References

- Aberbach, A., J. Chesney and B. Rockman (1975), 'Exploring elite political attitudes: Some methodological lessons', *Political methodology*, **2**(1), 1–27.
- Aberbach, A. and B. Rockman (2002), 'Conducting and coding elite interviews', *Political Science and Politics*, **35**(4), 673–76.
- Aggestam, K., A. Bergman Rosamond and A. Kronsell (2019), 'Theorising feminist foreign policy', *Journal of International Relations*, **33**(1), 23–39, accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117818811892>
- Aggestam, L. (2006), 'Role theory and European foreign policy: A framework of analysis', in O. Elgström and M. Smith (eds), *The European Union's Roles in International Politics*, London: Routledge, pp. 11–29.
- Aggestam, L. (2015), 'Transformative power or political dwarf? European leadership and global imbalances', in A. Bakardieva Engelbrekt, M. Mårtensson, L. Oxelheim and T. Persson (eds), *The EU's Role in Fighting Global Imbalances*, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 16–34.
- Alexander, M.G., M.B. Brewer and R.W. Livingstone (2005a), 'Putting stereotype content in context: Image theory and interethnic stereotypes', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, **31**(6), 781–94.
- Alexander, M.G., S. Levin and P.J. Henry (2005b), 'Image theory, social identity, and social dominance: Structural characteristics and individual motives underlying international images', *Political Psychology*, **26**(1), 27–45.
- Amadio Viceré, M.G. (2020), 'The cases of Kosovo and Ukraine suggest a fragmented EU foreign policy', *Future of Europe* blog, 8 October, accessed 30 October 2020 at <http://futureofeuropa.ideasoneurope.eu/2020/10/08/amadio-eu-foreign-policy-kosovo-ukraine/>
- Averre, D. and K. Wolczuk (eds) (2016), 'The Ukrainian crisis and the post-post-Cold War Europe', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Special Issue, **68**(4), 551–55.
- Babenko, V., Y. Biletaka and H. Pelyak (2020), 'Ukraine–EU: Economic integration strategy', *Geopolitics under Globalization*, **3**(1), 12–23.
- Bachmann, V. and M. Müller (eds) (2015), *Looking in from the Outside: Perceptions of the EU in Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bäckstrand, K. and O. Elgström (2013), 'The EU's role in climate change negotiations: From leader to "leaditator"', *Journal of European Public Policy*, **20**(10), 1369–86.
- Bain, J. and N. Chaban (2017), 'Emerging EU strategic narrative?: Twitter dialogues on the EU's sustainable energy week', *Comparative European Politics*, **15**(1), 135–55.
- Bain, J., N. Chaban and S. Kelly (2012), 'Crumbling giant, rising dragon?: Chinese news media cartoon reflections on the Eurozone debt crisis', *Communication, Politics and Culture*, **45**(2), 217–39.
- Barbé, E., A. Herranz-Surrales and M. Natorski (2014), 'Model, player or instrument for global governance: Metaphors in the discourse and practice of EU foreign policy', in C. Carta and F. Morin (eds), *EU Foreign Policy through the Lens of*

- Discourse Analysis: Making Sense of Diversity*, Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, pp. 111–30.
- Beardsley, K. (2009), 'Intervention without leverage: Explaining the prevalence of weak mediators', *International Interactions*, **35**(3), 272–97.
- Bengtsson, R. and O. Elgström (2012), 'Conflicting role conceptions? The European Union in global politics', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, **8**(1), 93–108.
- Bergmann, J., T. Haastrup, A. Niemann and R. Whitman (eds) (2018), Special Issue 'The European Union as international mediator', *International Negotiations*, **23**(2), 157–76.
- Bergmann, J. and A. Niemann (2015), 'Mediating international conflicts: The European Union as an effective peacemaker?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **53**(5), 957–75.
- Berry, J. (2002), 'Validity and reliability issues in elite interviewing', *Political Science and Politics*, **35**(4), 679–82.
- Bickerton, C. (2011), *European Union Foreign Policy. From Effectiveness to Functionality*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Biddle, B.J. and E.J. Thomas (eds) (1966), *Role Theory: Expectations, Identities and Behaviors*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Björkdahl, A., N. Chaban, J. Leslie and A. Masselot (eds) (2015), *Importing EU norms? Conceptual Framework and Empirical Findings*, Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Björkdahl, A. and O. Elgström (2015), 'The EPA-negotiations: A channel for norm export and import?', in A. Björkdahl, N. Chaban, J. Leslie and A. Masselot (eds), *Importing EU Norms? Conceptual Framework and Empirical Findings*, Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 133–52.
- Blumler, J., J. McLeod and K. Rosengren (1992), 'An introduction to comparative communication research', in J. Blumler, J. McLeod and K. Rosengren (eds), *Comparatively Speaking: Communication and Culture across Space and Time*, Newbury Park: Sage, pp. 3–18.
- Bobritskij, D. and M. Shashkova (2020), 'Год Зеленского. Победы и поражения действующего президента', *Novoe Vremya*, accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://nv.ua/ukraine/politics/vladimir-zelenskiy-god-na-pozicii-prezidenta-ukrainy-dostizhenie-i-provaly-novosti-ukrainy-50083394.html>
- Borrell, J. (2020), 'Embracing Europe's power', *Project Syndicate*, 8 February, accessed 21 June 2020 at <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/embracing-europe-s-power-by-josep-borrell-2020-02?barrier=accesspaylog>
- Boulding, K.E. (1956), *The Image*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Boulding, K.E. (1959), 'National images and international systems', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, **3**(2), 120–31.
- Brader, T. and G.E. Marcus (2013), 'Emotion and political psychology', in L. Huddy, D.O. Sears, and J.S. Levy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 165–204.
- Braudel, F. (1958), 'Histoire et Sciences sociales: La longue durée', *Annales*, **13**(4), 725–53.
- Braudel, F. (1982), *On History* (S. Matthews, trans.), Chicago, IL: University of Chicago. (Original work published 1969).
- C3EU (n.d.), 'Crisis, conflict and critical diplomacy: EU perceptions in Ukraine, Israel and Palestine', accessed 21 October 2019 at <https://jeanmonnet.nz/c3eu/>
- Carey, S. (2002), 'Undivided loyalties: Is national identity an obstacle to European integration?', *European Union Politics*, **3**(4), 387–413.

