



Protective Policies and Affective Citizenship

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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

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Abstract

This literature review examines the state of the art on two related research areas: on protective policies and on emotions related to politics as well as on political communication and policy-making. Both reviews deliver important insights into main debates in the respective strands: On protective policies, the analysis shows that the concept itself has not been used widely, whereas protection is mentioned repeatedly in articles related to specific policy areas, such as social protection, environmental protection or health protection. Hence, combing the insights from these different areas can lead to an enhanced understanding of the cross-cuttingness of protection, which will be further explored in PROTEMO. With regard to emotion in the realm of politics, scholars have extensively investigated the affective dimensions of political behaviour and political communication. However, with some exceptions, extensive empirical studies on the concrete role of emotion in the process of policy-making are missing from the academic literature. PROTEMO addresses this lack and thereby contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of policy-making in an era of multiple insecurities.

Finally, drawing together the results of the two parts, the review yields several important insights about possible interlinkages, namely on the target groups of protection, the origin of protection, the assessment of the need of protection, providers of protection, policy instruments providing protection, drivers of protection and the time horizon related to protection. These insights can inform a theoretical conceptualization of protective policies as well as guide the development of hypotheses on how emotions affect the policy-making process on protective policies and vice versa.

1 Introduction

This literature review aims at studying the interconnection between emotions and protective policies and therefore deals with two bodies of literature. While the literature on protective policies mainly comes from the domain of policy studies, work on emotions and policy-making has mostly been rooted in the realm of political psychology. Reflecting this divergence, this review will be divided in two main parts. In the first part, the review will discuss what the literature has to say about “protective policies”. This term is not widely established in policy studies, but protection has been discussed in very different subject areas instead, such as the welfare state, the environment of law and order. We therefore opted for a two-step approach: We started with a systematic search of the Web of Science database and performed a qualitative content analysis based on the abstracts of the identified literature to gain an overview of where protection is discussed in the respective research areas. In a second step, we then selected the most influential and most used articles from each of the categories as established in the content analysis and performed an in-depth review of the studies.

The second part of the review is concerned with the way in which emotions have been discussed in the political science literature, with a focus on the policy-making process. Given this broader perspective and the much more developed state of the literature, the review could draw on some core pieces of work, for instance from political psychology, and rather easily identify important research via searching relevant databases such as Google Scholar and Web of Science and then advance via a snowball process. In addition, this second part of the review used a systematic analysis based on a search-string as a cross-check to see whether all relevant strands had been covered and to complement the main analysis.

In order to show possible interconnections between the two concepts which lie at the heart of PROTEMO, we draw together the insights of both parts in a final concluding section.

2 PART 1: Protective policies

2.1 Description of Activities

The concept of protective policies is not well established in the social science literature yet, although there has been much writing on protection in individual policy areas such as social protection (Estevez-Abe, Iversen, & Soskice, 2001; Jensen & Wenzelburger, 2020; Scruggs & Hayes, 2017), environmental protection (Panwar, Kaushik, & Kothari, 2011; Rehbinder & Stewart, 1985) or protection from crime (Wilhite & Allen, 2008; Zahnw, Zhang, & Corcoran, 2021). Protection therefore seems to be a cross-cutting concept that has been used in many different policy areas, but without acknowledging its transversal characteristic conceptually. Against this background, the aim of this first part of the literature review is to collect insights from existing recent studies including different policy areas where protection, protective policies and adjacent terms have been discussed as concepts to provide a solid background for further theoretical and conceptual discussion. The research question of this first part of the literature review therefore comes down to studying, *in what context the concept of protective policies and adjacent concepts have been discussed in the social science literature, focussing mainly on political science and policy studies.*

2.1.1 Search Strategy and selection of corpus

To achieve at an overview of scientific literature related to the notion of protection, insecurity and policies, we used the Web-of-Science database.¹ The Web of Science database includes journal articles from peer-reviewed journals that are indexed in the Social Science Citation Index. We decided to focus on peer-reviewed journals listed in Web of Science and to exclude other outlets, such as books or book chapters, for two reasons. First, this review with its focus on protective policies is very much linked to policy studies – a field which is very international and where state of the art scientific debates usually take place in peer-reviewed journals. Using Web of Science as a qualitatively high standing database therefore seemed an obvious choice. Second, the transversal nature of policy studies, which also includes field-specific journals (e.g., on climate change or social policies), also necessitated to include some of these field-specific debates. Using journals as a way to consider these debates systematically seemed therefore appropriate.

A major decision when using databases such as Web of Science to scan the literature evidently concerns the search string used to identify the relevant results. In our case, after several iterative rounds of experimenting with different strings, we opted for the following search string:

(protect* AND policy AND (safety OR insecurity OR security) AND (Politic OR Politics OR Political* OR "Protective Policy" OR "Public Safety"))

The main rationale to select this search algorithm was linked to the goal of capturing only those articles that were related to both notions of protection linked to policy (first AND-linkage) and to notions of safety, insecurity or security (second AND-linkage). Moreover, we wanted to limit ourselves to journal articles that also discussed the political dimension of these aspects, which we implemented by a third condition (the third AND-linkage) which used keywords related to notions

¹ The final search which delivered the selection of articles used in this literature review was performed on April 4, 2024, at 4.15 pm.

of politics (e.g., politics, political etc.)). After eliminating duplicates, this first step delivered a selection of 514 articles corresponding to the search string.

After a first inspection of the search results, we decided to narrow down the article selection one step further. In fact, within the 514 articles, we still repeatedly found analyses that were linked to issues not related to politics, such as engineering, nursing, or aviation. To specify or database further, we therefore eliminated those articles published in journals that seemed clearly not directly linked to our research question. These included journals such as “TURISMO-ESTUDIOS E PRATICAS”, “WATER BIOLOGY AND SECURITY”, “SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY & HUMAN VALUES” or “PEDIATRICS” to name just a few (for a full list of included and excluded journals, see Annex A1). We also excluded country-specific social science journals with a specific focus on non-Western democracies (e.g., “China Quarterly” or “Indonesia and the Malay World”), as PROTEMO is focussed both theoretically and empirically mainly on Western democracies. This process yielded a final selection of 268 journal articles, which were then analysed further².

2.1.2 Review Synthesis

In the following section, we will present the results of the literature review in three main steps. After describing the methods employed to analyse the corpus of journal articles selected, we synthesize the results of our qualitative content analysis before illustrating key insights from in-depth analyses of selected articles.

2.1.2.1 Methods

Based on the selection of 268 journal articles falling within the more narrowly defined scope of the review, we performed a qualitative content analysis (Kuckartz, 2014) to get an overview of three main aspects of the selected articles: (1) their content, (2) the nature of the dependent variable, and (3) the methods employed. To do so we read the abstract of each journal article and, based on a close reading of the text, the three categories usually could be coded. If a case was unclear, we accessed the full text of the paper and read the introduction, after which, in all cases, the three categories could be coded. The coding process was done in three steps. In a first, initial coding step, a senior researcher and a research assistant developed a rough codebook, which was then applied to a first selection of articles in an exploratory manner. In an iterative process, some categories were dropped and other categories, which seemed to be important from the material, were added. In a second step, a research assistant coded around two-thirds of the articles, and these codes were checked and re-coded by the senior researcher afterwards. In the third and final step, the senior researcher finalized the coding of the remaining one-third of the articles.

The following categories were coded for content:

- Migration
- Populism
- Law and Order
- Social Protection & Welfare state
- Health
- Foreign Security & Defence Policy
- Environmental Policy
- Purely conceptual/theoretical papers
- Other (as residual category)

² During this step, some additional duplicates were identified and dropped.

If a paper touched upon two research areas, a second category could also be used. In terms of methods, we differentiated the following categories:

- Survey
- Experiment
- Case Study
- Discourse Analysis
- Theoretical-conceptual paper
- Aggregate quantitative data analysis

Finally, we coded whether the dependent variable (and the analysis itself) or the main research subject analysed in the respective article was quantitative or qualitative in nature. In case of purely theoretical or conceptual papers, this category was not coded.

Based on the results of the qualitative content analysis, we then selected articles from core issues that were most frequently linked to the concept of protective policies and the results generated by our search string – namely the content categories of 1) welfare state studies, 2) law and order, 3) health, 4) foreign and security policies, 5) environmental policies and 6) migration. We used the number of Google Scholar citations to identify the three mostly cited articles in each of the content categories and then read through the entire articles with a special focus emphasis on whether and how the articles captured the concept of protective policy, protection or related topics. As citations have a certain bias toward the past, because newer articles cannot be cited as often as older contributions, we also looked at the average “usage count” per year since 2013³ as indicated by Web of Science to see whether an article of one of the content categories was used (i.e., downloaded) particularly often and added this top-used article to the selection of papers for the in-depth review. In two cases the most used article was already part of the mostly cited ones. In the following review synthesis, we will first present the results from the qualitative content analysis, before discussing the main insights from the in-depth analyses.

2.1.2.2 Qualitative content analysis

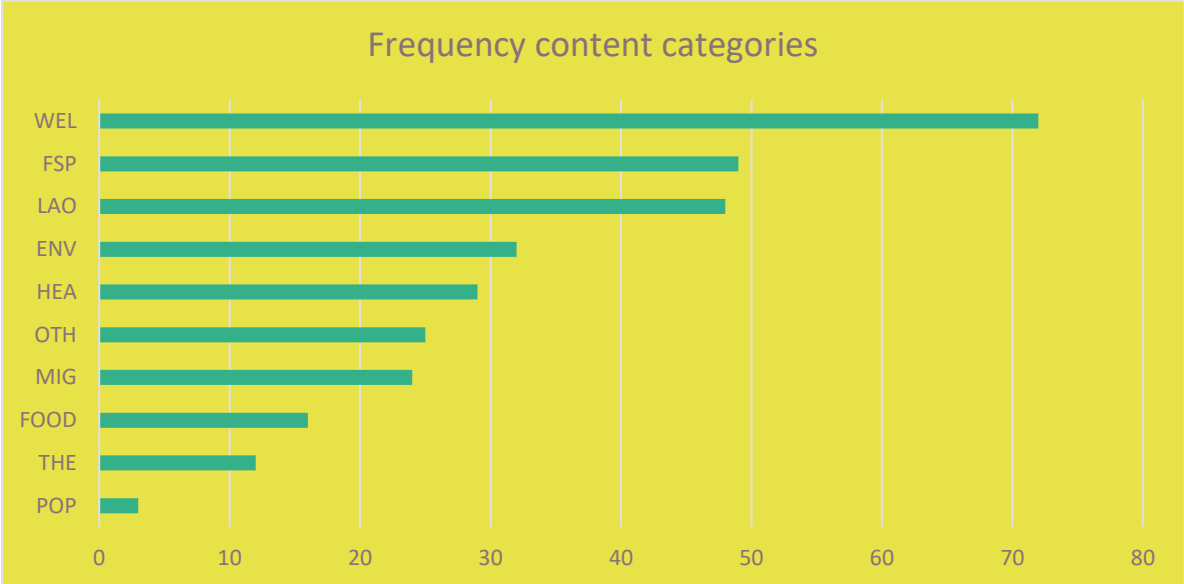
The first interesting question concerns the content to which journal articles related to protective policies as identified by the search string are connected. Fig. 1 illustrates which content categories the individual articles were related to (using both first and second mentions). The figure shows impressively that protective policies are most frequently related to studies on the welfare state and social policies (N=72). This clearly has to do with the fact that social protection is a well-established field of research at the intersection of political science, sociology and, partly, economics and has developed into a very active research area. The next two categories have been coded with an almost similar frequency: Articles that analyse foreign and security policies (N=49) and articles that are concerned with law and order, e.g., on crime, the criminal justice system or policing (N=48). Conceptually, it is important to note that foreign and security studies often come from a different disciplinary background, namely the study of international relations. Hence, they examine how nation states interact with each other and how they protect their national security (and the external security of their citizens). In contrast, the articles from the law-and-order-category are mostly concerned with internal security, that is crime and insecurity within the borders of a certain nation-states. Papers come from the realm of political science, sociology and criminology. While it is true that these distinctions have increasingly become blurry in recent

³ According to Web of Science, this is the count of the number of times the full text of a record has been accessed or a record has been saved since February 1, 2013.

decades, for instance due to international terrorism that has been challenged both external and internal security, it is still important to note that, conceptually, security may have rather different meanings (and implications) in the two different policy areas.

Lagging substantially behind the top three, journal articles from two additional policy areas are related to protective policies according to the search string. With 32 codes, studies on environmental protection and energy security have also been found to use the concept of protection, and the same is true for studies on health policies (29 codes). Indeed, it is in health policy, where the concept of “protective policy” as such has gained some prominence with the “protective policy index” developed by health scholars to measure governments’ mitigation policies against the COVID-19 pandemic (Shvetsova et al., 2022). Finally, apart from the residual category (OTH), it is migration policies that still are named rather frequently with 25 articles selected by the search algorithm. As, migration policies feature as a main policy area to be studied within PROTEMO and have implications for other policy fields, such as welfare, foreign and security policies but also law and order, it is not surprising that they have been selected by our search string.

Figure 1 Frequency of coded content categories



Note: Sum of first and second-mentioned categories, Categories: WEL: Welfare and social policies; FSP: Foreign and security policies; LAO: Law-and-order-policies; ENV: Environmental policies; HEA: Health policies; OTH: Residual category encompassing non-coded articles; MIG: Migration policies; FOOD: Food policy; THE: Theoretical and conceptual articles not related to a policy area; POP: Articles on populism.

Whereas Figure 1 shows how many articles are related to the respective content categories based on the sum of the coded first and second category, it is also interesting to see, which articles have been coded two times, indicating that they simultaneously touch on two categories content-wise. Table 1 illustrates that most of the double-coded categories concern the areas of welfare state and health, with a total of nine double codes (see the figures coloured in red: 3 times with welfare as first category and 6 times with health as first category). This is not very surprising, given the strong linkage between health and social policies (and the fact that health care can also be subsumed as part of the welfare state). Six double-codes appear for migration and law and order, which indicates that some law-and-order-issues are interwoven with migration policies (see green colour). Instead, double-codes of foreign and security policies are rather evenly distributed over categories apart from overlaps with law-and-order-policies, which happened four times in

total. In sum, it is also noteworthy that double-codes are not dominating the picture: Out of our almost 270 articles, only 42 directly touched upon two content categories, which indicates that journal articles are rather area-specific and discuss issues of protection within the realm of the respective policy.

Table 1 Double-coded content categories

		<i>2nd content category</i>								
		ENV	FOOD	FSP	HEA	LAO	MIG	POP	WEL	Total
1 st content category	ENV			1	2				2	5
	FOOD	1								1
	FSP	1	1			1			1	4
	HEA			2			2		6	10
	LAO			3			2		2	7
	MIG			1	1	4			1	7
	POP			1						1
	WEL				3	2		2		7
	Total	2	1	8	6	7	4	2	12	42

Besides variance in the content categories which the articles selected by our search string deal with, an analysis of the methods employed also show considerable variance. As Table 2 indicates, case studies clearly dominate the journal articles retained by our search string: More than half of the selected articles deal with a specific case (a geographical unit [country, state, municipality], a concrete policy, ...), sometimes coupled with a discourse analysis. Similarly important are purely conceptual papers that deal with basic concepts within a specific policy area, e.g., in environmental policies (around 16 percent) and articles that analyse survey data (12.3 percent) sometimes coupled with experimental designs. Articles solely interested in discourse analysis or in aggregate data analysis (e.g., public spending) are less frequent (with around 8 percent, each).

If we compare the methods used with the type of analysis, we see a close correspondence between the nature of the dependent variable and the method. Quantitative data was mostly examined in aggregate or survey data analysis, sometimes combined with experiments. Qualitative data was interpreted either in discourse analyses or, in far most of the cases, in case studies. Besides, we only see two cases of mixed methods combining quantitative and qualitative analyses in case studies.

