
Annotation of Moral Frames

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Abstract

This document describes the annotation of moral frames in German parliamentary debates. Our guidelines are inspired by concepts from Moral Foundations Theory and the Narrative Policy Framework.

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1 Introduction

Some introduction ... (TODO)

2 Moral Foundations Theory

Moral Foundations Theory

“Moral Foundations Theory (MFT) was developed by a team of social and cultural psychologists, primarily Jonathan Haidt and Jesse Graham, to explore why, despite vast differences across cultures, morality often has shared themes and similarities across populations. In essence, MFT suggests that there are several innate psychological systems at the core of our “intuitive ethics.” Cultures then build virtues, narratives, and institutions upon these foundational systems, resulting in the diverse moral beliefs we observe globally and even conflicts within nations. This model of human morality does not argue that all these systems are “good“, in other words, it is a descriptive account of human morality, not a normative one. Evolution does not care about the inherent goodness of psychological systems, rather it creates systems that maintain cooperation, promoting survival and reproduction.” (from the MFT website¹)

We consider the following set of Moral Foundations below:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| Care | is related to our long evolution as mammals with attachment systems and an ability to feel (and dislike) the pain of others. It underlies the virtues of kindness, gentleness, and nurturance. |
| Equality | is defined as “Intuitions about equal treatment and equal outcome for individuals.” |
| Proportionality | is defined Proportionality as “Intuitions about individuals getting rewarded in proportion to their merit or contribution.” |
| Loyalty | is related to our long history as tribal creatures able to form shifting coalitions. It is active anytime people feel that it’s “one for all and all for one.” It underlies the virtues of patriotism and self-sacrifice for the group. |
| Authority | was shaped by our long primate history of hierarchical social interactions. It underlies virtues of leadership and followership, including deference to prestigious authority figures and respect for traditions. |
| Purity | was shaped by the psychology of disgust and contamination. It underlies notions of striving to live in an elevated, less carnal, more noble, and more “natural“ way (often present in religious narratives). This foundation underlies the widespread idea that the body is a temple that can be desecrated by immoral activities and contaminants (an idea not unique to religious traditions). It underlies the virtues of self-discipline, self-improvement, naturalness, and spirituality. |
| Liberty | is about the feelings of reactance and resentment people feel toward those who dominate them and restrict their liberty. Its intuitions are often in tension with those of the authority foundation. The hatred of bullies and dominators motivates people to come together, in solidarity, to oppose or take down the oppressor. |

(descriptions are taken from the MFT website)

¹ <https://moralfoundations.org/>

Our annotation guidelines make no claims about the psychological validity of the MFT (as this is not our area of expertise) but consider them as a descriptive model for moral framing in political communication.

3 Overview of the Classification Scheme

Table 3 gives an overview of our classification scheme. We annotate situations that are framed as (im)moral, using the two roles *Moral_Act_or_Goal* and *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*. The roles can belong to one of the moral foundations CARE, EQUALITY, PROPORTIONALITY, LOYALTY, AUTHORITY, PURITY and LIBERTY. We assign each *Moral_Act_or_Goal* and *Immoral_Act_or_Goal* the corresponding MF label.

The moral roles *Hero*, *Villain*, *Victim* and *Beneficiary* are universal and can be used with all moral foundations.

Label	Description
<i>Moral frames</i>	
<i>Moral_Value</i>	Moral value
<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>	Moral actions, goals, or other desirable targets
<i>Immoral_Value</i>	Immoral value
<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>	Immoral, irresponsible or otherwise negatively portrayed act
<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>	Policy issue, concrete political goal or proposal
<i>Moral roles</i>	
<i>Hero</i>	Person/group/organisation performing or persuing a commendable, responsible or praiseworthy act or goal
<i>Villain</i>	Person/group/organisation performing an act portrayed as immoral, irresponsible or otherwise dispreferred
<i>Victim</i>	Person/group that is harmed or disadvantaged by an action
<i>Beneficiary</i>	Person/group that benefits from an action or goal

3.1 Annotation procedure

Annotation tool As annotation interface, we use the INCEpTION² [Klie et al., 2018], a browser-based tool (see handout Introduction to INCEpTION).

3.1.1 (Im)moral values, goals, actions and policies

As a first step, the coders are asked to read the whole speech, focussing on the overall argument presented in the speech. We assume that a political argument will include values, goals and actions that are presented as desirable (praiseworthy) as well as ones deemed to be undesirable (blameworthy). In addition, political actors talk about concrete political proposals, goals or actions. After the coders have assessed what the whole speech is about, they are asked to highlight the praiseworthy and blameworthy values, goals and actions mentioned in the speech.

² <https://inception-project.github.io>

For that, we use the labels *Moral_Value*, *Moral_Act_or_Goal*, *Immoral_Value*, *Immoral_Act_or_Goal* and *Political_Act_Or_Goal*.

Moral_Value and

Immoral_Value

For the *Moral_Value* / *Immoral_Value* class, we consider

- moral values expressed through abstract concepts (*liberty, freedom, tradition*)
- immoral values expressed through abstract concepts (*injustice, oppression*)
- moral or praiseworthy goals (*equal opportunities, social redistribution, upholding the rule of law*)
- immoral or blameworthy goals ()
- concrete objects or entities that symbolise (im)moral values (*die Freiheitsstatue, die Schandmauer*)

Example	Label
<i>Abstract concepts (typically NPs)</i>	
westliche Freiheit	<i>Moral_Value</i>
unsere Demokratie	<i>Moral_Value</i>
Rechtsstaatlichkeit	<i>Moral_Value</i>
die traditionelle Familie	<i>Moral_Value</i>
Ungerechtigkeit	<i>Immoral_Value</i>
Unfrieden in der Region	<i>Immoral_Value</i>
<i>Objects/Entities (NPs)</i>	
die Freiheitsstatue	<i>Moral_Value</i>
deutsches Kolonialzeitverächtdenkmäl	<i>Immoral_Value</i>
die kommunistische Schandmauer	<i>Immoral_Value</i>
Corona-Schandmal	<i>Immoral_Value</i>

Moral_Act_or_Goal

For the *Moral_Act_or_Goal* class, we consider

- moral goals or actions (*protect the children, protect the homeland*).

For more examples, see below.

Example	Label
<i>Actions (NPs)</i>	
die Befreiung der Menschheit aus der Tyrannei	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
die Rettung des Planeten	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
<i>Actions (VPs)</i>	
die Menschheit von der Tyrannei der Not befreien	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
unsere Planeten heilen	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
die Welt auf den Pfad der Nachhaltigkeit bringen	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
<i>Requests (S)</i>	
Der Anwalt sollte nicht teurer sein als die Schuld.	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
Umweltaspekte müssen dabei stärker in den Fokus rücken	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
Wir wollen, dass unsere Schulen sichere Orte sind	<i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>

Immoral_Act_or_Goal

For the *Immoral_Act_or_Goal* class, we consider dispreferred or blameworthy goals or actions.