- Carnevale, P. and S. Arad (1996), 'Bias and impartiality in international mediation', in J. Bercovitch (ed.), *Resolving International Conflicts. The Theory and Practice of Negotiation*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 39–53.
- Carta, C. (2014), 'From the "magnificent castle" to the brutish state of nature: Use of metaphor and the analysis of the EU's international discourse', in C. Carta and F. Morin (eds), *EU Foreign Policy through the Lens of Discourse Analysis: Making Sense of Diversity*, Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, pp. 191–207.
- Castano, E., S. Sacchi and P. Gries (2003), 'The perceptions of the Other in international relations: Evidence for the polarizing effect of entitativity', *Political Psychology*, **24**(3), 449–68.
- Cercas, J. (2020), 'The EU was created to keep nationalism in check. Coronavirus is a dangerous test', *The Guardian*, 15 April, accessed 19 June 2020 at https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/apr/15/the-eu-was-created-to-keep-nationalism-in-check-coronavirus-is-a-dangerous-test?CMP=share_btn_link
- Chaban, N. (2020), 'Perceptions, expectations, motivations: Evolution of Canadian views on the EU', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies*, **11**(3), 45–62.
- Chaban, N. and A. Chaban (2018), 'Communicating Europe beyond its borders: Imagining the EU in Ukraine post-Maidan', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, **23**(1/1), 119–38.
- Chaban, N. and O. Elgström (2018a), 'Constructing bridges and fostering growth: Interdisciplinary insights into European Union role conceptions and prescriptions', *Cognition, Communication, Discourse*, **2018**(17), 24–36.
- Chaban, N. and O. Elgström (2018b), 'On a journey with uncertain destination. Metaphors and images of the European Union in Russian and Ukrainian media after Brexit vote', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, **23**(1/1), 159–76.
- Chaban, N. and O. Elgström (2020), 'A perceptual approach to EU public diplomacy: Investigating collaborative diplomacy in EU–Ukraine relations', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, **15**(4), 488–516.
- Chaban, N. and O. Elgström (2021a), 'Politicization of EU development policy: The role of EU external perceptions (case of Ukraine)', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **59**(1), first online <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13137>
- Chaban, N. and O. Elgström (2021b), 'Theorizing external perceptions of the EU', in S. Gstöhl and S. Schunz (eds), *Studying the EU's External Action: Concepts, Approaches, Theories*, London: Macmillan International/Red Globe Press, pp. 265–79.
- Chaban, N., O. Elgström and O. Gulyaeva (2017a), 'Russian images of the European Union: Before and after Maidan', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, **13**(2), 480–99.
- Chaban, N., O. Elgström, S. Kelly and L.S. Yi (2013), 'Images of the EU beyond its borders: Issue-specific and regional perceptions of European Union power and leadership', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **51**(3), 433–51.
- Chaban, N. and M. Holland (eds) (2008), *The European Union and the Asia-Pacific: Media, Public and Elite Perceptions of the EU*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Chaban, N. and M. Holland (eds) (2013), 'Lisbon and the changing external perceptions of the EU: Visions from the Asia-Pacific', *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, Special Issue, **3**(3).
- Chaban, N. and M. Holland (2014), 'The evolution of EU perceptions: From single studies to systematic research', in N. Chaban and M. Holland (eds), *Communicating Europe in Times of Crisis: External Perceptions of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–23.

- Chaban, N. and M. Holland (2015), 'EU external perceptions: From innovation to an established field of study', in A. Kalland Aarstad, E. Drieskens, K.E. Jørgensen, K. Laatikainen and B. Tonra (eds), *Handbook of European Foreign Policy*, London: Sage, pp. 672–86.
- Chaban N. and M. Holland (2018), 'Introduction: Partners and perceptions', in N. Chaban and M. Holland (eds), *Shaping the EU's Global Strategy: Partners and Perceptions*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–26.
- Chaban, N., M. Holland and P. Ryan (eds) (2009), *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: New Cases, New Findings*, Singapore and London: World Scientific.
- Chaban, N. and S. Kelly (2017), 'Tracing the evolution of EU images using a case-study of Australia and New Zealand', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **55**(4), 691–708.
- Chaban, N., S. Kelly and J. Bain (2014), 'En'vision'ing Europe's Crisis: A visual and textual analysis of the EU imagery in Chinese, Indian and Russian business newspapers', *Journal of International Communication*, **20**(1), 1–20.
- Chaban, N., S. Kelly and A. Rayroux (2018a), 'Communicating the EU externally: Media framing of the EU's irregular migration crisis (case-studies of New Zealand and Canada)', in R. Bengtsson and M. Rosén Sundström (eds), *The EU and the Emerging Global Order: Essays in Honour of Ole Elgström*, Lund: Lund University, pp. 197–222.
- Chaban, N. and M. Knodt (2020), 'Perceptions of the EU in Ukraine after "Brexit" referendum: Images of capabilities and opportunities', in N. Chaban, A. Niemann and J. Spreyer (eds), *Changing Perceptions of the EU at Times of Brexit: Global Perspectives*, Abington and NY: Routledge, pp. 78–95.
- Chaban, N., M. Knodt and J. Headley (eds) (2018b), 'The EU and its eastern neighbours: Perceptions and strategic dialogue in the region', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Special Issue, **23**(1/1).
- Chaban, N., M. Knodt and A. Verdun (eds) (2017b), 'External images of the EU – energy power across the globe', *Comparative European Politics*, Special Issue, **15**(1).
- Chaban, N. and S. Lucarelli (2021), 'Reassessing external images of the EU: Evolving narratives in times of crisis', *European Foreign Policy Review*, **26**(1), 177–96.
- Chaban, N., A. Niemann and J. Speyer (eds) (2020), *Changing Perceptions of the EU at Times of Brexit: Global Perspectives*, Abington and NY: Routledge.
- Chaban, N. and B. O'Loughlin (2018), 'The EU's crisis diplomacy in Ukraine: The matrix of possibilities', *Journal of International Affairs*, **71**(1.5), accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/eus-crisis-diplomacy-ukraine-matrix-possibilities>
- Chaban, N. and A-M. Magdalena (2014), 'External perceptions of the EU during the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, **19**(2), 195–220.
- Chaban, N., A. Masselot and K. Vadura (eds) (2015), "'Rising" Asia and "Normative Power Europe": New perspectives in the dialogue on norms and values', Special Issue, *Asia-Europe Journal*, **13**(3).
- Chaban, N., A. Miskimmon and B. O'Loughlin (2017c), 'The EU's peace and security narrative: Views from EU strategic partners in Asia', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **55**(6), 1273–89.
- Chaban, N., A. Miskimmon and B. O'Loughlin (eds) (2019), 'Understanding the scope and limits of EU diplomacy: Connecting strategic narrative to EU external perceptions research', *European Security*, Special Issue, **28**(3).
- Chaban, N., N. Smith and M. Holland (2010), 'The potential of return migration as a resource for EU public diplomacy efforts: A case-study of New Zealand return