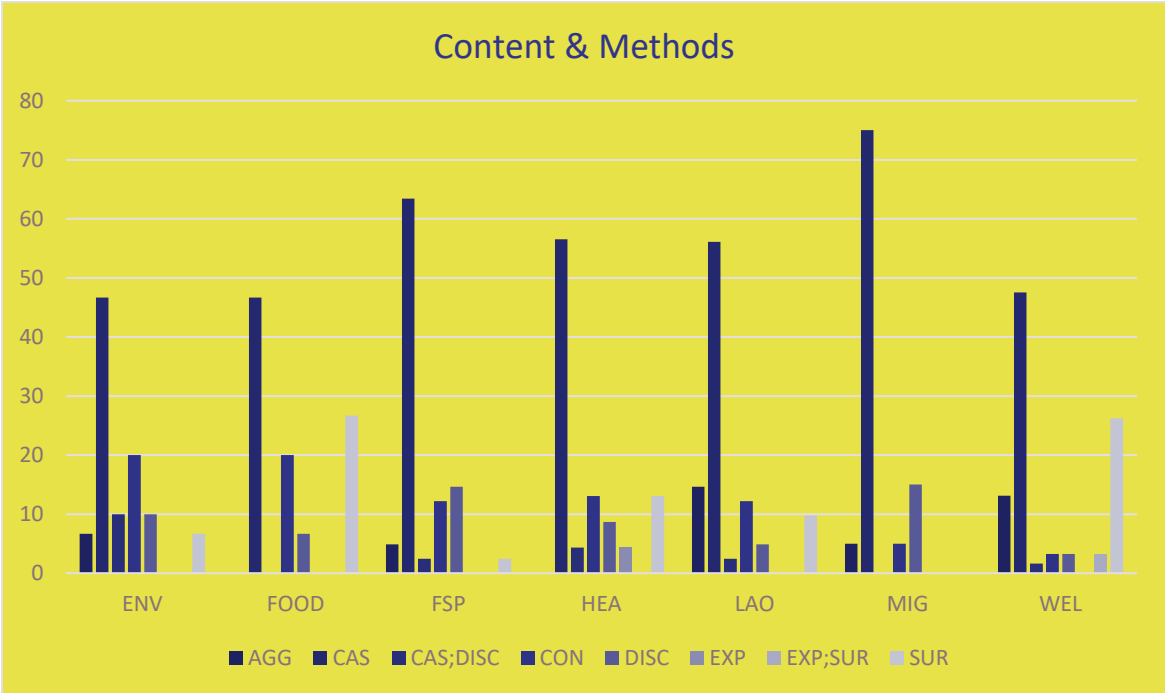
Table 2 Methods and type of empirical analysis

Method	N	Percent	DV / type of analysis		
			Quan	Mixed	Qual
AGG	21	7.84	21	0	0
CAS	139	51.87	0	1	138
CAS & DISC	7	2.61	0	1	6
CON	44	16.42	0	0	0
DISC	21	7.84	0	0	21
EXP	1	0.37	1	0	0
EXP & SUR	2	0.75	2	0	0
SUR	33	12.31	33	0	0
Total	268	100	57	2	165

Note: DV/type of analysis does not add up to 268 as purely conceptual papers do not involve empirical analyses. Method categories: AGG: Aggregate data analysis; CAS: Case study; CON: Conceptual paper (no empirical analysis); DISC: Discourse analysis; EXP: Experimental study; SUR: Survey data analysis.

How do the different methods relate to the content categories summarized above? When cross-tabulating these two categories, an interesting pattern emerges. It is depicted in Figure 2. From the Figure, it transpires that case studies are the most often used methodological approach of the articles in all coded content categories (excluding purely theoretical pieces and the two articles on populism). This is not entirely surprising, given that case studies dominated the picture in general. However, the extent of their dominance varies: Whereas they are very important in studies on migration, together with conceptual and discourse analyses, they play a less important role in the welfare state related studies or studies on food policies where surveys are also frequently used. Quantitative analyses of aggregate data, in turn, are only conducted in the field of environmental policies, foreign and security policies, studies of law-and-order policies as well as of the welfare state. Discourse analyses, in turn, are mainly a method used in the domain of foreign and security policies and migration, as well as, to lesser extent, environmental policies. Purely conceptual papers are present in all seven content categories analysed here, but less important in welfare state and migration, where empirically oriented articles dominate. Relating these patterns back to the covariance between methods and the nature of dependent variables (see Table 2), it seems that in the realm of the welfare state and law and order, quantitative analyses (of survey or aggregate data) are more important than in the field of migration or foreign and security policies, for instance. Indeed, 36 of the 57 articles coded as quantitative are part of welfare state studies (N=26) and the field of law and order (N=10), whereas only one article from the field of migration uses such an approach.

Figure 2 Content and applied methods, row percentages



Note: purely conceptual articles and the two contributions on populism are excluded here.

2.1.2.3 Illustrative in-depth case analysis

In this section, we will provide an illustration of the arguments in (1) the three mostly-cited articles that feature in the six most prevalent content categories as identified by our search string on protective policies and (2) the article that has on average been most used since 2013 according to Web of Science metrics (see Table 3). As two of the most cited articles are also the most used ones, we present the main insights from 22 articles, in total. In each of the following subsections, we will briefly discuss the main take-aways from the respective articles, with a focus on what we can learn from them for developing a conceptual underpinning of how to define “protective policies”.

Table 3 Selection of articles for in-depth studies

Category	Authors	Title	Year	Journal	Citations/Usage
Welfare policy	Dercon, S.	Income risk, coping strategies, and safety nets	2002	WORLD BANK RESEARCH OBSERVER	1674 citations
	Huo, Jingjing, et al.	Decommodification and activation in social democratic policy: resolving the paradox	2008	JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY	252 citations
	Mares, I.	Social protection around the world - External insecurity, state capacity, and domestic political cleavages	2005	COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES	163 citations
	Burgoon, B.; Dekker, F.	Flexible employment, economic insecurity and social policy preferences in Europe	2010	JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY	8,3 usages per year since 2013
Foreign and security policy	Mythen, Gabe, et al.	Why Should We Have to Prove We're Alright?': Counter-terrorism, Risk and Partial Securities	2012	SOCIOLOGY-THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION	152 citations
	Roberts, Kari	Understanding Putin: The politics of identity and geopolitics in Russian foreign policy discourse	2017	INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL	131 citations
	Wolff, Jonas; Wurm, Iris	Towards a theory of external democracy promotion: A proposal for theoretical classification	2011	SECURITY DIALOGUE	131 citations

Category	Authors	Title	Year	Journal	Citations/Usage
	McCormack, Tara	The British National Security Strategy: Security after Representation	2015	BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	13,6 usages per year since 2013
Law and order policy	Huddy, Leonie, et al.	The political consequences of perceived threat and felt insecurity	2007	ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE	310 citations
	Freeman, Naomi J.	The Public Safety Impact of Community Notification Laws: Rearrest of Convicted Sex Offenders	2012	CRIME & DELINQUENCY	92 citations
	Arias, Enrique Desmond	The Impacts of Differential Armed Dominance of Politics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	2013	STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	89 citations
	Kyle, Michael J., et al.	Perceptions of Campus Safety Policies: Contrasting the Views of Students with Faculty and Staff	2017	AMERICAN JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE	5,6 usages per year since 2013
Environmental policy	Vogel, D.	The hare and the tortoise revisited: The new politics of consumer and environmental regulation in Europe		BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	424 citations
	Farrell, AE, et al.	Energy infrastructure and security		ANNUAL REVIEW OF ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES	203 citations
	Blesl, Markus, et al.	Effects of climate and energy policy related measures and targets on the future structure of the European energy system in 2020 and beyond		ENERGY POLICY	106 citations
	Howden, NJK, et al.	Farming for Water Quality: Balancing Food Security and Nitrate Pollution in UK River Basins	2013	ANNALS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS	16,7 usages per year

Category	Authors	Title	Year	Journal	Citations/Usage
Health policy	Carleton, R. Nicholas, et al.	Suicidal Ideation, Plans, and Attempts Among Public Safety Personnel in Canada		CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGY-PSYCHOLOGIE CANADIENNE	188 citations
	Sorensen, Glorian, et al.	The future of research on work, safety, health and wellbeing: A guiding conceptual framework		SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE	166 citations; Also, most used article since 2013 (7,4 usages per year)
	Hick, Rod; Murphy, Mary P.	Common shock, different paths? Comparing social policy responses to COVID-19 in the UK and Ireland		SOCIAL POLICY & ADMINISTRATION	76 citations
Migration policy	Sajjad, Tazreena	What's in a name? 'Refugees', 'migrants' and the politics of labelling	2018	RACE & CLASS	149 citations; Also, most used article since 2013 (3,1 usages per year)
	Uehling, Greta Lynn	The International Smuggling of Children: Coyotes, Snakeheads, and the Politics of Compassion	2008	ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY	71 citations
	Koning, Edward A.	Accommodation and new hurdles: The increasing importance of politics for immigrants' access to social programmes in Western democracies	2021	SOCIAL POLICY & ADMINISTRATION	22 citations

Welfare state policies

Most of the articles related to the general theme of “protective policies” according to our analysis of journal articles fell into the realm of welfare state policies. As indicated above, this is not entirely unexpected given that social policy scholars from social science discipline such as political science, sociology and economics have produced a huge literature studying the welfare state and social protection with particular journals such as the Journal of European Social Policy or the Socio-Economic Review very much focussed on such topics. The three most cited articles as well as the most used article since 2013 therefore analyse social protection in rather different ways: The contribution by Dercon (2002), cited 1674 times, takes the perspective of development economics and looks at ways to protect people from poverty in African countries. The paper by

Huo et al. (2008), instead, is rooted in political science and analyses how government participation of social democratic parties leads to both high social protection levels and high employment. The third paper by Mares (2005) builds on a formal politico-economic model and studies the relationship between the degree of economic openness of a country and the generosity of its welfare state. And finally, the article most used since 2013, published by Burgoon and Dekker (2010) in the *Journal of European Social Policy*, looks into how felt job insecurity is related to individuals' support for more social protection. Evidently, although the contributions are different, the papers and the abundant literature on the welfare state on which they are built, delivers important ideas for how to conceptualize "protection" and protective policies, in general.

From the first paper by Dercon, the most important take-away certainly is the insight that protection by the means of public policies, in this case geared to protection from poverty, may take very different forms and does not necessarily lead to the expected effects. The study shows that anti-poverty policies, e.g., by providing safety nets, may also have adverse effects, e.g., by crowding out functional equivalents such as informal arrangements on the individual or community-level. Hence, if when study protective policies, one has to be careful not to equate the policy outputs with the consequences (the policy outcomes) on the ground for those that the measures are aimed at.

Although coming from quite a different perspective, the article by Huo et al. (2008) also emphasizes the need to look at the concrete policy instruments by which protection is provided. In their paper, they de-compose the measure of de-commodification, which has traditionally been used in the literature to measure the level of social protection by the welfare state (Allan & Scruggs, 2004; Esping-Andersen, 1990), and show that political parties differ in their influence depending on the concrete protective policy: While government participation of social democratic parties seems, for instance, to be correlated with higher protection from short-term unemployment and with higher spending on active labour market policies, this is not the case for instruments that disincentivize the take-up of work, such as unemployment benefit duration or long-term replacement rates (Huo et al., 2008, 17). Hence, when studying protective policies, it is important to take into account the various instruments that may be used to grant protection – and the groups of the population that they affect.

This last element – the question of which groups in society are actually demanding and benefitting from protection – is also one of the core messages that can be taken from the article by Mares (2005). In fact, by studying how a country's economic openness is related to the social protection provided by its welfare state, Mares argues theoretically and shows empirically that it is key to understand which groups in society are mostly affected by increasing openness of the economy to the world market. As volatility increases with more exposure to the world markets, workers (and possibly also employers) in sectors that are very much affected from this risk of volatility will ask more protection from the state via social insurance. Workers in the low-risk sector may, instead, oppose such policies, because they would need to co-finance the more exposed sectors. Hence, depending on the political strength of the affected groups (and state capacity), governments react with more or less protection to increasing openness of economies to the world market. Or, more precisely: "The findings of the statistical analysis suggest that external risk in interaction with the level of export concentration of the economy plays an important role in explaining cross-national variation in the level of social insurance coverage" (Mares, 2005, 645). Hence, this insight emphasizes the importance to clarify who is protected by a certain policy and which political dynamics may come into play and possibly affect the policy-making process about to whom protection shall be granted. Moreover, a second additional point can be taken from Mares'

contribution: In fact, while not at the core of her study, her analysis also shows that different policies can share the same main aim – to protect a certain group in society from a perceived threat, here the volatility of the world markets. While this had been done by trade policy in the past (e.g., by protecting certain sectors from world competition through tariffs), economic globalization and the reduction of custom duties called for new ways to protect the manufacturing sectors and, most importantly, the employees working in these sectors. Hence, protection through welfare state expansion can be seen as a functional equivalent to protection through trade policy, aiming at one and the same group (and goal) of protection. The importance of functionally equivalent policies is a second important insight that underscores the need to conceptualize of “protective policies” transversally, de-compartmentalizing the traditional way of thinking about protection in individual policy areas.

While these three studies all look at policies on the macro-level, Burgoon and Dekker (2010) analyse how feelings of insecurity affect individual’s attitudes toward protective policies. To do so, they examine two linkages: First, they study whether being temporary or part-time employed leads to higher subjective (job and economic) insecurity. Second, they study, whether such feelings (as well as their drivers, namely flexible employment) generate support for protective welfare policies by the state. As both relationships are corroborated empirically, the authors conclude that demand for protection by the citizens is rooted in actual job insecurity due to precarious work contracts and channelled through subjective job and economic insecurity as felt by the survey respondents. While these results are interesting as such, there is also a clear-cut conceptual take-away: In the realm of social policies, protection is conceptualized primarily as compensation. In the words of the authors: “This all implies that economic insecurity ought to significantly increase support for social policy programmes that *mitigate or compensate* (G.W.) for risks of unemployment” (Burgoon & Decker 2010, 130).

Foreign and security policy

In the realm of foreign and security policy, the three mostly cited articles engaged with anti-terrorism policies (Mythen, Walklate, & Khan, 2012), the foreign policy of Russia under Putin (Roberts, 2017) and the question of democracy promotion (Wolff & Wurm, 2011). Whereas the last two studies are theoretically mainly anchored within foreign policy analysis and international relation theory, the first article engages with the repercussions of the “war against terror” for individuals living in the UK and is therefore concerned with the relationship between foreign policy and internal security (and has therefore also been coded as part of the “law and order”-domain as second content category). All three articles share that they do not directly mention the concept of “protective policies”, although their arguments are related to questions about how the state provides protection to individuals. Finally, the article most used since 2013 is a contribution by McCormack (2014), which directly uses the concept of the “public protective state” and illustrates its functioning by focussing on the British National Security Strategy established in 2008. It is from the selection of articles the only paper directly engaging with the notion of the “protective state”.

The most loosely related article to the concept of protective policies is the one by Wolff and Wurm (2011), because it simply conceptualizes protection and security on the level of the nation-state in the international relation. It is not concerned with protection of individuals, apart from the fact that individuals may play a role in demanding a certain foreign policy from the respective governments. Conceptually, the contribution is mainly linked to carving out that policy-making

(here: foreign policy-making) can be modelled as responding to demands of protection by citizens or certain norms and values, such as democracy.

In contrast, the article by Roberts (2017) offers more conceptual insights on what protective policies entail although it is mainly related to a particular case, namely Russian foreign policy under Putin. More precisely, a key take-away from the article is that protective policies need to define a group of individuals which is in need of protection and that this group is not necessarily the citizens living within a nation-state. In terms of Russian foreign policy, the article shows how the discourse of Putin constructs a target population in need of protection based on the historically bound Russian culture, tradition and values in a relational way opposing these values to those of the West. Consequently, the Russian regime identifies as a target population in need of protection all those people that share these values and thereby legitimizes protective policies if they perceive that these individuals are threatened – even if they live outside the current territory of Russia according to international law. Foreshadowing what happened in Ukraine, the article – published in 2017 – concludes that “we may also see more muscle flexing if and when the interests of ethnic Russians in nearby lands are perceived to be threatened, and there may be an appetite for their protection among Russians, which Putin may seize upon” (Roberts, 2017, 54).

An article with much more direct relevance for analysis of public policies providing protection is the piece of Mythen et al. (2012). Although analysing quite a different topic than Robert’s paper on Russian foreign policy, it is also mainly concerned with the question of who actually is protected by government policies. However, it moves beyond Robert’s article by looking at different groups within society and showing that protecting certain groups of individuals with policy measures can entail the opposite feelings of being less protected and insecure for other groups of individuals within one and the same country – a phenomenon the authors name “partial security”. The study exemplifies this partial security using the case of anti-terrorism measures, which have been adopted in the UK in the 2000s and mainly had to do with policing and surveillance measures (such as “stop and search” etc.). By means of focus interviews with Muslims living in the UK, they show that the implementation of these measures – presented by the government as increasing protection for the UK people – actually reduced the feelings of safety and protection by the Muslims. Their article shows very nicely, too, that emotions play a big role in such constructions of target populations. Citing the UK National Security Report of 2010, which states that “to protect the security and freedom of many, the state sometimes has to encroach on the liberties of a few: those who threaten us”, it becomes clear that identifying certain groups as being threatening to a loosely defined “us”, protective policies give rise to a “risk/security contradiction” (Mythen et al., 2012, 394), which they describe based on the interviews with young Muslims as follows:

“The primary threats identified by the young people we spoke to came not from global terrorist networks. Rather, the risks to their security came from more local sources including the state through excessive legislation, the police via disproportionate surveillance and target-hardening interventions, and racist members of the public through violence, hostility and verbal abuse.” (Mythen et al., 2012, 395).

