This conference concludes the research program "Emotions and Political Mobilizations in the Indian Subcontinent" (EMOPOLIS), jointly sponsored by Emergence(s)-Mairie de Paris and the Centre for South Asian Studies-CNRS/EHESS. It is organized with the support of the Center for the History of Emotions-Max Planck Institute for Human Development (Berlin) and of the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
Contentious politics in South Asia, in its many forms, has been studied through a variety of theoretical angles: class- and status-based patterns of domination, organizational base, political contexts and opportunities, ideological frames, etc. Its emotional dynamics, however, is yet to be explored despite the pervasiveness of the language of outrage, hurt, anger, humiliation, revenge, pride, despair, nostalgia, hope, enthusiasm or love in such protests. Conversely, although the “emotional turn” (D. Gould) in social movements studies since the late 1990s has offered important correctives to the robotic picture of the protestors of the past, it has largely neglected non-Western contexts, especially the Indian sub-continent, both as a field of application and as a field of elaboration of new analyses of the mutual constitution of emotions and mobilizations.

The identification of this double research gap, the shared conviction that integrating emotions will improve our understanding of political mobilizations in South Asia, as much as focusing on this region will retool our thinking about the emotional dynamics of mobilization, led a group of scholars from France, Germany, the United States, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to embark, in 2012, into an exploratory research program on “Emotions and Political Mobilizations in the Indian Subcontinent-EMOPOLIS”, funded by Paris City's support program to fundamental research, Emergence(s). In this concluding conference of the program these researchers, coming from diverse disciplinary traditions (democratic studies, social movements analysis, sociology and history of emotions, political and religious anthropology, cultural and literature studies), will present their main findings and propositions for further inquiries on the role that emotions play in shaping different cases of political protests in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

What does it take for citizenship to be felt during public hearings? Which “sensitizing devices” (C. Traïni) help transform a millennial movement into a political mobilization? What kind of “emotion work” (A. Hochschild) is required for feminists to bring about change in legislation? Why does the historicization of communal riots have so much to gain from bringing emotions - and emotion knowledge - back in? How is the poetic language of protest historically shaped by the language of emotions? When does hurt become an attribute of collectives thus constructed as “being through feelings” (S. Ahmed)? In which conditions does the opposition between ideological opponents become a source of greater, and deadly, political despair? How can cinematic anger be mobilized in electoral politics? What is the mobilizing potential of humor and does it generate community feelings or block them? How is the “emotional commitment” (L. Mitchell) to an armed struggle altered by its life cycle? Should Jihadism be considered as an emotional experience and if so, what are the analytical and methodological implications? And finally, is social constructionism the best theoretical tool to explore what emotions do to political mobilization? These are some of the questions that the EMOPOLIS team members will address during this conference.

Employing dense and wide-ranged empirical data (first person narratives, participatory observation, archival material, poetry, movies, video-captures, etc.), the mobilizing potential of emotions in South Asia will be examined from three particular angles:

- a methodological discussion on how emotions (and which aspects of emotions) can be accessed;
- a theoretical interest in the dialectic relationship between mobilized emotions and mobilizing emotions;
- an effort to contextualize the norms and rules governing the public expression of emotions, to address the “emotionality of [various] institutional settings” (H. Flam), and to explore vernacular emotion terms.
ABSTRACTS

Paradoxes of the Popular: Despair and Democracy in Bangladesh
Nusrat S. Chowdhury (Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Amherst College)

This essay dwells on the popular movement against the War Crimes Tribunal in Bangladesh. Although its affective landscape has been understood most commonly in terms of nationalist passion, I would like to focus my analytical attention to political despair. The term captures some of the paradoxes and potentials of popular democracies. This essay focuses on a sense of despair among some of the activists, which I approach on both empirical and analytical registers. One major source of this strand of political despair has been the powerful opposition between atheist-blogger on the one side and Islamist/extremist on the other. The myriad ways in which this has impacted politics is now one of the uprising’s unique, if unforeseen, legacies. The apprehension around the possible effects of the ideological cleavage rested on the body. The first provocation of the flesh (Santner 2011) comes from the controversy around the death of a blogger. The dead-body politics around it both presupposed and occasioned the atheist/religious divide and made way for more violence, including the murders of a number of religious activists and secular bloggers in the months and years to come. The other area of concern where the body was a privileged locus of political imagination was the presumed corporeal nature of non-secular politics. The physicality, irrationality, and overall make-up of so-called religious affect became a marker of distinction between the protesters and their ideological opponents. This opposition echoes, I would argue, the analytical boundary drawn between the people and the crowd in canonical writing on popular sovereignty.

