



**Call for Papers "The European Green Deal: moving to action  
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**THE EU GREEN DEAL AND CLIMATE DIPLOMACY WITH COUNTRIES FROM THE GLOBAL  
SOUTH: EXPLORING DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF CLIMATE THREAT THROUGH ANXIETY  
EMOTION**

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This study seeks to add the emotional dimension to the analysis of climate diplomacy and shows how anxiety expands explanations about the framing of the climate change threat as well as serves as mobilizing power for different actors. The analysis is focused on highlighting the important characteristics of climate security framing prevailing in the EU and developing countries from the Global South and relate them to potential directions of successful cooperation in climate diplomacy. The literature of emotional turn in international relations and theories of politics of anxiety allow us to assume that anxiety manifests in climate resilience policies and affects actors' reaction to this threat. Based on the theories of the institutionalization of emotions and politics of anxiety, the paper seeks to reveal: How anxiety explains the framing of the climate change threat prevailing in the EU and the Global South countries? What anxiety based reaction mechanisms are evoked and what it means for climate diplomacy? What common ground does the provoked reaction mechanism provide for climate diplomacy and cooperation between the EU and developing countries from Global South? The National adaptation plans of the EU and developing countries are analysed by implementing discourse analysis in order to compare the different framings of the climate change threat. Based on the analysis of data and its interpretation in the framework of the chosen theoretical approach, the network of NGO's connecting the EU and developing countries is proposed as a potential tool of climate diplomacy establishing more inclusive and equal partnership based cooperation.

### **Social Media summary**

The study adds an emotional dimension to the analysis of climate diplomacy. In the framework of the theory of the institutionalization of emotions and politics of anxiety the paper seeks to reveal how anxiety explains the framing of the climate change threat prevailing in the EU and the Global South countries and what common ground it provides for the climate diplomacy and cooperation between the EU and developing countries. Based on the analysis of national adaptation plans and its interpretation in the framework of chosen theoretical approach, the network of NGO's connecting the EU and developing countries is proposed as a potential tool of climate diplomacy establishing more inclusive and equal partnership based cooperation.

### **Keywords**

#Anxiety #ClimateDiplomacy #GlobalSouth #TheEuropeanGreenDeal

### **Short bio**

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## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2. Theoretical background: institutionalization of emotions and politics of anxiety</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>3. Methodology</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>4. Data analysis and interpretation: Two narratives of the climate change threat</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Policy Recommendation: A tool for climate diplomacy: NGOs network of the EU and Global South as a community of climate security practices</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>5. Conclusion</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>6. Reference list</b>	<b>19</b>

## Table of Figures

<i>Figure 1. The scheme of process of institutionalization of emotions</i> .....	9
<i>Figure 2. The list of the documents included in the analysis</i> .....	10
<i>Figure 3. The ratio of coded segments found in cognitive, behavioural and affective levels of analysis</i> .....	13
<i>Figure 4. Narratives of the climate change threat revealed by the analysis</i> .....	14
<i>Figure 5. The institutionalization of anxiety in NAPs of the EU and the developing countries</i> ...	15

## List of Tables

<i>Table 1. The coding scheme</i> .....	11
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## 1. Introduction

Uncertainty, fear and hope to control the future became an inseparable part of our current political reality. Such feelings constitute the state of anxiety which seems to be our constant emotion in the face of various global threats and the goal to strengthen security. Climate change is not an exception with a wide variety of emotions ranging from fear and anger to love and hope to save both our planet and future generations. Anxiety seems to be a fundamental emotional state in the case of the climate change threat as humanity faces unprecedented uncertainty, many abstract fears and complex threats that make the world constantly anxious. Emmy Eklundh, Emmanuel-Pierre Guittet and Andreja Zevnik state that we live in an anxious time, if anxious means an uncertainty about the future, and a present discomfort caused by this uncertainty (Eklundh, Zevnik & Guittet, 2017).

It shows that anxiety can not only be considered as an exceptional emotion which should be taken into account when interpreting our current political reality but also can provide additional explanations for security studies and diplomacy. For example, it is stated that anxiety is an important element in threat perception as actors are perceiving and reacting to particular threats from the state of anxiety (Eklundh, Zevnik & Guittet, 2017). More importantly, actors experience emotions, anxiety including, differently, that is to say, can have different sources of anxiety or take different measures in order to control it. Developing countries from the Global South and its perception of climate change are of vital importance as their vulnerability to climate change reveals not only the highest manifestation of anxiety but also presents the nexus between climate change and security issues. In other words, it shows how changing climate conditions intensifies various security issues such as food shortage, migration, conflicts and violence.

The definition of climate change as a security threat multiplier is not questionable anymore and calls for deeper research of how the global community can help developing countries to fight these challenges. The EU in recently adopted conclusions on climate and energy diplomacy stated that the community should focus more on the climate security nexus and contribute to providing solutions for countries from the Global South that face these risks at the highest intensity (The Council of the European Union, 2021). It becomes clear that the role of the EU in the face of climate change is not only to ensure their internal security but also to export its sustainability practices behind the borders. However, it is admitted that as for now the EU lacks a coordinated approach to global climate security and thus more clear directions in climate diplomacy are needed (Youngs, 2021).