Besides the description of the situation in Britain as a state of partial security where “security for some may well come at the expense of the security of ‘others’” (Mythen et al., 2012, 395), the paper also links the concept of protection to specific policies, namely law and order policies directed at prevention of harm, which they dub “policies of pre-emption”. This insight provides an evident link to criminological research about the “preventive turn” (Carvalho, 2017) and “preventive justice” (Ashworth & Zedner, 2014) in the field of law and order.

Finally, the piece by McCormack is a conceptually most relevant contribution, as it directly uses the concept of the “protective state”, going back to the work by Omand (2003) and Hennessy (2007). It engages with the concept by emphasizing the key features of the protective state, namely the fact that it “is being built openly, in partnerships both across local and central Government and reaching out into the private sector, to provide an appropriate level of protection against the threats we face” (Omand 2003, 24 cited in: McCormack 2010, 495). Building on this notion, the article elucidates why we see this new openness of the government in naming threats and risks as well as the securities following from them. According to the theoretical argument, which is illustrated using the case of the National Security Strategy, the emergence of the “public protective policies” as opposed to the old “secret security policies” has not only to do with the emergence of new and more complex threats, but mainly with the fact that the legitimacy of the state has become shakier since the 2000s. As the traditional foundation of representative democracy has increasingly been hollowed out through the reduced relevance of the church, political parties and other loci of solidarity as well as the loss of trust in politics, national security policies could no longer be simply decided by state actors without involving society. Hence, as a consequence, protective policies have been legitimized by civic engagement and transparency. With this argument, McCormack pushes back the critical sociological literature which argues that the expansion of the public protective state being which is not only directed against risks from the outside (national security), but also as directed against everyday risks expanding the realm of security, is mainly a danger of creeping control by the authoritarian state. Instead, for McCormack, it is the result of the need for legitimizing of protective policies. Nevertheless, for the sake of conceptualization, McCormack’s contribution is important as it shows that the notion of the “protective state” is broader encompassing more policies (and risks/threats) than the concept of “security policy” involves.

Hence, summing up the main take-aways from these four articles from the category of foreign and security policies, it is evident that analyses of protective policies need to take special care about how political discourse defines “target populations” depicted as in need of protection and to what extent this definition is based on norms and values related to nations or ethnicities. Moreover, it is important to look more closely at the concrete measures of protection and to what extent they involve pre-emptive or preventive instruments that may create new insecurities within the target populations as they are not based on a legally binding decision of the criminal justice system. Finally, the analyses show that protective policies encompass a broader array of policies than what “national security” policies have traditionally been looking at, namely foreign policy.

Law and order policies

The three most cited articles in the area of law and order as well as the most used article since 2013 cover different aspects related to protective policies. The article by Huddy et al. (2007) mainly looks at individual attitudes toward domestic and national security policies and how they are shaped by perceptions of threat and anxiety, as well as felt security. A particularly interesting in this article concerns the fact, that the term of “protective policies” is used in the article which argues that “threat not only motivates protective behaviours but also promotes support for protective government policies”. At the same time, though, the article lacks a thorough definition as to what counts as protective policies and gives, instead, two examples that are used in the empirical analyses: domestic security policies and national security policies. Yet, although a proper conceptualization is missing, Huddy et al. introduce a conceptual differentiation between the two protective policies they analyse. For them, the key difference between the protective

policies is their riskiness: Whereas national security policies involve military action and the potential loss of soldiers (high riskiness), domestic security policies are less risky as they are mainly implemented through increased surveillance and policing. Consequently, the authors operationalize national security through support for military action against terrorism and domestic security via surveillance measures – both generally and with regard to specific groups (Arabs). Importantly, Huddy et al. link this difference to individual support of these two types of protective policies based on the degree of anxiety a person is feeling: “Anxiety is likely to elevate the perceived risks associated with a given military intervention and decrease support for the deployment of military troops, potentially undercutting a desire for retaliation. But it is unlikely to undercut support for domestic security policies” (Huddy et al., 2007, 137). The main take-away empirically is that felt security, which the authors relate to the development of a person’s secure attachment, moderates the reaction of individuals to threats with secure attachment, leading to less support of protective policies in the face of threats.

Freeman’s article on public safety impacts of sex offender registration (Freeman, 2009) also uses quantitative methods to analyse protective policies, namely the specific policy of registering and publicly disclosing information about sex offenders in the US. Besides the empirical result that such community notification laws increase the number of arrests of sex offenders, the contribution of the article to the conceptualization of protective policies is rather modest – given that it mainly tackles one very specific question. However, what can be learned from the article is that even though the policy to notify communities about the presence of a former sex offender in the neighbourhood can be seen as “protective” as citizens living in the respective areas can adapt their behaviour, the effects on the measured safety are rather unclear: The paper not only reports that the offenders themselves have a harder time to integrate in society (which leads to a higher probability of re-offending), but also (and not surprisingly) that arrest rates for the offenders are actually higher when their presence is disclosed to the community. Hence, conceptually, this study points out that we have to clearly distinguish between the “intended” protection of a certain policy measure and the actual policy impacts.

The third article from this area analyses criminal organizations, more precisely gangs, in neighbourhoods in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and how they interact with state actors. Besides insights into how the relationship between the state and these gangs as well as with civil society changes over time in two neighbourhoods, the paper makes two distinct conceptual contributions for the study of protective policies: First, it emphasizes, quite generally, the need to take into account spatial aspects when analysing security and protective policies. One and the same state-wide policy aimed at protecting individuals (e.g., increased arming of the police) can have severely different consequences depending on the local neighbourhoods in which the policy is implemented. And, second, the article shows that protective policies that strengthen state authority are not necessarily linked to better outcomes in terms of security. Instead, in some of the cases, insecurity rose for the people living in the respective neighbourhoods when the state more strongly engaged in policies to reduce the influence of criminal organizations. Hence, “gangs do not, per se, create disorder—instead, disorder is an outcome generated by the intersection between some of their activities and their relations with the state” (Arias, 2013, 268).

The last article in the in-depth review – the most contribution most used according to Web of Science since 2013 – investigates support for protective measures against crime on university campuses. It uses survey data from a Mid-West university to study how much students and staff of the university support campus safety measures (including different policies such as the denial of admission to campus or the carrying of firearms) and whether certain characteristics of the

individuals, such as gender or age, affect this support. For the main focus of this literature report on protective policies, the conceptual contribution of this paper is mainly the insight that different protective policy instruments are supported to varying degrees, which underscores the necessity to consider the concrete policy instrument that provides protection. Depending on the concrete measure, individuals may perceive more or less protection and support the instrument more or less strongly. Moreover, and reflecting the insights from the other studies, the contribution also confirms that individual attitudes (e.g., the extent to which people perceive disorder) are important predictors for support of protective policies.

Thus, four main take-aways can be distilled from the in-depth review of the three articles on law-and-order policies selected by our search string with respect to the conceptualization of “protective policies”. First, while we do find mentions of the term of “protective policies” in this strand of the literature, the concrete content of the term is not further conceptualized. Instead, it seems that even in the realm of law and order, protective policies capture different policy measures (here: national and domestic security policies) that are more or less risky and may therefore be supported more or less strongly by individuals. Second, it is evident that individual perceptions of threat and anxiety are strongly linked to support for protective policies and that individual-level factors such as a person’s secure attachment moderate this relationship. Third, when conceptualizing protective policies, it is important to note that these policies can have different effects depending on where and how they are implemented on the ground. And, fourth, while focussing on the state as main provider of security may be the most evident strategy, a conceptualization of protective policies also needs to be open for the possibility that protection may be provided by non-state actors (such as gangs in a neighbourhood) and that state engagement may even reduce the security when it conflicts with the local security arrangements.

Environmental policies

In the area of environmental, climate and energy policy, we find research broadly revolving around the theme of “protective policies”, albeit without using this particular concept. In an article on consumer and environmental protection policies in Europe and the United States, Vogel (2003) notes the convergence of regulatory levels since the 1960s, owing to decreasing levels in the United States (from historically stringent protection) and stronger regulation in Europe. The article identifies the ‘emergence of the precautionary principle as a guide to regulatory decision-making’ (p. 566) as a key development in Europe, which can be traced to a series of historical events (e.g., chemical disasters), increasing public support for regulation and new supranational competences. This exemplifies the importance of general principles underlying policies as diverse as the regulation of GM crops and clean air legislation. It is shown that environmental and consumer ‘protection’ are highly active policies fields in both polities and that ideologies and legal principles play a crucial role in changing the trajectories of larger policy fields.

Two studies about energy policy exemplify the variety of uses of the security/protection vocabulary in this field. Blesl et al. (2010) examine the role of various technologies within the EU in relation to efficiency improvements, fuel switching, and energy-saving measures in the context of an emission reduction target and model a variety of future scenarios. Hence, the protective policy can refer to two factors in the scenarios modelled: either protecting high levels of energy supply or climate protection involving greenhouse gas emission reductions large enough to reach the 2°C temperature goal. However, the article is a rather modelling exercise to demonstrate the effects of different approaches, not a policy analysis per se. In a similar way, a widely downloaded

most recent study by Howden et al. (2023) analyses the intricate relationship between agriculture and the protection of water in the river Thames in UK. As before, the article mainly deals with modelling the link between land use change and water quality by examining long-term trends in nitrate concentrations in the River Thames and the parallel changes in land use and farming practice. Hence, protective policies are not really conceptualized, but simply used to refer to water quality.

By contrast, Farrell et al. (2004) deals with the security of the physical energy infrastructure as such, especially protection against terrorism in the wake of 9/11. They explore 'redundancy, diversity, resilience (or security), storage, decentralization, and interdependence' of different types of energy infrastructure for oil, gas, electricity, and nuclear power and discuss Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP) as the key policy response to such risks, essentially combining insights on energy infrastructure with national security.

It is hard to sum up what lies at the core of the notion of 'protective policies' in the area of environmental and energy policy. To some extent it refers to the protection of consumers and natural environments against risks (e.g., pollution), but it can also encompass the protection against insecure provision as in security of energy supply or even against direct attacks on infrastructure.

Health policies

In the area of health policy, the three mostly cited articles deal with occupational health and safety (Carleton et al., 2018; Sorensen et al., 2021) and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on welfare state policies (Hick & Murphy, 2021). The first two articles contribute to the literature on occupational health and safety and workplace psychology, whereas the third comes from the comparative welfare state literature. None of the three articles deals explicitly with 'protective policies', but all are relevant to the emergent topic.

Sorensen et al. (2021) is a conceptual and to some extent programmatic paper. It develops a systems-based conceptual framework which links working conditions (broadly understood) with workers' safety, health and wellbeing. The framework, which is an extension of earlier conceptual work (Sorensen et al., 2016), allows to put issue of health, safety and wellbeing at work within larger social, political and economic contexts and thereby aims at adapting to the future of work with trends such as growing reliance on technology, climate change, globalization, and the changing structure of employment relationships. A key goal of the paper is to use the framework to anticipate research needs in response to the changing nature of work. The model contains several factors at the level of the individual worker, the enterprise, the labour market and the overall political economy/society. 'Protective policies', at least implicitly, enter the picture in at least two ways: First, via dedicated regulatory policies in the area of occupational health and safety and, second, via 'other social protection policies', including minimum wage policies and sick leave. Yet, it is also clear that many of the larger trends are heavily influenced by government policies, including trade policies, the (de)regulation of non-standard employment, and collective bargaining. In this respect, the authors claim that the framework can help generate research priorities, for example, when it comes to policy research:

"Policy research will be needed to contribute to assessment of effects and effectiveness of regulations and public and enterprise-specific policies. This research will be instrumental in moving research findings into practice through the adoption of both public/governmental policy and regulations as well as through the voluntary embrace

of guidelines and recommendations by sectors and individual employers.” (Sorensen et al., 2021: 6)

Carleton et al. (2018) zoom in on a very particular occupation by studying the mental health of public safety personnel (PSP), such as corrections workers, police, paramedics and firefighters – the street-level workers of some core protective policies. Based on a national sample of Canadian PSP, they examine self-reported suicidal ideation, plans, and attempts among this group. They find that such behaviour is substantial and higher than among the general population, but they also highlight differences within the group, especially between different occupations and genders. Women, for example, are more likely than men to report lifetime suicidal ideation, plans, and attempts. The authors urge PSP leaders to ‘consider taking steps to promote resilience in ways that are congruent with the diverse needs of their membership’ (p. 226). They also discuss the prevalence of risk factors such as incidence of traumatic events, the prevalence of mental health disorders and organizational stressors among PSP. The article thus deals with two aspects of protection – first, like Sorensen et al., it contributes to the literature of protecting health, safety and wellbeing of workers and second, it is concerned with the safety of those providing safety to others, hence, the topic is protective in a double sense. While Carleton et al. discuss some of the factors mentioned in Sorensen et al.’s framework, the overall perspective is mostly related to individual-level and, to some extent, enterprise and occupational level variables.

Finally, in Hick and Murphy’s (2021) article, health – in the form of the pandemic – is the independent variable rather than the outcome. Using comparative case study methods, the authors compare the pandemic response policies in the area of social and labour market protection in Ireland and the United Kingdom through two pandemic waves in 2020. Both countries used a variety of instruments to support incomes in cases of job retention and job loss, but the policy emphasis differed markedly. Put simply, while both countries increased the generosity of unemployment benefits, this was more the case in Ireland. The UK relied much more on job retention schemes (and the associated wage subsidy payments). Hence, both countries ramped up protective policies in the wake of the pandemic but did so in ways that can be explained partly with reference to policy legacies and government ideologies.

It is important to note that the contrast between the two countries diminished somewhat after the first wave when Irish policymakers chose to cut back the special unemployment scheme created previously, partly due to policy feedback from the first wave. In the UK, many emergency solutions ran out and there was “a resumption of normality in terms of its social security system after those first 3 months” (p. 319). When the second wave in the fall of 2020 hit both countries hard, this was fully reversed, however. The UK expanded job retention and Ireland ramped up benefit payments again. The authors discuss not only the importance of pre-pandemic legacies and ‘crisis routines’ (Chung & Thewissen, 2011; van Hooren, Kaasch, & Starke, 2014) for the two ‘liberal’ welfare states’ protective responses, but also the specific policy dilemmas they created, including “ambiguity between unemployment and retention payments and the challenging of unwinding generous pandemic supports” (p. 322).

Overall, Hick and Murphy’s article has only a loose connection to the theme of the other two of the most-cited articles. However, especially the discussion about the origin of policy choices can of course be linked to Sorensen et al.’s view of the broader environment, anchored in the political, social and economic context surrounding policies and, ultimately, individual social outcomes.

Migration policies

All articles selected to represent how protective policies are discussed in the realm of migration policies have one key characteristic in common: They emphasize the need to look at who is protected and who is not by a certain policy. Evidently, in all three papers – the study of EU asylum policies by Sajjad (2018), the ethnographic analysis by Uehling (2008) of immigrant children to the US and the cross-national study of migrants' access to social policies by Koning (2021) – a core lesson for conceptualizing protective policies is the need to look closely at target groups of protection and how those, that are not considered to be eligible of protection, are treated by the system.

In Sajjad's paper, the focus is on how these target groups are labelled by the EU policy-making system. However, it shows that this labelling does not only involve the ingroup of native Europeans vs. the outgroup of migrants, but also a differentiation between "economic" migrants and those that seek asylum. Moreover, it shows that protective policies in this context are paradoxical: On the one hand, Europe is seen as the "saviour" for the migrants seeking protection, while at the same time, the restrictive policies put them in a very insecure and unprotected space once they are in Europe (Sajjad, 2018, 41).

A similar paradox is also identified by Uehling in her analysis of how children of immigrants are received in the US: "This article demonstrates that children therefore throw into bold relief two contradictory impulses: there is an impulse to protect them as vulnerable persons (generating a politics of compassion), and an impulse to protect our communities in the face of rising immigration" (Uehling, 2008, 837). Hence, depending on who is seen as being targeted – vulnerable children or economic migrants – protection is seen very differently. Clearly, this can have important consequences for how processes of problem definition and policy formulation.

Finally, Koning's empirical analysis of how welfare states differentiate between immigrants and native born citizens (Koning, 2021) delivers a third important insight when it comes to protective policies: In fact, by differentiating between two groups – one of which has less access to welfare – Koning not only re-iterates the necessity to focus on who is protected by a policy as the other two articles did. He also shows that protection can be made conditional by including punitive elements, such as criteria that must be fulfilled to access welfare, in his case for the group of migrants. Hence, his article shows how protective policies can involve a combination of compensation for economic hardship (by granting benefits) and punitive elements, that is conditions and sanctions based on criteria that indicate deserving and less-deserving groups.

In sum, the three studies on protective policies in the realm of migration emphasize the need not only to look at the actual groups that are protected by a policy, but also to take into account that by identifying such groups, the question of how to define the in- and out-groups moves centre stage. This brings questions of identities, cultural norms and political dynamics to the fore.