When Emotions Become Fuel:
The Passage of the Anti-Sexual Harassment Legislation in Pakistan
Sadaf Ahmad (Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Lahore University of Management Sciences)

The Government of Pakistan passed two pieces of anti-sexual harassment legislation in early 2010. These laws were the culmination of 10 years of activism by AASHA—an Alliance Against Sexual Harassment—that was made up of like mind individuals, affiliated with different organizations, who came together to work on the development, legislation and implementation of these laws. The AASHA movement often comes across as largely cerebral in the absence of street politics or fiery encounters between state and civil society actors. However, viewing it from a vantage point that makes emotions center-stage underlines the importance of a range of emotions and their varied role in fueling and sustaining the movement over a 10 year period. My examination and understanding of primary and secondary data suggests that different emotions provided AASHA members and those they turned to for support with the motivation that was necessary for long term commitment and/or short term activism, and was necessary given that "cognitive agreement alone does not result in action" (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001: 6). Sometimes these emotions—for instance, pain, moral shock, respect, sympathy, ghairat—generated in response to a particular person and/or situation and sometimes they had to be deliberately evoked through emotion work. I illustrate how this occurred in a larger context that was informed by culturally specific feeling rules and then draw upon this data to complicate the relationship between emotion and action.
It’s Effective Because it’s Affective:
The Dynamics and Significance of Emotions in a Delhi Public Hearing
Stéphanie Tawa Lama-Rewal (Research Fellow in Political Science, CNRS-CEIAS)

Public hearings (or jan sunwai) are public meetings organized around a social issue, and in which the public is both the audience and the speaker; this innovative procedure has become a common form of collective action in India today. This paper aims to demonstrate that the significance of public hearings as a mode of mobilization owes much to their peculiar emotional intensity. The paper is based on the detailed analysis of a particular public hearing that was organized in Delhi in 2011 on the implementation of the Right to Education Act, and that was video-recorded. After offering a brief genealogy and typology of public hearings in the Indian context, the paper highlights the specific features of the public hearing used here as a case study. The analysis is centered on the question: how do emotions work in this type of event? It suggests that the jan sunwai is a ‘moral arena' that functions as a tool of lobbying as much as mobilization.

Nostalgia and Hope: Mobilizing Through the Longing for Netaji in a Contemporary Millennial Movement in West Bengal.
Raphaël Voix (Research Fellow in Anthropology, CNRS-CEIAS)

What emotions do to political mobilization? To address this question, this paper will focus on the ‘Vaidik Santan Dal’ (vāidika santāna dala, literally ‘The Vedic Group of Children’) a contemporary millennial Hindu movement that promotes the imminent return of Subhas Chandra Bose as the Leader (netā) – a belief that bases itself on the popular mistrust of the Bengali freedom fighter’s official death in a 1945’s plane crash. Through an analysis of the ‘sensitizing devices’ the group engaged in – wall writings, iconographical documents, public discourses, cheap literature, printed leaflets, demonstrations and marches – it will try to unveil the logics at stake in the transformation of an emotional bonding into a political mobilization, as well as its limits. Most specifically, it will focus on how denunciation of a desperate contemporary socio-political situation galvanize people by stimulating a diffuse sentiment of 'nostalgia' through the diffusion of tantalizing hints of an idealized past; and how the proposal for an alternative and the 'hope' for a state to come of permanent well-being mutually support each other.