Anxiety, as the constant state of the world facing climate change, can help to expand understanding of how actors perceive this global challenge and how it can mobilize their efforts to establish new measures of adaptation. As the threat calls for exceptional cooperation and global efforts to find common solutions, it is important to investigate in more depth how actors perceive both specific threats rising due to climate change and opportunities to fight them. The EU Green Deal is highly important here as it can provide a wide variety of measures as well as new behavioural norms which would help to reduce the impacts of climate change and turn the world to the greener path. Implementing successful climate diplomacy measures requires a complex understanding of how the threats are perceived by different actors, namely, countries from the Global South, and how it can lead to common grounds for cooperation. The analysis from the emotional approach provides this additional perspective of the research as it takes into consideration anxiety emotional state as the constitutive element of the framing of climate change threat and related solutions. The literature of the emotional turn in international relations and the



theories of politics of anxiety allow us to assume that anxiety manifests in security policies and affects actors' reaction to specific threats (Eklundh, Zevnik & Guittet, 2017). In other words, the anxiety state becomes institutionalized in security practices and frames security strategies which can either paralyze and seek for isolation or mobilize and encourage cooperation (Eklundh, Zevnik & Guittet, 2017). In the case of the EU Green Deal and its potential to unite more closely the EU with partners from Global South, the latter direction of the anxiety as mobilizing power becomes important.

The research of emotions in international politics states that emotionality was avoided for a long time due to the difficulties to theorize it and find suitable methodological tools. However, during the last decade studies showed that emotions should not only be understood as private phenomena which relates to individuals specific bodies but also as collective moods which are an inseparable part of the processes and events in international politics (Mercer, 2014). Emotions manifest in various groups of society as well as political institutions and structures their perceptions and behaviours (Ross, 2014). For instance, Neta C. Crawford demonstrated how fear can be institutionalized in military doctrine or how empathy can be institutionalized in diplomacy practices (Crawford, 2014). That is to say, emotions are embedded in the political institutions and explain how actors perceive particular threats as well as potential tools to solve them. On the basis of the emotional turn, the theory of politics of anxiety was developed which deepened the understanding of how specific emotional state such as anxiety become embedded in our society as well as political institutions. Emmy Eklundh, Emmanuel-Pierre Guittet and Andreja Zevnik presented two logics of anxiety which explains why actors reacting from this emotion, one the one hand, can become frightened and isolated or, on the other hand, can be mobilized to fight specific risks (Eklundh, Zevnik & Guittet, 2017). Felix Berenskotter expanded the explanations by providing specific mechanisms of behavior showing how actors' control anxiety through numbers, narratives and practices (Berenskotter, 2020). Last but not least, the concept of resilience becomes highly important here as an inseparable part of an anxious state. Mark Neocleous argues that the creation of various resilience policies proves that the anxiety is prevailing in our current political reality as actors are seeking to move from the state of uncertainty to certainty (Neocleous, 2017).

This research field opens the space to investigate in more depth how anxiety helps to explain perceptions of climate change threats prevailing in the EU and developing countries as well as how they can be mobilized to find common solutions and implement climate diplomacy measures successfully. Based on this theoretical ground the paper seeks to reveal:

- How anxiety explains the framing of the climate change threat prevailing in the EU and the Global South countries;
- What anxiety based reaction mechanisms are evoked and what it means for climate diplomacy;
- What common ground does the provoked reaction mechanism provide for climate diplomacy and cooperation between the EU and developing countries?

Firstly, the study demonstrates how anxiety becomes institutionalized in climate resilience policies of the EU and countries from the Global South and what similarities as well as differences it reveals about the climate change related risks. Secondly, based on the theory, it needs to be explained which anxiety related reaction mechanism is evoked and what measures for climate diplomacy between the EU and countries from the Global South it can provide. The National adaptation plans of the EU and developing countries are analysed by implementing discourse



analysis in order to compare the different framings of the climate change threat. Based on the analysis of data and its interpretation in the framework of the chosen theoretical approach, the potential solution-tool for climate diplomacy is offered.

The paper seeks to add the emotional dimension to the analysis of climate diplomacy and show how anxiety expands explanations about framing of the climate change threat as well as serves as mobilizing power for different actors. The first part of the paper explains in more depth the theory of anxiety and its institutionalization in climate resilience policies as well as methodology and empirical data while the second part presents the conducted analysis and explains its relation to behavioural mechanisms of anxiety. The analysis is focused on highlighting the important characteristics of climate security framing prevailing in the EU and developing countries and relate them to potential directions of successful cooperation in climate diplomacy.

## **2. Theoretical background: institutionalization of emotions and politics of anxiety**

Emotions are constitutive elements of the security policy as it affects how the danger is interpreted by the actors and what security strategies are formulated based on these interpretations (Hutchinson & Bleiker, 2014). According to the theory of politics of anxiety, it is assumed that this emotion becomes prevalent and inseparable from the international community facing the climate change crisis. Therefore, actors not only react to this threat from the state of anxiety but also spread it to their climate security policies and practices which reveals their understanding of the climate change threats as well as potential solutions. As Janice Gross Stein states, emotion is an assimilation mechanism that influences the selection and interpretation of evidence in threat perception (Stein, 2013). Emmy Eklundh, Emmanuel-Pierre Guittet and Andreja Zevnik specifies that particularly anxiety can lead to positive change and work as a mobilizing power in global security as it encourages actors to seek the control of their future in the face of uncertainty (Eklundh, Zevnik & Guittet, 2017). Climate change presents a wide variety of different threats ranging from increased humanitarian crises, conflicts to changing trade practices and other economic issues. It is undoubtedly the greatest uncertainty that humanity faces which embodies both abstract existential threats and specific dangers (Rumelili, 2020). Hence, it is important to define theoretically how this anxiety can become embedded in climate security practices and what mobilisation mechanisms it can provide for global cooperation.

