani's emulators and other seminary and academic personalities in Iraq, this paper aims to highlight the discourse that Sistani and his networks engaged in to emotionally motivate his followers to vote. The Shi'i leader did this discursively through the framing of his voting fatwa (edict) which was announced by his representatives. Through his representatives' announcements, the Ayatollah promotes the dual-obligatory nature of complying with his edict. The framing specifically invokes emotional themes of joy and hope of Allah's approval and benefits to the nation, with fear of God's punishment and harm to the nation in cases of noncompliance with the fatwa. The emulators had varying emphases on different emotions and whether obeying the marja"s edict was more of an individual spiritual duty or religio-nationalistic communitarian duty. Nevertheless, according to interviews with the followers, their motivations to mobilise and vote were fundamentally premised on Sistani's discourse on the matter. One follower did not decide to participate in the elections, though interestingly, that was also based on his interpretation of what the Ayatollah demanded of him. The paper will finally also highlight the Ayatollah's

attempts to establish a culture of electoral participation through workshops and campaigns, and how he intended to motivate non-representatives to disseminate the voting fatwa to others in society.

PANEL 11: EMOTIONAL DYNAMICS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS AND CRISES

Chair: Dr. Tereza Capelos, University of Southampton

Text Visualizing for Russian Online Discussion on Ukrainian War

Akira Sano (M.A.), University of Tsukuba

Abstract: This study analyses Russian-language comments posted on YouTube videos about the war in Ukraine by using text mining methods. The analysis results suggest the possibility to influence what individuals think and believe during the war by changing the context in digital public space. This study visualizes the YouTube comments about Ukrainian war with text mining to figure out what Russian people react to this war. Combining text analytics and political communication studies can reduce ideological biases in discussions on international conflicts. In addition, anonymous comments provided by YouTube are well suited to sensitive topics such as war. The analysis subject is Russian comments posted on the 10 most-viewed YouTube videos collected by searching videos for "украина (Ukraine)" and "война (war)" and filtering the results by highest view count. This study conducts two types of text mining methods such as co-occurrence analysis and LSS. Co-occurrence analysis visualizes the content of a sentence by connecting words that occur simultaneously in a sentence with a line. LSS is a type of semi-supervised machine learning model employing word-embedding techniques and classify words in the corpus to "negative" or "positive" categories. Conclusion: It turns out Russian users tend to associate themselves with „connections between people" or „faith in God" when referring to the war in Ukraine, but the users display a more aggressive attitude toward USA by mentioning specific names of strategic missiles or military weapons in comments regarding USA. When it comes to China, Russian users are likely to hope to co-operate on economic and business areas with China instead of military assistance. The analysis results suggest the possibility to figure out what individuals in Russia feel about USA and expect from China in the Ukrainian war

Fostering Mass Antagonisms: Empirical and Theoretical Results from the Afghanistan-Pakistan Borderlands

Dr. Johann Chacko, SOAS, University of London & Azeema Cheema, Verso Consulting

Abstract: We argue that many of the most harmful political phenomena ranging from widespread acceptance of disinformation, to polarisation, hate speech, political exclusion, democratic backsliding, etc, stem from the adoption of antagonistic modes of politics by significant segments of the population ('mass antagonisms'). Although the specifics vary from case to case, the overarching driver is a belief in a given political system's loss of legitimacy as a result of the usurpation of power from 'the people', and/or unacceptable, non-consensual changes to the social contract by 'enemies' of the people. While such intense feelings often arise from actual conditions, they can also be generated by what we call 'mass anxieties', i.e. the self-reinforcing transformation of diffuse collective worries into deeply felt grievances. In the aftermath of the 15th August 2021 Taliban takeover in Kabul the Afghanistan-Pakistan border has become a focal point for migration and instability. Market systems, security, and social cohesion in borderlands have experienced persistent disruption and economic fragility and are now struggling to cope with a new set of shocks. However, the contest over the Durand Line – as a fundamental conflict of sovereignty and legitimacy between the two countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan – continues to define the bilateral relationship. In this paper we share not only our theoretical model and its underpinnings, but empirical results from a case study of the Afghanistan-Pakistan borderlands. The data was generated from a 4-month study of current messaging by major state and non-state insurgent political actors in the region. Using frame analysis of social media and interviews we identify both the grievances articulated in messaging, and their reception by border communities. The empirical study was supported by The Asia Foundation and the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office.