Example	Label
<i>Actions (NPs)</i>	
Masseneinwanderung in unsere Sozialsysteme	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
der Verrat an den Pendlern	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
die Ausbeutung der Arbeiterschaft	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
<i>Actions (VPs)</i>	
Die FDP hat die Pendler verraten	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
die Arbeiterschaft ausbeuten	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
<i>States describing behaviour (VPs)</i>	
Merkel ist bis ins Mark korrupt	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
<i>Blameworthy situations (S)</i>	
Da kommt das Fressen vor der Moral.	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
Die Renten in Deutschland sind viel zu niedrig.	<i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>

Point of view

The question of what should be considered as dispreferred or blameworthy is, of course, highly subjective.
We always annotate from the speaker's point of view (and not our own).

The example below shows actions that are praiseworthy from the view of the speaker but might be blameworthy for many others. However, we always code the speaker's point of view.

- (1) **Atommülltransporte schützen**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}, **gewalttätige Demonstranten neutralisieren**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}, **Grenzen kontrollieren und schützen**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal} und **abgelehnte Asylbewerber abschieben**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}:
Context: Wer diese Aufgaben in Deutschland engagiert umsetzt, wird automatisch zum Feindbild der Grünen, und dass das so ist, beweist der hier vorgelegte Gesetzentwurf.

Political_Act_Or_Goal

For the *Political_Act_Or_Goal* class, we consider

- proper names of policy issues / political goals (*the COVID-19 vaccination mandate, the climate tax, the animal welfare tax*)
- very concrete political actions or goals (*den Soli abschaffen, die AKWs abschalten, den CO₂-Ausstoß verringern*).

Attention: Instances like the ones below do not refer to concrete policies and are thus treated as *Moral_Act_or_Goal*, not as *Political_Act_Or_Goal*:

- Wir müssen **dafür sorgen, dass die Rentner endlich mehr Geld im Portemonnaie haben**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
- Wir **fordern mehr Unterstützung**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal} für die von den Maßnahmen betroffenen Arbeitgeber.
- Unsere Aufgabe ist es, endlich wieder **für krisensichere Verhältnisse in Bezug auf die Familien und Arbeitsmarktpolitik zu sorgen**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
- Wir müssen **mehr fürs Klima tun**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
- Wir müssen **das Pariser Klimaabkommen einhalten**_{Political_Act_Or_Goal}.

The bolded spans in the following examples get no annotation at all (not a concrete policy and no framing):

- Man kann sagen : Dann sollten **die europäischen und deutschen Gesetze für den Vollzug einer wirksamen Bankenstrukturierung oder -abwicklung ohne Rückgriff auf Steuergelder verschärft** werden , sodass sie endlich auch für Großbanken glaubwürdig werden . Oder man kann zu dem Schluss kommen , dass **Banken verkleinert** werden sollen .
- Erstens . Die Finanzkrise 2008 hat uns viel Geld gekostet . **Mit mehreren Milliarden Euro** mussten **Banken saniert oder abgewickelt** werden .
- Auch **die** heute hier in Rede stehende **Commerzbank** wurde **mit Steuergeld gerettet** .
- **Das Euro-Zonenbudget** – wie von der Europäischen Kommission vorgeschlagen – müssen wir , sollten wir ernsthaft prüfen .
- Grundsätzlich gilt : Wir können nie wieder aufhören , an der Stabilität unseres Finanzsystems weiterzuarbeiten . Zu einem stabilen Finanzsystem gehören genauso **die Kapitalmarktunion***Political_Act_Or_Goal* und das Thema “ nachhaltige Finanzen” .
- Die Bundeskanzlerin versprach nach der letzten Finanzkrise , nie wieder müssten die Steuerzahler eine Bank retten . Wer das ernst meint , muss **die Deutsche Bank aufspalten** , um das kaputte Investmentbanking kontrolliert abzuwickeln .
- Was Sie ganz vergessen haben , ist **eine zehnjährige europäische Sicherheitspolitik** , um **genau das von den Steuerzahlern abzuwenden***Moral_Act_or_Goal* .
- Das Problem liegt in der Ertragsschwäche innerhalb Europas . Darauf hat unsere Parteivorsitzende Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer eine ordentliche Antwort gegeben : **einen einheitlichen Binnenmarkt für europäische Banken***Political_Act_Or_Goal*
- Also , statt – wir reden jetzt über die wirklich interessante politische Dimension , über **die Staatsintervention , die wir vorschlagen – einer noch stärkeren Konzentration auf den Finanzmärkten zuzuarbeiten***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* , bedarf es aus unserer Sicht **einer grundlegenden Neuordnung des Bankensektors** .
- Wir haben die Banken widerstandsfähiger gemacht – wodurch ? – durch **eine höhere Kapital- und Liquiditätsanforderung** .
- Wir haben mit **dem SSM , dem Single Supervisory Mechanism***Political_Act_Or_Goal* , eine europäische Aufsicht geschaffen , die unabhängig von möglicher staatlicher Voreingenommenheit agiert .

Please note that *Political_Act_Or_Goal* behaves differently from the moral frames. We expect that policies are often discussed in a differentiated manner, often without the speaker taking a clear position (see below).

- Ich verstehe ja, dass man unruhig ist, weil nichts passiert, und zwar in allen Punkten. Bei **der Tierwohlkennzeichnung***Political_Act_Or_Goal* weiß keiner, was kommt. (speaker: Greens)
- Es ist auch absurd, **das Gebäudeenergiegesetz***Political_Act_Or_Goal* aufzugeben. Es kommt zu spät und will zu wenig; das ist unsere

Kritik als Linke.

- Das, was Sie **Einwanderungsgesetz**_{Political_Act_Or_Goal} nennen, ist doch nur eine Zusammenfassung des Bisherigen. (speaker: FDP)

(i) In contrast to the moral frames, *Political_Act_Or_Goal* does not require the speaker’s perspective: In the example below, the goal is not the one expressed by the speaker but one promoted by another party. The speaker’s own stance towards this goal remains unclear. We therefore do not annotate any moral roles for this particular instance below.

- Die FDP fordert **eine Coronaelternzeit, die einen Rechtsanspruch auf Arbeitszeitreduzierung mit entsprechendem Kündigungsschutz und staatliche Verdienstausschüttung für Eltern beinhaltet**_{Political_Act_Or_Goal}.

(ii) In contrast to our moral frames, the *Political_Act_Or_Goal* label does not have a positive/negative polarity as it is often used without a strong moral framing (but we can infer this information from the roles linked to the frame, if the frame is morally loaded):

- **Meine Partei**_{Hero} fordert **eine Coronaelternzeit, die einen Rechtsanspruch auf Arbeitszeitreduzierung mit entsprechendem Kündigungsschutz und staatliche Verdienstausschüttung für Eltern beinhaltet**_{Political_Act_Or_Goal}.
- Und ausgerechnet zu diesem Zeitpunkt **verhängte**_{Political_Act_Or_Goal} **die Regierung**_{Villain} in einer Nacht-und-Nebel-Aktion **einen beispiellosen Lockdown**_{Political_Act_Or_Goal} über Deutschland.

