



Report on Literature  
on Emotional Needs,  
Emotional  
Entrepreneurs, and  
Emotional Framing

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## About PROTEMO

PROTEMO investigates the emotional connection between the state and individuals. The focus is on protective policies and their consequences for individuals, groups of citizens and non-citizens as well as for democracy, political participation, and mobilisation. [www.protemo.eu](http://www.protemo.eu)

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## Executive Summary

The literature review presented here examines research on the emotional needs of individuals, groups, and policymakers, emotional policy entrepreneurs, and emotional framing synthesising the findings of over 480 academic articles, books and reports, drawing mainly from political psychology, psychology, and policy studies, and including works from related disciplines. On emotional needs, the analysis shows that the concept of ‘emotional needs’ has informed research in psychology, business studies, marketing, and the health sciences, and less so in political psychology. These studies concur that the needs of safety and security, belonging, and recognition are fundamental human requirements for mental and emotional well-being, which play a key role for individual and societal stability. On emotional policy entrepreneurs, the review explores studies in the field of policy sciences which concur that emotional policy entrepreneurs employ emotional manipulation strategies, along with non-emotional strategies, to achieve their policy goals. On framing experiments on protective policies, the review explores experimental studies and examines what frames were used, with what outcomes, and what was the role of emotions. The analysis finds that most of the experiments with framing did not measure emotions. When emotions were measured, they were treated as moderators or as mediators in the communication process between policies and outcomes (e.g. attitudes toward these policies). This literature review will serve as an input for the internal workshop on the theoretical and conceptual foundations (T1.4). Bringing together the findings of these three parts, it highlights gaps in extant research, as well as the connections between how the emotional needs of individuals, groups and policy makers are understood and addressed, how emotional policy entrepreneurs operate in this context, and how emotional framing can be instrumental for the communication of emotional needs. These insights will inform the theoretical contribution of PROTEMO as well as provide the framework to develop hypotheses and design empirical methodologies for the studies in the project..

## Introduction and Key Concepts

This literature review responds to Task 1.2 Literature review on Emotional Needs and Emotional Entrepreneurs, as part of work package (WP) 1 Theoretical and conceptual framework of the PROTEMO project. The WP1 objective is to consolidate the interdisciplinary theoretical framework that guides the project’s work. Key elements addressed in this review include the conceptualization of emotional needs in the political psychology literature, the role of emotional entrepreneurs in the policy process, and the empirical evidence of framing effects of political communication on emotions focusing specifically on experimental studies.

We regard emotional needs as the psychological and emotional requirements crucial for a person to form secure attachments with others and cultivate a healthy sense of self and identity (Maslow, 1943; see also: Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Young et al., 2003). Emotional entrepreneurs are defined as “individual and collective actors that attempt to advance a political and/or policy agenda by regulating expected or actual emotions generated during political and policy processes” (Maor & Gross, 2015, p. 4). We use the term ‘emotional policy entrepreneurs’ rather than ‘emotional entrepreneurs’ to emphasise policy actors operating in policy settings. Finally, emotional framing refers to the presentation of information in ways that arouse feelings of alignment “with the audience’s passions, desires and aspirations” (Giorgi, 2017, p. 717).

This review draws on over 480 works which were deemed most relevant and are referenced in the bibliography. The references span various academic disciplines, including social and cognitive psychology, political psychology, political science, policy sciences, communication science/studies, health communication, management, business studies, health studies, and sociology.

## Emotional needs

The study of emotional needs covers various aspects such as the need for security, belonging, recognition, love, self-esteem, and self-actualization (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryff & Singer, 1998). Specifically, safety and security relate to the basic emotional need for feeling safe and secure in one's environment (Baumeister & Leary, 1995); belonging and connection involve the need to build meaningful relationships and feel a sense of belonging within a community (Maslow, 1943); love and affection refer to the emotional need for giving and receiving care, affection, and emotional support (Diener et al., 1999; Gilbert & Tirsch, 2009); autonomy and control refer to the need to have control over one's life, make choices, and have agency in decision-making processes (Deci & Ryan, 1985); self-esteem refers to the importance of maintaining positive feelings about oneself and believing in one's abilities (Ryff & Singer, 1998); and self-actualization refers to the need to fulfil one's potential and achieve one's goals (Maslow, 1943).

The study of emotional needs concerns human beings as individuals and as part of groups. At the **individual level**, this review looks at security, belonging and recognition.