2.2 Results

2.2.1 Results Summary

The key result of this first part of the literature review is twofold: First, we can conclude from both the in-depth studies and from the qualitative content analysis of the literature gathered through an automated search of the Web of Science database that the term of "protective policy" has not been thoroughly discussed as a transversal concept cross-cutting several policy areas. Instead, protective as an adjective has been used widely in connection with concrete policies, mainly in the realm of the welfare state, law and order/crime, foreign and security policies, environmental

policies, health policies and migration. Hence, there clearly is a large gap in the literature when it comes to theoretically discuss and empirically grasp what protective policies and protection means on a more general level. Second, some insights from the studies of the respective area-related protective policies can serve as building blocks for a further conceptualization of protective policies in a transversal way.

- *Target groups of protection:* Protective policies always involve the identification of target groups in society – those who are protected, and those who are not. In the case of protection by the state, this often comes down to differentiate between citizens (protected) and non-citizens (not protected), as has been shown in migration or welfare state policies. Hence, analyses of protective policies need to take special care about how policies (e.g., legislation) as well as political discourse define “target populations” depicted as in need of protection and to what extent this definition is based on norms and values related to nations or ethnicities.
- *Origin of protection:* Protective policies can be used to protect someone (or something) (e.g., a person) against very different kinds of “origins”. Typically, these are rather concrete dangers or threats (as crime or terror in law-and-order policies); but as the studies on environmental policies have shown, protective policies can also be directed at a certain risk or simply some state of felt insecurity (where an actual threat or a clearly identifiable danger is absent, and protection takes more of a preventive nature). Hence, the answer to the question “against what?” a certain protective policy is put into place is not self-evident but should be taken into account in a conceptualization.
- *Assessment of the need of protection:* The assessment of the source that generates a need of protection is subjective in nature. As the literature on law-and-order policies has shown, individual perceptions of threat and anxiety are strongly linked to support for protective policies and that individual-level factors such as a person’s secure attachment moderate this relationship.
- *Provider of protection:* Political scientists often have a “state-bias” in that they generally look at the state as the main actor adopting and implementing policies. While it is true that the provision of protection and security has been at the core of a state’s tasks, the literature review has shown that non-state actors can also take over this role – and that state action can actually lower protection in some extreme cases, such as when policemen start policing a neighbourhood where gangs have been in charge of providing “security” and “protection”.
- *Policy instruments providing protection:* Several studies have focussed on concrete policy instruments that provide protection, such as in the realm of welfare state studies. The results of these studies underscore the importance to look out for functional equivalents that may result in similar “protective” effects on the respective target groups. Importantly, as the study by Mares on the protection of workers in export-dominated industries has shown, these functional equivalents may actually be found in different policy areas. In Mares case, workers in industries exposed to the volatile world markets were first protected by trade policy and instruments such as custom duties on certain products, and, later on, by social policies compensating for the increased vulnerability of these groups. Moreover, as the concrete measures of protection and to what extent they involve certain instruments (e.g., pre-emptive or preventive), can also create new insecurities within for other target populations, it is important to also analyse policy instruments as such and how they affect certain group. At any rate, de-compartmentalising the study of protective policies can help to identify such functional equivalents.

- *Drivers of protection*: There has been some discussion in the studies under review here, what accounts for the differences in protective policies between countries. In the welfare state studies, some authors have pointed to the influence of political parties, and in health studies, the literature also emphasizes that the broader environment, anchored in the political, social and economic context surrounding policies may influence protection. At least, cross-country variance in the extent and the nature of protective policies adopted is to be expected and accounted for when conceptualizing the term.

2.2.2 Critique

As already indicated in 3.1, the major weakness of the current literature on protective policies is that the concept is not used in a transversal way. Instead, as policy research is often compartmentalized with every policy area (climate, energy, health, welfare, transport, ...) having a life of their own, every community has used the term in some, sometimes rather specific, way but without trying to engage in theory building on a more general level. Hence, one aim of PROTEMO should simply be to engage in such theory building by formulating a general concept of what a “protective policy” entails, building on the general take-aways summarized in 3.1.

3 PART 2: Emotions and policies

3.1 Description of Activities

During the last fifty years and especially in more recent decades, the study of emotions has increased and diversified going beyond the field of psychology. In the political context, emotions have been shown to influence politically relevant behaviour, e.g., political decision-making, citizens’ voting tendencies as well as policy and candidate preferences. In political science literature, anger and fear are the by far most researched emotions (cf. Wagner & Morisi, 2019, 1; Annex A3) and a certain scepticism regarding emotions’ impact in the sphere of politics prevails. The literature review aims at providing an overview of relevant theories and concepts derived from psychology and subject to political research. This is guided by an overarching question of how emotions have generally been studied with regard to political phenomena and what we know about their effects on policymaking.

3.1.1 Search Strategy and selection of corpus

In order to identify relevant literature and put together a list as exhaustive as possible, we followed a two-fold strategy of a narrative literature review and a subsequent revision of the produced results, complementing them with a systematic review. Despite the focus on studies from the field of political science and policy analysis, it was first necessary to identify important concepts and dominant theories from the field of psychology, especially social and political psychology, as the review’s theoretical bedrock. For this goal, a thorough qualitative search was conducted with well-known search tools, i.e., Google Scholar and Web of Science, using keywords and related expressions including “emotion”, “affect” and “feeling” as well as specific emotions. Through the process of snowballing, both backwards and forwards, further relevant and significant studies could be identified, thereby expanding the results. Based on this literature, the search was concretized by looking into extant research on emotions in politics and, more specifically, in political communication and protective policies⁴.

⁴ ‘Protective policies’ were both searched as a term in itself, but given its unfixed conceptual nature, related words were used, i.e., security issues and issues of threat, risk and protection in various policy areas.

In a second step, we sought to ensure the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of the selected literature in political science. To achieve this, a systematic search was conducted using the Web-of-Science database. The tested search strings comprised three elements: (i) emotion and affect; (ii) communication and (iii) protective policies. As potential strings including all three components did not provide useful result, the following two separate ones were employed for the systematic review:

1. **((emot*) AND (affect* OR communication OR fram* OR rhetoric*))**
2. **((emot*) AND (affect* OR protect* OR uncertainty OR insecurity OR security OR safe OR threat OR risk))**

Emotion is seen as the string's core component that necessarily narrows down the results. It is thus part of each string while the remaining bracketed elements comprised one of each of the other components, namely communication and protective policies. As both strings generated a bit more than a thousand results, these needed reduction in order to reach a size small enough for hand-coding. Through an exclusion of irrelevant journals, e.g., *Anacronismo e Irrupcion*, *Post-Soviet Affairs* or *Insight Turkey* (for a full list of included and excluded journals, see Annex A2), results for the first string could be reduced to a total of 257 and to 233 for the second string. Before coding, we checked for duplicates in the two strings which led to a considerable reduction down to a combined total of 317 articles. In a subsequent step, those too far off the topic or with a clear non-emotion-related focus were removed, leading to a final selection of 164 articles. These were coded⁵ for content, method and data using the following codes:

Content:

- Behaviour triggered or mediated by emotion
- Other (as a residual category)
- Discrete Emotion
- Insecurity
- Policy-related
- Political Communication
- Populism
- Theoretical

Method⁶:

- Other (as a residual category)
- Case Study
- Dictionary-Based Text Analysis
- Discourse Analysis
- Experiment
- Interview
- Meta-Analysis
- Qualitative Content Analysis

⁵ For content and method, coding was not reduced to a single code. Instead, when applicable, all appropriate codes were added.

⁶ Quantitative Text Analysis is here used as a catch-all term for different kinds of text analyses based on quantitative data and evaluation. This was not further specified as coding aims at providing an overview of the different methodological approaches in the literature. Dictionary-based Text Analysis was singled out given its recent popularity within the field of studying emotions in text.

- Quantitative Text Analysis
- Survey
- Theoretical/Conceptual

Data:

- Blank (unclear or purely theoretical paper)
- Mixed
- Qualitative
- Quantitative

The insights from this second search were used to complement the narrative literature review, especially in terms of providing an overview of content and methods.

The two-fold process of reviewing the literature was chosen given the diverse nature of research areas from which relevant studies are drawn. There is a huge body of literature on emotions in general and a considerable amount in the context of political science, which required selection to provide a first understanding of the manifold relevant concepts while keeping the review feasible. A narrative literature review furthermore allowed for amending the results during the process of reviewing. In other words, some important concepts and search terms which manifested only during the initial phase of searching could be identified and subsequently included. Therefore, presenting a comprehensive body of literature as an overview and to prevent the omission of relevant material could better be ensured in a second step. This systematic review is moreover aimed at counteracting and balancing a potential bias in selection of research during the first step.

3.1.2 Review Synthesis

In this section, we will first introduce important concepts and theories in extant literature on emotions, with a focus on the ways in which emotions and affect are theorized in political science research. Subsequently, we will examine those studies that analyse the role of emotions in policymaking and assess in particular the ways in which emotions have been conceptualized in the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF). Lastly, we will consider academic contributions in the context of political communication and framing, as communication is a frequent subject to research emotion within the field of political science.

3.1.2.1 *Researching emotion in a political context*

Before investigating the role of emotions in politics in general and in policy analysis in particular, certain concepts need to clearly be delineated from emotion. First, emotions are not congruent in meaning with feelings. A feeling refers to the highly subjective, probably unmeasurable, psychological experience within the broader phenomenon of emotion (Gadarian & Brader in Huddy et al., 2023, 193; Sacharin, Schlegel & Scherer, 2012, 1; Schmidt-Atzert et al., 2014, 23). In this sense, it should be understood as one of the components that together with other elements make up an emotion. A second concept is that of mood which is generally understood as a more diffuse affect state “characterized by a relative enduring predominance of certain types of subjective feelings” (Scherer, 2005, 705). It is also often expressed in simple valence terms of positive and negative (Gadarian & Brader in Huddy et al., 2023, 193). Contrary to emotion, mood is weaker, less vulnerable to change and very often emerges without an apparent, clearly linkable event (Gadarian & Brader in Huddy et al., 2023, 193; Keltner, Oatley & Jenkins, 2014, 28; Schmidt-Atzert et al., 2014, 29). Furthermore, in contrast to the prolonged duration of mood, emotion is usually characterized by short-term duration (Gadarian & Brader in Huddy et al., 2023, 193; Renström & Bäck, 2021, 862; Schmidt-Atzert et al., 2014, 29). A final key difference between mood

and emotion is the fact that mood involves less thinking than emotion (Albertson & Gadarian, 2015, 5).

Perhaps most importantly, emotion should not be confounded with affect. While affect has been proposed to be the scientific term for the more colloquial word of emotion (Marcus in Sears et al., 2003: 188), we understand affect as a broader concept that refers to several mental states of which emotion is just one besides others, such as attitude, mood and interpersonal stances (Gadarian & Brader in Huddy et al., 2023; Ortony, 2022; Renström & Bäck 2021; Scherer 2005). Some scholars establish a temporal distinction of affect preceding cognition and conceptualize affective responses as immediate, uncontrollable physiological reactions to stimuli (Bakker et al., 2021, 151). In a similar vein, affect is sometimes linked to an individual's often rapid negative versus positive evaluation of things and events (McDermott, 2004, 692). In contrast, affect is more broadly considered a process of the mind which is viewed as parallel to and interacting with cognition (Maor & Capelos, 2023, 440). Although both affect and cognition are responsible for different aspects of an individual's processing of information (Marcus et al., 2007, 9), they both play a part in the experience of emotion.

The scientific advancement of refuting the opposition between affect and cognition, or emotion and reason, is indeed mirrored in contemporary psychological research on emotion. The affect heuristic (Maor & Capelos, 2023, 440; cf. also Fink et al., 2023, 472; Kahan, 2013), for example, refers to the human behaviour of basing one's judgment of objects, people or events on affectively charged shortcuts; how one feels about something is thus more important in forming an opinion than reason. Certain strands of psychology (especially appraisal and constructivist approaches) moreover posit cognition, or more specifically cognitive appraisal, as a central component of the experience of emotion. In this regard, three dominant approaches to studying emotion need to briefly be introduced: the *basic emotions approach*, *cognitive appraisal theory* and the *constructivist approach*⁷.

Having been predominantly proposed in the Anglo tradition (Ortony, 2022, 50), the basic emotions approach assumes a set of six to fourteen discrete emotions for which a processual conceptualization is offered. According to this, specific stimuli elicit distinct emotion families which correspond to one basic emotion and predict unique action tendencies (Pierce, 2021, 596; Versteegen, 2024, 3). These fundamental or basic emotions are said to be rooted in biological instincts (Russell, 1991), experienced universally and nearly always comprise the following six as introduced by Paul Ekman⁸: happiness/joy, sadness, disgust, fear, surprise and anger. Based on this perspective, specific emotional experiences are identified by integrating individual reactions into an already established set of discrete emotions. This categorical procedure differs from valence and dimensional (also called circumplex) models of emotions which start with two or more axes⁹ along which an emotion is categorized (see Nandwani & Verma, 2021, 3f.; Gadarian & Brader in Huddy et al., 2023). Critics of the basic emotions approach have however questioned the scientific standards based on which certain emotions were selected and labelled 'basic' or

⁷ Another account of emotion, the psycho-evolutionary approach, has nowadays largely been replaced by other more influential theories. An exception is Lerner and Keltner's article (2000) in which the authors combine appraisal theory with functional or evolutionary theory to analyse the different effects of anger and fear on risk assessment.

⁸ For example, in Plutchik's wheel of (prototypical) emotions, *trust* and *anticipation* are added.

⁹ These dimensions usually correspond to 'valence', whether an emotion is negatively or positively experienced, and 'arousal', the extent to which an emotion is activating or calming; additionally, the dimension of 'motivational response' is used to describe whether an emotion triggers an approach or avoid reaction (cf. Gadarian & Brader, in Huddy et al., 2023, 192f.).

'prototypical' (Barrett, 2006) and have drawn attention to cultural sensitivity (Ortony, 2022, 50) by pointing to the issue of transferability given diverging cultural contexts.

Secondly, appraisal theory offers a definition for emotion which incorporates multiple components or elements centring the name-giving element of *cognitive appraisal*. Cognitive appraisal thereby refers to the individual's detection and evaluation of external stimuli in regard to whether and how these are significant for personal well-being (Moors et al., 2013, 120; Scherer, 2005, 700f.; Smith & Lazarus, 1993, 237). Emotions are thus understood as "modes of relating to the environment" (Frijda & Mesquita in Kitayama & Markus, 1995, 51). The fact that the process of appraising one's surroundings constitutes a central component in the definition of emotion highlights that cognition is understood as being part and parcel of the experience of emotion. In addition to the components of external stimulus and cognitive appraisal, Appraisal Theory adds another element to the experience of emotion. The evaluation of one's environment is translated into "action readiness" (Frijda, 1988, 351) or "action tendencies" (Scherer, 2005, 698), i.e., into specific behavioural responses of the individual to the perceived changes in the individual's environment (Lerner & Keltner, 2000, 476; Schmidt-Atzert, et al., 2014, 210). Emotions are therefore understood as conscious processes (Ortony, 2022). While the different definitional components aid to distinguish an emotion from other affective states, the element of cognitive appraisal, given the theory's eponymous name, is of central importance. It is also what differentiates most clearly Basic Emotion Theory from Cognitive Appraisal Theory. More specifically, the concept of appraisal stands in stark contrast to the claim that prototypical emotions exist and are ultimately rooted in primordial instincts, e.g., fight/flight, caregiving, investigation (Plutchik, 2001, 346). Instead, appraisal theory essentially believes human emotion to be dependent on cognition.

What is present in both these theories is the agreement on the existence of discrete emotions, which sets them apart from the third major approach that views the boundaries between different emotional states as fuzzy (Barrett, 2006, 33; Russel in Barrett & Russel, 2015, 204). According to the constructivist approach, emotions are not only psychologically constructed by memory, predictions and embodied knowledge but moreover heavily influenced by social roles and values in a culture or society (Frijda & Mesquita in Kitayama & Markus, 1995; Pierce, 2021, 597f.). In that sense, an emotion, strictly speaking, merely constitutes an individual experience that is quite heterogeneous, i.e., including different reactions which does not only vary over a person's course of life but also depends on the given situational context (Barrett, 2006, 27, 32). In reference to others' (expressions of) emotions, on the other hand, emotional states "are constructed via the process of categorization" (Barrett, 2006, 27). This explains why, e.g., people from the same culture more easily identify discrete emotions in facial expressions (ibid., 26f.). It is important to stress that the boundaries of these theoretical approaches are not clear-cut, in the sense that a constructivist paradigm can work well with an appraisal account of emotion so that scientific research is sometimes informed by more than one approach. There is nonetheless noteworthy disagreement over the measurability of discrete emotions between a constructivist and a cognitive appraisal account of emotion. Lisa Barrett (2006) criticizes the lack of consistent, empirical evidence for the existence of "qualitatively different kinds" of emotional experiences that lead to unique, clearly categorizable behavioural patterns (p. 24). In regard to measurement methods of emotion, she furthermore claims that individuals' reports substantially differ in their attention to detailed emotional states; a phenomenon she calls "emotional granularity" (ibid., 25). Most political science scholars however explicitly opt for cognitive appraisal theory as their conceptual basis for research albeit acknowledging the impact of cultural factors on the expression of emotions. Defining emotion as "multi-componential" (Sacharin, Schlegel & Scherer,

2012) highlights the complexity of its different elements, thereby directly pointing to the array of ways in which emotions matter in the realm of politics. Appraisal theory furthermore explicitly acknowledges the intertwining of cognition and emotion and, by differentiating between discrete emotions, renders the study of the political role of emotions more feasible.