Neta C. Crawford presents the theory of institutionalisation of emotions meaning that specific emotions manifests in various policies and legitimizes specific security measures. According to Crawford, the dominant beliefs and feelings of the group are institutionalized - translated and embodied into practices and procedures designed to meet emotional needs and organizational goals (Crawford, 2014). Emotions structure the organization of knowledge (e.g. intelligence gathering) and threat assessment and the development of standard operating procedures and routines for handling challenges. It is also stated that when institutionalization occurs, the framing of the problems and solutions are normalized which allows us to assume that institutionalization of anxiety in climate change policies affects how the threat is perceived and what solutions are provided.



The theory of institutionalization of emotions shows the process of how specific emotion embeds into policies (*Picture 1*) from initial context/situation and continues to the evaluation of the threat from the lenses of this emotion as well as institutionalized responses such as diplomacy, arms racing or alliance building (Crawford, 2014). The context of the climate-security nexus provides a significant space of the anxiety manifestation as it embodies the greatest and fast rising risks such as natural disasters, conflicts, food insecurity and migration. As climate change intensifies these threats, international actors establish climate security policies as a reaction to these threats and possible solutions. Therefore, anxiety should become embedded in climate security practices and frame the perception of related threats and reaction to them.

Another important part is the theorization of anxiety which provides the ground for explanation of how this institutionalized emotion can encourage specific behaviour and potential cooperation. Emmy Eklundh, Andreja Zevnik and Emanuel-Pierre Guittet presents two logics of anxiety of which one frightens and paralyzes individuals while the other mobilises them to change the status quo (Eklundh, Zevnik & Guittet, 2017). That is to say, in the circumstances of rising anxiety actors seek to reduce the uncertainty by establishing various control measures and other security policies which provide society the feeling of stability and safety. According to the authors, such control measures of anxiety can either paralyze society and other actors or encourage their mobilization to fight and protest against expanding control measures. The theory is deepened by Felix Berenskotter who presents additional mechanisms of anxiety control, namely, numbers, practices and narratives (Berenskotter, 2020). Berenskotter argues that actors seek to control the anxiety and move from uncertainty to certainty by establishing various practices, narratives or numbers. It is also stated that these mechanisms implicate specific types of agencies that direct social-political order and explain behavior of international actors. Emancipatory agency relates to the subject's ambition to change the political system radically while the creative-constitutive agency encourages creating the new mechanisms and forms of behaviour. The last is a muted agency that functions within existing structures and reproduces them with no creative power. These types of agency based on anxiety controlling mechanisms shows how this emotion can contribute to empowerment of actors and new measures in the face of specific threats.

Anxiety also closely relates to the concept of resilience. As Mark Neocleous states, the resilience concept is an inseparable part of the anxious state (Neocleous, 2017). Actors control their uncertainty by establishing resilience strategies which allow them to plan the future, anticipate potential scenarios and thus create the feeling of safety. According to Neocleous, by creating resilience strategies, we admit the prevailing anxiety and embody it through related policies and practices (Neocleous, 2017). Global cooperation on climate change clearly reflects this theoretical assumption as resilience plans for climate adaptation are one of the most important political measures for all international community. Although such policy documents are meant to establish resilience to changing climate through specific goals and measures, they also demonstrate how actors seek to control the future by foreseeing potential scenarios and thus embody the state of anxiety. Therefore, it can be assumed that by establishing resilience measures such as national adaptation plans countries seek to create the feelings of certainty and security which shows prevailing anxiety.

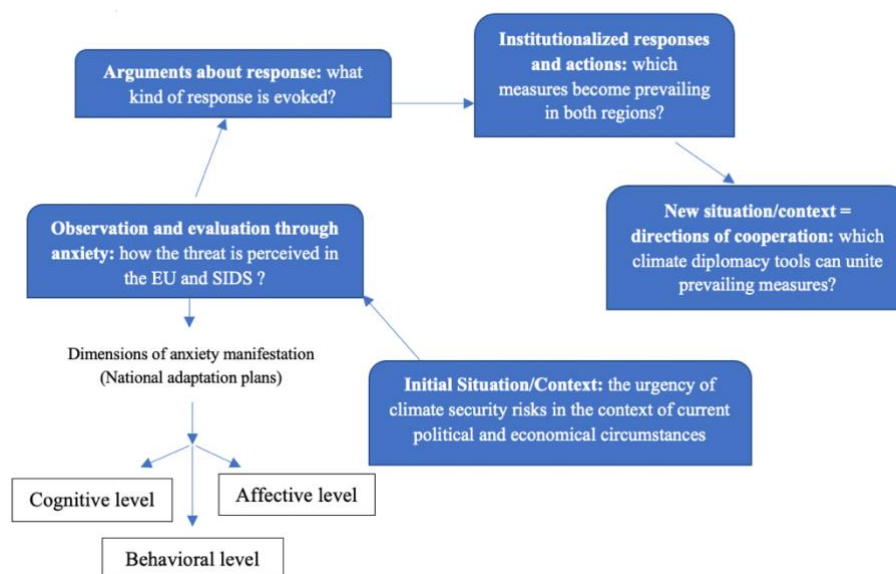
Theories of institutionalization of emotions as well as anxiety based behaviour mechanisms allow us to assume that this emotional state should not only manifest in resilience-related policies but also should explain specific framing of the problems and related strategies. As the climate security related threats might be differently framed and prioritized by partners from the Global





South, it is important to reveal what are the greatest sources of anxiety for these vulnerable countries and what anxiety controlling measures become prevailing in their fragile environment.