The Erosion of Political Responsiveness: Unveiling the Psychological Disconnect in Western Balkan Politics

Dr. Elira Luli, Luarasi University

Abstract: This paper aims to address the concerning phenomenon of the gradual loss of psychological elements in politics within certain countries of the Western Balkans. It explores how this loss has led to a lack of responsiveness or its manipulation towards societal exigencies, frustrations, individual insecurities, and self-censorship. Structural realism, as a theoretical framework, tends to neglect weaker states and their unique structures, failing also to consider how leaders exploit and shape a political line, model or vision within the specific political culture of a weaker state. By solely focusing on powerful states, structural realism overlooks the socio-political cohesiveness, domestic structure as well as external position of weaker states within a given geographical context. In contrast, the psychological theory of the state offers valuable perspectives from the bottom-up, providing lenses to examine and understand the domain of domestic insecurity, which plays a crucial role in shaping state-society relations. It offers a comprehensive overview of the political behaviour, decision-making, and internal political outcomes within weak states, as well as their regional reverberations. This analysis takes into account the widening gap between citizens and authoritarian political dictates in some Western Balkan countries. It delves into the reasons behind this psychological disconnect, exploring how the absence of political responsiveness has contributed to a growing sense of distance and self-censorship among citizens. By examining cases of political insecurities and the subsequent decline of reactionary preferences among disillusioned populations, the study uncovers the implications of this phenomenon on democratic processes, the overall well-being of society at both the internal and regional levels, and underscores the need for renewed efforts to bridge the psychological disconnect and foster meaningful citizen participation in the political processes of these countries. It further proposes potential avenues for revitalizing political responsiveness and citizen engagement.

It Seems Tense: The Relationship of Loneliness and Perceived Social Conflict

Dr. Alexander Langenkamp, Goethe University Frankfurt

Abstract: Around the world, democracies experience a period of increased political polarization, eroding social cohesion, and fear of violence are increasingly common in western democracies. While several explanations for this development have been proposed, the role of loneliness is underinvestigated. Despite the wide spread of loneliness across modern societies and the recent surge of interest in loneliness during the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, the subject of loneliness received limited attention in sociological studies and little is known about the consequences of loneliness beyond issues for public health. Tackling this gap in the literature, this study provides empirical evidence that loneliness is associated with an alleviated perception of social tension and fear of social downfall. Empirically, the study utilises two separate datasets. First, using cross-national data from the European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS), the study shows that loneliness is positively associated with high perceived social conflicts. Furthermore, the study shows that the association is present across different domains of conflict. To be precise, loneliness is homogeneously associated with increased perceptions of social conflict between social classes, genders, age groups, races, religions, sexual orientations and managers and workers. Secondly, by analysing quota-sampled panel data collected in eight countries from September 13, 2020, until July 20, 2021, we find that rising loneliness triggers an increase in expected crime and social upheaval, indicating a causal association between both phenomena. Taken together, the paper illustrates that loneliness is a likely mechanism fostering perceived societal tensions and eroding cohesion. Implications for theory and political praxis are discussed.

Concluding Keynote Lecture: Sense of Security and Civic Responsibility: The Identity of Ukrainians in the Conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian War

Dr. Sc. Iryna Hubeladze, Institute for Social and Political Psychology of the National Academy of Educational Sciences of Ukraine