Despite the various approaches and definitions of emotion, there appears to be an agreement on a processual or componential definition, especially in contemporary research in psychology as well as other disciplines. Recurring components include an *event* or *physiological stimulus*, an *affective response*, *cognitive appraisal* and an *action tendency*. Emotions inform us of changes in our environment, assigning them an essential function in aiding how we understand the world (Pierce, 2021, 599). The fact that it is strictly speaking not the event or stimulus itself that elicits an emotion but our evaluation of what it means for our goals and well-being, highlights the necessity of cognitive appraisal and explains why cognitive appraisal theory is the predominant theoretical approach in the field of political research.

Appraisal theory furthermore provides the foundation in which further theories are conceptually rooted. Bakker et al., for example, follow the *Hot Cognition Hypothesis*, according to which every socio-political phenomenon has an affective dimension that influences the individual's evaluation of it (2021, 151). The perhaps most prominent and widely used theory in political psychology is *Affective Intelligence Theory* (AIT) by George E. Marcus, Michael MacKuen and W. Russell Neuman. Enjoying particular popularity in US political psychology, it maintains that emotions help individuals "manage their attention to the political world" (Marcus et al., 2011, 324). This allows for conclusions to be drawn regarding specific behavioural reactions in political contexts. In underscoring the "direction of influence from cognition to affective states" (Marcus et al., 2007, 16), AIT posits that there are two different systems, the disposition and the surveillance system, which give rise to different emotions and resulting action tendencies (Marcus, 2003, 202f.). A crucial distinction is thereby drawn between familiar and unfamiliar stimuli, given that the disposition system manages the known whilst the surveillance system informs and warns the individual of the unknown (Marcus, 2003, 202f.). According to AIT, the behavioural reactions of individuals experiencing specific emotions, namely enthusiasm, anger and fear, can be predicted based on which of the two systems is triggered. Following this, Pierce (2021, 602) illustrates how further discrete emotions can be conceptually linked to the aforementioned three, according to shared cognitive appraisal and responsive action. In a review of studies using AIT, Funck and Lau however question the significance of most findings corroborating AIT and advise researchers to be cautious towards the multiplicity of factors impacting an individual's actions (2023, 14f.). It needs to be stressed though that, while AIT is the most mentioned emotion theory, political science scholars mainly use it in an eclectic manner whereby specific aspects selectively inform the respective studies' theoretical framework and at times also their research expectations (Banks, 2014; Tolbert et al., 2021; Valentino et al., 2011; Vasilopoulos et al. 2022; Wamsler et al., Widmann, 2021)¹⁰.

The predominance of AIT might also correlate to the fact that anger and fear are the most studied emotions in political research (cf. Wagner & Morisi, 2019, 1; cf. Annex A3). Anxiety is found to be causally linked to increased policy-learning, even for those with strong, prior opinions (Lablih et

¹⁰ There is some variance in the degree to which AIT matters. While for some scholars, the research hypotheses are heavily based on insights offered by AIT (Erhardt, et al., 2023; Lablih et al., 2024), others, on the other hand, combine it with other theories (Civettini & Redlawsk 2009; Valentino et al., 2011; van Zomeren, 2021) or treat AIT even more superficially (Gabehart et al., 2023; Pierce et al., 2024; Widmann, 2021).

al., 2024). In a similar manner, anger is connected to specific voting preferences, namely to the increased support for radical parties even though a causal relationship between emotion and radical vote cannot clearly and consistently be established (Jacobs et al., 2024, 23). In a study on racial attitudes on health care in the US, Banks (2014) finds that strong prior beliefs related to the subject are uniquely bolstered and, as he argues, further polarized by anger while opinions on other “race-neutral” topics are unaffected by a heightened experience of anger. These exemplary studies demonstrate that emotion is only one of multiple factors that influence politically relevant behaviour, which also makes it more complicated to identify the specific type of relationship, i.e., bidirectional, causal, etc., between an emotion and a certain type of behaviour.

A further area of study in which research deals with negative emotions in particular is populism. In this light, mainly right-wing populist success in Europe and the US is frequently explained through the usage of heightened emotional rhetoric (Hopkins in Huddy et al., 2023; Wirz, 2018; Verbalyte, Bonansinga & Exadaktylos, 2022). Besides resentment (Abts & Baute, 2022) and fear (Flinders and Hinterleitner¹¹, 2022), anger is the recurring emotional ingredient in populist communication and factor for its success. Anger elicited by the Covid pandemic is positively linked to populist messages (Erhardt et al., 2023), and populist success is facilitated by turning self-directed anger about one’s socio-economic situation into a more enjoyable form of collective anger, which allows to direct responsibility away from oneself to external actors, who are to blame (Marx, 2020). Studies about emotions in populism tend to concentrate on populist *rhetoric*, which, in general, is said to be more emotional than non-populist communication (Widmann 2021, 163). Notwithstanding, non-populist politicians may also adopt an emotional tone in their discourse. With growing populist success, they increasingly appeal to positive emotions in order to counter a populist emphasis on negative ones (Valentim & Widmann, 2023). This is not to claim though that positive emotions are absent from populist rhetoric as the usage of enthusiasm and hope has been linked to populist persuasion of non-supporters (Tolbert et al., 2018; Wirz, 2018, 1128f.). Widmann (2021) thereby stresses that emotions of different valence are appealed to by populists for different purposes. Negative emotions feature in targeting the other, i.e., the elite and/or migrants, whilst positive emotions are associated with addressing the ingroup, i.e., creating a sense of common identity between ‘the people’ and the populist party (p. 176). Evidently, populism is a topic of much scholarly interest. In populist communication, emotions might be quite readily available for analysis, thus comparatively easy to study. In times of multiple crises, populists appear to effectively exploit insecurities by appealing to emotions often linked to safety and protection. However, limiting one’s study to fear and anger naturally leads to identifying a higher salience of these emotions, which runs risk of painting a biased picture of reality.

3.1.2.2 *Emotions in the process of (protective) policymaking*

The process during which a policy is implemented bears multiple opportunities to study emotions. Especially in light of the various steps that include deliberation and public communication of problems and possible policy solutions offer chances for policymakers as well as other actors to pursue their goals by, amongst other strategies, using and appealing to emotions. Besides political actors, citizen initiatives as well make use of emotions in their public policy consultations aimed at convincing policymakers of their stance on a certain issue (Fink et al., 2023; Fullerton & Weible, 2024; Gabehart et al., 2023). Especially when policy proposals are controversial or viewed as

¹¹ To be more precise, the authors study fear as central to what they call ‘grievance politics’ which is however ultimately congruent to what most refer to as populism.

highly relevant to an individual's personal well-being and safety, emotional language appears increasingly appealing.

In the analysis of issues of insecurity and protection, negative affective states seem to prevail. Zahariadis (2015, 468) defines these states as those determined by a perception of threat. Feelings of insecurity, worry and perceived threat evidently go hand in hand with protection. According to a survey by Ipsos (2024), citizens around the world worry about certain threats, such as the Covid-19 pandemic or terrorism, at specific times during which these matters (re)enter centre-stage and thus peak in political and media attention. Other, more diffuse insecurities and risks like poverty, social inequality, unemployment, crime or corruption remain relatively stable in their worrying effect on individuals (Ipsos, 2024). A large part of why and when something is perceived as threatening hence in need of mitigation or even elimination is thus determined by the nature of a threat itself. However, it is at the same time crucial that the individual perceives something as threatening, a process which involves an affective reaction on behalf of the individual as well as a cognitive appraisal of the given situation as posing a threat to the individual's well-being. Moreover, understanding something as an issue of protection relies on the successful communication or framing of said topic (cf. Albertson & Gadarian, 2015, 43).

In that regard, Albertson and Gadarian (2015) distinguish between unframed and framed threats. While the first refers to threats, such as diseases, that are well-known to constitute a danger in themselves, the latter is related to more complex forms of uncertainty, such as immigration, or climate change. In their distinction, they provide examples which concentrate on society, i.e., threats often concerning an individual's "place in society, the quality of that society, or the economic health of a country" (p. 43). Given their multifaceted nature, policies addressing such threats are more susceptible to manipulation (p. xxi, 43). This distinction points to the great variety of different issues that can potentially be framed as related to protection and insecurity (cf. Bonansinga, 2022). In security studies, this understanding has given rise to an extensive strand of literature on 'securitization', i.e., the idea that security is first and foremost a speech act in which a powerful, often institutional actor, termed the 'securitising actor' presents a specific problem as a security issue for a certain group, e.g., the region or the nation (see Copenhagen School; Waever, 1993). This is by no means a claim that protective policies are merely rhetorical constructs. They can certainly have the function they promise, as seen during the Covid pandemic in which overtly protective and restrictive policies, aimed at shielding particularly vulnerable citizens from infection, did indeed result in lower death rates (Page-Tan & Corbin, 2021). Nevertheless, the crucial point made in the relevant literature is that, regardless of the potentially protective outcome, what ultimately attributes the quality of 'protective' to an issue or policy is a successful framing of it. In consideration of these points, Albertson and Gadarian offer a preliminary definition for protective policies stating that "policies can be considered protective based on the quality of the policy, because political leaders frame them as such, or because few opposing policies effectively challenge them" (2015, 100f.). This is sufficiently broad for an operational definition yet, by pointing to the wide array of different fields and ways in which a policy can be communicated as protective, it appears somewhat loose.

There is no clear-cut definition on precisely what constitutes a protective policy also because political actors may strategically present a certain policy of one of protection. As mentioned above such framing often successfully concerns more complex threats. However, during the course of the pandemic, it became evident that policies unarguably targeting issues of health protection are publicly contested in their protective nature. To present something as a threat thereby eliciting fear among the public is thus a strategic choice, which, when coming from political actors, is

usually aimed at garnering electoral support. Anxious people prefer politicians who promise them protection and favour those policies which they deem avert risk and provide protection (Albertson & Gadarian, 2015, 101; cf. Wagner & Morisi, 2019). Anxiety can even override partisanship as citizens more strongly support protective policies when afraid regardless of the party advocating for them (Albertson & Gadarian, 2015, 136). In that regard, it is crucial for political success to be seen as the actor who is most competent to counter the source of fear. Unsurprisingly, in her study of populist parties in France, Bonansinga (2022, 100) finds that different, ideologically diverging parties harbour and exploit insecurity as an overarching approach to different topics. There is however also scientific evidence that specific parties are regarded as more competent in certain areas which endows them with increased credibility if it is in their field of expertise where a threat is identified (Albertson & Gadarian, 2015, 99).

Scholars often speak of threat, risk, uncertainty and trust in their studies on emotion in the policy context (Albertson & Gadarian, 2015; Gottweis, 2007; Stucki & Sager, 2018, Zahariadis, 2015). Relatedly, it is predominantly negative emotions, such as fear, anger or distress, that are linked to the study of protective issues. After the terrorist attack of 9/11, speeches by several US-American politicians naturally contained references to fear and anger (Loseke, 2009; De Castella & McGarty 2011), but this varied from certain periods in the era of the War on Terror indicating that emotional appeals are not inevitable content in political rhetoric but a strategic choice. In the same context, Loseke (2009) points to the usage of a more diverse set of ‘emotion codes’¹² in political speeches which comprises fear, anger and hate but also pride and patriotism. A further emotion, that is found to affect individuals’ policy opinion on security issues of law and order, is empathy (Gross, 2008). These studies highlight that, even in times crisis and perceived pending threat, political communication is not limited to negative emotions. Rather, it appeals to a diverse array of different sentiments that include positive emotions, such as empathy and pride¹³.

One policy area, in which security is regularly underlined as the desired outcome, concerns punitive policies. According to Jefferson (2023), people who are ashamed of their race are more supportive of punitive policies, even though these might predominantly target members of their own racial group. The emotion of shame needs to be stressed here, since it is rarely the object of study. This might be due to its complexity, mirrored in a frequent categorization of being a moral emotion (Haidt in Davidson et al., 2003). Compared to other areas, such as the pandemic or immigration, punitive policies are however less often a topic of interest when it comes to studying the role of emotions in policy processes¹⁴.

In spite of its recency, the Covid-19 pandemic already gave rise to a variety of literature on the role of emotions in restrictive policies related to combatting the threat of the Coronavirus. Here again, fear and anger are analysed as the most prominent reactions to different aspects of the pandemic threat. While Erhardt et al. (2022) concentrate on the positive relationship between a Covid-related experience of anger and individuals’ inclination towards authoritarian alternatives to democracy, most studies deal with the linkage between negative emotions and protective

¹² The term ‘emotion code’ points to a conceptual variety, as it simply denotes cues that elicit specific emotional responses in the audience; a concept elsewhere referred to as emotion content or emotional language.

¹³ It needs to be added that, scientifically, pride is not unequivocally understood as a positive emotion but inconsistently categorized as both, negative and positive (compare Armenta, Fritz & Lyubomirsky, 2017 and Gadarian & Brader in Huddy et al., 2023).

¹⁴ In the academic literature on framing, there is however research on the interplay between emotions, different frames and policy opinion regarding law-and-order issues (Gross, 2008; Gross & D’Ambrosio, 2004).

behaviour and policy preferences. Experiencing pandemic-related fear and sadness is shown to increase support for protectionist behaviour as well as policies (Merrolla et al., 2023; Renström & Bäck, 2021) while the same effect cannot be observed for anger (Vasilopoulos et al., 2022). Renström and Bäck (2021) show that the pandemic triggers different emotional reactions in people which, in turn, have diverging effects on support for different Covid-related policies. According to their study, anger shifts one's focus to justice violations and the responding policies, whereas fear directs attention to the spread of the virus, thus increasing the support for policies aimed at protecting citizens from infection (p. 870). This distinction between the diverging effect of specific emotions confirms earlier findings on framing that are unrelated to Covid (Nabi, 2003). It is therefore not only fear and anxiety which are evoked by the perception of threat. Instead, issues of insecurity, e.g., the Covid-19 pandemic, represent a source for a complexity of emotions which respond to different aspects of a threat. In addition to policy preferences, fear elicited by insecurities can lead to individuals overcoming the distrust they have in institutions and political actors (Vasilopoulos et al. 2022; cf. Albertson & Gadarian, 2015, 73f.).

Besides concrete policy areas and PROTEMO's focus on protective policies, public policy theories have a lot to say about rationality in policymaking. The approach to decision-making in policy analysis is knowledge-centric (Knaggård, Dolan & Blum, 2019; Paul & Haddad, 2019: 310), while, on the contrary, the concept of emotion remains understudied despite the so-called 'emotional turn' in social sciences. Within certain policy frameworks, emotions have nevertheless already been conceptualized: the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF).

As mentioned in the Grant Agreement, we will concentrate further on the conceptual integration of emotion into the Multiple Streams Network (see Literature Review D1.2, especially on 'emotional entrepreneurs'). As a prominent theory on policymaking, the MSF by John Kingdon finds at its core the notion of *ambiguity*, which, as argued by certain scholars (Knaggård, Dolan & Blum, 2019; Kuhlmann in Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016; Zahariadis, 2015), allows for and considers something beyond certainty and rational knowledge already at the foundational level. According to Zahariadis, the MSF is in fact the only framework "that pays explicit attention to emotion via the concept of national mood" (2015, 467). A second key assumption in the MSF is the concept of *bounded rationality*. It describes a characteristic of actors involved in the policy process referring to their imperfect cognition of decision-making as well as imperfect understanding of context and time constraints (Cairney & Weible, 2017, 620; Cairney & Jones, 2016, 42). This means that policymakers may have a goal in mind without exactly knowing how to achieve it. Even more so, from the very beginning of policy research, comprehensive rationality was rejected as practically impossible which underscores the necessity to better understand emotional reactions to information in general, and policies in particular, and to develop more viable strategies that cast aside "the myth of comprehensively rational action" (Cairney & Weible, 2017, 625). Both underlying concepts of ambiguity and bounded rationality make possible a profound integration of emotion into the MSF.