*Safety and security* represent the fundamental prerequisites for pursuing higher aspirations (Maslow, 1943), as without them human beings prioritise survival and protection (Taromina & Gao 2013). Research indicates that perceptions of safety significantly impact community well-being, with safer environments correlating positively with social cohesion and trust among residents (Sampson et al., 1997). Conversely, heightened perceptions of insecurity due to crime rates or environmental hazards can lead to increased stress, fear, and social withdrawal (Brandt et al., 2022). Effective governance and policy responses are therefore crucial in addressing citizens' need for safety and security.

*Belonging and connection* relate to the innate need humans have to connect with others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Lambert et al., 2013). These needs underscore the importance of social connections, identity formation, and emotional support networks within societies. Belonging contributes to social cohesion by promoting the development of shared values, norms, and mutual support systems (Allen et al., 2021; Putnam, 2000), by enhancing individuals' sense of identity and purpose (Jetten et al., 2012; Mellor et al., 2008), and by encouraging civic engagement, participation and collective action (Albanessi et al., 2007; Putnam, 2000).

*Recognition and appreciation* are emotional needs that underscore the importance of acknowledgment, validation, and reinforcement of contributions and achievements. These emotional needs are intrinsic motivators: they foster civic engagement and positive behaviours within communities (Ecclestone, 2007); they cultivate belonging and commitment to shared goals (Ryan & Deci, 2001); they reinforce community norms of reciprocity and mutual support (Grant, 2012; Visser, 2009).

At the **group level**, this review considered group identity, group cohesion and group recognition.

Group identity relate to a fundamental need for belonging and coherence in individuals' own social environments. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals derive part of their identity from group memberships, which provide a framework for understanding themselves and their place in society. Group identities are formed through complex processes of self-categorization (seeing oneself as a member of the group) and social categorization (perceiving others as members of different groups) (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In addition to internal perceptions, group identities are also formed via external perceptions and social interactions that validate these identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

The development of a shared identity fosters *cohesion and solidarity* among group members (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Group cohesion refers to the degree of unity and connectedness within a group, driven by shared goals, values, and emotional bonds (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Solidarity refers to the feeling of unity and mutual support among members (Stürmer & Simon, 2004). When individuals identify with a group, they are more likely to cooperate, emotionally support one another, and work towards common objectives (Turner et al. 1992), fostering resilience, coping mechanisms, and collective efficacy among members in times of crises (Hogan, 2000). However, when individuals perceive a threat to group identity or feel marginalise, conflict arises, underscoring the importance of managing identities in diverse settings to promote inclusivity and minimize intergroup conflict (Brewer, 2001).

Finally, similarly to individuals, *recognition and validation* are fundamental emotional needs within groups and communities. Recognition within groups involves acknowledging individuals' efforts, achievements, and contributions to collective goals (Howard, 2000; Tyler & Blader, 2000). Recognition, in turn, influences members' motivation and commitment, validating their identities and reinforcing their sense of worth, thereby promoting a positive group identity (Haslam & Reicher, 2006). Validation extends beyond mere acknowledgment, as it involves listening attentively, empathising with diverse viewpoints, and validating the significance of individual and collective narratives within the group (Jetten et al. 2012).

The studies analysed in this review, concur that when emotional needs are adequately fulfilled, individuals experience positive emotions, improved relationships, and better mental health outcomes (Diener et al., 1999; Goleman, 1995). Meeting emotional needs helps establish the formation of secure attachments with others and cultivates a healthy sense of self and identity (Maslow, 1943) and it has practical **implications**.

At the individual level, the satisfaction of emotional needs influences public opinion and civic engagement, shaping individuals' attitudes toward governance, political participation, trust in institutions and cynicism (Bolin, 1985; Lippmann, 2017; Theiss-Morse & Barton, 2017). Trust, in particular, hinges on the extent to which emotional needs of security, belonging, recognition, and appreciation are fulfilled. On the contrary, unmet emotional needs among citizens can lead to cynicism and disengagement from civic life, posing significant challenges to democratic governance (Capelos & Demertzis, 2018; Demertzis, 2006).

At the group level, groups that effectively fulfil the emotional needs of their members show higher levels of group cohesion (Severt & Estrada, 2015). Cohesive groups are more resilient in the face of challenges (Hogg & Terry, 2000), because members are motivated to support each other and work toward common objectives. When emotional needs within groups are adequately met, members are also motivated to engage in collective action (Klandermans, 1997; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013), such as advocacy for social change, participation in protests, or organisational initiatives (Van Zomeren et al., 2008).