- migrants from the EU', *European Journal of Cross-Cultural Competence and Management*, **1**(4), 378–98.
- Chaban, N. and S. Zhabotynska (eds) (2018), 'Crisis, conflict and critical diplomacy: Communicating the EU in Ukraine', *Cognition, Communication, Discourse*, Special Issue, **17**.
- Chalmers, J. and K. Abnett (2021), 'EU rejects accusations of "vaccine nationalism"', Reuters, March 10, accessed 10 April 2021 at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-eu-michel-idUSKBN2B11YM>
- Charteris-Black, J. (2004), *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cienki, A. and D. Yanow (2013), 'Linguistic approaches to analyzing policies and the political', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, **16**(2), 167–310.
- Cohen, H. (n.d.), 'What is an image?', accessed 26 October 2013 at <http://aaronshome.com/aaron/publications/whatisanimage.pdf>
- Cooper, A.F., R.A. Higgott and K.R. Nossal (1993), *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*, Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Cooper, R. (2003), *The Breaking of National: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, London: Atlantic Books.
- Cottam, M. (1986), *Foreign Policy Decision Making*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Cottam, M. and S. Chih-yu (eds) (1992), *Contending Dramas. A Cognitive Approach to International Organizations*, New York: Praeger.
- Cottam, R. (1977), *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study*, Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press.
- Council of the European Union (2003), European Security Strategy, 8 December, accessed 19 June 2020 at <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-15895-2003-INIT/en/pdf>
- Cowan, G. and A. Arsenault (2008), 'Moving from monologue to dialogue to collaboration: The layers of public diplomacy', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, **616**(1), 10–30.
- Creswell, J.W. and J.D. Creswell (2018), *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative & Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th edition, Los Angeles: Sage.
- Cull, N.J. (2008), 'Public diplomacy: Taxonomies and histories', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, **616**(1), 31–54.
- Davis Cross, M. and I. Karolewski (eds) (2017a), 'Europe's hybrid foreign policy: The Ukraine–Russia crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Special Issue, **55**(1).
- Davis Cross, M. and I. Karolewski (2017b), 'What type of power has the EU exercised in the Ukraine–Russia crisis? A framework of analysis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **55**(1), 3–19.
- de Vreese, C. (2001), 'Europe in the news. A cross-national comparative study of the new news coverage of key EU events', *European Union Politics*, **2**(3): 283–307.
- Dickinson, P. (2021), 'Putin plots Ukraine peace talks without Ukraine', Atlantic Council, accessed 10 April 2021 at <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/putin-plots-ukraine-peace-talks-without-ukraine/>
- Didelon-Loiseau, C. and C. Grasland (2014), 'Internal and external perceptions of Europe/the EU in the world through mental maps', in N. Chaban and M. Holland (eds), *Communicating Europe in the Times of Crisis: External Perceptions of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 65–94.
- Disaggregating Chinese perceptions of the EU and the implications for the EU's China policy*, accessed 30 November 2020 at http://cordis.europa.eu/result/rcn/54186_en.html

- Dixon, R. and N. Gryvnyak (2020), 'Ukraine's Zelensky wants to end a war in the east. His problem: No one agrees how to do it', *Washington Post*, 20 March, accessed 1 December 2020 at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/ukraines-zelensky-wants-to-end-a-war-in-the-east-his-problem-no-one-agrees-how-to-do-it/2020/03/19/ae653cbc-6399-11ea-8a8e-5c5336b32760_story.html
- Dominguez, R. (2018), 'Strategic partner and model of governance: EU perceptions in Mexico', in N. Chaban and M. Holland (eds), *Shaping the EU Global Strategy Partners and Perceptions*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 147–64.
- Dubey, M. (1985), 'The main forces at work', in A.S. Lall (ed.), *Multilateral Negotiation and Mediation: Instruments and Methods*, New York: Pergamon Press, pp. 154–81.
- Duchêne, F. (1972), 'Europe's role in world peace', in R. Mayne (ed.), *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*, London: Fontana, pp. 32–47.
- Duffy, B. (2018), *The Perils of Perceptions*, London: Atlantic Books.
- Duke, S. (2013), 'The European external action service and public diplomacy', Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', accessed 8 May 2020 at https://www.eipa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/20131009144127_TheEuropeanExternalActionService-1.pdf
- Dwyer, K. (1982), *Moroccan Dialogues: Anthropology in Question*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. (2012), 'Cosmopolitan politicization? Relating public perceptions of interdependence and expectations in internationalized governance', *European Journal of International Relations*, 18(3), 481–508.
- EEAS (European External Action Service) (2018), 'Remarks by High Representative/ Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the joint press point with Mr Volodymyr Groysman, Prime Minister of Ukraine', 12 March, accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/41162/remarks-high-representativevice-president-federica-mogherini-joint-press-point-mr-volodymyr-en>
- EEAS (European External Action Service) (2020), 'EU–Ukraine relations – factsheet', 10 June, accessed 19 June 2020 at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en/4081/%20EU-Ukraine%20relations,%20factsheet
- EEAS (European External Action Service) (n.d.), 'EU delegations. Ukraine', accessed 12 April at https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine_en
- Elgström, O. (2000), *Images and Strategies for Autonomy*, Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Elgström, O. (2006), 'The Presidency: The role(s) of the Chair in European Union negotiations', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 1(2), 171–95.
- Elgström, O. (2007a), 'The European Union as a leader in international multilateral negotiations – a problematic aspiration?', *International Relations*, 21(4), 445–58.
- Elgström, O. (2007b), 'Outsiders' perceptions of the EU in international trade negotiations', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(4), 949–67.
- Elgström, O. (2008), 'Images of the EU in EPA negotiations: Angel, demon – or just human?', *European Integration On-line Journal*, 12(5), 1–12.
- Elgström, O. (2014), 'Leader, bridge-builder or hobbled giant: Perceptions of the EU in climate change negotiations', in N. Chaban and M. Holland (eds), *Communicating Europe in the Times of Crisis: External Perceptions of the European Union*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 27–44.
- Elgström, O. (2015), 'External perceptions of the EU: Obstacle or asset in the fight against global imbalances', in A. Bakardieva Engelbrekt, M. Mårtensson, L. Oxelheim and