Mobilizing Anger: The Politics of the Angry Young Man and Popular Telugu Cinema
Imke Rajamani (Doctoral Research Fellow, Center for the History of Emotions-Max Planck Institute for Human Development Berlin)

Cinema and politics are closely intertwined in South India – especially with regard to mobilizing emotions. Since the mid-1980s popular films have nurtured desires for the political leadership of an Angry Young Man in Andhra Pradesh through the screen images of Chiranjeevi and his brother Pawan Kalyan. Both actors have been lifted from the silver screen onto the platform of electoral politics and mobilized fans as voters. The paper explores the audiovisual semantics of anger as a political concept in popular Telugu movies and traces how anger became a decisive factor in Andhra Pradesh’s elections of 2014.
Dialectic Dynamics of (De)Mobilization: Humor and Bengali wa'z mahfils
Max Stille (Doctoral Research Fellow, Karl Jaspers Centre for Advanced Transcultural Studies, University of Heidelberg)

This paper explores the dialectal dynamics of (de)mobilization by humor in a popular strand of Islamic sermons of contemporary Bangladesh. It stresses the importance of humor in the emotional spectrum of the genre as an important counterpart to other emotions. It highlights the mobilizing potential for the speaker to form an emotional community with the audience by jokes exploiting a juncture of populist and religious conviction, and provides examples of directed demobilization against speech acts of opponents. Furthermore, it argues that humor as a ‘tilt-phenomenon’ is never unidirectional. It includes self-distancing role play and humor on preachers by preachers as well as parodies, which might even target mobilizing techniques regularly employed in the sermons. From such distancing imitations within the sermons develop parodic representations also in other spaces, such as popular youth culture. This means that the dialectic of humor as a directed device of (de)mobilization also leads to redirecting the emotions produced in the genre, stripping them of mobilizing power beyond its own performance space.

Anger, Hurt and Enthusiasm: Mobilizing for Violence, 1870-1920
Margrit Pernau (Senior Researcher, Center for the History of Emotions-Max Planck Institute for Human Development Berlin)

This chapter argues that including the study of emotions offers the possibility to further push the historicization of riots. While the attempt to construct crowd behavior as driven by rational interest has restored its political character to violence, it has done little to question the dichotomy between rationality and emotions and the non-political character of emotions. Historicizing emotions allows replacing the general assumption of the emotional crowd with more detailed questions: what emotions were at play at what stage of the riot and for which actors? How were they communicated? How did they change over time? How did they relate to a potentially contested ethics of emotions that claimed certain feelings as essential for the humanity of a person and called for the control of others? The first section will lay out the transformation of the emotion knowledge from notions of balance, still central in the 1870s, to the reception of crowd psychology immediately before the First World War. The second section will focus on the development of a pattern for communal riots in North India, which culminated with the large scale violence when Muharram and Dassehra fell on the same days in 1886. The third section will provide a re-reading of the riots in Kanpur in 1913, showing that they were driven less by anger then by fervor and enthusiasm. The final section asks whether and how this emotionalization was impacted by Gandhi’s call for political action based on ascetic self-control and restraint.

Conflicting Passions: The Civil War in Chhattisgarh
Nandini Sundar (Professor, Department of Sociology, Delhi University)

This paper describes how emotions shape and are in turn shaped by the life cycles of civil wars, based on an ongoing conflict between Maoist guerillas and the state in central India (2005-2015). I look at different actors, and the course of their emotional involvement in the civil war. Among guerillas, and their village level supporters, the transition is from fervor to physical and emotional fatigue, with hatred, fear, hope and determination in between. This influences their participation. On the part of
state combatants, for whom counterinsurgency is a paid job, the predominant emotions appear to be indifference, fear and aggression. These vary insofar as the state appears to be winning or losing the battle. For all sides, however, the civil war is accompanied by an equally intense emotional war within each individual subject.