In addition to the literature on the emotional needs of individuals and groups, other studies focus on policy-makers, highlighting the importance of emotional needs in shaping policy communication, design, and implementation. Recent research accounts indicate that policymakers frequently experience high levels of stress and pressure due to the weight of their responsibilities (Beauregard, 2024; Dewulf et al., 2009). Policymakers' emotional states, such as anxiety or confidence, affect their cognitive processes and decision-making frameworks (Cairney & Kwiatkowski, 2017; Maor & Capelos, 2023). However the literature on policymaking offers sparse evidence of this topic. This gap is not surprising, as in the hypermasculine policymaking world, the value of emotional needs, emotional labour, and what is often perceived as “womanly” topics and traits is often ignored (Beauregard, 2024; Guy & Newman, 2004; Meier et al, 2006).

For illustrative case studies on emotional needs, see research exploring:

- Hurricane Katrina and natural disasters (Atkeson & Maestas, 2012; Bonanno et al., 2010; Comfort, 2007; Congleton, 2006; Norris et al. 2008; Parker et al., 2009; Quarantelli 1999; Tierney et al., 2006; Xu et al., 2016).
- Community engagement in urban planning (Arnstein, 1969; Berman, 2016; Cuthill & Fine, 2005; Gustavsen, et al., 2017; Innes & Booher, 2000; Keil & Kistmann, 2016; Levy, 2007; Meikle-Yaw, 2006; Sarzynski, 2015).
- LGBTQ+ community advocacy (Doan, 2016; Herek 2006; Jobin-Leeds, 2016; McAdam et al., 2001; Ogolsky et al., 2019; Redcay et al., 2019; Russell et al., 201;).
- Environmental activism (Fielding & Hornsey, 2016; Halstead et al., 2021; Hornsey et al., 2016; Hornung, 2022; Loh et al., 2023; Martínez et al., 2012).
- Global policy crises (Fenger and Quanglia, 2015; Hafsi and Baba, 2023)

## Emotional Entrepreneurs

A key concept to understand emotional entrepreneurship is *emotional manipulation*, which refers to the use of strategies to regulate the emotional experiences, expressions, and behaviour of others for one’s own self-interest or benefit. Indeed political and policy actors use tactics and strategies to influence public opinion, shape policy decisions, and maintain or gain power, often by distorting information, appealing to positive and negative emotions, and exploiting social or psychological biases.

Studies that address explicit efforts to influence emotions tend to focus on individual political actors or the policy process more broadly.

Political communication scholars have studied the influence of political actors on the emotions of others, finding that notable manipulation strategies include: a) embedding emotional appeals in political messaging (Young & Miller, 2023), using for example, imagery and music (Brader, 2006; Fowler & Ridout, 2013; Gadarian, 2014; Huddy & Gunthorsdottir, 2000; Ryan & Krupnikov, 2021); b) framing issues with appeals to social groups or moral values (e.g., Clifford, 2019; Gross & Wronski, 2021; Lipsitz, 2018); and c) signalling emotions to partisan supporters (McHugo et al., 1985; Stapleton & Dawkins, 2022). Usually, the larger a leader’s audience is, the more emotional their appeals tend to be (Osnabrügge et al., 2021). Populist politicians, in particular, tend to use more emotive rhetoric in their political messaging (Wirz, 2018).

The significance of emotions has also been emphasised in policy process theories, among others the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012), the Narrative Policy Framework (Jones, 2014; Pierce, 2021; Pierce et al., 2024; Zanicco et al., 2018), the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Fullerton et al., 2023; Gebehart et al., 2023; Fullerton & Weible, 2024), and the Multiple Streams Framework (Kingdon, 1984; Knaggård, 2016; Zahariadis, 2016). In this field, scholars have looked at a variety of issues, from citizens' responses to policies (Leggie & Durant, 2010; Pattison et al., 2022), political campaigns (Jost et al., 2008), decision-making (Fischer & Sciarini, 2015; Maia & Hauber, 2020) to the role of emotions in social movements (Gould, 2009; Jasper, 2011), political discourse (Neuman et al., 2007; Verhoeven & Duyvendak, 2016), beliefs and polarisation (Mason, 2018; Yordy et al., 2023), and international relations (Bono & Ilies, 2006; Hutchison & Bleiker, 2014; Osnabrügge et al., 2021; Simmons & Shaffers, 2024; Wirz, 2018).

