**Tracking Moral Divergence with DDR in Presidential Debates Over 60 Years**

# Abstract

This study explored the formation of one crucial challenge that US presidential debate is facing – lack of real clash and issue discussion – from an institutional perspective, manifesting how the transformative process in politics caused by the development of media contributes to this challenge drawing upon mediatization theory as the prism. Specifically, this study conducted an automated content analysis on all US televised presidential debates from 1960 to 2020 based on Moral Foundation Theory. A recently developed natural language analyzing algorithm, Distributed Dictionary Representations (DDR) is adopted for moral divergence examination. On one hand, it contributes to political communication literature by diagnosing the formation of the challenge, and therefore sheds lights on the development of more fruitful political communication. On the other hand, it contributes mediatization literature by reflecting possible effects that mediatization may have on the transformation of established democracies through political communication.

# *Keywords:* Presidential Debate, Moral Foundation, Mediatization, Political Communication, Distributed Dictionary Representations

**Introduction**

Televised presidential debate has been criticized for lack of real clash, failing to develop real issue discussion, and too much focus on candidates’ image instead (D. P. Carlin, 1989, 1992; Clifford & Jerit, 2013; McKinney & Carlin, 2004), although there is no doubt that presidential debate does serve our democracy well by contributing to a more engaged and better-informed electorate (McKinney & Carlin, 2004). Unfortunately, according to Moral Foundation Theory (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004) and mediatization theory (Hjarvard, 2008, 2013), lack of issue discussion and real clash is inevitable in televised presidential debates.

Moral Foundation Theory (MFT) offers an innovative tool to understand the formation of political attitudes (Clifford & Jerit, 2013; Graham et al., 2011; Weber & Federico, 2013). MFT posits that human beings construct moral virtues and meanings based on five innate moral foundations (ten dimensions total): care/harm, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion, and sanctity/degradation, while conservatives and liberals have different configurations – sensitivities of the five foundations (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004). Accordingly, “conservatives and liberals have a hard time seeing eye-to-eye” (Clifford & Jerit, 2013, p. 658). In other words, people with different moral foundation configurations such as conservatives and liberals may not understand each other very well. So would the debaters in presidential debates. They could have been talking past each other rather than talking to each other because of their moral divergence – difference of moral stances determined by moral concerns.

Moreover, according to mediatization theory (Hjarvard, 2008, 2013), presidential candidates may not willing to understand and discuss with his/her opponent in televised debates, because their first priority is to build image. Mediatization discusses the process that media logic being internalized by other institutions of our society, such as politics, economy, culture, and so forth. Personalization has been identified as a major change of politicians caused by mediatization, and it entails that building a personal public image has become one of politicians’ top priorities (Hjarvard, 2013; Mazzoleni, 2008). As a media event, televised presidential debate have to abide by media logic to be media-friendly because it is designed to be broadcasted (Dayan & Katz, 1992). This means that the presidential candidates may lack intentions to develop real issue discussions in their debates because they would focus more on building their own image as the result of abiding by media logic. Consequently, real clash could have been dodged, image building – stating one’s own issue stance and moral reasons – outweighs issue discussions, and the moral divergence between presidential debaters could have been increasingly widened.

By examining the moral loading – an indicator of moral stance (Araque, Gatti, & Kalimeri, 2020; Garten et al., 2018; Hoover, Johnson, Boghrati, Graham, & Dehghani, 2018) of every televised presidential debater’s argument in each moral foundation, this study quantitatively traced the moral divergence between debaters of US presidential debates over six decades. On one hand, it contributes to the literature by discovering the formation of one crucial challenge that presidential debate is facing – lack of real clash and issue discussion – from an mediatization perspective, and therefore sheds lights on the development of more effective political communication. On the other hand, it reflects possible effects that mediatization may have on the transformation of established democracies through political communication.

**Literature Review**

**Moral Foundation Theory**

In the United States, political debates including presidential debates are direct expressions of different political attitudes and it “reveals problem-solving abilities, habits of mind, and electoral appeal” (Jamieson & Birdsell, 1990, p. 37). As Moral Foundation Theory (MFT) offers an innovative tool to understand the formation of political attitudes by exploring people’s moral minds (Clifford & Jerit, 2013; Graham et al., 2011; Haidt, 2012; Haidt & Joseph, 2007; Weber & Federico, 2013), it may offer some unique insights on why a debate – a communication format designed specifically to facilitate issue discussion and embark on real clash – could be lack of issue discussion and real clash.

***Moral Consideration as the Focal Point of Disagreement***

MFT argues that human beings:

construct moral virtues, meanings, and institutions in variable ways by relying to varying degrees, on five innate psychological systems. Each system produces fast, automatic gut-reactions of like and dislike when certain patterns are received in the social world, which in turn guide judgments of right and wrong. (Koleva, Graham, Iyer, Ditto, & Haidt, 2012, p. 185)

Each moral foundation has two opposite dimensions: virtue (care, fairness, loyalty, authority, and sanctity) and vice (harm, cheating, betrayal, subversion, and degradation) – 5 pairs in total.