Abstract: In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the sense of security and civic responsibility among Ukrainians undergoes significant evolution, transformation and introspection. In this talk based on the empirical results I will focus on connections between Ukrainians' feeling of (in)security, level of national and civic identity and civic responsibility in follow spheres as attitudes towards state authorities, financial support, volunteering and ecological activities. In a situation of heightened sense of (in)security, both physically and symbolically, the sense of national and civic identity is actualized and becomes more pronounced. People find themselves rallying around shared cultural symbols, historical narratives, and a collective sense of belonging for keeping feeling of security. The threat posed by external aggression can strengthen the resolve of individuals to defend their homeland, increases civic responsibility and activity in different ways of life. In such conditions Ukrainians feel compelled to contribute to the defense efforts through various means, such as volunteering for military service, supporting humanitarian and ecological initiatives, or engaging in community organizations. This sense of responsibility extends beyond traditional military roles to encompass activities aimed at safeguarding societal institutions and values. At the same time in a situation of danger, the level of demands for the actions of the state and local authorities increases, the feeling of injustice and the feeling of trust and mistrust in the authorities, state institutions and various social groups intensify. Protracted nature of the conflict can also engender feelings of vulnerability and uncertainty. I hope this talk will stimulate to a discussion on what ways in which individuals and communities (using the example of Ukrainian society) navigate the complexities of conflict and strive to uphold their values and aspirations, and national identity.

BIONOTES

Akira Sano (M.A.)

Akira Sano holds a master's degree in Humanities and Social sciences Program from the University of Tsukuba. Currently, he is research Fellow at The Support for Pioneering Research Initiated by the Next-Generation program, Japan Science and Technology Agency and visiting Research Fellow at the Global Infrastructure Fund Research Foundation, Japan.

Dr. Alex Hartland

Alex Hartland is a postdoctoral researcher in the Department of Political Science with a focus on European Integration and International Relations at the University of Saarland. He completed his PhD at the University of Manchester, where he analysed the impact of lobbying and public opinion on asylum policy in Germany and the UK. His work focuses on trust, polarisation, and interest groups. He uses survey data, quantitative text analysis, experimental research designs and qualitative methods to investigate the role of institutions, lobbying and public opinion in politics and political behaviour.

Dr. Alexander Langenkamp

Alexander Langenkamp works as research associate at the Goethe University Frankfurt at the chair for quantitative empirical social science. His work is located at the intersection between social psychology and political sociology. Among other subjects, his work explores the causes and consequences of social exclusion and loneliness. In particular, he investigates the impact of loneliness and exclusion on political attitude formation and behaviour with an especial emphasis on trust, cohesion and electoral decision making.

Ali Alsayegh (M.Sc.)

PhD Researcher and Postgraduate Teaching Associate at the University of Exeter (Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies). Ali Alsayegh works on developing the 'emotional entrepreneurism' theory to help conceptually capture how political leaders build and safeguard their charismatic authority to their followers. This theory seeks to also conceptualise the interplay and interrelationship between the framing and actions of emotional entrepreneurs, the emotional reaction of their followers, and the intended form of political mobilisation.

Dr. Andréa Cullen

Andréa Cullen has extensive experience in the parliamentary environment as a committee clerk and in parliamentary strengthening work. Andréa has worked in parliaments both within and outside Australia. Her experience includes nearly ten years as a public accounts committee (PAC) clerk. She has written on various parliamentary topics including: officers of parliament; parliamentary contributions of independents; PACs; parliamentary strengthening; the art of speaking in parliament; architectural design for democracy; and civil society participation in the work of parliaments. Andréa worked with the UK PAC and its parliamentary staff as a UK Hansard Scholar. As part of parliamentary strengthening work in the Pacific region, Andréa wrote a handbook for members of the Parliament of Kiribati's PAC. Andréa authored the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association's (CPA) online course on Public Accounts Committees as part of the CPA Parliamentary Academy (launched April 2022). Andréa has a number of qualifications including a doctorate in public administration, an MBA and graduate qualifications in parliamentary law and practice and in governance.

Dr. Axel Burger

Axel Burger is a Social and Political Psychologist, who works as a senior researcher at GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences in Mannheim (Germany). He studied Psychology at the University of Tübingen (Germany) and the Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) in Niterói (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). He received his doctoral degree in 2013

from the Graduate School of Economic and Social Sciences (GESS) of the University of Mannheim. Before joining GESIS, he worked as a researcher and lecturer at the Department of Microsociology and Social Psychology of the University of Mannheim (2010-2019) and as a senior researcher at the Fraunhofer Institute for Systems- and Innovation Research (ISI) in Karlsruhe, Germany (2019-2020). Since 2020 he has worked in the team of the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) at the Department Data and Research on Society (DRS) of GESIS. In his research, he addresses topics such as the influence of emotions on decision processes, the role of personality (in particular, existential and epistemic needs) for political attitudes, attitudinal ambivalence, and voting behaviour.