So far, emotions have explicitly been dealt with at specific stages of the policy process as well as regarding specific actors. For example, Maor and Gross (2015, 3) conceptualize the "emotional entrepreneur" as a central actor involved in emotion regulation, in determining the dominant feelings of a culture or nation at a specific time. The core argument is that policymakers who are aware and willing to use emotion regulation strategically are more successful in their impact on the policy process. Zahariadis (2015, 466), interested in the "affective strategies of coupling", presents empirical support for the argument that, under certain circumstances (novel events, high

saliency, inconsistent beliefs, unfamiliar and complex tasks), fear strongly and consistently impacts the stage of the policymaking process in which, according to MSF, specific problems are coupled with respective policy solutions (p. 477). Knaggård (2015), on the other hand, concentrates on the ways in which a problem is framed as such. According to her, problem frames, which require policy attention, incorporate knowledge, values and emotion (p. 456). Considering that framing is essentially about selective highlighting, specific actors may prioritize the emotional aspect of a frame whenever knowledge is limited (p. 457). While she conceives emotional frames as more susceptible to being challenged, she also maintains that, once established, such problem frames are harder to reframe through, e.g., the use of knowledge (p. 458). Here again, we are confronted with an understanding of emotion as a double-edged sword that, when used, can turn to one's benefit as well as pose new difficulties.

A final contribution to policy analysis and, more specifically to the MSF, is the adoption of an Aristotelian approach to policymaking by introducing logos, ethos and pathos. From this perspective, ethos and pathos are understood as intrinsic to reasoning instead of being irrational deviations that should be avoided (Knaggård, Doland & Blum, 2019: 10; cf. Gottweis, 2007). According to Stucki and Sager (2018), evidence and scientific facts (logos) are used in problem frames during the process of policymaking in order to increase the credibility of the argument and the trustworthiness of the speaker (p. 381). They thus suggest a rhetorical perspective from which a problem frame can only persuade its target audience and hence dominate other frames, when it is communicated in a manner which makes the speaker trustworthy (ethos), when the public and relevant policymakers are roused to emotions (pathos) and when the frame establishes a plausible, evidence-based argument (logos) (pp. 375f.).

What can be derived from these contributions is that emotions are no longer seen as alien to the overall process of policymaking and the MSF in particular. The selected examples stress the flexible structure of the MSF and already identify some ways in which emotions can be conceptualized within this policy framework. However, they also remain largely theoretical demanding empirical testing.

3.1.2.3 Emotions in Political Communication

We do not only feel emotions, we also very often express them through our behaviour, mimics, gestures and verbally through the use of language. Our individual experience of emotion is thus unarguably shaped by language (Schmidt-Atzert, et al., 2014, 218). Idiomatic differences and individual language command certainly require being taken into account when researching emotions. Although emotional experiences can also be studied methodologically through determining physiological changes in the individual, psychologists seeking to measure emotion frequently resort to the method of self-reports. This is sensible particularly in political settings, since it is human interaction rather than internal processes that is a primary subject of scholarly interest. Appealing to emotions through language constitutes a useful strategic tool for politicians, which can be seen in variation in its usage based on different contexts. Politicians generally communicate more emotionally in front of an audience which comprises potential voters compared to situations of interacting with colleagues or experts (Osnabrügge et al., 2021, 897). Emotions thereby function to make a statement more compelling. They can furthermore establish what Stapleton and Dawkins (2022) refer to as "affective linkages". If a member of the preferred party expresses anger or disgust, the electorate as well gets angrier or more disgusted (Stapleton & Dawkins, 2022, 760, 762). Research moreover shows that party identification increases when politicians use emotional language (Osnabrügge et al., 2021, 887).

In light of the review's special focus on protective policies, political communication during crisis differs substantially from regular political communication in the sense that it is more simple and less complex (Eisele, Tolochko & Boomgaarde, 2022, 966f.). Scholars found that political executives did however not always attempt to allay fears in times of threat (Eisele, Tolochko & Boomgaarde, 2022, 965). Rather, using anxious rhetoric, they might aid maintaining a momentum of crisis, perhaps due to the uncertainty of the overall situation or possible strategic benefits. In regard to political communication on the issue of terrorism, emotional content including fear, anger, hate, pride and patriotism frequently appeared in political speeches in the US (Loseke, 2009; De Castella & McGarty 2011). They were rarely contested and, when used in combination with respective symbols, proved to be powerful tools to convey the speaker's message (Loseke, 2009, 517).

Related to this, emotional storylines or narratives also form part of communication that accompanies conflicts. Verhoeven and Metze find a general pattern according to which discourses around conflict temporally develop from eliciting anxiety to more concrete fear to anger and finally to contempt connected with growing political distrust (2022, 233). As distrust can grow, political figures must be careful in their choice of rhetoric, especially in crises. Specific threat-related language is thus used with care, as its speakers can become seen as overwhelmed or even incompetent to handle the challenges at hand (Dingler, 2024, 1). Nonetheless, evoking threat through public communication can successfully mobilize individuals to follow and accept restrictions as well as foster social cohesion (Dingler, 2024, 1). Politicians therefore strategically communicate emotions through language, especially in situations of crisis, in a way that makes them appear as most competent to take the needed actions to address a threat.

But emotional communication cannot exclusively be observed in the rhetoric of political actors. Instead, issues of societal relevance are communicated emotionally by various actors. In relation to late-term abortion, Andsager (2000) demonstrates how particularly pro-life activists influenced the wider media coverage through a more emotional messaging. Their framing of the topic determined the narratives and terms that were adopted by journalists and dominated the overall debate. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the role of the speaker in fact did not matter with regard to emotions as emotional language formed part of the repertoire of politicians and scientists alike (Dingler, 2024, 15). This is particularly interesting in challenging the assumption that emotions are only appealed to in order to manipulate the audience. Rather, it is part and parcel of various, very different human interactions. According to another study which investigates the strategic usage of emotions by climate activists, these use hope to send a positive message, gather attention and support for their cause while the usage of anger is dependent on the region, in this case the Global South (Kleres & Wettergren, 2017). This shows that emotional language is indeed often used in pursuit of a specific goal. However, eliciting emotions is by no means a manipulation tool exclusively detected in political communication but instead universally made use of. As emphasized by a constructivist account of emotion, it is necessary to consider the sociocultural context, as scientific findings should first and foremost be understood in their respective research context.

In regard to emotion and framing (see Literature Review D1.2 on framing), studies generally investigate which emotions are elicited by which frames¹⁵. However, emotions evoked by certain frames need to ideally be congruent with the receiver's prior beliefs and attitudes to the respective

¹⁵ Episodic frames function overall more on the affective level than thematic ones (Gross, 2008, 183). Situational frames evoke anger and disgust, while dispositional frames rely more on sympathy and pity (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004).

topic in order to lead to a change in policy opinion (Brewer, 2001, 60; Gross, 2008, 181). Other studies (Brewer, 2001; Clifford, 2018; Druckman & McDermott, 2008) investigate the effect of certain emotions on the persuasiveness of different frames. These findings however remain highly context-bound depending on the topic, the distinction between different frame types and between emotions. The selected parameters naturally impact the study which can thus generate inconsistent results about one and the same emotion¹⁶. The increase of polarization has also been positively linked to emotional responses to frames. Clifford (2018) claims that persuasive frames cannot only elicit emotions among its recipients, most importantly anger and disgust, but these can in fact lead to moralization of the recipients' political attitudes which makes fruitful grounds for polarization.

In the context of voting and political campaigning, Maier and Nai (2020) analyse campaign negativity and emotional appeals in candidates' speeches in relation to media coverage. As expected, they find that the positive effect of campaign negativity on media coverage is stronger than other tested variables. What is, however, interesting is that the effect of emotional content on media coverage dwarfs that of negativity (p. 600). This applies especially in comparison to using emotional content, which strongly increases media coverage. They add that, in order to be successfully received by the media and thus potentially attracting more voters, political candidates need to be "tonally consistent" by combining enthusiasm and positive messages as well as negative communication and fear (2020, 600). Even though increased media coverage is not congruent with electoral success, these findings at any rate sit well with the fact that emotions are potent drivers of human action. They also point to a considerable body of literature which analyses populist rhetoric and asserts that a large proportion of populist success in Europe is determined by a rhetoric that is tendentially more emotional as well as persuasive than other political communication (Hopkins in Huddy et al., 2023; Verbalyte, Bonansinga & Exadaktylos, 2022; Wirz, 2018). This certainly has an influence on other parties' rhetoric as well as on the overall culture of political debate (e.g., Valentim & Widmann, 2023).

3.1.2.4 Insights from the systematic literature review

Following the three categories according to which the literature was coded, this section first introduces the complementary insights regarding the content of relevant literature in the fields of political psychology, political science as well as communication and policy studies. Then, key observations concerning method and data are presented. The systematic review functions as a sort of quantifying overview of relevant literature that could not be dealt with in depth as it was done in the narrative review. However, as this section is meant to present notable trends in the overall literature, the following tables, hence the outline conclusions as well, comprise both, articles from the narrative and the systematic literature review¹⁷.

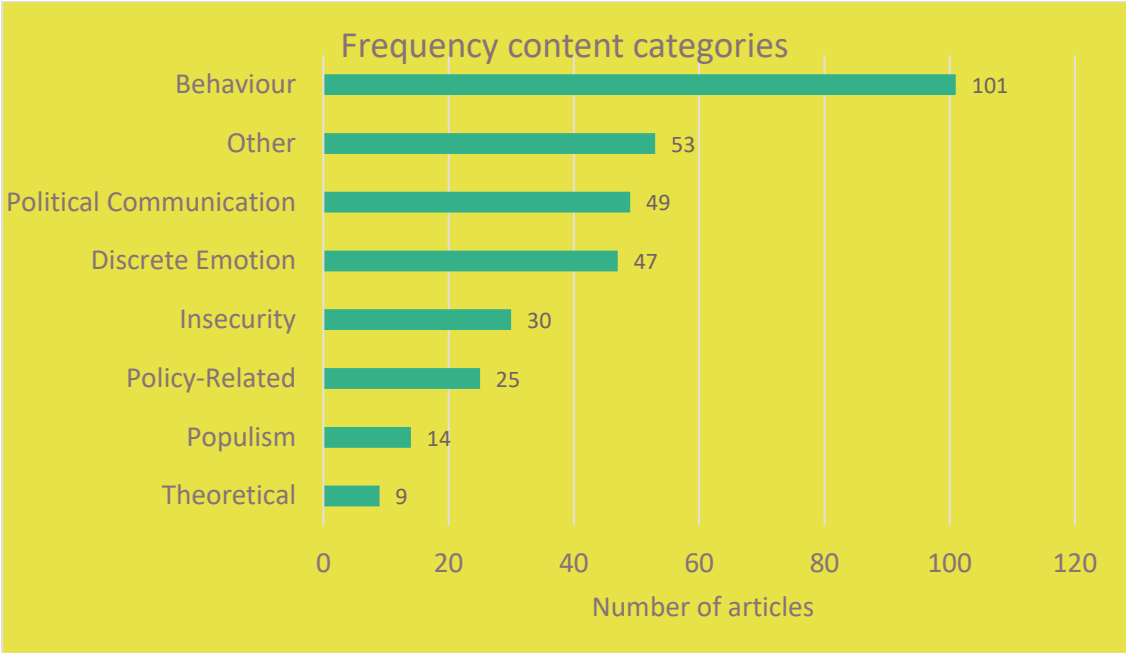
In congruence with the preliminary observation during the narrative literature review, studies on the concrete role of emotions in policy processes are evidently less common than those dealing with the affective components of political behaviour and the analysis of emotional content in political communication (cf. Fig. 3). This means that how individuals behave in certain emotional states or which emotions spark as well as mediate specific behaviours, i.e., information processing, policy learning or voting preferences, has most extensively been researched with

¹⁶ For example, anger is found by Clifford (2018) to mediate the framing effect in the context of food politics, whereas Druckman & McDermott (2008) claim the opposite for different risky-choice frames.

¹⁷ This amounts to a total of **241** pieces of literature including articles (224), book chapters (13) and other academic papers (4). As there was some overlap between the narrative and systematic literature reviews, the articles from the latter were reduced to 162 (cf. 2.1) and a total of 79 were added from the former.

regard to politics. In some studies, the situational context of eliciting certain emotions is one of (imagined) insecurity and threat scenarios as shown in those 30 articles coded with ‘insecurity’ (Fig. 3). The fact that studies about populism are not that numerous is owed to the significant proportion of contributions in psychological journals which focus on broader politically relevant topics, e.g., decision-making or voting preferences. A final conclusion drawn from content-coding meets our experiences during the narrative review. Scholars by and large incorporate multiple emotions in their research rather than limiting their study to one discrete emotion. Even though such a focus would certainly allow a more detailed analysis, emotions often co-occur which renders an analysis of a more diverse set closer to the studied phenomena.

Figure 3 Coded content categories



An important observation linked to the shortage of academic contributions to the specific role(s) of emotions in the policy process, is that policy-focussed studies are more often conceptual articles than the studies on behaviour and communication. This applies in particular to literature which addresses a concrete policy, often builds upon a specific policy framework or approach and which is published in a non-psychology journal. In fact, slightly more than half (7 out of 13) of these articles are purely conceptual without conducting empirical research (cf. Annex A5).

With regards to preferred research method and usage of data, a striking dominance can be identified. A survey¹⁸ and experiment research design are most commonly used in the reviewed literature with a lead of surveys used in 84 studies in comparison to 66 articles based on experimental research. What stands out most is perhaps the large gap between experiments, surveys and conceptual papers, on the one hand, and the remaining methods on the other. This stands in contrast to the policy studies literature examined in part one of this review in which the predominant method is a case study. Quantitative text analysis is the most common among these, yet it accounts for merely 12 articles in contrast to 58 conceptual papers.

¹⁸ The coding for ‘survey’ also includes survey studies coupled with an experimental design as well as those referred to by the author/s as “panel” or “panel survey”.

Figure 4 Coded method categories

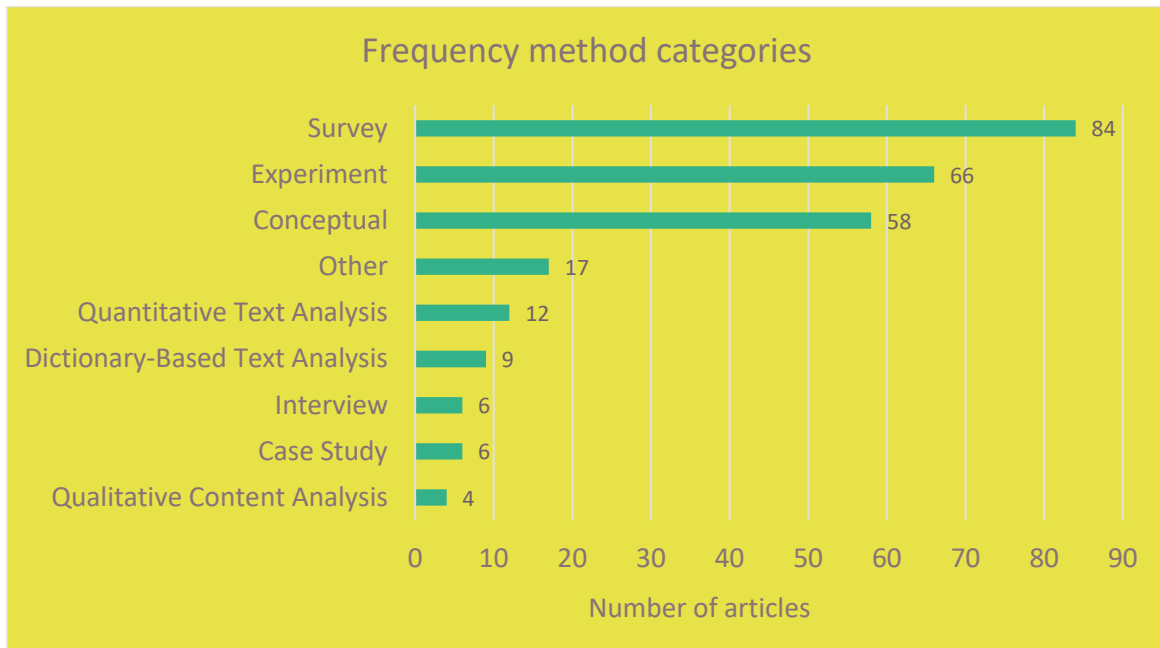
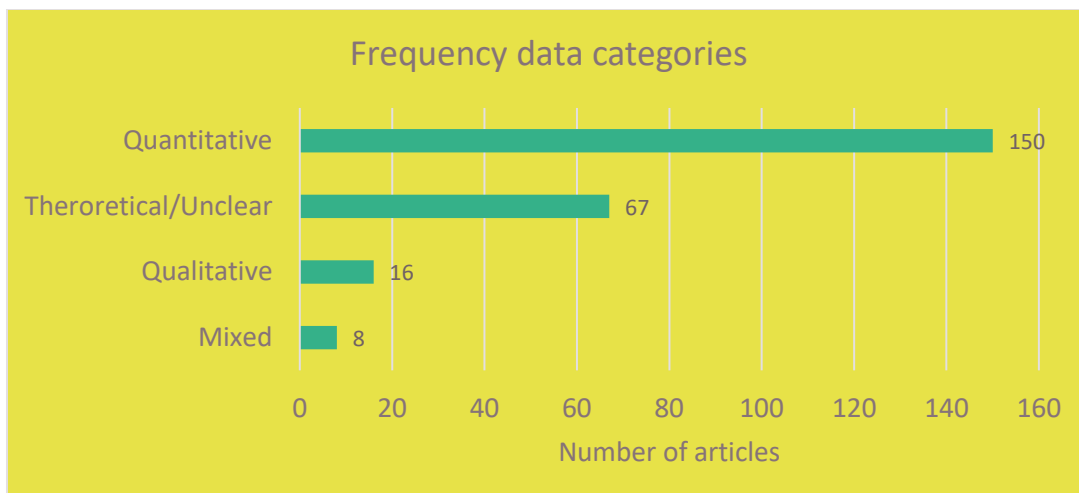


Figure 5 Data



This dominance of surveys and experiments can furthermore aid to explain the even more obvious preponderance of quantitative data as these tend to match up. Traditionally more qualitative research methods, such as interviews or, evidently, qualitative content analysis, are less common in scientific literature on emotions in general and in the context of politics as well.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Results Summary

The key results of the second part can be divided according to the three foci: (i) emotions in the context of politics; (ii) emotions in (protective) policy-making; and (iii) emotions in political communication.