Each foundation “serves different but related social functions and the degree of sensitivity toward these foundations vary across different cultures and context” (Sagi & Dehghani, 2014, p. 133). That is, people in different groups have different configurations, or in other words sensitivities – different degree of endorsement of each moral foundation. Generally speaking, one with a liberal perspective is more sensitive to care/harm, fairness/cheating and very obtuse to loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion, and sanctity/degradation, while conservatives have even sensitivity across all five kinds of moral foundations (Graham et al., 2013; Haidt, 2012; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004). At a given time, a certain issue would trigger people’s moral foundations at different levels, generate different moral concerns, and those moral concerns would then underpin, motivate, justify their attitudes towards that issue. That is, different sensitivities of moral foundations could lead to different moral concerns, and different moral concerns would lead to different “partisan and ideological identification along with a variety of political attitudes” (Clifford & Jerit, 2013, p. 659). For example, Koleva et al. (2012) found that the endorsement of the moral foundations could predict an individual's attitudes towards different culture war issues (such as abortion, gun control, death penalty, and similar social controversies) “over and above ideology, age, gender, religious attendance, and interest in politics” (p. 184). Fernades (2020) discovered that people’s engagement in consumer political actions are mainly determined by different moral concerns associated with their different sensitive moral foundations: liberals are mainly influenced by care and fairness moral concerns, while conservatives are mainly influenced by loyalty, authority, and sanctity moral concerns. In sum, the different moral configurations of different groups would lead to different moral concerns, and therefore lead to different moral stances – moral divergence, a barrier for efficient communication across groups.

Moral divergence implies that different groups may not understand each other. For example, according to Haidt and Graham (2007), liberals may not understand those conservatives’ loyalty/betrayal moral concerns because their moral concerns are primarily based upon care and fairness. In other words, one would not understand others’ moral concerns if those concerns do not correspond to his or her sensitive moral foundations.

Moreover, an individual’s attitudes towards a certain issue could be determined or strongly affected by moral concerns that he/she may not aware (Wheatley & Haidt, 2005). That is, people may not realize where the focal point of their disagreement is as moral concerns determine one’s political attitude (Clifford & Jerit, 2013; Haidt, 2012). Researchers found that moral concerns generated from unexpected moral foundations – intuitively loosely connected with the issue – could exert a stronger influence than those generated from obvious moral foundations – intuitively closely connected with the issue – in determining people's attitude towards various issues (Clifford & Jerit, 2013; Haidt, 2001; Koleva et al., 2012; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). For example, Koleva et al. (2012) claimed that care/harm moral concerns dominate today’s political rhetoric about gun control, abortion, and similar culture war issues, as those concerns are intuitively associated with those issues closely. However, it is the sanctity/degradation moral concerns that dominate people’s attitudes towards issues (Koleva et al., 2012). In other words, conflicting groups may not be aware of what and why they disagree with each other when they discuss their disagreements, which could greatly impede real issue discussion.

***Moral Consideration in Political Expression***

As moral concerns generated from the five innate moral foundations could determine the formation of an individual's political attitude (Graham et al., 2011; Haidt, 2012; Haidt & Joseph, 2007; Weber & Federico, 2013), moral concerns should be trackable from one’s political attitude expressions. Kraft (2018) examined moral concerns in individual political attitude expression and found "systematic patterns in the emphasis on moral concerns among liberals and conservatives for three foundations": liberals talk more about care and fairness considerations, while conservatives emphasize loyalty considerations (p. 1031). Clifford and Jerit (2013) found political elites "used distinctive patterns of moral words (that associated with different moral foundations) to influence the public" in stem cell research policy debate: liberals focused almost exclusively on harm concerns, conservatives focused both harm and sanctity concerns. In sum, moral concerns from one’s sensitive moral foundations would be emphasized in his/her political expression.

As presidential debate is a direct expression of debaters’ political attitude (Jamieson & Birdsell, 1990), presidential candidates may focus and emphasize different moral concerns generated from their own sensitive moral foundations in the debate. As different partisanship implies different moral foundation configurations (Clifford & Jerit, 2013; Haidt, 2012), moral divergence between the two debaters seems to be inevitable and may greatly impede issue discussion and real clash in presidential debate. Accordingly, we construct our hypotheses as following:

H1: Democratic presidential candidates (relatively liberal) focus more on care and fairness moral concerns, therefore carrying more moral loading of these foundations in their arguments.

H2: Republican presidential candidates (relatively conservative) focus more on loyalty, sanctity, and authority moral concerns, therefore carrying more moral loading of these foundations in their arguments.

**The Theory of Mediatization**

For presidential debate, the reason to image outweighing issue and the lack of real clash is likely diverse. Most of the previous research explored how individual and campaign factors could exert an influence. Carlin et al. (2001) claimed that "a candidate's standing in the polls at the time of the debate, candidates' debating skills, impression management, the timing of the debate within the larger campaign, and feedback from past performances" all can exert an influence on the level of clash and the ratio of image arguments in the debate. And a number of studies focused on different debate strategies associated with different debate formats (in terms of the town hall, podium, and commentator settings) as a major attribution (Beck, 1996; Benoit & Wells, 1996; Bilmes, 1999; D. B. Carlin et al., 2001). Some scholars mentioned the influence of being televised but without focusing it. For example, McKinney, Dudash, and Hodgkinson (2003) mentioned that being televised could also affect debaters’ strategy choice because “televised debates function more on the level of image analysis than issue knowledge” and “meticulous recitation of facts and figures” may not be a good strategy to support one’s positions in televised debates (p. 57), however their focus is how debates formats could make a difference. Additionally, Carlin (1989) discussed from a pure campaign strategy perspective, arguing that televised presidential debates are “rhetorical events occurring within the larger framework of a political campaign”, so image is destinated to be debaters’ ultimate goal because it is “the bottom line” in political campaigns (p. 213). Seldom study has discussed how and why being televised could influence the presidential debate. Drawing upon mediatization as the prism, we explore the phenomena of image outweighing issue and the lack of real clash as an inevitable result caused by the development of media in the institution of politics.