Cairney and Weible (2017: 623) summarise the state of the field by arguing that there are three ways that emotion is used in policy process research: a) attention drawn towards public problems through emotions and stories; b) the impact of emotions on decision-making during the social construction of target populations; and c) the tendency of advocacy coalition members to romanticise their own causes and demonise opponents. However other scholars suggest that almost every stage in a policy life cycle could be a target for emotional manipulation. For instance, at the very inception stage, the emotional quality of ideas explains why some ideas are more successful than others (Cox & Béland, 2013). At the implementation stage, narratives low in emotional intensity have been found to be less effective in advancing policy change compared to narratives charged with anger and disgust (Leong 2016; 2018).

As research on policy entrepreneurs confirms, some of the strategies these actors employ to pursue their policy goals centre on emotions, such as the "strategic use of symbols" (Frisch Aviram et al., 2020: 622) and "emotionalization and polarisation" strategy (Winkel and Leipold 2016: 123). For Maor and Gross (2015) these 'emotional entrepreneurs' engage in emotional regulation, that is "the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions" (Gross, 1998: 275). While the study of emotion regulation had previously focused primarily on psychological processes at the individual level, this novel perspective introduces the level of the political system and of world politics, hence directing scholarly attention on attempts to increase (up-regulate) or decrease (down-regulate) the intensity of a particular emotion, or to change the type of emotion altogether (Maor & Gross, 2015). Additionally, this conceptualization directs attention to the distinct set of players, strategies, and dynamics involved in emotion regulation of target populations by emotional entrepreneurs.

In a recent advance, Maor (2023; 2024) has outlined three missing areas in the study of emotional entrepreneurs. These areas include (i) distinguishing between skilful and conventional emotional entrepreneurs; (ii) comparing fixed and adaptive emotional manipulation strategies; and (iii) examining the relationship between emotions and emotional entrepreneurs' motivations, intentions, opportunity evaluation, behaviour, memory, and learning, and the relationship between emotional entrepreneurs and structure/context in processes of devising and pursuing emotion regulation strategies and overcoming challenges.

Methodologically, the collective body of research addressing emotional entrepreneurship showcases a diverse array of approaches used to examine emotional manipulation in policy settings. This corpus includes: experimental methodologies (such as lab-in-the-field experiments, comparative natural experiments, within-subjects framing manipulations, vignette experiments and face-to-face survey experiments); survey methodologies (including interpretive surveys and



analyses of international survey data); qualitative methodologies (such as semi-structured, in-depth and elite interviews, focus groups, case studies); statistical methodologies (most-different-systems designs and replicating logic, Q methodology, and structural equation modelling). In contrast, multilevel modelling, or mixed-effects modelling, is a statistical approach that, despite its potential, has not yet been employed in studies focusing on strategic emotional manipulation. Such models could clarify how much variation in emotional manipulation strategies is due to differences between protective policy contexts versus within-group differences (i.e., the impact of emotions). Additionally, there is a need to develop methods for measuring the emotional impact and effectiveness of emotional entrepreneurship strategies in policy advocacy (Fitzgerald et al., 2023). It would also be beneficial to develop metrics and evaluation frameworks to assess emotional outcomes and policy influence at each stage of the policy process.

## Emotional framing

Despite the absence of a full consensus, the most widely accepted definition of ‘framing’ stresses certain aspects of reality and pushes others into the background: "To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). These frame elements, namely ‘problem definition’ (issues and actors), ‘causal interpretation’ (persons or situations responsible for a problem), ‘moral evaluation’, and ‘treatment recommendation’ (how to solve a problem; Kohring & Matthes, 2002; Matthes & Kohring, 2008), systematically organise and structure information, creating packages of interpretation (see also Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

There is some confusion regarding words that are used in the framing literature, such as ‘framing,’ ‘priming,’ and ‘agenda setting.’ As Sonnett (2019) explains, priming is often said to focus on *what* information is presented and framing on *how* information is presented, but these elements often overlap in actual communication practices, which causes confusion. In the literature, some scholars claim that framing encompasses both the content and the type of communication, others categorise framing as a second-order priming effect, and yet others postulate separating the theories of priming and framing because they have different assumptions. Cacciatore (2016) distinguishes framing from priming and agenda setting based on the Accessibility - Applicability Distinction. Priming and agenda setting rely on accessibility, where simple exposure to information increases its salience across all audiences, regardless of prior experience. In contrast, framing operates based on applicability effects that invoke particular interpretive schemas, which then determine how information is processed (Scheufele, 2000).