Azeema Cheema

Azeema Cheema is a Founding Director at Verso Consulting where she leads the portfolio on Conflict, Fragility and Violence. Azeema has seventeen years of development sector experience. In addition to long-term positions with ADB and IRI, she has consulted for a range of multilateral, bilateral, and civil society organizations. She specializes in applied political economy and conflict sensitivity for complex programs. As a co-creator of the Mass Anxieties Project Azeema focuses on the discourse of violence and non-violence in social movements and developing communications frameworks to assist peace building. Azeema has previously served as a Visiting Faculty member in public policy at the National Defence University and presently at Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad. She currently leads research in Pakistan under the X-Border Local Research Network on fragility in local market systems and conflict dynamics in borderland communities along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

Dr. Beatriz Carbone

Beatriz Carbone is a research associate at the Chair of Political Science and Comparative European Research at Saarland University. She holds a PhD in political science from the Goethe University in Frankfurt. She is a founding principal investigator and consortium scientific manager of the horizon project "PROTEMO - Emotional dynamics of

protective policies in an age of insecurity." In PROTEMO she supports the general coordination, coordinates the general outreach, and is responsible for a deep-dive on the emotional needs for protection among migrant women of color in Germany. Beatriz Carbone is co-editor of the book series Political Ethnography (Springer). Her research interests, teaching, and publications are focused on critical whiteness studies, gender studies, immigration, and postcolonial studies.

Prof. Dr. Bethany Albertson

Bethany Lee Albertson is an American Political psychologist. She is an Associate professor of political science at the University of Texas at Austin. Her co-authored book Anxious Politics: Democratic Citizenship in a Threatening World received the Robert E. Lane Award for being the best book in political psychology published in 2015. Professor Albertson's work explores political attitudes and persuasion. Her current research relies on surveys and experiments to examine the effect of religious appeals in American politics and the relationship between emotion and cognition, with a recent focus on the role of anxiety on attitudes towards immigration.

Dr. Christopher Smith Ochoa

Dr. Christopher Smith Ochoa is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Social Work and Social Policy, University of Duisburg-Essen. His research examines questions of inequality and poverty through the prism of discourse and narrative, with a particular focus on Germany. He has published in Critical Policy Studies, Narrative Culture, and European Journal of International Security.

Dr. Conrad Ziller

Conrad Ziller is a senior researcher in the Department of Political Science at the University of Duisburg-Essen. His research interests focus on the role of immigration in politics and society, immigrant integration, policy effects on citizens, and quantitative methods.

Dr. Cristiano Gianolla

Cristiano Gianolla is a researcher at the Centre for Social Studies (CES) of the University of Coimbra (UC), where he integrates research thematic line on Democracy, Justice and Human Rights. Cristiano is the Principal Investigator of the UNPOP project (FCT, 2021-2025) and PI and WP leader at CES of PROTEMO (HEU, 2024-2026) and CO3 (HEU, 2024-2027) projects. He is a co-founding and co-coordinating member of the „Inter-Thematic group on Migrations" and coordinates the PhD course „Democratic Theories and Institutions" and the MA course „Critical Intercultural Dialogue" at the Faculty of Economics of the UC. His publications include authored and organised books, chapters and articles on democratic theory, populism, emotion, narrative, post-colonialism, intercultural dialogue, citizenship and migrations.

Dagmar Punter (M.Sc.)

Dagmar Punter is a PhD candidate at the Department of Communication and Cognition, part of the School of Humanities and Digital Sciences at Tilburg University with a background in Political Science and Conflict Studies (University of Amsterdam). Her research 'What does peace mean to you?' focuses on both everyday understandings of peace as well as political discourses around peace and the ways in which normative narratives of peace are connected to emotions.