As a typical and successful media event, televised presidential debate has to be planned and implemented media-friendly because it is designed for broadcasting (Dayan & Katz, 1992). Accordingly, the protagonists of this program, the debaters have to abide by some media rules more or less, and that is exactly how mediatization – a long-term social change – could affect social actors.

Mediatization, as “an inherently process-oriented” concept (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 231), has been treated as the key to explore the transformation of modern political communication (Blumler, 2014; Brants & Voltmer, 2011; Kriesi, 2013). It argues that as media gradually developed into an independent social institution, media logic was integrated into other social institutions such as politics, economy, culture, and so forth (Hjarvard, 2008, 2013). Accordingly, social actors in different institutions “have to adapt their behavior to accommodate the media’s valuations, formats, and routines” (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 11). Those valuations, formats, and routines are captured by the concept of media logic. Building on Altheide and Snow’s (1979, 1988, 1991) study of media logic, Strömbäck (2008) defined media logic as:

the dominance in societal processes of the news values and the storytelling techniques the media make use of to take advantage of their own medium and its format, and to be competitive in the ongoing struggle to capture people’s attention. (p. 233)

In other words, media logic not only sets the path for the institution of media but also shapes how other institutions function.

As a long-term social change, evidence of mediatization has been found in different institutions including politics. Media has been put into the “central position in most political routines, such as election campaigns, government communication, public diplomacy and image building, and national and international celebrations” (Mazzoleni, 2008, p. 3047). Accordingly, political actors have become media-driven (Mazzoleni, 2008; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). Similarly, Esser (2013) and Stromback et al. (2009) claimed that political actors have adopted and internalized media logic in their thinking and behavior to a significant extent. For example, Bastien (2018) found that the style of how media cover topics has not only been incorporated but also subsequently grown in Canadian presidential debaters’ own discourses during the following four decades of 1968. Hjarvard (2013) summarized the process of political mediatization as “personalization” which could impede real clash and issue discussion in political debate, including presidential debate.

Personalization in politics means that building personal image has been crucial for politicians and accordingly, politicians are “prone to make use of rhetorical pathos than the often logos-driven discussion”(Hjarvard, 2013, p. 69). Accordingly, presidential debaters as the protagonists of a media event, could have been focusing on rhetorical pathos rather than logos-driven issue discussion. Therefore, issue could be mainly used to shape presidential debater’s own image (D. P. Carlin, 1992) rather than being discussed in order to explore solutions. In other words, presidential debaters may focus on self-expression – talking about their own issue stance – rather than responding and discussing with each other. That entails presidential debaters may have been increasingly overly focusing on their own moral concerns generated by their own sensitive moral foundations, and therefore moral divergence between every couple of debaters could have been widened. Accordingly, we construct our hypotheses as following:

H3: The moral divergence between Democratic (relatively liberal) and Republican (relatively conservative) presidential candidates have been increasingly widened.

**Method**

This study conducted an automated content analysis to examine the moral loading of each presidential candidate’s full transcripts of 35 televised presidential debates of 13 presidential elections (1960-2020). Analyzing the use of language is an unobtrusive and efficient way to examine people’s different moral sensitivities (Araque et al., 2020) and therefore, content analysis has been widely adopted in moral foundation explorations (Clifford & Jerit, 2013; Garten et al., 2018; Hoover et al., 2018; Lewis, 2019). A recently developed natural language analyzing algorithm, Distributed Dictionary Representations (DDR) was adopted to examine the moral loading of each moral dimension – 2 dimensions in every moral foundation and 10 dimensions in total – embedded in every presidential candidate’s speech in every presidential debate.

**Data**

The first televised presidential debate was held in 1960 and resumed in 1976, since when both Republican and Democrat presidential candidates began to debate in every election year. There are 13 series of presidential debates from 1960 to 2020 and 35 debates in total. The number of debates in each series varies from 1 to 3. The unit of analysis is each candidate’s full transcript in each debate. The full transcript of each debate was accessed via debates.org and converted to plain text for DDR analysis.

**Distributed Dictionary Representations (DDR)**

DDR is based on Distributed Representations which has been developed for decades to help computers better understand natural language and achieve better performance in Natural Language Processing tasks such as machine translation, writing, and so forth. Distributed representations means distributed representations of words in a vector space (generally with 1 to 1000 dimensions) – converting a word to a vector, which enables computers to group similar words and therefore, achieves better semantic analysis (Mikolov, Sutskever, Chen, Corrado, & Dean, 2013). Emerged from neural networks (Mikolov et al., 2013), DDR bridged psychological dictionaries to distributed representations to measure the “[semantic] similarity between [seed words from] dictionaries and spans of text ranging from complete documents to individual words” (Garten et al., 2018, p. 344). In other words, similarity could be measured via DDR and index the text in dimensions of a psychological dictionary, such as moral dimension of Moral Foundation Dictionary (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009), emotion tone dimensions of emotion dictionary, and so forth.