- T. Persson (eds), *The EU's Role in Fighting Global Imbalances*, Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 250–68.
- Elgström, O., J. Bercovitch and C. Skau (2003), 'Regional organizations and international mediation: The effectiveness of insider mediators', *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, **3**(1), 11–27.
- Elgström, O. and N. Chaban (2015), 'To study external perceptions of the EU: A conceptual approach', in V. Bachmann and M. Müller (eds), *Looking in from the Outside: Perceptions of the EU in Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17–33.
- Elgström, O., N. Chaban, M. Knodt, P. Müller and S. Pardo (2018), 'Perceptions of the EU's role in the Ukraine–Russian and the Israeli–Palestinian conflicts: A biased mediator?', *International Negotiation*, **23**(2), 299–318.
- Elgström, O. and M. Smith (eds) (2006), *The European Union's Roles in International Politics: Concepts and Analysis*, London: Routledge.
- Entman, R.M. (1993), 'Framing: Towards the understanding of the fractured paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, **43**(4): 51–58.
- Entman, R. M. (2003), 'Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11', *Political Communication*, **20**(4), 415–432.
- EU Global Perceptions (n.d.), <https://www.canterbury.ac.nz/ncre/research/euperceptions/>
- EU Global Strategy (2016), 'Shared vision, common action: A stronger Europe. A global strategy for the European Union's foreign and security policy', accessed 23 September 2019 at http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf
- EUmagine (n.d.), 'Imagining Europe from the outside', project, accessed 19 June 2020 at <http://www.eumagine.org/default.aspx>
- EuroBroadMap (n.d.), accessed 19 June 2020 at <http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/>
- EuropeAid (2010), 'Opinion polling and research in the ENPI countries and territories (OPPOL): Country report on the opinion poll 1, Ukraine', 127122/C/SER/Multi, accessed at 21 October 2019 http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/documents/press_releases/ua_report_uk.pdf
- European Commission (2017), 'Flash Eurobarometer 450: Future of Europe – views from outside the EU', report, accessed 20 June 2020 at <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/ResultDoc/download/DocumentKy/79589>
- European Commission (2021), 'EU disburses €600 million in macro-financial assistance to Ukraine', 9 December, accessed 11 April 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/news_corner/news/eu-disburses-%E2%82%AC600-million-macro-financial-assistance-ukraine_en#:~:text=The%20European%20Commission%2C%20on%20behalf,financial%20assistance%20\(MFA\)%20programme.&text=The%20Commission%20is%20working%20closely,of%20the%20agreed%20policy%20programme](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/news_corner/news/eu-disburses-%E2%82%AC600-million-macro-financial-assistance-ukraine_en#:~:text=The%20European%20Commission%2C%20on%20behalf,financial%20assistance%20(MFA)%20programme.&text=The%20Commission%20is%20working%20closely,of%20the%20agreed%20policy%20programme)
- European Commission (n.d.), 'Cultural diplomacy platform', accessed 8 May 2020 at <http://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/>
- European Council (2019), 'EU–Ukraine summit', meetings: International summit, Kyiv, Ukraine, 8 July, accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2019/07/08/>
- European Council (n.d.), 'EU relations with Ukraine', accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eastern-partnership/ukraine/>

- Fauconnier, G. and M. Turner (2002), *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*, New York: Basic Books.
- Fisher, G. (1997), *Mindsets: The Role of Culture and Perception in International Relations*, 2nd edition, Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.
- Fiske de Gouveia, P. (2005), *European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy*, London: Foreign Policy Centre.
- Fitzpatrick, K.R. (2007), 'Advancing the new public diplomacy: A public relations perspective', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 2(3), 187–211.
- Flanik, W. (2011), 'Bringing FPA back home: Cognition, constructivism, and conceptual metaphor', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 7, 423–46.
- Garton Ash, T. (2017), 'Is Europe disintegrating?', *The New York Review of Books*, 19 January.
- Goatly, A. (1997), *The Language of Metaphors*, London: Routledge.
- Goddard, C. (2004), 'The ethnopragsmatism and semantics of "active" metaphors', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36(7), 1211–30.
- Goldmann, K. (1988), *Change and Stability in Foreign Policy*, Princeton: Princeton Legacy Library.
- Goldstein, J. and R.O. Keohane (1993), 'Ideas and foreign policy: An analytical framework', in J. Goldstein and R.O. Keohane (eds), *Ideas and Foreign Policy*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, pp. 3–30.
- Gottlieb, A. (1991), *I'll be with you in a Minute, Mr. Ambassador': The Education of a Canadian Diplomat in Washington*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Gregory, B. (2008), 'Public diplomacy: Sunrise of an academic field', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), 274–91.
- Greig, J.M and P.F. Diehl (2016), *International Mediation*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Grubb, M. and J. Gupta (2000), 'Leadership. Theory and methodology', in J. Gupta and M. Grubb (eds), *Climate Change and European Leadership: A Sustainable Role for Europe?*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 15–24.
- Hamati-Ataya, I. (2012), 'Beyond (post)positivism: The missed promises of systemic pragmatism', *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(2), 291–305.
- Harnisch, S. (2011), 'Role theory: Operationalization of key concepts', in S. Harnisch, C. Frank and H.W. Maull (eds), *Role Theory in International Relations*, London: Routledge, pp. 7–15.
- Harnisch, S. (2012), 'Conceptualizing in the minefield: Role theory and foreign policy learning', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 8(1), 47–69.
- Harnisch, S. (2015), 'Role theory and the study of Chinese foreign policy', in S. Harnisch, S. Bersick and J.C. Gottwald (eds), *China's International Roles*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 3–21.
- Harnisch, S., C. Frank and H.W. Maull (eds) (2011), *Role Theory in International Relations*, London: Routledge.
- Heath, C. and D. Heath (2007), *Made to Stick: Why Some Ideas Take Hold and Others Come Unstuck*, London: Random House.
- Hermann, M.G. and C.W. Kegley Jr. (1995), 'Rethinking democracy and international peace: Perspectives from political psychology', *International Studies Quarterly*, 39(4), 511–33.
- Herrmann, R.K. (1984), 'Perceptions and foreign policy analysis', in D.A. Sylvan and S. Chan (eds), *Foreign Policy Decision Making: Perception, Cognition and Artificial Intelligence*, New York: Praeger, pp. 25–52.
- Herrmann, R.K. (1985), *Perceptions and Behavior in Soviet Foreign Policy*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