ToDo Brauchen wir hier eine Unterscheidung zwischen praiseworthy und blameworthy (aus Speakersicht)? Lässt sich das auf allen Beispielen annotieren?

For more examples, see below.

Example	Label
<i>NPs</i>	
die Tierwohlabgabe	<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>
der Solidaritätszuschlag	<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>
die Einführung der Reichensteuer	<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>
<i>Actions (VPs)</i>	
die Tierwohlabgabe einführen	<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>
endlich den Soli abschaffen	<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>
die Bremse bei der Solarenergie aufheben	<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>
die Steuern für die kleinen Leute erhöhen	<i>Political_Act_Or_Goal</i>

To distinguish *Political_Act_Or_Goal* from *Moral_Act_or_Goal* / *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*, we need to ask whether the item refers to a concrete policy proposal or plan or whether it is used to refer to rather unspecific or broad concepts, as illustrated below.

- (2) a. Der Fall Greta Thunberg ist von höchster Symbolkraft für **die wahnhaftes Klimarettungspolitik**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.
- b. Klimapolitik ist mehr als nur Energiepolitik. (*no moral framing*)

Group mentions such as "fleißige Bürger“, "Kriminelle Ausländer“, "islamistischen Mörder-

banden“ are not encoded as *Moral_Act_or_Goal* or *Immoral_Act_or_Goal* but can be role fillers for the two categories (also see section on moral roles below).

- (3) a. In Zeiten, in denen **unsere fleißigen Arbeitnehmer da draußen**_{Hero} durch enorme Steuern und Abgaben sowieso schon zu den meistbelasteten Arbeitnehmern dieser Welt gehören, wollen Sie jetzt also noch einen draufsetzen.

4 Identifying moral framing

As this task is highly subjective, we need to define what we consider as *Moral_Value* / *Moral_Act_or_Goal* and *Immoral_Value* / *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*. We do not want to include situations that might evoke positive or negative sentiment but are not framed as (i) violations of a social norm; (ii) goals or intentional acts that have the potential to harm people (or fail to provide help) or that accept that others are harmed while pursuing a goal or performing an action.

4.1 Which frames to annotate?

Act of God vs moral framing For example, while example 4a describes an event where people experienced harm, there is no moral framing (act of God, no intentional human act). We thus do not annotate this instance. In contrast, example 4b does include moral framing: Here the speaker blames the SPD for not protecting the people in Ahrtal, thus causing harm.

- (4) a. The hurrican caused extensive damage.
b. Das Komplett-Versagen **der SPD**_{Villain} hat im Ahrtal **zahlreiche Tote gefordert**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

Moral framing typically requires that there is a person or group that is causing harm (*Villain*) and/or that there is a person or group that is disadvantaged by an action or goal (*Victim*), and/or that the text promotes or praises ideas, goals or actions of a person or group as responsible and morally virtuous.

Evaluation

We do not annotate the evaluative expression but, instead, the topic/theme/target of the evaluation:

- (5) **Ihre Finanzpolitik**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} ist *zutiefst korrupt*_{Evaluation}.

Sometimes the evaluation is part of the annotated span, e.g., for attributive adjectives:

- (6) **Ihre korrupte**_{Evaluation} **Finanzpolitik**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} werden wir nicht hinnehmen.

The evaluation can include metaphoric expressions that express a moral act (jmd ins Gesicht schlagen). However, the relevant moral target is not the metaphor but the subject of the sentence below:

- (7) **Ihre korrupte**_{Evaluation} **Finanzpolitik**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} ist ein Schlag ins Gesicht der Bürger.

Attention: The next example looks similar to the one above. However, here we do not have an evaluation but an immoral act (*die Menschenrechte mit Füßen treten*). The *corrupt leadership* fills the villain role but is not part of the moral act:

- (8) **Diese korrupte Führungsebene**_{Villain} **tritt**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} seit Jahren **die Menschenrechte mit Füßen**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

Attention: The target of the evaluation in the example below is a person, thus neither *Immoral_Value* nor *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*. While *bis ins Mark korrupt sein* can also be interpreted as an evaluation, it also describes the immoral behaviour of the target (*Merkel*). We therefore annotate as follows:

- (9) Merkel **ist bis ins Mark korrupt**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

World knowledge and moral framing

If a frame is not linked to any role and its moral framing can only be deducted using world knowledge (e.g., discussion around driving bans), we do not annotate it. In the examples below, the term *Fahrverbote* (driving bans) is used but not necessarily supported by multiple political parties. Thus, the mention of driving bans is not automatically an indication for moral framing. The phrase *Ihnen das Auto und damit ihre Freiheit wegnehmen*, however, clearly expresses a morally blameworthy act in terms of the LIBERTYfoundation.

- (10) a. Nach fast einem Jahr Diskussion um **Fahrverbote** endlich ein erster zaghafter Lichtblick für die Menschen [...]
 b. Stuttgart ist die erste Stadt mit **einem flächendeckenden Fahrverbot**. Die Werte dort mit 61 Mikrogramm Stickstoffdioxid knapp über Ihrer Ausnahmeregelung. Irgendwie bekommen man den Eindruck, Sie haben nicht wirklich verstanden, was Sie den Menschen da draußen antun, wenn Sie **Ihnen das Auto und damit ihre Freiheit wegnehmen**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

Precision and clarity of moral frames

Frames that we annotate must be precise and clear. We only annotate frames that:

- Explicitly carry a precise, morally loaded statement (e.g., to (not) help someone, to steal someone's freedom) or goal
- Leave it perfectly clear to the hearer/reader how roles are assigned (e.g., who is to blame/praise, who is the victim/beneficiary). The roles do not have to be explicitly filled in the text.

In short, we restrict our annotations of moral frames to blatantly clear and comprehensible (im)moral statements. Our goal is **not** to capture every smallest nuance or hint in the text that expresses (im)moral conduct.

Example 11 below should illustrate this difference. In this statement, there is an accusation (that the measurements are unreasonable/unsensical). However, this accusation is not expressed explicitly but through sarcasm. We thus do not annotate a moral frame here.

- (11) Aber seien Sie unbesorgt: In Deutschland wird so gewissenhaft gemessen, dass es wie in Oldenburg auch ganz ohne Autos nur mit Marathonläufern ganz sicher zu einer Grenzwertüberschreitung kommt.

We do not annotate platitudes and empty phrases (Floskeln) such as the following:

- sich ehrlich machen
- der Moment der Wahrheit
- zur Ehrlichkeit gehören

Likewise, we do not annotate frames that highlight incompetence (see example 12 below) or human misconduct that cannot be assigned to a specific moral foundation but instead could be observed anywhere.

- (12) An Verkehrsminister Scheuer kann man sehen, wie Sie es schaffen, sich im Zeitraffer in selbst geschaffenen Problemen festzufahren.