Moral Foundation Dictionary (MFDGraham et al., 2009) has been widely adopted to quantify the moral loading under the MFT framework (Matsuo, Sasahara, Taguchi, & Karasawa, 2019) and has been adopted in DDR by several studies (Hoover et al., 2018; Hoover et al., 2020) for examining the moral loadings in the 10 moral dimensions of 5 moral foundations respectively. MFD contains 324 English words, and each word relates to one or several moral foundations (for example, “care” corresponds to care moral foundation, virtue dimension only). The algorithm of MFD is based on word count. For natural language analysis, the word count method faces two major challenges: the variety of context and the dynamic development of language, because it is impossible for any dictionary to fully cover the diverse context and the ever-changing language (Garten et al., 2018). For example, the word count method would not be able to well identify the moral loading if no exact same word in the dictionary could be found in a text due to language habit or context difference. While DDR may overcome these challenges because it measures similarity: the method of distributed representations could find similar words of the seed words (from a psychological dictionary) in the text, by converting both dictionary words and text words to space vectors, and then examine the moral loading by measuring how similar the text to the seed words is.

Moreover, similarity measurement allows DDR to achieve great performance with small-size dictionary. Garten et al. (2018) found 4 seed words in each dimension of MFD would enable DDR to achieve better performance than MFD in moral loading examination of Tweets text if the seed words were converted to vectors based on Google News corpus. This 4-seed-word DDR was also adopted by Hoover et al. (2018) to examine the moral loading of Tweets text.

Since the first televised presidential debate in 1960, there is no doubt that people’s language habit has changed a lot. Plus, each series of presidential debates ­has a different social context. Therefore, this study adopted DDR and expanded the number of seed words to 12 in each moral dimension in order to better address the change of social context and natural language brought by time. The seed words were randomly selected from MFD and listed in Table 1. The vector representations of each word were generated by Word2Vec (Mikolov et al., 2013) with Google New corpus.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **No.** | **care** | **harm** | **fairness** | **cheating** | **authority** | **subversion** | **loyalty.txt** | **betrayal** | **sanctity** | **degradation** |
| 1 | safe | suffer | fairness | dishonest | authority | subversion | loyal | betray | purity | impiety |
| 2 | peace | cruel | equality | preference | obey | disobey | solidarity | treason | limpid | depravity |
| 3 | compassion | hurt | justice | unfair | respect | disrespect | patriot | disloyal | sacred | stain |
| 4 | empathy | harm | rights | injustice | tradition | riot | together | traitor | wholesome | unchaste |
| 5 | care | war | evenness | bigot | preserve | defector | nation | spy | pious | disgust |
| 6 | protect | violent | constant | bias | duty | alienate | family | renegade | virgin | sin |
| 7 | shield | exploit | reasonable | inequitable | order | denounce | group | imposter | austerity | slut |
| 8 | benefit | spurn | tolerant | unscrupulous | father | remonstrate | cadre | miscreant | upright | gross |
| 9 | defend | abandon | impartial | exclusion | hierarch | protest | joint | deserting | modesty | trashy |
| 10 | guard | stomp | balance | favoritism | permit | oppose | cohort | apostate | innocent | blemish |
| 11 | amity | ruin | homologous | dissociate | comply | mutinous | ally | individual | refined | pervert |
| 12 | sympathy | ravage | reciprocal | discriminate | supremacy | insurgent | guild | sequester | immaculate | wanton |

*Table 1: DDR moral seed words*

**Results**

First, we analyzed how Democrats generally differ from Republicans in each dimension of moral foundations. We built a three levels random intercept multi-level model by using *lme4* (Bates, Mächler, Bolker, & Walker, 2014). In this model, our dependent variable was moral loading and our fixed effects were moral dimensions (e.g., care, harm, etc.), partisanship (Democrats and Republicans), and their interactions. The debate rounds and the election year were the second level and third level group variables.

Our results show that substantial variance in moral loading occurred at the second level (ICC = .34) and third level (ICC = .17), which indicates that the moral loadings of a given debate on the 10 moral dimensions (5 pairs) are substantially correlated, suggesting that individuals are likely to simultaneously invoke several moral domains. We further tested the correlations between every two moral dimensions and found that among 45 pairs of correlations, only four correlation coefficients were below .25 and non-significant, further supporting the above argument. This finding aligns with Hoover and associates’ (2018) study about donation on social media.

The results (see Figure 1) from the multi-level model further reveal that Democrats generally had significantly higher moral loading on care (*b* = .013, 95%CI = [.007, .019]) and fairness (*b* = .013, 95%CI = [.007, .019]), supporting H1. Republicans had higher moral loading on degradation (*b* = -.007, 95%CI = [-.013, -.001]), partially supporting H2. However, Republicans also had lower loads on authority (*b* = .014, 95%CI = [.008, .020]) and loyalty (*b* = .016, 95%CI = [.010, .022]), violating H2. Therefore, only H1 was supported. Nevertheless, although these differences were significant, their effect size were very small. The largest difference was in loyalty, and only was .28 standard deviation. We also tested the association between all moral loadings of Democrats and Republicans within each election year (we used standardized moral loading of Republicans to predict the standardized moral loading of Democrats and fitted the data into a two level multi-level model with year as the second level group variable) and found a strong positive relationship, *β* = .990, 95%CI = [.967, 1.013], further reflecting that the differences in moral loadings within each election year was small.

Chart, bar chart

Description automatically generated

**Figure 1** *Moral Loads on Ten Moral Dimensions (Five Pairs).*

*Note*. Error bars indicate 95%CI. Asterisks (\*) indicate significant differences at α = .05. Purity refers to sanctity.