- I. Growing interest in the study of emotions has led to the development of various emotion theories in the field of psychology. Cognitive Appraisal Theory and Affective Intelligence Theory thereby prevail in political science and policy research on the matter. What has received particular scholarly attention is the, at times causal, link

between discrete emotional states and specific types of behaviour, which matter in the realm of politics. The oftentimes overt emotional appeal of populism and populist rhetoric sparked increased academic treatise, which matches the general overrepresentation of studying negative emotions, notably anger and fear.

- II. The topic of insecurity and need(s) for protection also go well with concentrating on negative emotions. Yet, there is no unified, conceptual attempt to define 'protective policies' which would incorporate the concept of emotion. In fact, a standard definition of protective policies, which enjoys scholarly agreement, is missing altogether. Being one exemplary cases of insecurity, the recent Covid-19 pandemic has already produced a significant amount of literature that also pays attention to emotion. Further, rather conceptual contributions concern the integration of emotion into existing policy frameworks which nevertheless lack extensive empirical validation. In this regard, the Multiple Streams Framework appears to stand out in providing fruitful, theoretical grounds for studying emotions in the process of policy-making thanks to concepts of, e.g., bounded rationality or ambiguity.
- III. When it comes to emotion in political communication, relevant actors can be manifold, ranging from politicians to policymakers but also to interest groups or activists. Context is, however, always important to consider since an emotional tone or strategic appeals to emotion are more prevalent in those types of communication which are directed at potential voters, an institution or legislative body responsible for a concrete policy implementation. Attracting heightened media coverage, emotions also play powerful role in electoral campaigning. Furthermore, crisis communication represents a specific type of rhetoric guided by its own rules and regularities. Lastly, framing literature has generated various studies on the interplay between emotions and different frames. All in all, the role of emotions in political communication is very well-researched in a noteworthy diversity of distinct strands of literature.

3.2.2 Critique

Regarding the study of emotions in political science research, there are some points worth of critique. Firstly, we can note the most evident bias in choice of research methods. As demonstrated in section 2.2.4, survey design and quantitative data prevail with great difference in frequency to other methodological approaches. Such one-sided emphasis might not only fail to grasp the complexity of emotion but moreover prevent the generation of more diverse scientific findings. The lack of methodological diversity is indeed addressed by PROTEMO through its qualitative and quantitative research design comprising, e.g., interviews, a survey, ethnographic research as well as qualitative content analysis. Appraisal theory and AIT moreover very much dominate the theoretical foundation based on which emotions are conceptualized by political science scholars. However, recent advancements in cognitive science increasingly view emotions as constructed (see Barrett, 2017). A further gap hence constitutes the lack of studies illuminating the cultural and political mechanisms of emotion construction.

More instrumental and relevant to PROTEMO however is the criticism about the shortcomings of existing scientific literature with regards to content. As stated before, there is a significant interest, particularly in the field of political and social psychology, in the study of emotions in connection to politically relevant behaviour and action tendencies. In addition, the emotional language in communication by politicians, preferably populists, as well as in news coverage on political issues has also been extensively studied with regard to, e.g., policy preferences or political attitudes. Less generally, the success of populist parties in particular and equally populist rhetoric have been

subject of heightened academic scrutiny. With some exceptions mentioned in section 2.2.1 (e.g., Tolbert et al., 2018; Wirz, 2018), scholars mainly investigate exclusively negative emotions in the context of populism. This predominance points to an overall trend in the literature as 80 of the examined studies are solely concerned with negative emotions, predominantly fear and anger, whereas exclusively positive emotions are analysed in merely 12 articles (cf. Annex A3; A4). This lack of studying the effects of positive emotions on political phenomena constitutes a bias that negatively impacts the scientific knowledge on the topic and potentially corroborates its dominantly bad reputation among politicians as well as the public.

While there is already a considerable body of literature on the Covid-19 pandemic and therefore on specific protective policies in response to a global pandemic and the crises resulting thereof, research into the role of emotions in the process of policy-making remains underdeveloped to date. To complement extant conceptualisations regarding emotion in policy frameworks with empirical research will be a significant contribution of PROTEMO. For a better understanding of protective policy-making, it is equally necessary to study the impact of especially positive emotions on the process of policy-making. At the moment, such concrete studies on concrete emotional dynamics in the stage of agenda-setting, in decision-making processes and regarding potential implementation of specific policies are rare.

4 Conclusions

This literature review has examined the state of the art on two related research areas: on protective policies and on emotions related to politics, political communication and policy-making. While these reviews have each in their own right delivered important insights into main debates in the respective strands, several important insights can also be distilled when we draw together the findings from both reviews. Table 4 illustrates these overarching take-aways that emerge when we link the insights from the review on emotions and policy-making (Part B) to the main conceptual points raised by the review on proactive policy (Part A). The table shows where research on emotions and protective policies is interlinked and how this can inform a theoretical conceptualization of protective policies as well as guide the development of hypotheses on how emotions may affect the policy-making process on protective policies and vice versa.

Table 4 Protective policies and emotions

Take-aways from protective policy review	Linkage to emotions literature
Target groups of protection	Constructivist approaches in research on emotions argue that emotions are influenced by social roles and values in a culture or society. Here, construction of in-groups and out-groups, of those that deserve protection and those that do not, is a key aspect linking emotions to target groups.
Origin of protection	Threats, Anger, Anxiety but also positive emotions can elicit demands for protection; Difference between framed and unframed “origins” of protection depending on the concrete stimulus (→ appraisal theory)
Assessment of the need of protection	Individual-level differences can be important in how certain frames affect emotional responses by the public. Depending on certain individual characteristics, a certain (framed or

	unframed) stimulus (e.g., threat) can lead to more or less support for protective policies. The congruence of frames with individual predispositions may become important here.
Providers of protection	The role of speakers may play a role in how a frame affects individual emotions. No research on how emotions affect support in terms of the providers of protection.
Policy instruments providing protection	Different emotions can lead to support of different policy instruments (e.g., retribution vs. protection).
Drivers of protection	Emotions are related to the success of populist parties, which can, in turn, affect policy-making on protective policies by mainstream parties
Time horizon	The impact of emotions on protective policies as usually been studied in the short term (e.g., through framing experiments). However, as the time horizon of protective policies may differ, studying the interrelationships between emotions and protective policies need to be aware of the short time horizon that most of the emotional dynamics seem to have – or to theorize and empirically study medium- and long-term effects more closely.

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Annexes

Table A1: Selection of journals for review on protective policies

Source Title	Selection decision
ACADEMIC EMERGENCY MEDICINE	out
AFRICAN AND ASIAN STUDIES	out
AGEING & SOCIETY	in
AGENDA-EMPOWERING WOMEN FOR GENDER EQ..	in
AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS	out

AGRICULTURE AND HUMAN VALUES	out
AMERICAN JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE	in
AMERICAN JOURNAL OF HEALTH PROMOTION	in
AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY	in
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	in
AMERICAN POLITICS RESEARCH	in
ANNALS OF NUTRITION AND METABOLISM	out
ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POL..	in
ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF..	in
ANNALS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN..	in
ANNUAL REVIEW OF ENVIRONMENT AND RESO..	in
ANTHROPOLOGICAL FORUM	in
ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY	in
APPETITE	out
ARBOR-CIENCIA PENSAMIENTO Y CULTURA	in
ARMED FORCES & SOCIETY	out
ASIA & THE PACIFIC POLICY STUDIES	out
ASIA PACIFIC JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY	out
ASIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE	in
ASIAN STUDIES REVIEW	out
ATW-INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR NUCLEAR..	out
AUSSEN POLITIK	out
AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL A..	out
AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND HI..	in
AUSTRIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
BALTIC JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC STUDIES	out
BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES	in
BERLINER JOURNAL FUR SOZIOLOGIE	in
BMJ GLOBAL HEALTH	out
BOSTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW	in
BRITISH JOURNAL OF CRIMINOLOGY	in
BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICS & INTERNA..	in
CADERNOS DE SAUDE PUBLICA	out
CAHIERS AGRICULTURES	out
CAMBRIDGE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFF..	out
CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY	out
CANADIAN JOURNAL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDI..	in
CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGY-PSYCHOLOGIE CANAD..	in
CHINA AND WTO REVIEW	out
CHINA QUARTERLY	out
CHINESE JOURNAL OF AERONAUTICS	out
CHINESE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL POLI..	out
CHINESE POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	in
CITIES	in
CITIZENSHIP STUDIES	in
COASTAL MANAGEMENT	out
COGENT SOCIAL SCIENCES	in
COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES	out
COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES	in
COMPUTERS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR	out

CONFLICT AND HEALTH	out
CONSERVATION LETTERS	in
CONTEMPORARY EUROPE-SOVREMENNAYA EVROPA	in
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS	in
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY	out
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT	out
CRIME & DELINQUENCY	in
CRITICAL POLICY STUDIES	in
CRITICAL SOCIAL POLICY	in
CRITICAL STUDIES ON TERRORISM	in
CUADERNOS DE ECONOMIA-SPAIN	in
CUESTIONES POLITICAS	in
CURRENT FORESTRY REPORTS	out
DEFENCE AND PEACE ECONOMICS	out
DEFENCE AND SECURITY ANALYSIS	out
DEMOCRACY & SECURITY	in
DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE	out
DEVELOPMENT IN PRACTICE	out
DEVELOPMENT POLICY REVIEW	out
DISCRETE DYNAMICS IN NATURE AND SOCIETY	out
ECOLOGICAL ECONOMICS	out
EKONOMIA I SRODOWISKO-ECONOMICS AND E..	out
ENERGY POLICY	in
ENGINEERING STUDIES	out
ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING A-ECONOMY AN..	out
ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING C-POLITICS A..	in
ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING D-SOCIETY & ..	in
ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION	in
ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS	in
ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE & POLICY	in
ESKISEHIR OSMANGAZI UNIVERSITESI IIBF..	in
ESTUDIOS-CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS AVANZADOS..	in
ETHICS & GLOBAL POLITICS	in
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATI..	in
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL REL..	out
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SEC..	out
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SECURITY	in
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF TRANSFORMATION ST..	out
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF WOMENS STUDIES	in
EUROPEAN LAW REVIEW	in
EUROPEAN POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
EUROPEAN SECURITY	in
EVALUATION	in
EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN	out
EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES AND SOCIETY	out
FILOSOFIJA-SOCIOLOGIJA	in
FINANCIAL AND CREDIT ACTIVITY-PROBLEM..	out
FOOD AND NUTRITION BULLETIN	out
FOOD CONTROL	out
FOOD POLICY	out
FOOD SECURITY	out
FORDHAM LAW REVIEW	in

FOREST POLICY AND ECONOMICS	out
FRONTIERS IN CLIMATE	in
FUTURE INTERNET	in
FWU JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES	in
GACETA MEDICA DE MEXICO	out
GENDER & SOCIETY	in
GENDER PLACE AND CULTURE	in
GEOFORUM	in
GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL	in
GERMAN POLITICS	in
GERONTOLOGIST	out
GHANA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL	in
GLOBAL CHANGE PEACE & SECURITY	out
GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE-HUMAN AND..	in
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE	out
GLOBAL HEALTH PROMOTION	out
GLOBAL HEALTH RESEARCH AND POLICY	out
GLOBAL POLICY	in
GLOBAL SOCIAL POLICY	in
GLOBALIZATION AND HEALTH	out
GLOBALIZATIONS	in
HARVARD LAW REVIEW	in
HEALTH PROMOTION PERSPECTIVES	out
HEALTH RESEARCH POLICY AND SYSTEMS	out
HELIYON	in
HITIT THEOLOGY JOURNAL	out
IDS BULLETIN-INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT..	out
IEEE COMMUNICATIONS MAGAZINE	out
INDONESIA AND THE MALAY WORLD	out
INTERNASJONAL POLITIKK	out
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	out
INTERNATIONAL BREASTFEEDING JOURNAL	out
INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST JOURNAL OF POL..	in
INTERNATIONAL HISTORY REVIEW	in
INTERNATIONAL INTERACTIONS	in
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL	in
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMPUTER SCI..	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTA..	in
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HERITAGE STU..	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INJURY CONTR..	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MEDICAL INFO..	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS-POLITICS	in
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WELFARE	in
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION	in
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	in
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY	in
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS	in
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	out
INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORK	in
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PERSPECTIVES	in
ISRAEL AFFAIRS	in

JCMS-JOURNAL OF COMMON MARKET STUDIES	in
JOURNAL FUR VERBRAUCHERSCHUTZ UND LEB..	out
JOURNAL OF AGING & SOCIAL POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURAL & ENVIRONMENT..	out
JOURNAL OF AIR TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT	out
JOURNAL OF BLACK STUDIES	in
JOURNAL OF BORDERLANDS STUDIES	in
JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION	out
JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY ASIA	out
JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND HEALTH PROMO..	out
JOURNAL OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND PUBLI..	out
JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL LAW	out
JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT	out
JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL MONITORING	out
JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY & PLA..	in
JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF GLOBAL SECURITY STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF HEALTH POLITICS POLICY AND..	in
JOURNAL OF HOMELAND SECURITY AND EMER..	in
JOURNAL OF HUMAN LACTATION	out
JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS	in
JOURNAL OF INFRASTRUCTURE POLICY AND ..	in
JOURNAL OF INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS	out
JOURNAL OF INTEGRATIVE ENVIRONMENTAL ..	in
JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY ECONOMICS	out
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC LAW	out
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AN..	in
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AN..	out
JOURNAL OF KOREA TRADE	out
JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICAL SCIENCES	in
JOURNAL OF MEHMET AKIF ERSOY UNIVERSI..	in
JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF OCCUPATIONAL AND ENVIRONME..	out
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH	out
JOURNAL OF POLICY HISTORY	in
JOURNAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF PUBLIC POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF RURAL STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF SOCIAL POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF SYSTEMS SCIENCE AND SYSTEM..	out
JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN PHARMACISTS A..	out
JOURNAL OF URBAN TECHNOLOGY	out
JOURNAL OF WORKPLACE BEHAVIORAL HEALTH	out
JOURNAL OF WORLD TRADE	out
JURIDICAS CUC	in
KOREAN JOURNAL OF DEFENSE ANALYSIS	out
KOREAN JOURNAL OF MEDICAL HISTORY	out
LANCET	out
LAND	out
LAND USE POLICY	out