- Herrmann, R.K. (2013), 'Perceptions and image theory in international relations', in L. Huddy, D.O. Sears and J.S. Levy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 334–63.
- Herrmann, R.K. (2021), Concluding remarks. FPA Distinguished Scholar Panel Honoring Richard Herrmann, International Studies Association (ISA) Virtual Convention, 8 April.
- Herrmann, R.K. and M.P. Fischerkeller (1995), 'Beyond the enemy image and spiral model: Cognitive-strategic research after the Cold War', *International Organization*, **49**(3), 415–50.
- Herrmann, R.K., J.F. Voss, T.Y.E. Schooler and J. Ciarrochi (1997), 'Images in international relations: An experimental test of cognitive schemata', *International Studies Quarterly*, **41**(3), 403–33.
- Hill, C. (1993), 'The capability–expectations gap, or conceptualizing Europe's international role', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **31**(3), 305–28.
- Hocking, B. (2005), 'Rethinking the "new" public diplomacy', in J. Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 28–46.
- Hollis, M. and S. Smith (1990), *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Holsti, K. (1970), 'National role conceptions in the study of foreign policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, **14**(3), 233–309.
- Hopmann, J.T. (1996), *The Negotiation Process and the Resolution of International Conflicts*, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Huddy, L., D.O. Sears and J.S. Levy (eds) (2013), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hülse, R. (2006), 'Imagine the EU: The metaphorical construction of a supranational identity', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, **9**, 396–421.
- Hurd, I. (1999), 'Legitimacy and authority in international politics', *International Organization*, **53**(2), 379–408.
- Hyde-Price, A. (2008), 'A "tragic actor"? A realist perspective on "ethical power Europe"', *International Affairs*, **84**(1), 29–44.
- IARPA 2011 (2011), 'Metaphor program', Washington DC: Office of the Director of National Intelligence.
- Isani, M. and B. Schlipphak (2017), 'The desire for sovereignty – an explanation of EU attitudes in the Arab world', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **55**(3), 502–17.
- Ivashchenko-Stadnik, K., R. Petrov, P. Rieker and A. Russo (2018), 'Implementation of the EU's crisis response in Ukraine', EUNPACK Working Paper, January, accessed 19 June 2020 at <http://www.eunpack.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2018-01-31%20D6.3%20Working%20paper%20on%20implementation%20of%20EU%20crisis%20response%20in%20Ukraine.pdf>
- Jelisić, J. (2012), 'Developing public diplomacy for supporting EU accession: Lessons to be learned at the Western Balkans', in M. Andrlić and A. Gustović-Ercegovac (eds), *The 13th CEI Dubrovnik Diplomatic Forum Strategic Public Diplomacy, Diplomatic Academy Proceedings* 9, pp. 33–54.
- Jervis, R. (1976), *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Jupille, J. and J.A. Caporaso (1998), 'States, agency, and rules: The European Union in global environmental politics', in C. Rhodes (ed.), *The European Union in the World Community*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp. 213–29.

- Kanet, R. (2015), 'The failed Western challenge to Russia's revival in Eurasia?', *International Politics*, **52**(5), 503–22.
- Kelly, S., F. Doser and N. Chaban (2021), 'Shifting frames: Images of Brexit in NZ and possible consequences', in K. Haba and M. Holland (eds), *Brexit and After*, Singapore: Springer, pp. 159–79.
- Kelman, Herbert C. (1966), *International Behavior: A Social Psychological Analysis*, New York: Halt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kennedy, L. and S. Lucas (2005), 'Enduring freedom: Public diplomacy and U.S. foreign policy', *American Quarterly*, **57**(2), 309–33.
- Keuleers, F. (2017), *European Union and Chinese Strategic Narratives towards Africa: A Mixed Methods Study of Reception by African Audiences*, PhD Thesis.
- Keuleers, F., D. Fonck and S. Keukeleire (2016), 'Beyond EU navel-gazing: Taking stock of EU-centrism in the analysis of EU foreign policy', *Cooperation and Conflict*, **51**(3), 345–64.
- Kevin, D. (2003), *Europe in the Media*, London: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Kilian, B. and O. Elgström (2010), 'Still a green leader? The European Union's role in international climate negotiations', *Cooperation and Conflict*, **45**(3), 255–73.
- Kleiboer, M. (1998), *International Mediation: The Multiple Realities of Third-Party Intervention*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Klose, S. (2018), 'Theorizing the EU's actorness: Towards an interactionist role theory framework', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **56**(5), 1144–60.
- Klose, S. (2019), 'The emergence and evolution of an external actor's regional role: An interactionist role theory perspective', *Cooperation and Conflict*, **54**(3), 426–41.
- Knodt, M., N. Chaban and L. Nielsen (2017), *Bilateral Energy Relations between the EU and Emerging Powers: Mutual Perception of the EU and Brazil, China, India and South Africa*, Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Korski, D. (2008), 'Making Europe's voice louder', *European Council on Foreign Relations*, accessed 7 December 2013 at www.ecfr.eu/content/entry/commentary_making_europes_voice_louder
- Kövecses, Z. (2000), 'The scope of metaphor', in A. Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 79–92.
- Kövecses, Z. (2002), *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Krastev, I. (2017), *After Europe*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980), *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Kübler-Ross, E. (1973), *On Death and Dying*, Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis.
- Kuzio, T. (2015a), *Ukraine. Democratization, Corruption and the New Russian Imperialism*, Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Kuzio, T. (2015b), 'Why Russia should be added to the state sponsors of terrorism list', *Foreign Affairs*, 25 January, accessed 19 June 2020 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-01-25/ukraine-reignites>
- Kuzio, T. (2017), 'Ukraine between a constrained EU and assertive Russia', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **55**(1), 103–20.
- Kydd, A. (2003), 'Which side are you on? Bias, credibility, and mediation', *American Journal of Political Science*, **47**(4), 597–611.
- Lakoff, G. (1991), 'Metaphor and war: the metaphor system used to justify war in the gulf', *Peace Research*, **23**(2/3), 25–32.

- Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson (1980), *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Larsen, H. (2014), 'The EU as a normative power and the research on external perceptions: The missing link', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **52**(4), 896–910.
- Larson, D.W. (1985), *Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Leech, B.L. (2002), 'Asking questions: Techniques for semistructured interviews', *Political Science and Politics*, **35**(4), 665–68.
- Lending, M. (2000), *Change and Renewal: Norwegian Foreign Cultural Policy 2001–2005*, Oslo: Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Lucarelli, S. (ed.) (2007), 'Beyond self-perception: The others' view of the European Union', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Special Issue, **12**(3).
- Lucarelli, S. (2014), 'Seen from the outside: The state of the art on the external image of the EU', *Journal of European Integration*, **36**(1), 1–16.
- Lucarelli, S. and L. Fioramonti (2009), *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor*, London: Routledge.
- Lucarelli, S. and I. Manners (2006), *Values and Principles in European Union Foreign Policy*, London: Routledge.
- Luntumbue, V. (2019), 'The European Union as a middle power', 2 May, accessed 15 June 2020 at <https://europeglobalactor.cei.iscte-iul.pt/the-european-union-as-a-middle-power/>
- Lynch, D. (2005), 'Communicating Europe to the world: What public diplomacy for the EU?', EPC Working Paper, Brussels: European Policy Centre, No. 21.
- Malnes, R. (1995), '"Leader" and "entrepreneur" in international negotiations: A conceptual analysis', *European Journal of International Relations*, **1**(1), 87–112.
- Manners, I. (2002), 'Normative power Europe: A contradiction in terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **40**(2), 235–58.
- Maoz, Z. and L. Terris (2006), 'Credibility and strategy in international mediation', *International Interactions*, **32**(4), 409–40.
- Maoz, Z. and L. Terris (2008), 'Credibility and strategy in international mediation', in J. Bercovitch and S. Gartner (eds), *International Conflict Mediation: New Approaches and Findings*, London: Routledge, Chapter 4.
- March, J.G. and J.P. Olsen (1989), *Rediscovering Institutions. The Organizational Basis of Politics*, New York: The Free Press.
- Marks, M.P. (2011), *Metaphors in International Relations Theory*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marks, M.P. (2018), *Revisiting Metaphors in International Relations Theory*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mayer, H. (2013), 'The challenge of coherence and consistency in EU foreign policy', in M. Telò and F. Ponjaert (eds), *The EU's Foreign Policy: What Kind of Power and Diplomatic Action?*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 105–17.
- McCombs, M.E. and D.L. Shaw (1972), 'The agenda-setting function of mass media', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, **36**(2), 176–87.
- McDonald, A. (2021), 'EU's UK ambassador denies "vaccine nationalism" amid export row', *Politico*, 11 March, accessed 10 April 2021 at <https://www.politico.eu/article/eus-uk-ambassador-denies-vaccine-nationalism-amid-export-row/>
- McLaren, L. (2002), 'Public support for the European Union: Cost/benefits analysis or perceived cultural threat?', *The Journal of Politics*, **64**(2), 551–66.

- Melissen, J. (2005a), 'Introduction', in J. Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. xix–xxiv.
- Melissen, J. (2005b), 'The new public diplomacy between theory and practice', in J. Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 3–27.
- Meunier, S. and K. Nicolaïdis (2005), 'The European Union as a trade power', in C. Hill and M. Smith (eds), *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 247–69.
- Michalski, A. (2005), 'The EU as a soft power: The force of persuasion', in J. Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 124–44.
- Mills, C.W. (1956), *The Power Elite*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (MFA of Ukraine) (n.d.), accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://ukraine-eu.mfa.gov.ua/en/2633-relations>
- Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine (n.d.), 'Euro-Atlantic integration', accessed 12 April 2021 at <https://mvs.gov.ua/en/ministry/euro-atlantic-integration>
- Miskimmon, A., B. O'Loughlin and L. Roselle (2013), *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*, New York: Routledge.
- Monnet, J. (1976), *Mémoires*, Paris: Fayard.
- Morozova, O. (2019), 'Ukraine's journey to Europe: Strategic macronarrative and conceptual metaphors', *European Security*, **28**(3), 323–40.
- Movahedi, S. (1985), 'The social psychology of foreign policy and the politics of international images', *Human Affairs*, **8**(19), 18–37.
- NATO (2020), 'NATO recognises Ukraine as enhanced opportunities partner', accessed 26 June 2020 at https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_176327.htm
- Natorski, M. (2016), 'The EU and crisis in Ukraine: Policy continuity in times of disorder?', in D. Bouris and T. Schumacher (eds), *The Revised European Neighbourhood Policy. Continuity and Change in EU Foreign Policy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 177–96.
- Natorski, M. (2018), 'EU mediation practices in Ukraine during revolutions: What authority as a peacemaker?', *International Negotiation*, **23**(2), 278–98.
- Natorski, M. and K. Pomorska (2017), 'Trust and decision-making in times of crisis: The EU's response to the events in Ukraine', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **55**(1), 54–70.
- Neagu, M.-I. (2013), *Decoding Political Discourse: Conceptual Metaphors and Argumentation*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Neuman, W.R., M. Just and A.N. Crigler (1992), *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Nossal, K.R. (2010), '"Middlepowerhood" and "Middlepowermanship" in Canadian foreign policy', in N. Hynek and D. Bosold (eds), *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy: Soft and Hard Strategies of a Middle Power*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 20–34.
- Nye, J., Jr. (2007), *Understanding International Conflict: An Introduction to Theory and History*, New York: Pearson Longman.
- Nye, J., Jr. (2008), 'Public diplomacy and soft power', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, **616**(1), 94–109.
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2021), 'Report on the human rights situation in Ukraine 1 August 2020 to 31 January