H3 proposes that the moral foundations divergence in presidential debates between Republican presidential candidates and Democratic presidential candidates has been increasing since 1980. To test it, we calculated the load difference between Democrats and Republicans on each moral dimension during each debate. We added up the absolute value of them to form a unidimensional score to reflect the total difference between Democrats and Republicans in each debate. Then we fit the data to an OLS regression. The results (see Figure 2) show that the total moral loading difference increases .005 points every four years (*b* = .005, *t*(32) = 2.52, *p* = .017, *R2* = 16.6%), supporting H3. We noticed that 2012 is special. The mean difference score of the three debates in 2012 was the second lowest among all years (1960 was the lowest).

We also found that the first round of debates usually had the highest difference scores (see Figure 2). To test it, we built a two levels random intercepts multi-level model. In this model, the total difference score was our dependent variable, the round of debates was our fixed effect, and the year was our second level group variable. Our results show that substantial variance in difference score occurred at the second level (ICC = .63), indicating that the variance in years was larger than that in debate rounds. Our results also show that, controlling for the influence of years, the round 1 debates on average had a significantly higher difference scores than round 2 debates (Round 2: *b* = -.035, 95%CI = [-.059, -0.011]) and also higher than round 3 and 4 debates, though not statistically significant due to the fewer number of round 3 and 4 debates (Round 3: *b* = -.012, 95%CI = [-.040, .016]; Round 4: *b* = -.056, 95%CI = [-.128, .013]).

Chart, scatter chart

Description automatically generated

**Figure 2** *The Change of Total Moral Load Difference Over Years.*

In addition, we examined the moral loading change in each moral dimension. We used the moral loading of each dimension as dependent variable and year, party and their interaction as independent variable. We expected to find significant interactions between year and party, which could indicate the differences between party increased or decreased. However, no significant effects were detected (see Figure 3), indicating that although there is an increasing overall divergence in moral loadings over time, the pattern in each moral dimension is not clear. The reason might be, first, that we only have 32 debates as variables, limiting the statistic power to detect small effects. Second, the load in some years like 2004, 2008, and 2012 violated the trend of it in previous years. For example, in the care dimension, we can observe that the load of Democrats was higher than Republicans during 1976 to 2000 and 2016 but was lower during 2004 to 2012.

# A picture containing timeline Description automatically generated

**Figure 3** *The Change of Democrats’ and Republicans’ Moral Load in Each Dimension Over Years.*

# Discussion and Future Direction

This research quantitatively explores the moral loading and then examine the moral divergence of all the televised United States presidential debates across 13 presidential elections from the first televised presidential debate in 1960 to 2020. It introduces mediatization as a prism for presidential debate exploration from an institutional perspective – exploring the “transformative process” (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 153) in political institution caused by the development of media within the presidential debate context. This institutional perspective at the meso level enables us to "make generalizations across the situational contexts of micro-social encounters” (Hjarvard, 2013, p. 154) such as a specific debate format (in terms of the town hall, podium, and commentator). Moreover, by quantitatively exploring how mediatization could have influenced the political debate from a historical perspective, this study overcomes the three main challenges of mediatization research: historicity (“longitudinal studies or cross-temporal comparisons”), specificity (“differentiating and specifying the currently too general talk of mediatization”), and measurability (“quantitative measurability”) (Ekström, Fornäs, Jansson, & Jerslev, 2016, p. 1098). So, the current study contributes to both political communication and mediatization literature.

Our results show a moral divergence between Democrat and Republican candidates, and a significant increase of moral divergence along with the development of mediatization since 1980. We also found that the first debate of each election debate series almost always diverges more than the rest of the debates. Moreover, almost every Democrat presidential candidate’s speech in the debates carried more moral loading than their Republican rivals across all five moral foundations (except the vice dimension of sanctity foundation), even in loyalty/betrayal and authority/subversion, the two moral foundations that liberals are supposed to carry much less moral loading than conservatives as they are less sensitive in these moral foundations than conservatives according to MFT. Our findings shed light on the two fundamental questions that are essential for presidential debates to better serve our democracy: whether Democrat and Republican candidates could understand and discuss with each other, and whether they wanted to understand and discuss with each other.

**Whether They Could?**

As aforementioned, people may not understand moral concerns in the moral foundations that they are not innately sensitive enough, but our results imply that presidential candidates have the ability to overcome this innate obstacle. First, our results show positive relationships among the moral loadings of each moral foundation in each candidate’s speech in every presidential debate. This means that none of the five moral foundations is isolated. The sensitivity in one moral foundation could make up for other obtuse moral foundations. In other words, the receptors of certain kinds of moral concerns in terms of moral foundations may sense some moral concerns from other moral foundations also, if they are sensitive enough. This brings an interesting question for future research: would this kind of sensitivity compensation happen in other context such as Congress debate?

Secondly, Democrat candidates’ moral loadings are almost always higher than Republican candidates’ moral loadings across all five moral foundations. This is a very interesting finding that could imply violations of MFT within the context of presidential debates. MFT predicts liberals possessing higher moral loadings in care and fairness foundations, while conservatives possessing higher moral loading in the other three moral foundations. This prediction has been supported by plenty of previous studies (Clifford & Jerit, 2013; Fernandes, 2020; Hoover et al., 2018) that examined moral loadings in different situations other than presidential debates. It is quite possible that Democratic or Liberal politicians are more prone to rely on moral rhetoric when they perform their public persona. We leave this interesting question for future study, and here, we focus on the point that Democrat candidates did express stronger moral concerns than Republican candidates in moral foundations that they are supposed to be less sensitive than Republicans according to MFT. That is, the presidential candidates are capable to understand and express moral concerns generated from all the five innate moral foundations even it might be a different scenario for the majority of Republicans and Democrats.