However, we do annotate frames that encode acts with a clear moral connotation or loading. The table below shows examples of actions that we annotate and those that we do not annotate.

Do not annotate	Annotate
<i>Acts</i>	
von etwas ablenken	etwas verdecken <i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
seiner Verantwortung nicht gerecht werden	etwas leugnen <i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
einen kühlen Kopf bewahren	Taschenspielertricks <i>Immoral_Act_or_Goal</i>
das Gegenteil bewirken	etwas aufdecken <i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
	etwas ans Licht bringen <i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>
<i>Goals</i>	
Den öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk ...	
neu gestalten	freier gestalten <i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i> LIBERTY
	diverser gestalten <i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i> EQUALITY
	feministischer gestalten <i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i> EQUALITY
	mit mehr Bildung gestalten <i>Moral_Act_or_Goal</i>

4.2 Tests

The following questions should help the annotators to decide whether or not a text conveys moral framing.

1. Does the speaker assign blame to a person or group?

⇒ *Immoral_Value* / *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

Examples:

- (13) a. Wir verurteilen die Pläne **der Regierung***Villain*, **die Schulen zu schließen***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*
b. Heute diskutieren wir den Antrag der SPD, die Schulen zu schließen. (*no moral framing*)

2. Does the speaker frame a political goal, action or moral concept as blameworthy?

⇒ *Immoral_Value* / *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

Examples:

- (14) a. Der Fall Greta Thunberg ist von höchster Symbolkraft für **die wahnhafte Klimarettungspolitik**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.
 b. Klimapolitik ist mehr als nur Energiepolitik. (no moral framing)

3. Does the speaker frame a political goal, action, behaviour or moral concept as a violation of a social norm? \Rightarrow *Immoral_Value* / *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

Examples:

- (15) a. **Homosexualität**_{Immoral_Value} ist unnatürlich und moralisch falsch_{Evaluation}.
 b. Homosexualität wird in einigen Ländern mit dem Tode bestraft. (no moral framing)
 c. Sie haben in Ihrer Presserklärung zwar zu Recht auf das himmelschreiende Unrecht hingewiesen, dass in einigen Ländern **Homosexuelle mit dem Tode bedroht**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} werden.

In example 15a, the speaker states the view that homosexuality is a violation of a social norm. While example 15b could also be interpreted as reporting a violation of a social norm that is punished by death in some countries, the statement does not include any moral framing from the speaker's point of view. In contrast, example 15c clearly frames death penalty for homosexuals as an act of injustice and is thus annotated as *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.

4. Does the speaker describe a person or group as praiseworthy?
 \Rightarrow *Moral_Value* / *Moral_Act_or_Goal*

Examples:

- (16) a. **die NATO**_{Hero} ist auch **ein Wertebündnis**_{Moral_Value}.
 b. Putin würde sich drüber freuen, wenn die Türkei die NATO verlässt. (no moral framing)
 c. **Wir**_{Hero} setzen uns dafür ein, dass es in diesem Land **gerecht zugeht**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
 d. Wir werden für Ihren Antrag stimmen. (no moral framing)

5. Does the speaker describe a concept, goal or action as praiseworthy?
 \Rightarrow *Moral_Value* / *Moral_Act_or_Goal*

Examples:

- (17) a. **Die Linke in Deutschland**_{Hero} ist solidarisch mit **diesem Aufstand für mehr Demokratie**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
 b. Wir müssen uns **für eine Verkehrswende starkmachen**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
 c. Die Grünen fordern seit Jahren eine Verkehrswende. (no moral framing)

Please note that example 17c can be interpreted as praiseworthy if the speaker is a member of the green party and in favour of the Verkehrswende. If it is said by a member of another party, this sentence is merely descriptive.

4.3 More examples

Moral_Value / Moral_Act_or_Goal

(18) NPs

- a. **Familien***Moral_Value* sind das, was unseren Staat trägt, meine Damen und Herren.
- b. Hier und heute geht es um den Kern **der politischen Freiheit***Moral_Value*
- c. Und unser Beitrag zur NATO-Battlegroup unterstreicht **unsere Bündnistreue***Moral_Value*.
- d. Wir wollen **ein Europa der Chancen***Moral_Value* für jeden einzelnen Bürger
- e. Riesenärger um **Corona-Schandmal***Moral_Value* im Osterzgebirge.

(19) VPs

- a. Unsere Soldaten **schützen***Moral_Act_or_Goal* Tag für Tag **die Bevölkerung***Moral_Act_or_Goal*
- b. Wir **machen Schluss mit Kindergeldmissbrauch in Deutschland***Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
- c. Wir müssen **die Schwachen in unserer Gesellschaft***Moral_Act_or_Goal* besser **schützen***Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
- d. Wir müssen **die sozialen und finanziellen Auswirkungen***Moral_Act_or_Goal* gerade auch für ärmere Familien **abfedern***Moral_Act_or_Goal*.

*Immoral_Value /
Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

(20) NPs

- a. Die Stellungnahmen zu dem Gesetzentwurf in der Anhörung im Rechtsausschuss des Bundestages am 19. Juni 2017 haben **den Verrat am Bürger***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* offengelegt.
- b. je mehr Sie mit Familiennachzug hierherholen, umso mehr **stärken***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* Sie **autokratische patriarchalische Gesellschaften***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.
- c. Wir sind gegen **die weitere Masseneinwanderung von Menschen in unsere Sozialsysteme***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

(21) VPs

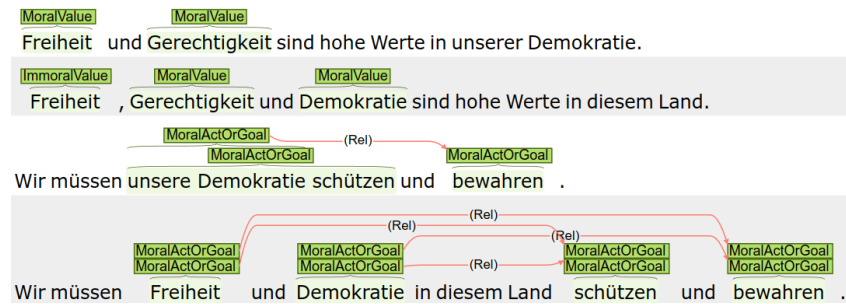
- a. Wer **der Demokratie den Rücken kehrt***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*, den wollen und den brauchen wir in Deutschland nicht.
- b. Minderjährige kriminelle Schutzsuchende **terrorisieren die Städte***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.
- c. Es ist schändlich, dass Sie für Ihre geopolitischen Ziele **Ihr Bündnis mit islamistischen Despoten und Diktatoren***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* weiter **fortführen***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* wollen.
- d. Durch **die Aufhebung der Sanktionen***Political_Act_or_Goal* wird der Kriegstreiber Erdogan sogar noch belohnt.
- e. **Erdogan***villain* ist mit seinen islamistischen Mörderbanden(Ally) **völkerrechtswidrig einmarschiert***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.
- f. **Kindern und Jugendlichen***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* wird **keine Perspektive gegeben***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.