Prof. Dr. Daniela Braun

Daniela Braun is Professor of Political Science with a specialization in European Integration and International Relations at Saarland University (USAAR). Her research interests include European Union politics, party politics, public opinion, and political behavior. So far, Daniela Braun has published her work in the following journals: European Journal of Political Research, European Union Politics, German Politics, International Political Science Review, Journal for European Integration, Journal of European Public Policy, Party Politics, West European Politics, the German journals 'Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft' and 'Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen' as well as in several edited volumes. For more information, see the chair's website. She is currently involved in two Horizon Europe projects: ActEU and UNTWIST.

Dr. Donatella Bonansinga

Donatella Bonansinga is an Associate Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University College London. Working at the intersection of political communication, political psychology and international relations, her research explores how populist parties and leaders construct and narrate contemporary (in)security to the wider public. She has authored several publications on populism and emotions, insecurity narratives, securitisation and visual communication.

Dr. Elira Luli

Elira Luli is a professor and researcher at Luarasi University, as well as a visiting lecturer at Albanian University in Tirana, Albania. She earned her doctorate in International Relations and Political Science in 2017 at European University of Tirana. She has been distinguished and awarded George C. Marshall Center Alumni Scholar and has actively participated in various international conferences. Her contributions to research in South-eastern European studies have been published in highly esteemed journals. Dr. Luli's research interests primarily revolve around European Integration, the transformation of values and norms in transitioning societies, security issues and malign influences in Western Balkan countries, the impact of corruption and clientelism in governance, good governance in the security sector, Public Diplomacy, and identity issues.

Dr. Gabriella Szabó

Gabriella Szabó (PhD) is a senior research fellow at HUN-REN Centre for Social Sciences, Budapest, Hungary. Her research interest lies in the area of political communication, expressivity, and morality.

Prof. Dr. Georg Wenzelburger

Georg Wenzelburger is a political scientist and holds the Chair of Comparative European Politics at Saarland University. His research is centered on the comparative study of public policies with a focus on Western Europe. Recent work has focused on the politics of law and order, welfare state reforms, digital politics and insecurity and has

been published in academic journals such as the British Journal of Political Science, the European Journal of Political Research, the Journal of European Public Policy or West European Politics. Wenzelburger is coordinating the Horizon Europe project PROTEMO.

Dr. Hacı Çevik

Hacı Çevik (PhD) was born in Konya Kulu. He completed his undergraduate education at Kocaeli University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration. He received his master's degree from Ankara University Department of Political Science and his PhD degree from Hacettepe University Department of Social Work with his thesis titled „Socio-Cultural Integration in the Context of Social Relations and Migration Policies: The Case of Syrian Refugees in Ankara". Between 2019-2022, he worked as a research assistant at Hacettepe University, Department of Social Work. He is currently continuing his academic studies at Potsdam University, Department of Sociology. His academic interests include ethnic discrimination and politicisation, Kurdish studies, migration and integration. He has a book titled „Are there Kurds in Konya, Kurds of Central Anatolia and the Politicisation of Kurds" published by İletişim Publications

Hana Drštičková (M.A.)

Hana Drštičková is a first year PhD student at the Sociology department, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University. She focuses on qualitative research rooted in queer studies, gender studies and disability studies. She is also a political activist and a feminist educator.

Dr. Sc. Iryna Hubeladze

Iryna Hubeladze – Dr. Sc. in Social Psychology. Acting Deputy Director on Scientific Matter and Head of the Department of Mass and Communities Psychology at the Institute for Social and Political Psychology at the National Academy if Educational Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv). President of Association of Political Psychologists of Ukraine. Author of more than 80 publications, 2 individual monographs ("Rural Youth in City: Search for Identity" (2015) and "Social Psychology of Ownership"

(2021) and 2 collective monographs, practical manual, guidelines etc. She has number of state awards, scholarship and honors (President of Ukraine Award for Young Scientists, Scholarship of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for Young Scientists etc.).

Jasper Praet (M.Sc.)

Jasper Praet is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Ghent University, Belgium. His research interests include radical right ideology, discourse, and climate politics.