Thirdly, although the moral loadings of Democrat and Republican candidates were statistically significantly different in some moral dimensions, the effect size of these differences was very small, and the correlations between all moral loading values of Democrats and Republicans were very strong, indicating that there were no substantial discrepancies between president debaters and they were able to respond to their rivals’ moral concerns even those moral concerns are from their less/non-sensitive moral foundations. A similar finding has been claimed by Clifford and Jerit (2013), in the policy debates of stem cell technology, that political elites respond to opponents’ moral concerns with their own moral arguments, and the increase of proponents’ moral loading increased the moral loading of opponents in the same moral foundation. Therefore, the presidential debaters could not only respond to rivals’ moral concerns, but also keep the response in the same moral foundation.

In sum, presidential debaters could understand, express, and respond to the moral concerns generated from their own less/non-sensitive moral foundations, which means that they could develop real issue discussion and engage in real clash with each other. So, here comes the other fundamental question: whether they wanted to?

**Whether They Want?**

Unfortunately, they may not. Similar to the scenario discovered by Jackson-Beeck and Meadow (1979): presidential debaters may respond to questions with his own agenda – something he wanted to talk about, no matter his agenda is relevant to the questions or not, presidential debaters may respond to moral concerns by elaborating his own moral concerns to build his own image rather than developing real issue discussion, exploring solutions, nor finding a way for collaboration with each other.

Our results show that the moral divergence between Democrat and Republican candidates has been increasingly widened after 1980, indicating the acceleration of mediatization after the full launch of mediatization around 1980 (Hjarvard, 2013). After 1980, media gained more autonomy as an institution, in other words, media began to focus on following its own valuations, formats, and routines (Kristensen, 2000; Schudson, 1981), which accelerated the integration of media logic into other social spheres (Hjarvard, 2013). Accordingly, the mediatization of politics accelerated around the 1980s as a result of the development of media (Kepplinger, 2002), which implies the moral divergence between presidential debaters began to expand around 1980. However, our study is limited with the population size of televised presidential debates, especially there are only two series of presidential debates before 1980 – 1960 and 1976. So, our results may not represent what happened before 1980.

The increasingly widened moral divergence suggests that mediatization has been exerting an influence on political communication. It implies that political actors would outweigh media logic over political bargaining logic by prioritizing their own issue-stances and moral reasoning – personalization – in certain circumstances such as presidential debate, which could cause both positive and negative effects on democracy. For positive effects, adapting media logic could help the institution of politics attract more media coverage which could lead to more public’s attention and participation in democracy (i.e., more voters). For example, election campaign is highly susceptible to mediatization – adapting and internalizing more media logic – because the goal is to involve as many citizens as possible in the democracy process (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Marcinkowski & Steiner, 2014).

As for negative effects, first, the internalization of media logic impels politician to address the public “in a more popular idiom and to court popular support” (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999, p. 220) and therefore entails political populism (Mazzoleni, 2014). Second, media logic orients political decisions towards short-term (i.e. a news cycle) media benefits (will it look good in media) rather than long-term sustainable considerations, therefore mediatization may limit the possible solutions that the public could be aware of (Blumler, 2014). For example, as how media interpret the presidential debate could exert a strong influence on audience’s perception of the candidates (Lowry, Bridges, & Barefield, 1990; McKinnon & Tedesco, 1996; McKinnon, Tedesco, & Kaid, 1993; Steeper, 1978), politicians have to focus on what media want instead of what the society need in order to be interpreted as promising as possible in news coverage .

**The Degree of Mediatization Is Situational**

Although mediatization in politics is inevitable as a long-term social change process, it is situational (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Strömbäck & Esser, 2014). That is, the degree of mediatization in politics varies according to different context and situations. Our results imply that politicians at least could choose how much media logic to abide to in presidential debates.

We found that the first debate in each election year almost always has the biggest moral divergence. This finding supports Van Aelst et al’s (2014) argument: “politicians react to the media because they want to, not only because they have to” (p. 211). The first debate is more important than its following debates because it usually attracts the highest viewership. Plus, by the time of the second debate, lots of voters would have voted. Consequently, image building in the first debate could be more efficient for candidates to attract ballots than in the following debates, which results in the most self-centered speech during the first debate, thus the biggest moral divergence. In other words, presidential candidates chose to abide to more media logic in the first round of presidential debate.

It is worth mentioning that it would be not fair to blame the presidential candidates themselves for wanting to internalize media logic because there is systematic driving force from the political communication system of the United States:

Weakened political parties and image campaigns; technological channel abundance and widespread media use by campaign organizations and voters; journalistic autonomy fostered by an institutional vacuum; a political logic that requires campaigns to use and manage (news) media; a press corps eager to tell stories about a political logic bound to mediation – these and other characteristics signal that the commercial imperatives, production routines, message formats, and narrative interpretations of mass media organizations have moved to the center of the contemporary U.S. presidential election, becoming threaded into the operations of political campaigns and transforming party-based elections into mediatized elections. (D’Angelo, Büchel, & Esser, 2014, p. 160)

Actually, election campaign is highly susceptible to mediatization not only in U.S. but also in other Western democratic system because those campaigns are highly dependent on involving more citizens to participate (Esser & Strömbäck, 2014; Marcinkowski & Steiner, 2014). Accordingly, presidential debate needs to be further explored from an institutional perspective, which could prevent debaters’ moral divergence from being further widened, stop personalization caused by mediatization making the debate less of a debate, help the election campaign focus more on long-term sustainable solutions, and archive more efficient political communication.