- g. Wer nicht **das Hohelied von Vielfalt, Gender und Migration** **singt**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}, der geht leer aus.

5 Annotation span

5.1 Coordination

Coordination can result in annotation spans for moral values or actions where the different conjuncts evoke different moral foundations (e.g.: Freiheit → Liberty; Gerechtigkeit → Equality). We therefore annotated each conjunct as its own span (see examples below).

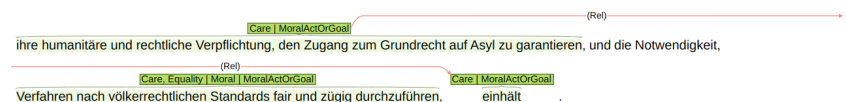


We do not split the annotation in cases where the coordinated NP is not the head of the NP but embedded in a modifying NP or PP (see examples below):

- (22) Treten Sie **unserem Bündnis für kulturelle Bildung und Vermittlung sowie Medienkompetenz**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal} bei.
- (23) Dies ist **ein Angriff auf die Vertrauenswürdigkeit und die Integrität der IT**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

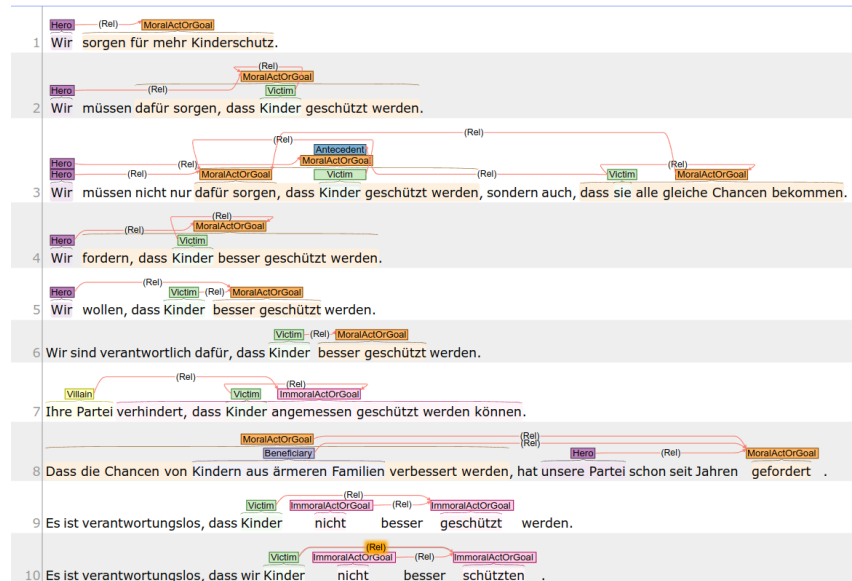
5.2 Complement and attributive clauses

These clauses are part of the annotated span. See example below:



that-complement clauses

The examples below illustrate the treatment of *that*-complement clauses



5.3 Span size

Minimal spans We annotate the minimal span that expresses the meaning of the frame. In the example below, the span in 24b is sufficient to capture the frame.

- (24) a. ~~Eine Vormachtstellung in den sozialen Medien und im Bildungswesen~~_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} darf nicht ~~dazu missbraucht werden, die politische Willensbildung einseitig zu beeinflussen~~_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.
- b. Eine Vormachtstellung in den sozialen Medien und im Bildungswesen darf nicht dazu missbraucht werden, **die politische Willensbildung einseitig zu beeinflussen**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

5.4 What is part of the NP?

Relative clauses are part of the NP and are thus included in the annotation. We also annotate embedded (im)moral values, goals and actions (examples 26a, 26b).

- (25) **Die traditionelle Familie, die aus Vater, Mutter und Kindern besteht**_{Moral_Value}, muss endlich wieder zum Leitbild für unsere Gesellschaft werden.
- (26) a. In **normalen Familien, in denen ein Elternteil zuhause bleibt, um sich um die Kinder zu kümmern**_{Moral_Value}, können solche Probleme besser aufgefangen werden.
- b. In normalen Familien, in denen ein Elternteil zuhause bleibt, um sich **um die Kinder zu kümmern**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}, können solche Probleme besser aufgefangen werden.
- (27) Speziell **der emotionale Kreuzzug gegen das Automobil, den Sie ja alle betreiben und der von den Grünen und von den Linken befeuert wird**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}, ist unverantwortlich für eine moderne Industriegesellschaft.

PP attachment is often hard to resolve. In the example below, it is not clear whether "in muslimischen Staaten" should be attached to the verb (stattfinden), to the coordinated NP (Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Ermordung), or rather to the modifier PP (von Christen). We pick the most probable reading to determine the span of the annotation.

- (28) a. Mit der **Verfolgung von Christen**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} in muslimischen Staaten findet seit Jahren **eine ethnisch-religiöse Säuberung**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} statt, und das christlich geprägte Europa **schaut zu**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.
- b. Mit der **Verfolgung von Christen in muslimischen Staaten**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} findet seit Jahren **eine ethnisch-religiöse Säuberung**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} statt, und das christlich geprägte Europa **schaut zu**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

Negation

The negation particle is part of the NP and switches the polarity of the label:

- (29) a. Das ist **differenzierte Rechtspolitik**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
- b. Das ist doch **keine differenzierte Rechtspolitik**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.
- c. So sieht **ein fairer Umgang mit dem Partner**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal} aus.
- d. Das ist **kein fairer Umgang mit einem Partner**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}. Wir **fordern Unterstützung**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal} für die von den Maßnahmen betroffenen Arbeitgeber.
- e. Die FDP **fordert keine Unterstützung**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal} für die von den Maßnahmen betroffenen Arbeitgeber.

Embedded values

(Im)moralActOrGoals often include moral values that are violated (see below: *das Auskunftsrecht und das Recht von Betroffenen...* is framed as a moral value that should be protected). However, we do not annotated the embedded values if they are part of a moral or immoral act or goal. Instead, we only encode the _{Moral_Act_or_Goal} or _{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

- (30) a. Das kann doch nicht Ihr Ernst sein, **das Auskunftsrecht und das Recht von Betroffenen auf Berichtigung oder Löschung ihrer Daten auszusetzen**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

5.5 What is part of the VP annotation?

Core arguments

- direct/indirect object + verb (finite full verb or infinite verb or participle)
 - **die Schwachen in unserer Gesellschaft** besser **schützen**
- We do not include modifier PPs etc. (but those might be role fillers)
 - **die sozialen und finanziellen Auswirkungen** gerade auch **für ärmere Familien**_{Beneficiary} **abzufedern**.