**From Court to Public Sphere:**

**How Urdu Poetry’s Language of Romance Shaped the Language of Protest**

Carla Petievich (Visiting Professor, South Asia Institute, University of Texas, Austin)

In a society such as Pakistan’s, which values outer restraint and control of emotions in interpersonal interactions, there is simultaneously an established medium for passionate expression, and we find it in the highly conventionalized poetic expression of love (‘ishq). ‘True Love’ (‘ishaq-e haqiqi), which is understood to be that which humans feel for the Divine Beloved, allows for unlimited passion in its expression. It has been celebrated for centuries, its exemplars being lovers such as the legendary Majnun, who lost social identity, sanity, even his humanity, in his quest for ‘ishq. In this essay I describe how the language of ‘ishq, directed toward a Beloved who has been transposed from the Divine to the Nation, began to be adapted in the modern era for exhortatory political purposes. Illustration of the phenomenon is drawn from the poetry of such celebrated Urdu poets as Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Habib Jalib.

**Hurt and Censorship in India today:**

**On Communities of Sentiments, Competing Vulnerabilities and Cultural Wars**

Laetitia Zecchini (Research Fellow in Literature Studies, CNRS-THALIM)

This paper examines the entanglement of the rhetoric of censorship with the language and performance of emotions, and analyses the recourse to the vocabulary of ‘hurt’ or ‘injury’ in practices of cultural regulation in India today. If the work of artists and writers are increasingly targeted in the name of the ‘hurt sentiments’ of certain publics and communities, artists and writers can also stage their struggle against intimidation and censorship in those terms, and may construct themselves as a ‘community of sentiment’. The debate, then, partly misses the point if it is framed in terms of ‘freedom of expression’ versus ‘hurt sentiments’. By looking closely at the discourses mobilized around the M. F. Husain controversy (‘Is He an Artist or a Butcher?’) and mobilized by the Delhi-based collective of artists, SAHMAT, I will see how these competing claims to hurt are articulated and examine the ways by which agency can be derived from injury. If ‘hurt sentiments’ become foundational attributes of collectives, how are these sentiments publically mobilized, dramatized and allocated in the political and in the cultural spheres? What does it mean, in the Indian context, to say that words can wound or that works of art hurt feelings and offend sensibilities? And what finally, to paraphrase Judith Butler, can be made of hurt besides a cry for war?

**Enlarging Classical Social Constructionism**

Martin Aranguren (Research Fellow in Sociology, CNRS-URMIS Paris)

The thesis of social constructionism is that emotions are shaped by culture and society. This sounds obvious to many sociologists and anthropologists, including South Asia experts, familiar with the idea that phenomena such as gender or ethnicity are social constructions. To many psychologists and
biologists with a bent for genetics and evolution theory, in contrast, this sounds suspicious. I agree that emotions are molded by socio-cultural influences but I also think that there is something wrong with the usual way of dealing with social constructions. In this chapter, I set out to show that classical social constructionist views of emotions, while providing valid research methods, overly restrict the scope of the social constructionist agenda. The restriction is due to the ontological assumption that social construction is inseparable from language. In the first part, I describe the details of the influential social constructionist views of anthropologist Owen Lynch, psychologist James Averill and philosopher Rom Harré. Drawing on recent theory and research on emotions, I suggest that their fixation on language makes these approaches inadequate to the analysis of the social construction of situated emotional transactions and of non-categorical emotional experience.

**Talking Emotions with Young Activists of the 'Islamic Cause' In Pakistan**
Amélie Blom (Adjunct Faculty in Political Science, Sciences Po Le Havre)

Pledging to defend Islam is a form of socio-political activism that, by the mid-2000s, had gained a specific salience amongst the urban youth in Pakistan. The young men and women I met during my fieldwork did so through various channels (from individual self-reform, at one end of the spectrum, to organized Jihadi violence at the other). But they all shared a common 'emotional commitment' (Mitchell 2009) to Islam equated to a cause to be cherished, protected and promoted. How is this emotional commitment experienced and how can an external observer access it? This paper addresses these intertwined questions by focusing on the first-person narratives of former Jihadi recruits. Such testimonies prove how complex and ambivalent an emotional experience this form of militancy can be. After describing how emotions motivated and (re)directed these militants' trajectories, I explore in a second section the methodological implications attached to this empirical argument. Indeed, that the entry point to individuals' emotions is a (provoked) introspective narration which, in addition, happened in a specific setting, that of open interviews, is not inconsequential. More precisely, I would argue, both contextual elements form independent variables that shaped my understanding of the emotional experiences of the activists under study. In reasoning backwards, so to speak, this paper therefore hopes to offer an empirically grounded discussion about the effects of methods of inquiry on our causal explanations of the emotional dynamics at work in political mobilizations.
MONDAY 8TH FEBRUARY 2016