*Figure 1. The scheme of process of institutionalization of emotions*



*Source: The scheme created by the author based on the schematic of the institutionalization of emotions (Crawford, 2014)*

### 3. Methodology

The methodological tools of emotional discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis were chosen based on the research of emotions in international relations. Regina Heller demonstrates how manifestation of anger in foreign policy can be revealed by qualitative content analysis in three levels of analysis where emotions can be explored: cognitive, behavioural and affective (Heller, 2017). The emotional discourse analysis (EDA) is used as a complementary methodological tool which allows to extract emotional potential of the text (Koschut, 2017). EDA becomes important in the affective level of qualitative content analysis which seeks to show the intensity of specific emotion in the discourse. As EDA is focused on affective tools of the discourse such as emotional terms, intensifying linguistic markers, metaphors and analogies, it is used to reveal the affective level of analysed data more comprehensively.

The analysis was implemented by analysing national adaptation plans of the EU and developing countries provided in the data base of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. As the theory states, resilience policies embody anxiety and reveal how actors affected by this emotional state frame and react to the specific threat. National adaptations plans (NAPs) by the EU and developing countries submitted in English language were analysed (Picture 2). At the last stage of analysis findings from NAPs of developing countries were compared with



that of the EU in order to reveal significant tendencies and relate them to the theoretical ground of anxiety.

*Figure 2. The list of the documents included in the analysis*



*Source: The list created by the author based on data provided by the United Nations Climate Change (UNFCCC, 2021) and European Commission (EC, 2021)*

The MAXQDA program was used in order to code expressions found in NAPs as elements of anxiety in cognitive, behavioural and affective levels. The first part of the analysis was focused on the task of the research to show how anxiety is institutionalized in climate resilience policies and how it frames the climate change related threats specific for the region.

The table below (*Table 1*) presents how cognitive, affective and behavioural levels relate to specific codes that were formulated based on theorization of anxiety. The codes allowed to capture the elements of the anxiety prevailing in NAPs of the EU and developing countries, however, during the analysis additional coded segments were distinguished for the regions. The second part of the analysis was focused on the contextualization of the findings and the task to explain which anxiety related behaviour mechanism is activated and its implications for potential tools of climate diplomacy.



*Table 1. The coding scheme*

<b>A. Code category: Cognitive level</b> (verbalized mental representation about the problem=frames)	<b>Semantic indicators/questions for qualitative text analysis</b>	<b>Implications for the interpretation of data</b>
A1. Judgement about the situation and the most urgent threats	How is the current situation evaluated? What threats are prioritized? What fears and risks are emphasized?	- Elements of the perception of climate change threat prevailing in developing countries; - Elements of the perception of climate change threat prevailing in the EU; - Similarities/differences in framing of the climate change threat.
A2. Emphasis on time	How time expressions are used to cause and circulate anxiety? How does it prove the manifestation of anxiety?	
A3. Emphasis on uncertainty	In what context uncertainty is emphasized? How is it perceived and presented in the context of the general problem?	
<b>B. Code category: Behavioural level</b> (reaction and move from uncertainty to certainty/control)		
B1. The need of resilience	How is the need for resilience presented? What does it mean for legitimization of provided measures?	- Behavioural strategies that become prevailing in order to control the situation and establish resilience; - Problems/opportunities in the context of framed climate change risks and solutions provided.
B2. The measures of resilience	What tendencies and behavioural patterns become prevailing in the context of specific measures presentation?	
<b>C. Code category: Affective level</b> (intensification)		
Dramatization (emotional expressions, intensifying linguistic markers, comparisons, connotations)	How is anxiety strengthened through the use of emotional discourse? How specific emotional expressions relate to the state of anxiety? How negative connotations are used in order to encourage the state of anxiety?	- The intensity of the use of anxiety-related terms and expressions; - The intensity of anxiety circulation.

*Source: The table created by the author based on the coding system of qualitative content analysis (Heller, 2017)*



#### **4. Data analysis and interpretation: Two narratives of the climate change threat**

The analysis revealed that anxiety and elements related to this emotional state are highly prevailing in the resilience strategies of the EU and developing countries. It shows that such policies present the clear institutionalization of anxiety in climate security strategies and its relation to actors' perception of climate change risks revealed through cognitive, behavioural and affective levels.

Firstly, the anxiety is institutionalized in resilience strategies of both regions through the intensive dramatization revealed in the affective level as well as frequent emphasis on uncertainty, time and the need to create resilience. The affective state of anxiety was strengthened by using related emotional expressions, negative connotations and intensifying linguistic markers. It demonstrates how this emotional state becomes dominant in analysed climate adaptation policies and serves as the foundation on which resilience measures are built. Furthermore, it was revealed that the resilience strategies of both developing countries and the EU frequently invokes the reference to the uncertain future, complex risks that are especially difficult to foresee and control.

Expressions such as *urgent, high level of uncertainty, especially urgent, unpredictability* are used in order to encourage anxiety as describing the threats of climate change. By creating specific scenarios and tools actors seek to move from uncertainty to certainty. That is to say, as anxiety is circulated by reference to urgency of time and uncertain future, the anticipation of specific measures and solutions provide more certainty and the feeling of safety. However, it becomes clear that in the case of developing countries the feeling of safety is more superficial as most of the solutions are hard to implement due to the often emphasized high vulnerability to climate change and the lack of adaptation tools, namely, skills or innovative data management technologies. As for the EU, the feeling of safety and the move from uncertainty to certainty is more based on the global leadership role. Even though the internal adaptation measures are also presented, the resilience strategy of the EU is strongly focused on the international solidarity and potential to export sustainability knowledge to global partners.