Auxiliaries

- We do not include finite auxiliaries or modal verbs in the annotation span:
 - Wir müssen die Schwachen in unserer Gesellschaft besser **schützen**
 - Wir werden die Schwachen in unserer Gesellschaft besser **schützen**
 - Wir haben die Schwachen in unserer Gesellschaft besser **geschützt**
 - damit die Schwachen in unserer Gesellschaft besser **geschützt** sind
- We do include finite full verbs in the annotation:
 - Die Linke **schützt** die Schwächsten in unserer Gesellschaft
 - Wir **schützen** die Schwächsten in unserer Gesellschaft
 - Wir **setzten** uns ein für die Schwächsten in unserer Gesellschaft
 - weil die Linke **sich** für die Schwächsten in unserer Gesellschaft **einsetzt**

5.6 When do we annotate the whole clause and not just the VP?

Often, moral actions are expressed as a VP where the subject fills the role of the *Villain* or *Hero*. For instances where the subject does not assume the semantic role of an agent, but is part of the (im)moral situation, we annotate the whole sentence as a moral act:

- VP: **Unsere Kultureinrichtungen***Villain* **kümmern sich nicht ausreichend um Kinder aus schwierigen sozialen Verhältnissen***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.

vs.

- **Kultureinrichtungen müssen barrierefrei sein.***Moral_Act_or_Goal*

5.7 How to deal with negation?

- We include negation in the annotation and adapt the label accordingly:
 - Wir müssen Kindern und Jugendlichen **eine Perspektive geben***Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
 - Endlich haben Kinder und Jugendliche wieder **eine Perspektive***Moral_Value*.
 - Kinder und Jugendliche haben **keine Perspektive***Immoral_Value*.
 - Kindern und Jugendlichen wird **keine Perspektive gegeben***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.
- VPs with placeholder-*es*:
 - Sie haben **es versäumt, Kindern und Jugendlichen eine Perspektive zu geben***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*
 - Die Regierung **versäumt es***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* mal wieder, **Kindern und Jugendlichen eine Perspektive zu geben***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

ToDo: do we want to annotate postcedents? (es → Kindern und Jugendlichen eine Perspektive zu geben)

Der Rest (ab hier) ist in Arbeit und enthält im Moment noch keine brauchbaren Informationen.

ToDo

How to deal with imperatives?

- – Unterstützen Sie uns in der Verteidigung unserer Freiheit!
- Keine Familie darf alleingelassen werden.

How to deal with conditionals/subjunctives/questions?

- Questions:
 - Gestern gab es den Autogipfel der Bundesregierung. Wann gibt es den Kindergipfel?
 - Was ist mit dir los, humanistisches Europa, du Verfechterin der Menschenrechte, der Demokratie und der Freiheit?
 - Warum entwickeln Sie keinen Masterplan „Integration“
- Conditionals:
 - Das Wort „Kindergeld“ findet natürlich nur dann Erwähnung, wenn es dazu dienen kann, Menschen gegeneinander aufzuwiegen.
 - Es wäre sehr schön, wenn die Familien, denen Sie die Leistung kürzen wollen, den Zusammenhang sehen.
- Subjunctives:
 -

6 Annotation of moral roles

We annotate four different (im)moral roles, *Hero*, *Beneficiary*, *Victim* and *Villain* (see Table 6 below).

Label	Description
<i>Moral roles</i>	
<i>Hero</i>	Person/group/organisation performing or persuing a commendable, responsible or praiseworthy act or goal
<i>Villain</i>	Person/group/organisation performing an act portrayed as immoral, irresponsible or otherwise dispreferred
<i>Victim</i>	Person/group that is harmed or disadvantaged by an action
<i>Beneficiary</i>	Person/group that benefits from an action or goal

Annotation span for roles For role annotation, we always consider the largest NP, including modifiers (Ex. 32b), complement clauses (Ex. 32c) and coordinated conjuncts (Ex. 32d).

Adjectives Adjectives can also fill a moral role (Ex. 31a). Please note that we do not

annotate subword components as roles (e.g., familienfreundlich, bürger-nah, ausländerfeindlich etc., see Ex. 31b)

- (31) a. **die russische**_{Villain} **Aggression gegen die Ukraine**_{Victim Immoral_Act_or_Goal}
- b. **die ausländerfeindliche Politik der AfD**_{Villain Immoral_Act_or_Goal}
- (32) a. **Die NATO**_{Hero} hat (**Europa**_{Beneficiary} **gegen die militärische Bedrohung durch (die Sowjetunion)**_{Villain} **geschützt**)_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
- b. **Die siegreiche, tapfere NATO**_{Hero} hat (**das Europa der Herzen**_{Beneficiary} **gegen die militärische Bedrohung durch (die bis an die Zähne bewaffnete Sowjetunion)**_{Villain} **geschützt**)_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
- c. **Die NATO, die schon immer gern mit dem Feuer spielt**_{hat_Hero}, hat (**Europa**_{Beneficiary} **gegen die militärische Bedrohung durch (die Sowjetunion)**_{Villain} **geschützt**)_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.
- d. **Die NATO und die USA**_{Hero} haben (**Europa und den Rest der Welt**_{Beneficiary} **gegen die militärische Bedrohung durch (die Sowjetunion und den Warschauer Pakt)**_{Villain} **geschützt**)_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.

6.1 Hero

6.1.1 Hero in modal constructions and hypothetical sentences

We only annotate the hero role if the agent fulfills this role, but not if a person or group is only asked to do something.

In the following example, "The new federal government" is not a hero:

- The new federal government must defend human rights and the right to asylum.

The same applies to the next example. Here too, "We" is not a hero, because it is merely a non-specific wish without any concrete prospect of implementation:

- We want a humanitarian reception policy.

We only annotate the Hero role if the agent fulfills this role, but not if a person or group is only asked to do something. In the example below, "The new federal government" is not a Hero:

- The new federal government must defend human rights and the right to asylum.

The same applies to the next example. Here too, "We" is not a hero, as it is merely an unspecific wish with no concrete prospect of implementation:

- We want a humanitarian reception policy.

Hypothetical sentences, proposals, etc. also have no hero:

- Groups or associations can pledge to support refugees, helping people through resettlement and resettlement opportunities.
- We suggest doing XY.

- With this program, the German government would help many people.

However, if the (im)moral action is formulated as a promise, concrete action or demand, then we can comment on the hero role, as in the following examples:

- We will again set up more humanitarian admission programs by the federal government as well as quotas from EU states with external borders.
 - We are committed to ensuring that ((more people)beneficiary protection)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
-

6.2 Villain

For a villain to be annotated, the person/group/organisation must be explicitly mentioned or identifiable:

- Wer **xy***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* tut, sollte nicht in Deutschland bleiben dürfen. → no villain in this hypothetical sentence, since there is no true agent performing the immoral act.

If the person/group/organisation is explicitly identifiable, however, we annotate it as villain. The mere wish or intention for an immoral action can be enough to annotate the villain role (as opposed to hero, which requires more than a wish):

- And there **you***Villain* want to **build a penitentiary***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*.
-

6.3 Victim

6.4 Beneficiary

Beneficiary vs Victim

We only annotate the victim role when the victim status is explicitly expressed (see examples below). The distinction between *Victim* and *Beneficiary* usually depends on the semantics of the predicate (see the difference between "die Opfer schützen" and "die Opfer unterstützen").