Johann Chacko (M.A.)

Johann Chacko is a doctoral researcher at the Department of Politics and International Studies at SOAS, University of London and the author of a number of academic publications. He received his M.A. and B.A. in Near Eastern Studies from the University of Arizona. Johann also serves as a research fellow at the Knology think tank in New York City, and is the South Asia columnist at The National, the UAE's newspaper of record.

Prof. Dr. Katarzyna Hamer

Katarzyna Hamer is a social and political psychologist working as a professor at the Institute of Psychology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IPPAN). She is the head of Identification with All Humanity Lab (IWAHlab). Her research is mainly concerned with global social identifications, prosocial attitudes and behaviors, concern for global problems, human rights and prejudice. In her current research projects, she works on global social identifications, ways to enhance them, their predictors, and the social consequences of broad social identifications. The part of the PROTEMO project led by Katarzyna Hamer will mostly focus on a literature review, a 3-wave survey on representative samples from 11 countries, including experimental parts, and deep dive with Ukrainian migrants.

Katja Demler (M.Ed.)

Katja Demler studied social studies and chemistry for secondary school teachers at the Technical University of Kaiserslautern. After completing her Master's degree in September 2021, she worked as a research assistant at the Chair of Policy Analysis and Political Economy (Prof. Dr. Georg Wenzelburger) at the TU Kaiserslautern, where she began her doctorate in political science in April 2022 on the topic of „Crisis communication in the German multi-level system". Since January 2023, she has been employed as a research assistant at the Chair of Comparative European Studies (Prof. Dr. Georg Wenzelburger) at Saarland University and is also a doctoral scholarship holder of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. In addition to her dissertation project, she researches and teaches on topics of political communication, policy analysis and discourse network analysis.

Katja Stempel (M.A.)

Katja Stempel is a political scientist working as a doctoral research associate at Saarland University. She holds an undergraduate degree in European Studies from the University of Aberdeen in Scotland. She obtained her Master's degree from the University of Helsinki where she studied in the media and democracy track, specializing in affective polarization, democracy and democratic advancement. In Protemo, she will be analysing the role of emotion in political communication.

Laura Emmy Bieder (M.A.)

Laura Bieder is research assistant at the chair for "Public Policy and Politics of North Rhine-Westphalia", Department of Political Science, University of Duisburg-Essen. She is a PhD candidate at the chair for "The Political System of Germany and Modern Theories of the State", Department of Political Science, University of Duisburg-Essen.

Prof. Dr. Lisete Mónico

Lisete M. Mónico is a psychologist and professor at the University of Coimbra. She is a member of the Centre for Research in Neuropsychology and Cognitive and Behavioral Intervention. She is currently working on projects about emotions and social representations of psychological knowledge, cognition need and students' frames of reference. Her latest publications include social representations of entrepreneurship and perception of business ethics.

Lucía Morales Lizárraga (M.A.)

Lucía Morales Lizárraga, is a PhD Student of the Doctoral Program of Cultural Management (Gestión de la Cultura) of the University of Guadalajara, Mexico where she is part of the Digital Culture research line and her research focuses on: „Discourses on Identity of the Radical Right on Social Media: The case of the German political party Alternative for Germany (AfD) on X (Twitter)". Lucía Morales holds a Master of Arts "Roads to Democracy(ies)", an interdisciplinary program of Political Sciences, Sociology and History at the University of Siegen, Germany, where she focused on social movements and political communication, studying "Negative Campaigning in Social Media: The case of Facebook and Twitter in the 2016 US Presidential Elections". Moreover, she studied a Bachelor of International Studies at the University of Guadalajara and at Universität zu Köln, Germany.

Prof. Dr. Matthew Hayes

Matthew Hayes teaches politics, philosophy, and English at Northern Lakes College, in Alberta, Canada. For his PhD, he wrote a history of Canada's investigation of UFOs, focusing on citizen trust in government, the role of expertise, and on the rise of conspiracy theory, which he published in 2022 as Search for the Unknown, from McGill-Queen's University Press. His current research focuses on the affective dimension of conspiracy theory, and has work coming out in 2024 on, for example, emotion and the moon landing conspiracy theory.