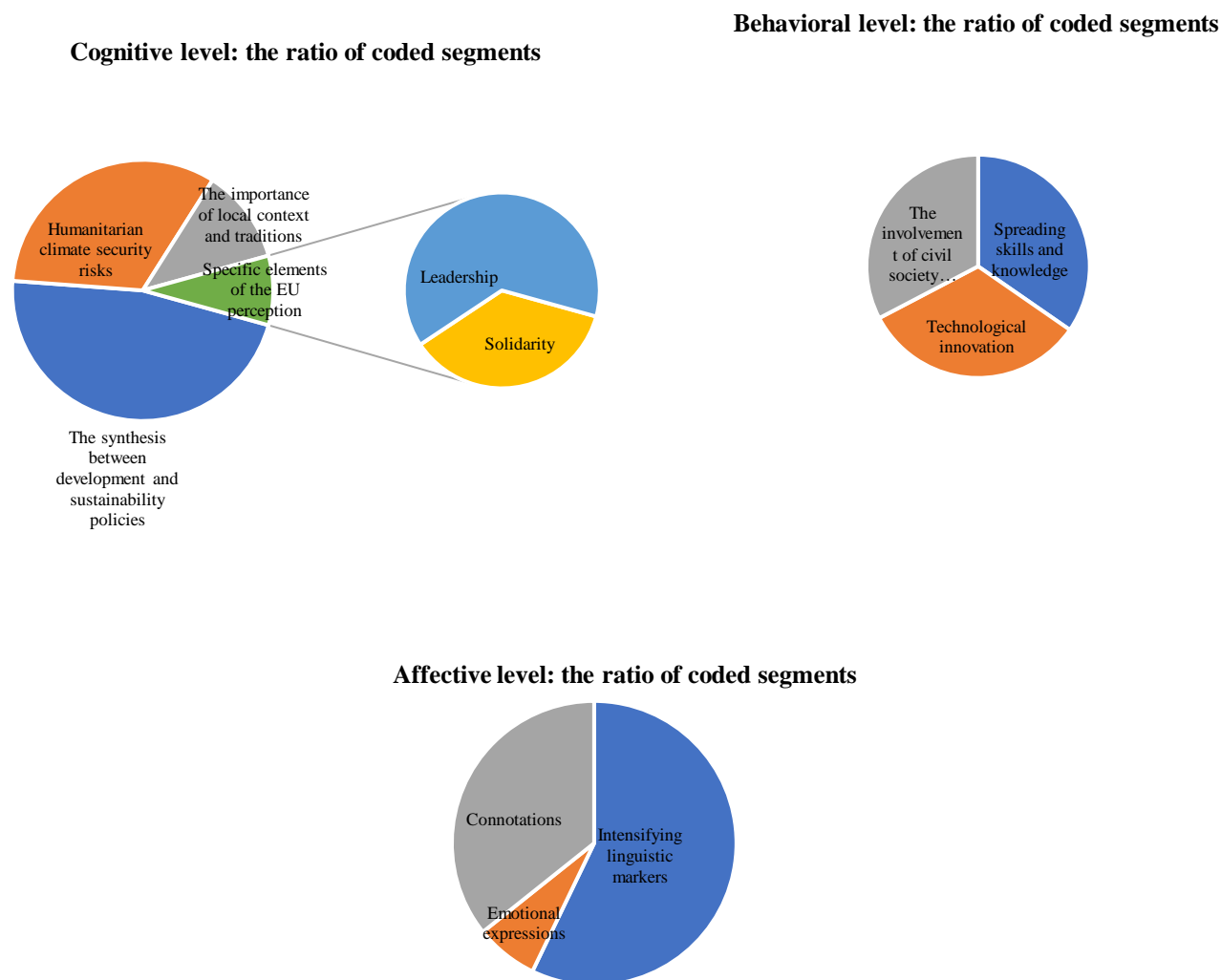
Therefore, it becomes clear that institutionalized anxiety in the case of the EU seeks to establish safety not only by controlling the internal climate related security environment but also by taking the leader's role on the international arena. In the case of developing countries, institutionalized anxiety in the resilience policies encourages specific planning and anticipation of concrete measures which mostly are impossible to be put in practice without specific skills, knowledge or information.

Moreover, some significant differences between the perceived urgency and risks of climate change related threats are found. The EU presents the understanding of climate adaptation measures as a possibility to implement innovations, develop new technologies and successful practices, while developing countries clearly experience more anxiety due to the rising climate security risks. In the resilience policies of developing countries the most significant threats become those related to scarce resources, such as water, food, as well as extinction of various species and damage to marine life. Such threats clearly become the first priority for vulnerable countries which face these risks at the level of highest intensity. Another significant source of anxiety in developing regions is the fear that climate change as well as adaptation measures will negatively affect their economic development and achieved progress. National adaptation plans of Global South countries strongly emphasize the negative impact of climate change damage to their infrastructure,



tourism and other sectors, however, also highlighting the need to implement those resilience tools which allow them to continue their economic improvement instead of impeding it. The analysis also showed that the biggest anxieties are focused on the lack of available adaptation tools and skills related to data management, institutional coordination or staff training. For example, it is often mentioned that the lack of data and technological tools allowing us to gather and coordinate information impedes the implementation of the foreseen measures. The untrained personnel and the lack of skills in specific green technologies of various sectors, namely, farming, water management, also poses the risk for successful adaptation. The graphs below (*Figure 3*) represent the ratio of coded segments found in distinguished three levels of analysis.