- damit ((**Menschen**)*Beneficiary* **geschützt**)*Moral_Act_or_Goal* werden
- damit ((**die Opfer**)*Victim* **geschützt**)*Moral_Act_or_Goal* werden
- ((**Opfer von Rassismus**)*Beneficiary* **unterstützen**)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*
- (**die Not (der Geflüchteten)**)*Victim* **lindern**)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*
- ((**Viele Flüchtlinge**)*Victim*)*Immoral_Act_or_Goal* wurden **gefoltert***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

Complex example From Manifestos Linke, Migration:

60 Zivilgesellschaftliche Gruppen, die sich gegen Rassismus, Antisemitismus, Homo- und Transfeindlichkeit, Antiziganismus, religiösen Fundamentalismus, antimuslimischen Rassismus und für mehr Demokratie engagieren, sowie Flüchtlingsräte, migrantische Verbände, selbstverwaltete Beratungsangebote und die Selbstorganisation von Migrant*innen wollen wir durch ein Demokratiefördergesetz stärker und endlich dauerhaft fördern (vgl. Kapitel "Gegen rechte Gewalt").

Annotation:

- **Frame 1:** ((Zivilgesellschaftliche Gruppen, die sich gegen Rassismus, Antisemitismus, Homo- und Transfeindlichkeit, Antiziganismus, religiösen Fundamentalismus, antimuslimischen Rassismus und für mehr Demokratie engagieren)*Beneficiary* stärker und endlich dauerhaft fördern)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
- **Frame 2:** ((Flüchtlingsräte)*Beneficiary* stärker und endlich dauerhaft fördern)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
- **Frame 3:** ((migrantische Verbände)*Beneficiary* stärker und endlich dauerhaft fördern)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
- **Frame 4:** (selbstverwaltete Beratungsangebote stärker und endlich dauerhaft fördern)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*.
- **Frame 5:** (die Selbstorganisation von (Migrant*innen)*Beneficiary* stärker und endlich dauerhaft fördern)*Moral_Act_or_Goal*.

We do **not** annotate *Selbstorganisation* and *Beratungsangebot* with the label *Beneficiary*.

6.5 More examples

6.6 Antecedent

To resolve coreferences for roles filled by pronouns or underspecified NPs (typically containing a demonstrative pronoun, e.g., “diese Menschen”, “diese 80-Jährigen”), we also annotate their antecedents and link the role to its antecedent by drawing a relation from the role to the antecedent.

Please note that we only do this for roles, not for frames. The two examples below illustrate this difference. In the following example, we annotate the antecedent of the villain:

- Haben **Menschenrechtsverletzer***Antecedent* keine Konsequenzen zu befürchten, dann **verletzen***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* **sie***Villain* erneut **Menschenrechte***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*

In this next example however, the antecedent (*sie*) is not part of a role but of the frame. We therefore do not annotate the antecedent:

- **Menschenrechte***Immoral_Act_or_Goal* werden überall auf der Welt **mit Füßen getreten***Immoral_Act_or_Goal*. Wir müssen **sie besser schützen***Moral_Act_or_Goal*.

The antecedent is the closest NP that disambiguates the pronoun or NP. We do not annotate coreference chains with more elements.

The following examples illustrate the annotation of antecedents for personal pronouns (ex. 33a), possessive pronouns (ex. 33b) and NPs (ex. 33c).

- (33) a. **Menschen mit Migrationsgeschichte**_{Antecedent} sind nach Generationen noch häufiger von Armut, Ausgrenzung und Arbeitslosigkeit betroffen. **Sie**_{Victim} werden im Bildungssystem systematisch benachteiligt.
- b. **Menschen mit Migrationsgeschichte**_{Antecedent} sind nach Generationen noch häufiger von Armut, Ausgrenzung und Arbeitslosigkeit betroffen. **Ihre Kinder**_{Victim} werden im Bildungssystem systematisch benachteiligt
- c. Auch mich belastet ganz besonders, was **die Menschen**_{Antecedent} erdulden müssen, **die in Pflege-, Senioren-, Behinderteneinrichtungen leben**_{Antecedent}. Dort, wo Einsamkeit ohnehin zum Problem werden kann, ist es in Zeiten der Pandemie und ganz ohne Besuch noch viel einsamer. [...] **Diese 80-, 90-Jährigen**_{Hero} haben **unser Land aufgebaut**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal}.

Coordination We do not annotate the different constituents of coordinated antecedents as separate phrases but merge them into one annotated unit.

- **(Menschen mit Migrationsgeschichte, Geflüchtete und Geduldete)**_{Antecedent} sind häufiger von Armut, Ausgrenzung und Arbeitslosigkeit betroffen. **Sie**_{Victim} werden im Bildungssystem systematisch benachteiligt.
- **((Opfer von Rassismus und ihre Angehörige)**_{Beneficiary}**)**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal} müssen besser **unterstützt**_{Moral_Act_or_Goal} werden

External antecedents In some rare cases, the antecedent of a pronoun or NP is unambiguously clear, usually from context or world knowledge, but not explicitly mentioned in the document, which makes it impossible to draw a relation to an antecedent.

In the example below, the party AfD is antecedent of the pronoun *Sie* (cue from the context), but mentioned nowhere in the document, making it impossible to draw an antecedent relation to *Sie*. We thus resort to writing *AfD* in the free text field of the layer **ExternalAntecedent**:

- (34) Wir können – das will ich abschließend sagen – dem AfD-Antrag nicht zustimmen. **Sie**_{Villain} **bieten den Leuten Steine statt Brot**_{Immoral_Act_or_Goal}.

7 Annotation of moral foundations

The main goal of the final annotation subtask is to capture the moral framing of arguments in political debates, based on Moral Foundations Theory (see Section 2). We distinguish between frames that encode moral and immoral values (*Moral_Value*, *Immoral_Value*), typically expressed by NPs, and frames that describe (im)moral acts or goals (*Moral_Act_or_Goal*, *Immoral_Act_or_Goal*) and are typically expressed by VPs (for details, see Section 4 above).

7.1 Annotation perspective

Importantly, we **do not encode our own moral values** but always annotate the *moral framing* used by the speaker.

We distinguish **the speaker’s moral values** from **the moral framing** used to convey a certain political message. Although we expect that the speaker’s moral values are often correlated with the moral framing, this is not necessarily the case.

Furthermore, we have no means to directly observe and measure the moral values of the speaker,³ as it is not clear whether and to what extent politicians express their own values or adapt to the party line, or might intentionally use a specific framing to achieve a certain effect. This means that the two can, but do not necessarily align.