Prof. Dr. Mikko Salmela

Mikko Salmela is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Subjectivity Research, University of Copenhagen and an Adjunct Professor of Practical Philosophy and a Member of the Helsinki Hub on Emotions, Populism, and Polarized Politics (HEPP) at the University of Helsinki.

His research interests are in empirically informed philosophy of emotion, philosophical and political psychology, philosophy of sociality, and interdisciplinarity.

Miriam Jawadi (M.A.)

Miriam Jawadi holds a Bachelor's degree in International Political Science and a Master's degree in Sociology from the University of Turin. Her research pursuits encompass a wide array of topics including organized crime, political corruption, gender equality in employment, immigration issues, democratic principles, European Union rights, social inequalities, stereotyping, and deviant behavior. She has actively engaged with numerous Italian associations dedicated to fostering civic awareness on political matters, particularly immigration and combating organized crime. Notably, she contributed to the compilation of a dossier addressing extortion and usury perpetrated by organized crime in the Turin region of Italy. She currently serves as a researcher at the Centre of Social Studies (CES) at the University of Coimbra, contributing to the European project PROTEMO (HEU 2024/2026). Her research focuses on exploring the intricate relationship between migration, protective policies, and emotions within the contexts of the Italian state and the European Union.

Monika Verbalyte (M.A.)

Monika Verbalyte, B.A. Political Science from University of Vilnius (2007); M.A. in European Sociology from Freie Universität Berlin (2010). Since 9/2020 Research Fellow at Europa-Universität Flensburg in the project "Value Conflicts in a Differentiated Europe (ValCon)". Her research interests include emotion sociology, political communication, political attitudes and behavior, European sociology, social network analysis and survey data research. She has published peer-reviewed articles in European Journal of Political Science, Comparative Sociology, Politics and Governance and Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research. She also served as a guest co-editor for special issues "When emotions run high: Affective responses to crises in Europe" and "The Emotional Side of Populist Support: Key Affective Determinants at Test.

Prof. Dr. Moshe Maor

Moshe Maor is Professor of Political Science at Reichman University and past incumbent of the Wolfson Family Chair in Public Administration at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His current research interests focus on disproportionate policy response, emotions and public policy, and bureaucratic politics. He has published a few books as well as numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals including Democratization, Disasters, European Journal of Political Research, Governance, International Review of Public Policy, Journal of Environment Policy and Planning, Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Policy Design & Practice, Policy & Politics, Policy & Society, Policy Sciences, Public Administration, and Public Administration Review.

Dr. Nagehan Tokdoğan

Nagehan Tokdoğan is a post-doc researcher at the Max Planck Institute, Center for the History of Emotions. Her research interests include politics of emotions, sociology of emotions, nationalism and authoritarianism.

Nora Habelitz (M.A.)

Nora is a doctoral researcher and research assistant at Bielefeld University in the CIDAPE project, lead by Prof. Dr. Sonja Blum. In her Phd she will analyze the role of emotions in climate policy narratives, comparing the cases of Germany and Italy. Previously, she worked for Hans Böckler Foundation in Berlin in projects dealing with the future of work and Just Transition. She studied Social sciences at Humboldt University Berlin (B.A. and M.A.), Universidad Complutense de Madrid and King's College London.

Prof. Dr. Peter Starke

Peter Starke is professor (with special responsibilities) at the Danish Centre for Welfare Studies, University of Southern Denmark. He studies comparative political economy and public policy. He leads the Velux Core Research Group "The Politics of Insecurity" (POINS)

Prof. Dr. Rosa Sanchez Salgado

Rosa Sanchez Salgado is Associate Professor in European Politics at the Political Sciences Department at the University of Amsterdam. In her research she focuses on the role of emotions in European Policy-making, and on the relations between European institutions, interest groups and civil society organizations. She has published two books and +30 articles in peer-reviewed journals on these topics, including top journals such as Journal of Common Market Studies, West European Politics and Policy Sciences.

Dr. Seray Kumlu

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