# References

Altheide, D. L., & Snow, R. P. (1979). *Media Logic*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Altheide, D. L., & Snow, R. P. (1988). Toward a theory of mediation. *Annals of the International Communication Association, 11*(1), 194-223.

Altheide, D. L., & Snow, R. P. (1991). *Media Worlds in the Postjournalism Era*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Araque, O., Gatti, L., & Kalimeri, K. (2020). MoralStrength: Exploiting a moral lexicon and embedding similarity for moral foundations prediction. *Knowledge-based systems, 191*, 105184.

Bastien, F. (2018). Using parallel content analysis to measure mediatization of politics: The televised leaders’ debates in Canada, 1968–2008. *Journalism*.

Bates, D., Mächler, M., Bolker, B., & Walker, S. (2014). Fitting linear mixed-effects models using lme4. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1406.5823*.

Beck, C. S. (1996). “I've got some points I'd like to make here”: The achievement of social face through turn management during the 1992 vice presidential debate. *Political communication, 13*(2), 165-180.

Benoit, W. L., & Wells, W. T. (1996). *Candidates in conflict: Persuasive attack and defense in the 1992 presidential debates*: University of Alabama Press.

Bilmes, J. (1999). Questions, answers, and the organization of talk in the 1992 vice presidential debate: Fundamental considerations. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 32*(3), 213-242.

Blumler, J. G. (2014). Mediatization and democracy. In *Mediatization of politics* (pp. 31-41): Springer.

Blumler, J. G., & Kavanagh, D. (1999). The third age of political communication: Influences and features. *Political communication, 16*(3), 209-230.

Brants, K., & Voltmer, K. (2011). *Political communication in postmodern democracy: Challenging the primacy of politics*: Springer.

Carlin, D. B., Morris, E., & Smith, S. (2001). The influence of format and questions on candidates' strategic argument choices In the 2000 presidential debates. *American Behavioral Scientist, 44*(12), 2196-2218.

Carlin, D. P. (1989). A defense of the “debate” in presidential debates. *The Journal of the American Forensic Association, 25*(4), 208-213.

Carlin, D. P. (1992). Presidential debates as focal points for campaign arguments.

Clifford, S., & Jerit, J. (2013). How words do the work of politics: Moral foundations theory and the debate over stem cell research. *The Journal of Politics, 75*(3), 659-671.

D’Angelo, P., Büchel, F., & Esser, F. (2014). Mediatization of campaign coverage: Metacoverage of US elections. In *Mediatization of politics* (pp. 156-180): Springer.

Dayan, D., & Katz, E. (1992). *Media events*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ekström, M., Fornäs, J., Jansson, A., & Jerslev, A. (2016). Three tasks for mediatization research: Contributions to an open agenda. *Media, culture & society, 38*(7), 1090-1108.

Esser, F. (2013). Mediatization as a challenge: Media logic versus political logic. In H. Kriesi, S. Lavenex, F. Esser, J. Matthes, M. Bühlmann, & D. Bochsler (Eds.), *Democracy in the Age of Globalization and Mediatization* (pp. 155-176). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Esser, F., & Strömbäck, J. (2014). A paradigm in the making: Lessons for the future of mediatization research. In *Mediatization of Politics* (pp. 223-242): Springer.

Fernandes, D. (2020). Politics at the Mall: The Moral Foundations of Boycotts. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing, 39*(4), 494-513.

Garten, J., Hoover, J., Johnson, K. M., Boghrati, R., Iskiwitch, C., & Dehghani, M. (2018). Dictionaries and distributions: Combining expert knowledge and large scale textual data content analysis. *Behavior research methods, 50*(1), 344-361.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., Koleva, S., Motyl, M., Iyer, R., Wojcik, S. P., & Ditto, P. H. (2013). Moral foundations theory: The pragmatic validity of moral pluralism. In *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 47, pp. 55-130). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Academic Press.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 96*(5), 1029.

Graham, J., Nosek, B. A., Haidt, J., Iyer, R., Koleva, S., & Ditto, P. H. (2011). Mapping the moral domain. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 101*(2), 366.

Haidt, J. (2001). The emotional dog and its rational tail: a social intuitionist approach to moral judgment. *Psychological review, 108*(4), 814.

Haidt, J. (2012). *The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion* (1 ed.). New York: Pantheon Books.

Haidt, J., & Graham, J. (2007). When morality opposes justice: Conservatives have moral intuitions that liberals may not recognize. *Social Justice Research, 20*(1), 98-116.

Haidt, J., & Joseph, C. (2004). Intuitive ethics: How innately prepared intuitions generate culturally variable virtues. *Daedalus, 133*(4), 55-66.

Haidt, J., & Joseph, C. (2007). The moral mind: How five sets of innate intuitions guide the development of many culture-specific virtues, and perhaps even modules. *The innate mind*, 367-391.

Hjarvard, S. (2008). The mediatization of society. *Nordicom review, 29*(2), 102-131.