*Figure 3. The ratio of coded segments found in cognitive, behavioural and affective levels of analysis*

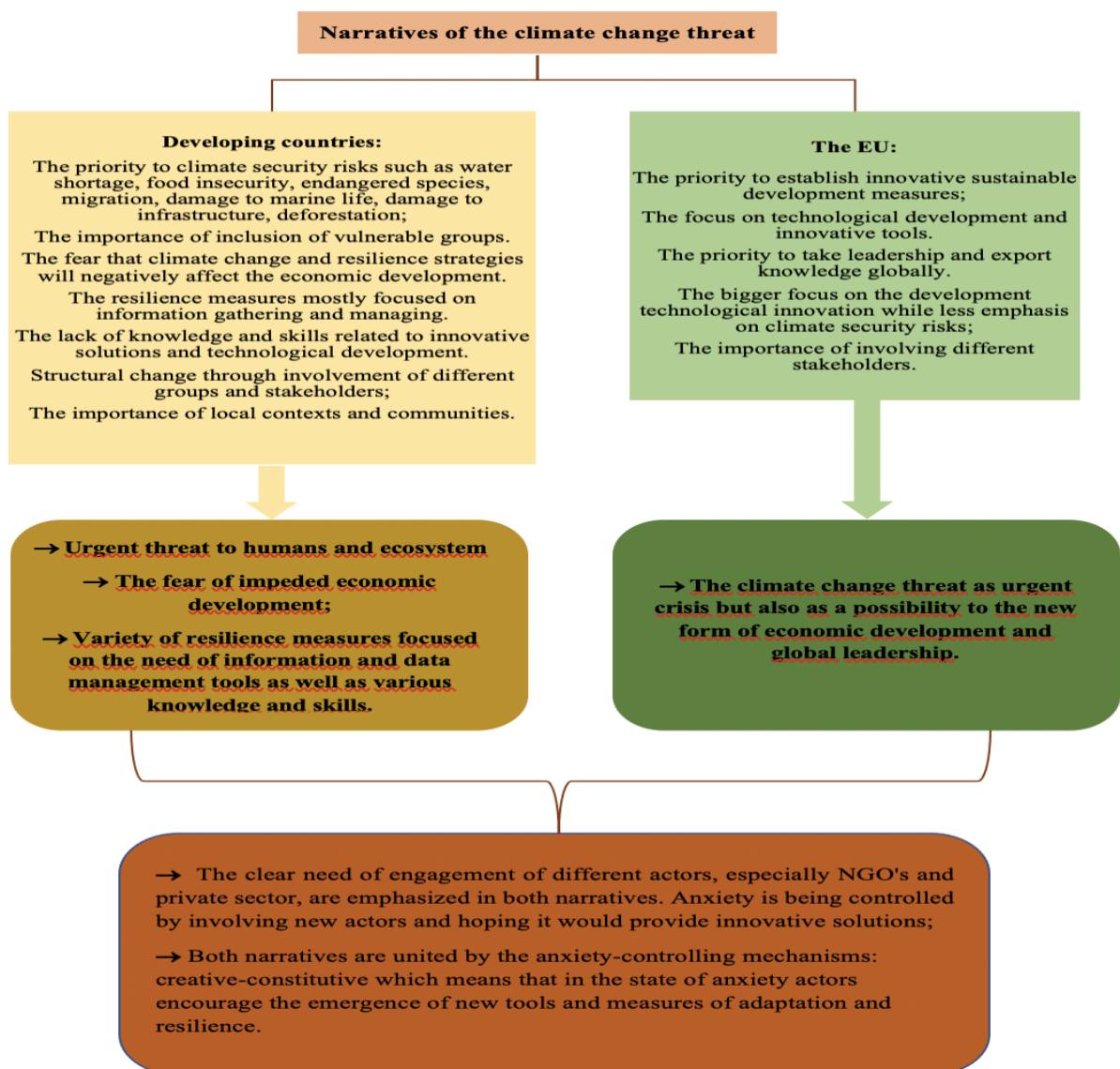


*Source: Graphs created by the author based on the analysed data*



The analysis revealed strong anxiety manifestation in national adaptation plans of both EU and Global South regions. There is a clear sense of uncertainty going together with commitment to reduce it by providing specific scenarios, planning and measures of adaptation. This state is institutionalised in resilience policies and circulated strongly through frequent emotional expressions related to urgency, time, uncertain and fragile future as well as negative connotations and intensifying linguistic markers. The interpretation of anxiety manifestation in resilience strategies allows to reveal characteristics of threat perception specific to developing countries and the EU which presents two narratives of climate security.

Figure 4. Narratives of the climate change threat revealed by the analysis



Source: The graph created by the author based on the contextualisation of analysed data