There are two conceptual traditions of framing. The sociological tradition is concerned with frames in external texts, images, or news, while the psychological tradition (the focus of this review) is preoccupied with frames in individuals’ minds. The psychological tradition can further be divided into *equivalence framing* (also known as gain-loss framing, based on prospect theory and dealing with different linguistic presentations of the same information; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981) and *emphasis framing* (presenting a topic differently through selection and salience of relevant facts, such as episodic vs. thematic framing; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). However, scholars have developed a number of typologies. De Vreese (2005) proposed *issue-specific* (applicable to particular topics) and *generic frames* (transcending thematic boundaries and identifiable across various contexts). Iyengar (1991: 13-14) distinguished between “*episodic framing* [which] depicts concrete events that illustrate issues, [and] *thematic framing* [which] presents collective or general evidence”. A further frame labelled *exemplars* denotes the inclusion

of stories from individuals directly affected by social issues (Martin et al. 2017; Ostfeld & Mutz, 2014; Zillmann & Brosius, 2000), which has been found to increase the news consumer's emotional involvement with the story (Aust & Zillmann, 1996; Lefevere et al., 2012). Valentino and colleagues (2001) distinguish between *strategic* (or *game*) frames, the act of organizing a news story around political strategy, and *issue frames*, which focuses on societal problems and remedies. Finally, categorising frames in terms of form, scholars identify *visual and textual* frames. Visual framing, defined as 'the selection and emphasis of some aspects of the perceived reality by visual stimuli' (Brantner et al. 2011; p. 525), gets less attention than textual framing studies, which in contrast focus on the exact words used to name events and have been found to matter greatly (Borah & Irom, 2021; Zhang & Hellmueller 2017).

The link between emotionality and the scholarship on framing has been made by conceptually treating emotions as moderators, mediators or as frames themselves. On the one hand, emotions are treated as moderators in research interesting in disentangling whether previously induced emotional states change the individual's susceptibility to a news frame (Druckman & McDermott, 2008; Tenenbaum et al., 2018; Witte & Allen, 2000). For instance, scholars found that inducing happiness (as opposed to fear) increased tolerance towards asylum seekers (Tenenbaum et al. 2018), whereas priming anger versus fear towards drunk driving affected information accessibility, desired information, and policy preference (Nabi 2003). On the other hand, emotions are treated as mediators in research interesting in testing reactions to frames, however studies effectively measuring emotions are scarce. This review found evidence in three specific policy domains. For instance, regarding *environmental policy*, Nabi et al. (2018) investigated the role of fear and hope in the gain/loss framing of policy initiatives, revealing that hope is a key mediator between gain-framed messages and desired climate change policy attitudes and advocacy. In the context of *health framing*, Puthillam, et al. (2021) and Ticku, et al. (2021) explored the role of moral emotions (contempt, shame, awe, pride) in motivating protective behaviours during the COVID-19 pandemic in India, showing that those experiencing high levels of negative moral emotions were more likely to reduce physical contact with others and support social distancing policies. Finally, regarding the *legal system*, Lecheler et al. (2013) showed that negative news frames concerning EU Enlargement caused both anger and fear, while positive news frame caused contentment and enthusiasm. However, only anger and enthusiasm served as mediators for an effect on political opinions.

Studies on migration and emotions are worth mentioning because of their link to the interests of PROTEMO. This review found little evidence of studies on the topic that engaged in framing experiments while also measuring emotions, with only few exceptions. Alonso-Arbiol et al. (2024) examined the effect of migrant essential workers being moral exemplars on outgroup attitudes, beliefs about the outgroup, prosocial intentions, donating money to an association fighting for immigrants' rights, and the mediating role of self-transcendent emotions (admiration, gratitude, feeling moved, and hope). They found that participants in the moral exemplars condition had more positive outgroup attitudes, beliefs about the outgroup, and were more willing to engage in prosocial behaviour to help immigrants, also via self-transcendent emotions. Lecheler et al. (2015) examined contentment, compassion, enthusiasm, hope, anger, fear, and sadness in the context of immigration, evidencing how the positive version of all frames elicited more positive emotions and led to more positive opinions toward immigrants compared to the negative versions. DeMora et al. (2024) looked at White evangelical Republicans and their reactions to frames concerning refugees during the Trump presidency. This was to examine how frames highlighting religious values shape opinion among individuals who may experience social identity conflict, in this case restrictionist stances versus Christian values of care. The study showed that

pro-refugee Christian values message boosted feelings of warmth toward refugees and support for resettlement, but not support for the provision of public benefits, hence highlighting how important message tailoring is.