Hjarvard, S. (2013). *The mediatization of culture and society*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Hoover, J., Johnson, K., Boghrati, R., Graham, J., & Dehghani, M. (2018). Moral framing and charitable donation: Integrating exploratory social media analyses and confirmatory experimentation. *Collabra: Psychology, 4*(1).

Hoover, J., Portillo-Wightman, G., Yeh, L., Havaldar, S., Davani, A. M., Lin, Y., . . . Mendlen, M. (2020). Moral Foundations Twitter Corpus: A collection of 35k tweets annotated for moral sentiment. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 11*(8), 1057-1071.

Jackson-Beeck, M., & Meadow, R. G. (1979). The triple agenda of presidential debates. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 43*(2), 173-180.

Jamieson, K. H., & Birdsell, D. S. (1990). *Presidential debates: The challenge of creating an informed electorate*: Oxford University Press on Demand.

Kepplinger, H. M. (2002). Mediatization of politics: Theory and data. *Journal of communication, 52*(4), 972-986.

Koleva, S. P., Graham, J., Iyer, R., Ditto, P. H., & Haidt, J. (2012). Tracing the threads: How five moral concerns (especially Purity) help explain culture war attitudes. *Journal of Research in Personality, 46*(2), 184-194.

Kraft, P. W. (2018). Measuring morality in political attitude expression. *The Journal of Politics, 80*(3), 1028-1033.

Kriesi, H. (2013). Conclusion: An assessment of the state of democracy given the challenges of globalization and mediatization. In *Democracy in the Age of Globalization and Mediatization* (pp. 202-215): Springer.

Kristensen, N. N. (2000). Journalistik som profession. *Om journalistens rolleplacering i et professionssociologisk perspektiv.[Journalism as profession] In F. Henriksen (Ed.), Sekvens*, 159-184.

Lewis, P. G. (2019). Moral Foundations in the 2015-16 US Presidential Primary Debates: The Positive and Negative Moral Vocabulary of Partisan Elites. *Social Sciences, 8*(8), 233.

Lowry, D. T., Bridges, J. A., & Barefield, P. A. (1990). Effects of TV “Instant Analysis and Querulous Criticism:” following the First Bush-Dukakis Debate. *Journalism quarterly, 67*(4), 814-825.

Marcinkowski, F., & Steiner, A. (2014). Mediatization and political autonomy: A systems approach. In *Mediatization of Politics* (pp. 74-89): Springer.

Matsuo, A., Sasahara, K., Taguchi, Y., & Karasawa, M. (2019). Development and validation of the japanese moral foundations dictionary. *PloS one, 14*(3), e0213343.

Mazzoleni, G. (2008). Mediatization of politics. In *The international encyclopedia of communication* (Vol. 7, pp. 3047-3051). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Mazzoleni, G. (2014). Mediatization and political populism. In *Mediatization of politics* (pp. 42-56): Springer.

Mazzoleni, G., & Schulz, W. (1999). " Mediatization" of politics: A challenge for democracy? *Political communication, 16*(3), 247-261.

McKinney, M. S., & Carlin, D. B. (2004). Political campaign debates. *Handbook of political communication research*, 203-234.

McKinney, M. S., Dudash, E. A., & Hodgkinson, G. (2003). Viewer reactions to the 2000 presidential debates. *The millennium election: Communication in the 2000 campaign*, 43-58.

McKinnon, L. M., & Tedesco, J. C. (1996). The influence of medium and media commentary on presidential debate effects. *The electronic election: Perspectives on the*, 191-206.

McKinnon, L. M., Tedesco, J. C., & Kaid, L. L. (1993). The third 1992 presidential debate: Channel and commentary effects. *Argumentation and Advocacy, 30*(2), 106-118.

Mikolov, T., Sutskever, I., Chen, K., Corrado, G. S., & Dean, J. (2013). *Distributed representations of words and phrases and their compositionality.* Paper presented at the Advances in neural information processing systems.

Nisbett, R. E., & Wilson, T. D. (1977). Telling more than we can know: verbal reports on mental processes. *Psychological review, 84*(3), 231.

Sagi, E., & Dehghani, M. (2014). Measuring moral rhetoric in text. *Social science computer review, 32*(2), 132-144.

Schudson, M. (1981). *Discovering the news: A social history of American newspapers*: Basic books.

Steeper, F. T. (1978). Public response to Gerald Ford's statements on Eastern Europe in the second debate. *The presidential debates: Media, electoral, and policy perspectives*, 81-101.

Strömbäck, J. (2008). Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics. *The international journal of press/politics, 13*(3), 228-246.

Strömbäck, J., & Esser, F. (2014). Mediatization of politics: Towards a theoretical framework. In *Mediatization of politics* (pp. 3-28): Springer.

Strömbäck, J., Esser, F., & Lundby, K. (2009). Shaping politics: Mediatization and media interventionism.

Van Aelst, P., Thesen, G., Walgrave, S., & Vliegenthart, R. (2014). Mediatization and political agenda-setting: changing issue priorities? In *Mediatization of politics* (pp. 200-220): Springer.

Weber, C. R., & Federico, C. M. (2013). Moral foundations and heterogeneity in ideological preferences. *Political Psychology, 34*(1), 107-126.

Wheatley, T., & Haidt, J. (2005). Hypnotic disgust makes moral judgments more severe. *Psychological science, 16*(10), 780-784.