Investigating the Moral Underpinnings of Political Judgment

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### Questions

- Do individuals rely on moral foundations when evaluating political parties and candidates?
- Are there systematic differences between liberals and conservatives?
- ► Are moral values determinants of political thinking, or only a rhetorical device that citizens learn to bolster their political views?

- ► Moral thinking is structured by 5 central innate intuitions (Haidt and Joseph, 2008):
  - ► Harm / Care
  - Fairness / Reciprocity
  - ▶ Ingroup / Loyalty
  - Authority / Respect
  - Purity / Sanctity
- ► Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations (e.g Graham et al., 2009; Haidt and Graham, 2007)

- 1. Liberals are more likely to emphasize moral foundations of harm/care and fairness/reciprocity than conservatives when evaluating political parties and candidates. On the other hand, conservatives are more likely to emphasize moral foundations of ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, and purity/sanctity than liberals.
- 2. The ideological differences in references to moral foundations are moderated by individual political interest. Higher political interest increases the gap between liberals and conservatives in their relative emphasis on the moral foundations described in hypothesis 1.

### Overview

- ▶ 2012 American National Election Study (pre-election)
- Computer assisted face-to-face interviews + Internet panel
- Major dependent variable: open-ended questions where respondents were asked what they liked and disliked about the parties and candidates
- ▶ Moral Foundations dictionary proposed by (Graham et al., 2009) to look for signal words.
- Model individual response patterns for each of the moral foundations

- ► Example: Is there anything in particular about Barack Obama that might make you want to vote for him? What is that?
- ► Original statement:

"He has <u>qulification</u> to be a leader, things he has accomplished he is qualified to be a leader, for women rights doing something for middle class"

- ► Processed statement:
  - "he has <u>qualification</u> to be a <u>leader</u> things he has accomplished he is qualified to be a <u>leader</u> for women <u>rights</u> doing something for middle <u>class</u>"
- ► Moral Foundations: Authority, Fairness



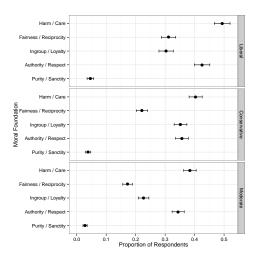


Figure: Moral Foundations and Ideology (All Statements)



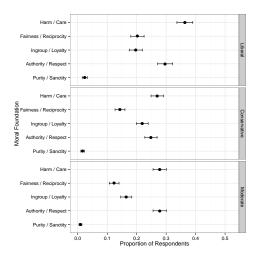


Figure: Moral Foundations and Ideology (Party Evaluations)



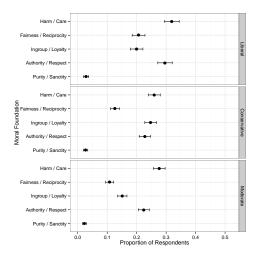


Figure: Moral Foundations and Ideology (Candidate Evaluations)



$$P(\mathsf{MF}) = \mathsf{logit}^{-1}(\beta_0 + \beta_1 C + \beta_2 M + \beta_3 PI + \beta_5 C * PI + \beta_6 M * PI + \beta X)$$

► Controls: Church attendance, education, age, gender, race



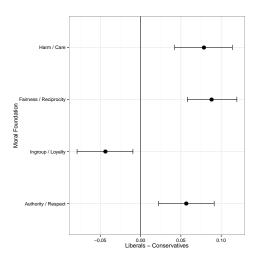


Figure: Moral Foundations and Ideology (Candidate Evaluations)

## Potential Improvements and Future Analyses

- Control for answer length (!)
- Other ways to demonstrate that moral foundations are universal. Experimental designs?
- Revise dictionary
- Multi-dimensional conceptualization of ideology?
- Measure of political sophistication?
- Differentiate between rejection and approval to moral foundations?
- Differentiate between in-party / out-party, candidate vs. party, etc.
- Effects of campaign exposure, political discussion etc.
- Structural topic models (Roberts et al., 2014)



# Moral Foundations Dictionary (c.f. Graham et al., 2009)

Harm: safe\*, peace\*, compassion\*, empath\*, sympath\*, care, caring, protect\*, shield, shelter, amity, secur\*, benefit\*, defen\*, guard\*, preserve, harm\*, suffer\*, war, wars, warl\*, warring, fight\*, violen\*, hurt\*, kill, kills, killer\*, killed, killing, endanger\*, cruel\*, brutal\*, abuse\*, damag\*, ruin\*, ravage, detriment\*, crush\*, attack\*. annihilate\*. destroy. stomp. abandon\*, spurn, impair, exploit, exploits, exploited, exploiting, wound\*

Appendix

- Fairness: fair, fairly, fairness, fair\*, fairmind\*, fairplay, equal\*, justice, justiness, justifi\*, reciproc\*, impartial\*, egalitar\*, rights, equity, evenness, equivalent, unbias\*, tolerant, equable, balance\*, homologous, unprejudice\*, reasonable. constant, honest\*, unfair\*, unequal\*, bias\*, unjust\*, injust\*, bigot\*, discriminat\*, disproportion\*, inequitable, prejud\*, dishonest, unscrupulous, dissociate, preference, favoritism, segregat\*, exclusion, exclud\*
- Ingroup: together, nation\*, homeland\*, family, families, familial, group, loval\*, patriot\*, communal, commune\*. communit\*, communis\*, comrad\*, cadre, collectiv\*, joint, unison, unite\*, fellow\*, guild, solidarity, devot\*, member, cliqu\*, cohort, ally, insider, foreign\*, enem\*, betray\*, treason\*, traitor\*, treacher\*, disloyal\*, individual\*, apostasy, apostate, deserted, deserter\*, deserting, deceiv\*, iilt\*, imposter, miscreant, spv, sequester, renegade, terroris\*, immigra\*
- Authority: obey\*, obedien\*, duty, law, lawful\*, legal\*, duti\*, honor\*, respect, respectful\*, respected, respects, order\*, father\*, mother, motherl\*, mothering, mothers, tradition\*, hierarch\*, authorit\*, permit, permission, status\*, rank\*, leader\*, class, bourgeoisie, caste\*, position, complian\*, command, supremacy, control, submi\*, allegian\*, serve, abide. defere\*, defer, revere\*, venerat\*, comply, defian\*, rebel\*, dissent\*, subver\*, disrespect\*, disobe\*, sediti\*, agitat\*, insubordinat\*, illegal\*, lawless\*, insurgent, mutinous, defy\*, dissident, unfaithful, alienate, defector, heretic\*, nonconformist, oppose, protest, refuse, denounce, remonstrate, riot\*, obstruct
- Purity: piety, pious, purity, pure\*, clean\*, steril\*, sacred\*, chast\*, holy, holiness, saint\*, wholesome\*, celiba\*, abstention, virgin, virgins, virginity, virginal, austerity, integrity, modesty, abstinen\*, abstemiousness, upright, limpid, unadulterated, maiden, virtuous, refined, intemperate, decen\*, immaculate, innocent, pristine, humble, disgust\*, depray\*, disease\*, unclean\*, contagio\*, indecen\*, sin, sinful\*, sinner\*, sins, sinned, sinning, slut\*, whore, dirt\*. impietv. impious. profan\*. gross, repuls\*, sick\*, promiscu\*, lewd\*, adulter\*, debauche\*, defile\*, tramp, prostitut\*, unchaste, wanton, profligate, filth\*, trashy, obscen\*, lax, taint\*, stain\*, tarnish\*, debase\*, desecrat\*, wicked\*, blemish, exploitat\*, pervert, wretched\*



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