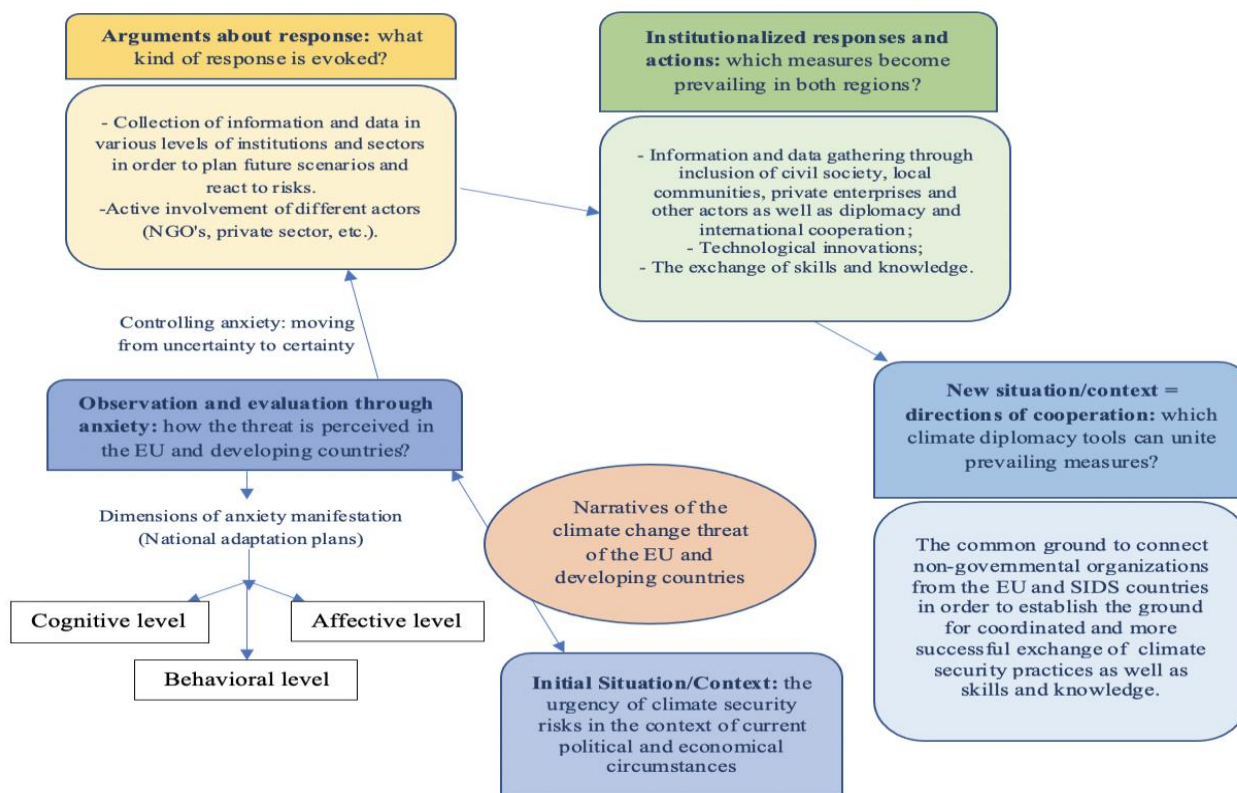


The revealed differences are connected by the understanding of this anxious state as the potential to mobilize different actors and harness their knowledge in order to establish new development and adaptation mechanisms. The theories of anxiety argue that this emotional state can encourage creative potential in actors which means that new mechanisms and measures are harnessed in order to overcome the threat (Berenskotter, 2020).

The analysis shows how in the face of climate change threat the need of management and coordination of various data, namely, risks in specific households, meteorological data or skills and knowledge related to farming practices become highly important. Based on the theoretical assumptions, it can be argued that anxiety encourages actors to focus on information and data gathering which would allow them to control the future scenarios more efficiently and adapt to potential risks. Next to this strategy the creative-constitutive potential of the anxiety is revealed as the goal to manage and coordinate information is clearly based on the engagement of different actors ranging from civil society, vulnerable groups to private sector. It gives countries the hope that new measures and ideas will be brought in the resilience strategies which would potentially guarantee more successful and effective adaptation.

The analysis can be concluded by demonstrating how analysed data allows to interpret the theory based scheme that was presented in the theoretical background of anxiety institutionalization and its potential for creating the tools for climate diplomacy (Figure 5):

Figure 5. The institutionalization of anxiety in NAPs of the EU and the developing countries



Source: The scheme created by the author based on the theoretical interpretation of analysed data



## **Policy Recommendation: A tool for climate diplomacy: NGOs network of the EU and Global South as a community of climate security practices**

The interpretation of analysis shows that the perceptions of the Global South region and the EU climate change threat reveals not only prevailing differences but also a common understanding that the anxiety can be controlled by engaging different actors, namely, civil-society organizations, various NGO's or private sector which would provide innovative solutions and necessary knowledge as well as skills.

Taking into consideration the presented results, the climate diplomacy of the EU with countries from the Global South and related tools should be based on the understanding that the largest concern for developing countries are climate security risks threatening their ecological environment, food and water resources to which solutions require innovative technologies related to data gathering and coordination as well as skills and knowledge of sustainable practices in various sectors. For example, communities need to acquire knowledge on how practices of farming should be climate conscious and how to adapt them to changing the environment. However, it should also be taken into consideration that in developing countries prevails a profound lack of these skills and knowledge as well as potential for developing technological innovations which make the presented resilience strategies and measures hard to put into practice. Hence, the niche for climate diplomacy and cooperation opens up which would allow the transfer and sharing of both technological innovations and skills.

The network connecting NGO's from the EU and partners from Global South could be one of the possible ways to establish more coordinated cooperation as well as the spread of technological innovations and sharing of specific practices. It could work as a community of climate security practices connecting NGO's from the EU and the Global South which concentrates specific sectors in need and shares good practices in order to improve adaptation and resilience of participating actors. The similar framework is established on the global level connecting NGOs working on climate change from all around the world, however, the network concentrates organization on the abstract level and fields (Climate Action Network (CAN), 2021). The network connecting NGO's from the EU and partners from the Global South could focus on the specific areas in need where the knowledge, skills and practices of the EU could be transferred to developing countries. For instance, the exchange of technological innovations related to meteorological data or specific farming practices could be implemented through mediation of the network connecting NGO's from the EU and developing countries.