Finally, a few studies in the literature treat emotions as frames themselves. Foreman et al. (2016) examined how scrutiny vs. sympathy frames and racial identity affect viewers' perceptions of crime, and emotions toward the suspect's race as a whole, finding that scrutiny leads to more suspect blame and negative emotions towards their race. Bobowik et al.'s (2023) demonstrated that tearful expressions of refugees significantly enhanced helping intentions and actual donations indirectly via the perceived sadness of the refugee(s) and the subsequent felt compassion. Sontag (2018) investigated how visuals of suffering, treatment, or recovery stages of depression impact emotional reactions and aspiration, showing that recovery-related visuals elicited greater positive emotions and increased aspiration, while suffering-related visuals led to greater negative emotions and decreased aspiration. Finally, Nabi (2015) explored the evolution of emotions throughout a health message, suggesting that structuring health messages to evoke a sequence of emotions (i.e., Emotional flow) can improve attention, comprehension, and motivation to act.

For other illustrative case studies on emotional framing, see research exploring:

- Climate change (Bilandzic et al. 2017)
- Obamacare (Martin et al. 2017)
- Vaccines (Batteux et al. 2022; Kim et al., 2017))
- Conspiracy beliefs around COVID-19 (Cwalina & Koniak 2023)
- Physical activity (Ratcliff et al., 2019)
- Mandatory minimum sentencing (Gross 2008)
- The "24-year rule" in Denmark (Aarøe 2011)
- Campaign finance reform (Gross & Brewer 2007)
- Los Angeles Riots (Gross & D'Ambrosio 2004)

## Conclusions

This literature review drew insights from studies in psychology, political psychology and policy sciences to provide a thorough understanding of extant knowledge on how emotional needs may be influenced by emotional policy entrepreneurs using emotional frames.

The review concludes that that the **emotional needs** of individuals, groups, and policy makers should not be considered in isolation. Research concurs that it is their dynamic and reciprocal interplay which can be critical for the health, stability, and effectiveness of political systems. Two important considerations are directly relevant for the PROTEMO project. First, when individuals and groups feel their emotional needs are met, they are more likely to trust and engage with policymakers, while when emotional needs are neglected, political trust diminishes, leading to increased polarisation, cynicism, and disengagement. Second, policymakers whose emotional needs are met, are better equipped to respond empathetically and effectively to the needs of individuals and groups in society. This also promotes ethical decision-making and moral leadership, which reinforces trust and engagement of individuals and groups in society. In general,

the mutual fulfilment of emotional needs between individuals, groups, and policymakers strengthens community bonds and social capital.

The literature review on **emotional policy entrepreneurs** concludes that there is a critical need to supplement existing scholarly literature with studies that delve into the nuances of strategic emotional manipulation and ideally replace untested conventions regarding such strategies. This should be done in two ways. First, by paying increased attention to information dynamics, which are key to understanding emotional entrepreneurs' behaviour and its consequences, given that emotional manipulation is undertaken through communication channels. Second, by revisiting assumptions around ambiguity in the context of the Multiple Streams Framework, as treating ambiguity as a permanent condition overlooks the derived policy and/or political/electoral costs that may be incurred by powerful policy actors due to contextual change. Emotional policy entrepreneurs can disrupt the process, ensuring that there are many, rather than a few, ways to think about the issue at hand in pursuit of their policy goals.

The literature review on **emotional frames** concludes that in most studies emotions were used in two ways: as *moderators*, testing whether previously induced emotional states changed an individual's susceptibility to a news frame; or as *mediators*, treating them as reactions to frames (assuming they were evoked, without directly measuring them). The review shows that the volume of studies with emotional framing of any kind is lower than expected and that they are dispersed among different policies, making it difficult to transfer results between policies. The general conclusion from this review on the effectiveness of framing is that a) the communication strategies need to be tailored to match framed messages with specific audience characteristics or situational contexts to enhance message relevance and efficacy, and that b) emotional reactions to frames should be measured.

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