- 2021', accessed 12 April 2021 at <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/31stReportUkraine-en.pdf>.
- Olsen, H. (2021), 'Opinion: Vaccine nationalism is a corrective to often-naïve views of globalism', *The Washington Post*, 27 March, accessed 10 April 2021 at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/03/26/vaccine-nationalism-proves-that-globalists-support-multilateralism-until-it-no-longer-suits-them/>
- Oppermann, K. and A. Spencer (2013), 'Thinking alike? Salience and metaphor analysis as cognitive approaches to foreign policy analysis', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 9(1), 39–56.
- Orenstein, M. and R.D. Kelemen (2017), 'Trojan horses in EU foreign policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(1), 87–102.
- Ortega, M. (ed.) (2004), *Global Views on the European Union*, Chaillot Paper, No. 72, accessed 19 June 2020 at https://peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/ISS_EU_chai72e.pdf
- Pan, Z. and G. Kosicki (1993), 'Framing analysis: An approach to new discourse', *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55–75.
- Pardo, S. (2015), *Normative Power Europe Meets Israel: Fundamentals on Israeli-European Union Relations*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Parker, C., C. Karlsson, M. Hjerpe and B-O. Linnér (2012), 'Fragmented climate change leadership. Making sense of the ambiguous COP-15 outcome', *Environmental Politics*, 21(2), 268–86.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002), *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, 3rd edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Payne, R. (2013), *Global Issues*, New York: Pearson.
- PPMI/NCRE/ NFG (2015), 'Analysis of the perceptions of the EU and the EU's policies abroad', Commissioned by European External Action Service (EEAS), accessed 8 May 2020 at http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/showcases/eu_perceptions_study_en.htm
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (2019), 'Death toll up to 13,000 in Ukraine conflict, says UN Rights Office', 26 February, accessed 12 April 2021 at <https://www.rferl.org/a/death-toll-up-to-13-000-in-ukraine-conflict-says-un-rights-office/29791647.html#:~:text=%22OHCHR%20estimates%20the%20total%20number,%2212%2C800%2D13%2C000%20killed.%22>
- Rapport, A. (2017), 'Cognitive approaches to foreign policy analysis', *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia. Politics*, accessed 9 April 2021 at <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.397>
- Rasmussen, S. (2009), 'Discourse analysis of EU public diplomacy messages and practices', Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', accessed 8 May 2020 at https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/20090700_cdsp_discussion_paper_115_Rasmussen.pdf
- Rayroux, A. (2018), 'The EU's reputation in Canada: Still a shallow strategic partnership?', in N. Chaban and M. Holland (eds), *Shaping the EU's Global Strategy: Partners and Perceptions*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 55–76.
- Razumkov Centre (2016a), 'Ukrainian identity: Changes, trends, regional aspects', National Security and Defence, 3–4, accessed 21 June 2020 at http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/journal/eng/NSD161-162_2016_eng.pdf
- Razumkov Centre (2016b), 'Зовнішньополітичні орієнтації громадян України', accessed 21 October 2019 at: <http://razumkov.org.ua/napryamki/sotsiolohichni-doslidzhennia/rezultaty-sotsiolohichnoho-doslidzhennia-tsentr-razumkova-zovnishnopolitychni-orientatsii-hromadian-ukrainy>

- Riordan, S. (2005), 'Dialogue-based public diplomacy: A new foreign policy paradigm?', in J. Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 180–95.
- Rosén Sundström, M. and O. Elgström (2019), 'Praise or critique? Sweden's feminist foreign policy in the eyes of its fellow EU members', *European Politics and Society*, DOI: 10.1080/23745118.2019.1661940
- Savun, B. (2008), 'Information, bias, and mediation success', *International Studies Quarterly*, **52**(1), 25–47.
- Schafer, M. (1997), 'Images and policy preferences', *Political Psychology*, **18**(4), 813–29.
- Schaffer, F. (2016), *Elucidating Social Science Concepts. An Interpretivist Guide*, Abington and NY: Routledge.
- Scharpf, F. (1999), *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schengenvisa.info.news (2020), 'Ukrainians have made nearly 49 million trips to EU, during three years of visa-free travel', 19 April, accessed 12 April 2021 at <https://www.schengenvisa.info.com/news/ukrainians-have-made-nearly-49-million-trips-to-eu-during-three-years-of-visa-free-travel/>
- Schiller, F. (1803), 'An die Freunde', Poem.
- Sheahan, L., N. Chaban, O. Elgström and M. Holland (2010), 'Benign partner or benign master? Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations between the EU and the Pacific Islands', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, **15**(3), 347–66.
- Shen, Y. and N. Balaban (1999), 'Metaphorical (in)coherence in discourse', *Discourse Processes*, **28**(2), 139–53.
- Silverstein, B. and C. Flamenbaum (1989), 'Biases in the perception and cognition of the actions of enemies', *Journal of Social Issues*, **45**(2), 51–72.
- Sjursen, H. (2006), 'What kind of power? European foreign policy in perspective', *Journal of European Public Policy*, **13**(2), 169–81.
- Skinner, Q. (2002), *Visions of Politics, Volume 1: Regarding Method*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, H. (2002), *European Union Foreign Policy: What It Is and What It Does*, London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.
- Steen, G. (2013), 'When is metaphor deliberate?', in N.-L. Johannesson and D. Minugh (eds), *Selected Papers from the 2008 Stockholm Metaphor Festival*, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, pp. 47–63.
- Stein, J.G. (2013), 'Threat perception in international relations', in L. Huddy, D.O. Sears and J.S. Levy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 364–94.
- Stöckl, H. (2010), 'Metaphor revisited: Cognitive conceptual versus traditional linguistic perspectives', *AAA: Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, **35**(2), 189–207.
- Stumbaum, M.-B., G. Mohan, O. Gippner, J. Zhao and A. Lutz (2015), 'Does Europe matter? EU as a security actor in the Asian century', NFG Final Report, **18**, FU Berlin, accessed 21 June 2020 at https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/fub188/18922/NFG_final_report_151111.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Suchman, M.C. (1995), 'Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches', *Academy of Management Review*, **20**(3), 571–610.
- Svensson, I. (2009), 'Who brings which peace? Neutral versus biased mediation and institutional peace arrangements in civil wars', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, **53**(3), 446–69.