The need to share good practices in the climate change challenge is widely admitted, however, it stays on the abstract level as it is not oriented to specific sectors and needs. The EU-Global South NGO's community of practice could distinguish and foresee specific sectors of developing countries that are in the biggest need of particular skills, knowledge or technologies. The cooperation would manifest in connecting organizations from the EU which could provide these skills or innovations to their partners in the Global South. Under the network of community of practice, vulnerable countries could harness the common network of civil-society organizations in the EU which would help to find and transfer the necessary skills and innovations. Such cooperation in specific cases would allow us to attack vulnerabilities in a more concrete way and have more coordinated cooperation among civil societies from different regions. The establishment of one specific network of NGO's cooperation between the EU and developing





countries would provide a more focused and coordinated approach to climate diplomacy between the regions.

Furthermore, such a solution would take into consideration the problematic points of the perception of the climate change threat revealed in the analysis. As the analysis showed, there is a strong need to gather and systematize large amounts of various information ranging from different skills, namely, related to institutional transformation, specific practices in food, water or education sectors. Firstly, this network would concentrate civil society organizations interested in spreading potentially successful climate security practices and tools which could be transferred to the partners in Global South. Moreover, it would empower a larger participation of the civil society that emerges as one of the main mechanisms through which the rising anxiety is being controlled. The important thing here is that not only does it reflect the clearly established need to engage non-governmental actors but also solves the specific threats that are prevailing in vulnerable countries. For example, the need to take into consideration the local context, such as traditions and perceptions of indigenous people, would be better represented as NGO' from developing countries would include the local needs into practices that are suggested and implemented. This community of practice would encourage the framework of cooperation which is based on equal partnership and more inclusive environment where the bigger attention to specific needs of developing countries would be taken into account.

## **5. Conclusion**

Anxiety is not only the prevailing condition of our current times but also can help to reveal how actors perceive specific global threats such as climate crisis. Even though this emotional state is prevailing in both regions of the EU and developing countries, it creates distinct narratives of the climate change threat. Europe is seeking to act as a global leader of sustainable policies and export ideas of the Green Deal abroad, however, there is still a lack of coordinated approach to climate security issues and specific tools empowering the exchange of beneficial practices, knowledge or innovations. Countries in developing countries may not only find the exceptional value of the ideas presented in the Green Deal but also become great partners in practices and skills exchange.

The study sought to reveal how anxiety becomes embedded into National Adaptation plans of the EU and how the goal to control this anxiety emancipates creative power and establishes new mechanisms of the resilience policies. The theory of anxiety in international relations allows us to assume that in the face of such a threat actors become anxious and seek to control the future, implement planning and foresee various scenarios. As the analysis of National adaptation plans revealed, it is clearly the case in both regions of the EU and Global South. Therefore, NAPs show how the anxiety is institutionalized in resilience policies and creates two narratives of the EU and developing countries about climate change threat. Based on the data analysis and its relation to the theory, the NGO's community of practice of the EU and developing countries is proposed as a potential tool of climate diplomacy.

The analysis showed that countries are not only anxious in the face of intensifying climate risks and institutionalize the anxiety in their resilience policies but also create specific strategies based on this emotional state. The analysis also demonstrated that the EU and developing countries



are anxious in different forms which results in distinct narratives of the climate change threat. The EU frames the problem as urgent and frightening, however, the emphasis is put on the global leadership and solidarity as well as preparedness to help partners in developing countries. The latter face the higher intensity of the anxiety as they are at the front line of the climate security risks and, moreover, feel the fear of its negative impacts to their economic development. Even though specific measures and strategies are foreseen, they are hard to put into practice due to the lack of knowledge, specific skills and innovation. However, the important thing that analysis revealed is that both the EU and developing countries seek to control this anxious state by establishing creative mechanisms as measures and seeking to involve in solutions different actors and groups.

As these narratives become established, actors create a sense of security and in this way control the negative side of anxiety. However, the positive side of such an emotional state is that it encourages us to act more actively in fighting specific risks and seek for new measures of resilience. Therefore, based on the theory of anxiety controlling mechanisms, the constitutive-creative power of the anxiety is revealed which leads to more inclusive tools of climate diplomacy. Anxious actors seek to gather and systemize as much various information as possible and use it in order to predict the future as well as prepare for changes and disasters. Such a situation clearly leads countries to harness all potential actors, such as NGO's or private sector, and encourage their participation in order to access different information, practices, knowledge and skills. The anxiety, in this case, might become a mobilizing power leading to new forms of cooperation as well as innovative policies and tools solving the climate change crisis.

#### *Policy Recommendations*

- This interpretation may prove its value for the EU formulating a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to global climate security risks. It revealed the challenges of resilience measures in developing countries which are hard to put into practice due to the strong need for specific skills and technologies.
- It also revealed the opportunity for the EU to step in here and strengthen climate diplomacy focused on the exchange of specific practices, knowledge and innovations related to climate security risks. Strong resilience requires not only financial aid and climate funds but also the exchange of practice, knowledge and the spread of innovations in various climate affected sectors.
- As the specific measures to export the norms of the Green Deal abroad are created, it should be based on a more inclusive approach which allows higher participation of societies in developing countries. It proves to be a highly important element of the resilience strategies of partners from Global South which seek to empower different actors and harness measures of global cooperation.
- Profound lack of specific skills impedes this process, however, it could be addressed by establishing the platform between the EU and developing countries where the exchange of knowledge and innovations could be implemented through the network of NGOs. Serving as a community of climate security practices it would guarantee a more inclusive approach and larger participation of local communities. Not only is it important for the EU to act as a global leader and prove the value of the Green Deal but also to establish equal-partnership based climate diplomacy and trust with partners from the Global South.



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