For illustration, consider the examples below, all taken from the far-right AfD, a party known for supporting traditional gender roles (Ex. 35, AUTHORITY), considering other role models as unnatural (Ex. 36, PURITY) and opposing gender equality programs. One might argue that the moral values expressed by this party are not in line with values of the EQUALITY foundation. However, the AfD often uses the EQUALITY frame in their speeches (Ex. 37, EQUALITY).

- (35) Für unsere Fraktion steht der Erhalt des Lebens, natürlich mit **dem gesellschaftserhaltenden und fruchtbaren Leitbild der traditionellen Familie mit Mama und Papa und deren Kindern**_{Authority}, im Vordergrund.
“For our group, the preservation of life, naturally with the society-preserving and fruitful model of the traditional family with mom and dad and their children, is paramount.”
- (36) Hören Sie auf mit **Ihrem Kampf gegen die Natur**_{Purity}!
“Stop your fight against nature!”
- (37) Die einzige Partei in diesem Haus, die **die Gleichberechtigung verteidigt**_{Equality}, ist die AfD.
“The only party in this House that defends equal rights is the AfD.”

We do not encode the moral values that, from the annotator’s perspective, should be ascribed to the speaker but, instead, encode the moral framing used in the speech.

³ This is usually done with the help of psychological measurement tools like the Moral Foundations Questionnaire [?].

7.2 Care

This foundation centers around the following values:

- Empathy for others. An important aspect here is that empathy is experienced universally, for anyone, and not just for the ingroup.
- Protecting others (again, universally, not just the ingroup), reducing or preventing harm.

Below are examples that we consider as part of the CARE foundation.

- (38)
- ensure security in our country
 - protect women and girls from assault
 - exemption decisions to protect our population
 - consumer protection

It is important to note that the values of care, empathy and protection include all people, not just members of the in-group. Consider ex. 38b above and the modified example below which we consider as an instance of the LOYALTY foundation:

“Protect our women and girls! Protect Germany.” LOYALTY

7.3 Equality and Proportionality

Both moral foundations once were contained in a single foundation named “Fairness”. However, the concept of fairness can be conceptualized in different ways. Some people find it fair that everyone gets the same benefits/rights/resources (Equality), while others think these benefits/rights/resources should be distributed according to each person’s performance (Proportionality).

The following examples illustrate both understandings of fairness:

Example	Label
A society is fair when income and wealth are equally distributed among all people.	Equality
A society is fair when it takes care of those who are poor and in need regardless of what they give back to society.	Equality
A society is fair when hard-working people earn more than others.	Proportionality
A society is fair when people from families with high social status enjoy privileges in their lives.	Proportionality

7.3.1 Equality

The Equality foundation centers around rights such as equality and justice for all (including those who are not in the ingroup), independently from performance. It advocates for equal chances for all, equal distribution of resources amongst all.

Below we list frequent examples of frames that we annotate as EQUALITY.

- (39)
- xenophobia, misogyny, racism, antigypsyism (as an attitude/ideology; when expressed as an action, such as ‘hate against women’, ‘incitement against foreigners’, then we additionally assign the CARE foundation)

- b. racism (when expressed as 'violent racism' or 'racist attack', then we additionally assign the CARE foundation)
- c. social injustice
- d. nationalism, a nationalist image of women and the family (when framed as an immoral value)
- e. the upholding of universal human rights, a society that realises human rights (additionally: CARE)
- f. human dignity

Please note that examples like 'right-wing hate speech' are not per se annotated as EQUALITY (e.g.: "rechter Hass gegen Politiker demokratischer Parteien").

7.3.2 Proportionality

In this foundation, each person gets what they deserve. Chances and advantages are dependent on one's performance.

Below we list examples of frames that we annotate as PROPORTIONALITY.

- (40) a. A degree should also be reflected in your salary later on.
- b. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.
- c. The penalty should not exceed the damage caused.

7.4 Loyalty

This foundation centers around the following values:

- Protecting members of the ingroup and prioritizing their advantage over others.
- Avoiding harm or disadvantages for the ingroup (including social division)

Below we list examples of frames that we annotate as LOYALTY.

- (41) a. promote social division
- b. standing together against social division
- c. inciting people against each other / driving a wedge into society
- d. providing service for our safety
- e. the security of our country
- f. protect our borders / strong protection of the external borders
- g. to protect our country

7.5 Authority

We annotate authority whenever the following values are expressed:

- Respect for authorities, support for a strong state (country)
- To implement law and order, to fight criminality
- To maintain traditions and hierarchical societal structures
- Support for traditional values, such as respecting the elderly, good manners, obedience.

Authority frames are in line with the following statements from the *Authoritarianism Short Scale (KSA-3)*:

- We should take strong action against misfits and slackers in society.
- Troublemakers should be made to feel that they are not welcome in society.
- Rules in society should be enforced without pity.
- We need strong leaders so that we can live safely in society.
- People should leave important decisions in society to their leaders.
- We should be grateful for leaders telling us exactly what to do.
- Traditions should definitely be carried on and kept alive.
- Well-established behavior should not be questioned.
- It's always best to do things in the usual way.

The following German examples from the questionnaire “Respekt für Staatsautorität”⁴ further illustrate the Authority foundation:

- Es ist besser, ein toter Held als ein lebender Feigling zu sein.
- Die Hauptsache im Leben eines Menschen ist, dass er den Wunsch hat, etwas Bedeutendes für sein Land zu tun.
- Patriotismus und Staatstreue sind die ersten wichtigsten Voraussetzungen eines guten Bürgers.

Statements that question such values are **not** part of the AUTHORITY foundation.

- Ungehorsam gegen die eigene Regierung ist manchmal gerechtfertigt.
Disobedience against one's own government is sometimes justified.

Below we list examples of frames that we annotate as AUTHORITY.

- (42) a. I'd love to be a "trad wife" someday who makes healthy meals for her man, cleans, and decorates the house with embellishments.

7.6 Liberty

This moral foundation includes moral values that promote individual freedom and fight oppression. This includes civil rights/liberties, the rights of citizens vis-à-vis the state, and also values of democratic/informational self-determination or self-determination in general. We also consider references to free democratic forms of government, including the protection thereof, as part of the LIBERTY foundation.

- (43) a. strengthen civil rights on the Internet
b. protection of privacy and free development of personality
c. data protection and data privacy
d. curtail people's fundamental rights
e. the rights of the individual

⁴ Lederer, 1997; <https://zis.gesis.org/skala/Lederer-Respekt-f%C3%BCr-Staatsautorit%C3%A4t>.

- f. our open society
- g. the protection of our liberal democracies

Attention: human rights are not part of the LIBERTYfoundation but belong to the foundations CARE/EQUALITY, e.g.:

- (44) a. protect human rights at the external borders CARE
- b. the upholding of universal human rights CARE, EQUALITY
- c. a society that realizes human rights CARE, EQUALITY

The term “basic/fundamental rights” is ambiguous between references to civil rights (Bürgerrechte, LIBERTY) and references to human rights (Menschenrechte, CARE)

References

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