LATIN AMERICAN POLICY	out
LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY	out
LAW AND SOCIAL INQUIRY-JOURNAL OF THE..	in
LAWS	in
LEX HUMANA	in
LIBRARY & INFORMATION SCIENCE RESEARCH	out
MARINE POLICY	out
MARKETING AND MANAGEMENT OF INNOVATIONS	out
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS	in
MIGRATION STUDIES	in
MILBANK QUARTERLY	in
MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYE O..	out
MOBILITIES	in
MONOGRAPHS OF THE SOCIETY FOR RESEARC..	in
NURSE EDUCATOR	out
NURSING FORUM	out
NUTRIENTS	out
OCCUPATIONAL MEDICINE-OXFORD	out
OPEN AGRICULTURE	out
PACIFIC AFFAIRS	out
PACIFIC FOCUS	out
PACIFIC REVIEW	out
PARTY POLITICS	in
PEACEBUILDING	out
PEDIATRICS	out
POLICY AND POLITICS	in
POLICY AND SOCIETY	in
POLICY SCIENCES	in
POLICY STUDIES JOURNAL	in
POLITICA Y GOBIERNO	in
POLITICA Y SOCIEDAD	in
POLITICAL BEHAVIOR	in
POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY	in
POLITICAL RESEARCH QUARTERLY	in
POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY	in
POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND METHODS	in
POLITICAL STUDIES	in
POLITICAL STUDIES REVIEW	in
POLITICKA EKONOMIE	in
POLITICKA MISAO-CROATIAN POLITICAL SC..	in
POLITICS & POLICY	in
POLITICS & SOCIETY	in
POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE	in
POLITICS AND RELIGION	in
POLITICS AND THE LIFE SCIENCES	out
PREHOSPITAL AND DISASTER MEDICINE	out
PROCEEDINGS OF THE IEEE	out
PROCESS SAFETY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROT..	out
PROFESIONAL DE LA INFORMACION	out
PSICOLOGIA CONOCIMIENTO Y SOCIEDAD	in
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	in
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW	in

PUBLIC HEALTH NUTRITION	out
PUBLIC INTEGRITY	out
PUBLIUS-THE JOURNAL OF FEDERALISM	in
QUEENS LAW JOURNAL	in
RACE & CLASS	in
REGULATION & GOVERNANCE	in
RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES-MADRID	out
RELIGIONS	in
RENEWABLE AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SYSTEMS	out
RESOURCES POLICY	in
REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES	out
REVIEW OF POLICY RESEARCH	in
REVISTA ACADEMICA DA FACULDADE DE DIR..	in
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES	in
REVISTA DE INVESTIGACIONES POLITICAS ..	in
REVISTA INCLUSIONES	in
RUSSIAN JOURNAL OF CRIMINOLOGY	in
SAFETY SCIENCE	out
SCANDINAVIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WELFARE	in
SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY & HUMAN VALUES	out
SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY	out
SCOTTISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY	in
SECURITY DIALOGUE	in
SECURITY STUDIES	in
SEXUALITIES	in
SEXUALITY RESEARCH AND SOCIAL POLICY	in
SOCIAL & CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY	in
SOCIAL DYNAMICS-A JOURNAL OF AFRICAN ..	out
SOCIAL POLICY & ADMINISTRATION	in
SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE	in
SOCIAL SCIENCES-BASEL	in
SOCIO-ECONOMIC PLANNING SCIENCES	out
SOCIO-ECONOMIC REVIEW	in
SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW	in
SOCIOLOGISK FORSKNING	in
SOCIOLOGY-THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ..	in
SRAVNITELNAYA POLITIKA-COMPARATIVE PO..	in
STRATEGIC REVIEW FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA	out
STUDIA EUROPEJSKIE-STUDIES IN EUROPEA..	in
STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL ..	in
SURVIVAL	in
SUSTAINABILITY	in
SUSTAINABLE CITIES AND SOCIETY	in
SWISS POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	in
Source Title	out
THIRD WORLD QUARTERLY	out
TURISMO-ESTUDOS E PRATICAS	out
ULUSLARARASI ILISKILER-INTERNATIONAL ..	in
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW REVIEW	in
URBAN FORUM	in
URBAN GEOGRAPHY	in
URBAN STUDIES	in

VACCINES	out
VOLGOGRADSKII GOSUDARSTVENNYI UNIVERS..	out
VOPROSY ISTORII	out
WATER	out
WATER BIOLOGY AND SECURITY	out
WATER INTERNATIONAL	out
WATER POLICY	out
WATER RESEARCH	out
WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS	in
WILEY INTERDISCIPLINARY REVIEWS-CLIMA..	in
WORLD BANK RESEARCH OBSERVER	in
WORLD DEVELOPMENT	in
YAZYK I KULTURA-LANGUAGE AND CULTURE	in

Table A2: Selection of journals for systematic literature review on emotions and policies

ACTA POLITICA	out
AFRICAN AFFAIRS	out
AMERICA LATINA HOY-REVISTA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES	out
AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	in
AMERICAN POLITICS RESEARCH	out
ANACRONISMO E IRRUPCION	out
ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE	out
ANNUAL REVIEW OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
ANNUAL REVIEW OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, VOL 14	in
ARMED FORCES & SOCIETY	out
ASIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	out
AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND HISTORY	out
AUSTRIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
BALTIC JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN STUDIES	out
BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES OF TERRORISM AND POLITICAL AGGRESSION	out
BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	out
BRITISH POLITICS	out
CAMBRIDGE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	out
CANADIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE-REVUE CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE	out
CAPITAL AND CLASS	out
CHINESE POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	out
CIENCIA POLITICA	out
CITIZENSHIP STUDIES	out
CIUDAD PAZ-ANDO	out
COLOMBIA INTERNACIONAL	out
COMMONWEALTH & COMPARATIVE POLITICS	out
COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES	out
COMPARATIVE EUROPEAN POLITICS*	in
COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES	in
CONFLICT STUDIES QUARTERLY	out
CONGRESS & THE PRESIDENCY-A JOURNAL OF CAPITAL STUDIES	out
CONTEMPORARY ITALIAN POLITICS	out

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THEORY	out
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS	out
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY	out
CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA	out
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT	out
CRITICAL POLICY STUDIES	out
CRITICAL REVIEW	out
CRITICAL REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY	out
CRITICAL STUDIES ON SECURITY	out
CRITICAL STUDIES ON TERRORISM	out
CUESTIONES POLITICAS	out
DEMOCRACY & SECURITY	out
DEMOCRATIC THEORY-AN INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL	out
DEMOCRATIZATION	out
DESAFIOS	out
EAST EUROPEAN POLITICS AND SOCIETIES	out
ECONOMICS & POLITICS	out
ELECTORAL STUDIES	out
ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS	out
ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	out
ETUDES INTERNATIONALES	out
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY	in
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL RESEARCH	in
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL THEORY	in
EUROPEAN POLICY ANALYSIS	in
EUROPEAN POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
EUROPEAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	in
EUROPEAN SECURITY	out
EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS	out
EUROPE-ASIA STUDIES	out
FORUM-A JOURNAL OF APPLIED RESEARCH IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICS	out
FRONTIERS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE	out
GEOPOLITICS	out
GLOBAL DISCOURSE	out
GLOBAL POLICY	out
GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNANCE	out
GOVERNANCE-AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF POLICY ADMINISTRATION AND INSTITUTIONS	out
GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION	out
HARVARD INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS-POLITICS	in
HISTORIA Y POLITICA	out
ICELANDIC REVIEW OF POLITICS & ADMINISTRATION	out
INSIGHT TURKEY	out
INTEREST GROUPS & ADVOCACY	out
INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST JOURNAL OF POLITICS	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF E-POLITICS	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF POLITICS CULTURE AND SOCIETY	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS-POLITICS	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH	out
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE	out

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION	out
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	in
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY	out
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS	out
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY	out
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES REVIEW	out
INTERNATIONAL THEORY	out
INTERSECTIONS-EAST EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF SOCIETY AND POLITICS	out
ITALIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW-RIVISTA ITALIANA DI SCIENZA POLITICA	out
JAPANESE JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	out
JCMS-JOURNAL OF COMMON MARKET STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF CHINESE POLITICAL SCIENCE	out
JOURNAL OF CIVIL SOCIETY	out
JOURNAL OF COLD WAR STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION	out
JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF ELECTIONS PUBLIC OPINION AND PARTIES	out
JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	out
JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL POLITICAL SCIENCE	out
JOURNAL OF GENOCIDE RESEARCH	out
JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS	out
JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICE	out
JOURNAL OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY & POLITICS	out
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL THEORY	in
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT	out
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH	out
JOURNAL OF POLICY HISTORY	out
JOURNAL OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES	out
JOURNAL OF POLITICAL MARKETING	out
JOURNAL OF POLITICAL POWER	out
JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EDUCATION	out
JOURNAL OF POLITICS	in
JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND LAW	out
JOURNAL OF POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA	out
JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH AND THEORY	out
JOURNAL OF PUBLIC POLICY	in
JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES	out
JOURNAL OF THEORETICAL POLITICS	out
JOURNAL OF WOMEN POLITICS & POLICY	out
LABORATOIRE ITALIEN-POLITIQUE ET SOCIETE	out
LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES	out
LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS AND SOCIETY	out
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS	out
NATIONAL IDENTITIES	out
NATIONALITIES PAPERS-THE JOURNAL OF NATIONALISM AND ETHNICITY	out
NATIONS AND NATIONALISM	out
NEW PERSPECTIVES	out
NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY	out
NORDIC JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS	out
OSTERREICHISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUR POLITIKWISSENSCHAFT	out
OSTEUROPA	out

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS	out
PARTECIPAZIONE E CONFLITTO	out
PARTY POLITICS	out
PEACE ECONOMICS PEACE SCIENCE AND PUBLIC POLICY	out
PEACEBUILDING	out
PENSAMIENTO AL MARGEN	out
PENSEE	out
PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS	out
POLICY AND INTERNET	out
POLICY AND POLITICS	in
POLICY STUDIES JOURNAL	in
POLIS-POLITICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA	out
POLITEIA-JOURNAL OF POLITICAL THEORY POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY OF POLITICS	out
POLITICA & SOCIETA	out
POLITICA Y GOBIERNO	out
POLITICA Y SOCIEDAD	out
POLITICAL BEHAVIOR	out
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION	out
POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY	out
POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY	in
POLITICAL QUARTERLY	out
POLITICAL RESEARCH EXCHANGE	out
POLITICAL RESEARCH QUARTERLY	in
POLITICAL SCIENCE	in
POLITICAL SCIENCE QUATERLY**	in
POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND METHODS	out
POLITICAL STUDIES	out
POLITICAL STUDIES REVIEW	out
POLITICAL THEORY	out
POLITICKE VEDY	out
POLITICS	in
POLITICS & GENDER	out
POLITICS & POLICY	in
POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE	out
POLITICS GROUPS AND IDENTITIES	out
POLITICS PHILOSOPHY & ECONOMICS	out
POLITICS RELIGION & IDEOLOGY	out
POLITIKON	out
POLITISCHE VIERTELJAHRESSCHRIFT	out
POLITIX	out
POLITY	out
POPULISM	out
POST-SOVIET AFFAIRS	out
PRESIDENTIAL STUDIES QUARTERLY	out
PROBLEMS OF POST-COMMUNISM	out
PS-POLITICAL SCIENCE & POLITICS	out
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	out
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY-AN ASIA-PACIFIC JOURNAL	out
PUBLIC CHOICE	out
PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY	out
PUBLIUS-THE JOURNAL OF FEDERALISM	out

REGULATION & GOVERNANCE	out
RESEARCH & POLITICS	out
REVIEW OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE	out
REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS	out
REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY	out
REVIEW OF POLICY RESEARCH	in
REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS POLITICOS	out
REVISTA DE INVESTIGACIONES POLITICAS Y SOCIOLOGICAS	out
REVISTA DE PAZ Y CONFLICTOS	out
REVISTA DEL CLAD REFORMA Y DEMOCRACIA	out
REVISTA ESPANOLA DE CIENCIA POLITICA-RECP	out
REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE PENSAMIENTO POLITICO	out
REVUE D ECONOMIE POLITIQUE	out
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	out
RUSI JOURNAL	out
SCANDINAVIAN POLITICAL STUDIES	out
SCOTTISH AFFAIRS	out
SIYASAL-JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCES	out
SOCIAL MOVEMENT STUDIES	out
SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY	out
SOCIO-ECONOMIC REVIEW	out
SOUTH EUROPEAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS	out
STATE CRIME	out
STUDIES IN CONFLICT & TERRORISM	out
STUDIES IN SOCIAL JUSTICE	out
SURVIVAL	out
SWISS POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	out
SWS-RUNDSCHAU	out
TEMAS Y DEBATES	out
TERRITORY POLITICS GOVERNANCE	out
TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE	out
WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS	out
WOMEN & POLITICS	out
WORLD POLITICS**	in
ZEITSCHRIFT FUR VERGLEICHENDE POLITIKWISSENSCHAFT	in

* only string I

** only string II

Table A3: Discrete emotions studied in the literature

Discrete Emotion	Number of articles
Different topic (MSF, etc.); various emotions; affect, emotion in general	127
fear	68
anger	54
enthusiasm	14
hope	9
sadness	9
disgust	9
shame	5
empathy	5
nostalgia	4

passion	3
pity	2
contempt	2
disappointment	2
love	1
worry	1
euphoria	1
playfulness	1
hate	1
aversion	1
resentment	1

Note: The categorization is based on whether the specific emotion term was mentioned in the title, abstract and/or keywords of an article. The same applies to categorization for Table A4 below.

Table A4: Negative and positive emotions analysed in the literature

Valence	Number of Articles
unclear; unapplicable	132
negative	80
both	40
positive	12

Table A5: Part 2 – Policy-related literature and research method

Year	Author(s)	Article Title	Journal	Code Method
2015	Blatter, J., Bombach, C. & Wirprächtiger, R.	Enhancing gender equity through evidence-based policymaking? Theorizing and tracing the use of systematic knowledge in family and tax policy reforms	EUROPEAN POLICY ANALYSIS	CAS
2008	Brader, Ted; Valentino, Nicholas A.; Suhay, Elizabeth	What triggers public opposition to immigration? Anxiety, group cues, and immigration threat	AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	EXP; SUR
2024	Fullerton, Allegra H.; Weible, Christopher M.	Examining emotional belief expressions of advocacy coalitions in Arkansas' gender identity politics	POLICY STUDIES JOURNAL	DISC
2023	Gabehart, Kayla M. M.; Fullerton, Allegra H. H.; Crawford, Anna M. M.; Weible, Christopher M. M.	How are emotions and beliefs expressed in legislative testimonies? An advocacy coalition approach	REVIEW OF POLICY RESEARCH	DISC
2010	Gadarian, Shana Kushner	The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes	JOURNAL OF POLITICS	EXP; SUR
2023	Jefferson, H.	The Politics of Respectability and Black Americans' Punitive Attitudes	AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	SUR

2015	Knaggård, A.	The Multiple Streams Framework and the problem broker	EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL RESEARCH	CON
2019	Knaggård, A., Dolan, D. A. & Blum, S.	Knowledge and Non-Knowledge in Theories of the Policy Process		CON
2016	Kuhlmann, J.	Clear Enough To Be Proven Wrong? Assessing the Influence of the Concept of Bounded Rationality within the Multiple-Streams Framework		CON
2021	Kupatadze, A.; Zeitzoff, T.	In the Shadow of Conflict: How Emotions, Threat Perceptions and Victimization Influence Foreign Policy Attitudes	BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	SUR
2018	McBeth, Mark K.; Lybecker, Donna L.	The Narrative Policy Framework, Agendas, and Sanctuary Cities: The Construction of a Public Problem	POLICY STUDIES JOURNAL	CON
2019	Paul, K. T. & Haddad, C.	Beyond evidence versus truthiness: toward a symmetrical approach to knowledge and ignorance in policy studies	POLICY SCIENCES	EXP
2021	Pierce, J. J.	Emotions and the policy process: enthusiasm, anger and fear	POLICY & POLITICS	CON
2024	Pierce, Jonathan J.; Miller-Stevens, Katrina; Hicks, Isabel; Zilly, Dova Castaneda; Rangaraj, Saigpoal; Rao, Evan	How anger and fear influence policy narratives: Advocacy and regulation of oil and gas drilling in Colorado	REVIEW OF POLICY RESEARCH	QTA
2018	Stucki, I. & Sager, F.	Aristotelian framing: logos, ethos, pathos and the use of evidence in policy frames	POLICY SCIENCES	CON
2005	van Stokkom, B	Deliberative group dynamics: power, status and affect in interactive policy making	POLICY AND POLITICS	CON
2022	Vasilopoulos, P., McCavay, H., Brouard, S. & Foucault, M.	Emotions, governmental trust and support for the restriction of civil liberties during the covid-19 pandemic	EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL RESEARCH	SUR
2022	Verhoeven, Imrat; Metze, Tamara	Heated policy: policy actors' emotional storylines and conflict escalation	POLICY SCIENCES	CAS
2021	Vogeler, Colette S.; Schwindenhammer, Sandra; Gonglach, Denise; Bandelow, Nils C.	Agri-food technology politics: Exploring policy narratives in the European Parliament	EUROPEAN POLICY ANALYSIS	DISC

2015	Zahariadis, N.	The Shield of Heracles: Multiple streams and the emotional endowment effect	EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL RESEARCH	INT
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Note: Mentioned codes comprise: CAS: case study; CON: conceptual; DISC: discourse analysis; EXP: experiment; INT: interview; SUR: survey; QTA: quantitative text analysis.