9:15 | Welcome coffee
9:30 - 11:00 | Session 1
Opening Session

Welcome address by the CEIAS directorial board

Introduction
Amélie Blom (Sciences Po Le Havre)
Stéphanie Tawa Lama-Rewal (CNRS-CEIAS)

Keynote addresses
Christophe Traini (IEP Aix-CHERPA)
Lisa Mitchell (University of Pennsylvania)

11:00 - 12:30 | Session 2
Political Affects: Two Social Movements in Focus
Chair: Virginie Dutoya (CNRS-Centre Emile Durkheim)

Paradoxes of the Popular: Despair and Democracy in Bangladesh
Nusrat S. Chowdhury (Amherst College)

When Emotions Become Fuel: The Passage of the Anti-Sexual Harassment Legislation in Pakistan
Sadaf Ahmad (Lahore University of Management Sciences)

Discussion
Joel Cabalion (Université de Tours)

14:00 - 15:30 | Session 3
Sensitizing Devices
Chair: Mukulika Banerjee (London School of Economics)

It’s Effective because it’s Affective: The Dynamics and Significance of Emotions in a Delhi Public Hearing
Stéphanie Tawa Lama-Rewal (CNRS-CEIAS)

Nostalgia and Hope: Mobilizing through the Longing for Netaji in a Contemporary Millennial Movement in West Bengal
Raphaël Voix (CNRS-CEIAS)

Discussion
Lisa Mitchell (University of Pennsylvania)

Coffee break

15:50 - 17:20 | Session 4
Directing Political Emotions in Spaces of Popular Culture
Chair: Julien Levesque (EHESS-CEIAS)

Mobilizing Anger in Andhra Pradesh: The Politics of the Angry Young Man and Popular Telugu Cinema
Imke Rajamani (Center for the History of Emotions-Max Planck Institute for Human Development Berlin)

Dialectic Dynamics of (De)Mobilization: Humour and Bengali wa’z mahfils
Max Stille (University of Heidelberg)

Discussion
Denis-Constant Martin (LAM, IEP Bordeaux)

TUESDAY 9TH FEBRUARY 2016

9:30 - 11:00 | Session 5
Mobilizing Emotions for Violence
Chair: Raphaël Voix (CNRS-CEIAS)

Hurt and Enthusiasm: Mobilizing for Violence in India, 1870-1920
Margrit Pernau (Center for the History of Emotions-Max Planck Institute for Human Development Berlin)

Conflicting Passions: The Civil War in Chhattisgarh
Nandini Sundar (Delhi University)

Discussion
Laurent Gayer (CNRS-CERI)

Coffee break

11:20 - 12:50 | Session 6
The Art of Protest
Chair: Caterina Guenzi (EHESS-CEIAS)

From Court to Public Sphere: How Urdu Poetry’s Language of Romance Shaped the Language of Protest
Carla Petievich (University of Texas)

Hurt and Censorship in India Today: On Communities of Sentiments, Competing Vulnerabilities and Cultural Wars
Laetitia Zecchini (CNRS- THALIM)

Discussion
Denis Matringe (CNRS- CEIAS)

14:20 - 15:50 | Session 7
Theoretical and Methodological Challenges
Chair: Stéphanie Tawa Lama-Rewal (CNRS-CEIAS)

Enlarging Classical Social Constructionism
Martin Aranguren (CNRS-URMIS Paris)

Talking Emotions with Young Activists of the 'Islamic cause' in Pakistan
Amélie Blom (Sciences Po Le Havre)

Discussion
Philippe Braud (Sciences Po Paris, Princeton University)

Coffee break

16:00 - 17:00 | Session 8
Concluding Remarks
Srirupa Roy (University of Gottingen)

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