- Taylor, S.E. and S.T. Fiske (1975), 'Point of view and perceptions of causality', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **32**(3), 439–45.
- Techau, J. (2020), 'Saving Europe from corona's nasty geopolitics', *EUobserver*, 15 April, accessed 19 June 2020 at <https://euobserver.com/opinion/148057>
- Teles Fazendeiro, B. (2016), 'Rethinking roles: Reflexive role ascription and performativity in international relations', *International Studies Review*, **18**(3), 487–507.
- The Guardian* (2020), 'The Guardian view on Europe after Brexit: unity is strength', 18 February, accessed 21 June 2020 at <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/feb/18/the-guardian-view-on-europe-after-brexit-unity-is-strength>
- The Guardian* (2021), 'The Observer view on the dangers of vaccine nationalism', 21 March, accessed 10 April 2021 at <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/mar/21/the-observer-view-on-the-dangers-of-vaccine-nationalism>
- Thies, C. (2012), 'International socialization processes vs. Israeli national role conceptions: Can role theory integrate IR theory and foreign policy analysis?', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, **8**(1), 25–46.
- Thies, C. and M. Breuning (2012), 'Integrating foreign policy analysis and international relations through role theory', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, **8**(1), 1–4.
- Thomas, D.C. (2012), 'Still punching below its weight? Coherence and effectiveness in European Union foreign policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **50**(3), 457–74.
- Toje, A. (2010), *The European Union as a Small Power*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Touval, S. (1975), 'Biased intermediaries: Theoretical and historical considerations', *Jerusalem Journal of International Affairs*, **1**, 51–69.
- Touval, S. and I.W. Zartman (eds) (1985), *International Mediation in Theory and Practice*, Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Tsuruoka, M. (2006), 'How external perspectives of the European Union are shaped: Endogenous and exogenous sources', paper prepared for the 20th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Fukuoka, Japan.
- Tsuruoka, M. (2008), '"Expectations deficit" in EU–Japan relations: Why EU–Japan partnership cannot flourish', *Current Politics and Economics of Asia*, **17**(1), 107–26.
- Umland, A. (2019), 'The Zelensky enigma: A different kind of populist', European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed November 30, 2020, at https://ecfr.eu/article/commentary_zelensky_enigma_ukraine_election_president/
- Underdal, A. (1994), 'Leadership theory: Rediscovering the arts of management', in I.W. Zartmann (ed.), *International Multilateral Negotiation: Approaches to the Management of Complexity*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, pp. 178–97.
- Wallensteen, P. and I. Svensson (2014), 'Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflicts', *Journal of Peace Research*, **51**(2), 315–27.
- Watson, A. (1982), *Diplomacy: The Dialogue between States*, London: Routledge.
- White, R. (1968), *Nobody Wanted War: Misperception in Vietnam and Other Wars*, Garden City: Doubleday.
- Whitman, R. (2005), 'Winning hearts and minds for Europe', in R. Youngs (ed.), *GLOBAL EUROPE Report 2: New Terms of Engagement*, The Foreign Policy Centre/The British Council/The European Commission, in association with Wilton Park, pp. 30–37.
- Whitman, R. (2011), *Normative Powers Europe: Conceptual and Empirical Perspectives*, London: Routledge.
- Whitman, R. (2019), 'The future(s) of the EU foreign policy studies', Presentation at the workshop *External projection – International roles and responsibilities*, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 18 January.

- World Health Organisation (WHO) (2021), WHO Coronavirus (COVID-19) Dashboard, accessed 10 April 2021 at <https://covid19.who.int/table>
- Wright, M. (2009), *Gower Handbook of Internal Communication*, London: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Young, O. (1967), *The Intermediaries. Third Parties in International Crises*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Zartman, I.W. (1994), 'Two's company and more's a crowd. The complexities of multilateral negotiation', in I.W. Zartman (ed.), *International Multilateral Negotiation: Approaches to the Management of Complexity*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, pp. 178–97.
- Zartman, I.W. (2008), 'Introduction bias, pre-negotiation and leverage in mediation', *International Negotiation*, **13**(3), 305–10.
- Zashin, E. and P. Chapman (1974), 'The use of metaphor and analogy: Towards a renewal of political language', *The Journal of Politics*, **36**(2), 290–326.
- Zhabotynskaya, S. (2013a), 'Konceptual'naya metafora v special'nom yazyke: procedura analiza' [Conceptual metaphor in a language for specific purposes]. Inostrannyye yazyki v vysshej shkole (Ryazanskij gos. un-t imeni S.A. Esenina). *Foreign languages in a higher school, S. Yesenin Ryazan State University, Russia*, **3** (26), 24–32 (in Russian).
- Zhabotynskaya, S. (2013b), 'Konceptual'naya metafora: kongruentnoe i nekongruentnoe kartirovanie vo mnozhestvennyh dannyh' [Conceptual metaphor: congruent and incongruent mapping in multiple data], in A.N. Rudyakov (ed.). Funkcional'naya lingvistika. *Functional Linguistics*, **5**, 104–106 (in Russian).
- Zhabotynskaya, S. (2016), 'Kontseptualnyie metafory v rechah Baraka Obamy i Vladimira Putina (2014–2015)' [Conceptual metaphors in the public speeches of Barack Obama and Vladimir Putin (2014–2015)]. (In Russian). *Cognition, Communication, Discourse*, **13**, 43–91.
- Zhabotynska, S. (2018), 'Images of Ukraine–EU relations in conceptual metaphors of Ukrainian mass media', *Cognition, Communication, Discourse. Special issue 'Ukraine–EU Relations: Verbal Narratives, Images, and Perceptions*, **17**, 118–40.
- Zhabotynska, S. and V. Velivchenko (2018), 'New media and strategic narratives: The Dutch referendum on Ukraine – EU Association Agreement in Ukrainian and Russian internet blogs', *European Security*, **28**(3), 360–81.
- Zhang, L. (2015), 'Reflexive expectations' in EU–China relations: A media analysis approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, **54**(2), 463–79.
- Zielonka, J. (2014), *Is the EU Doomed?*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Zyla, B. (2020), 'Middle-power internationalism in-between European “paradise” and American “power”? Canada's political role in an age of Trumpism and Brexit', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies*, **11**(3), 63–77.