



FIGURE 8.4. *Liberal liberty: Interior of a coffee shop in New Paltz, New York.* The sign on the left says, "No one is free when others are oppressed." The flag on the right shows corporate logos replacing stars on the American flag. The sign in the middle says, "How to end violence against women and children."

erals—who are more universalistic and who rely more heavily upon the Care/harm foundation—the Liberty/oppression foundation is employed in the service of underdogs, victims, and powerless groups everywhere. It leads liberals (but not others) to sacralize equality, which is then pursued by fighting for civil rights and human rights. Liberals sometimes go beyond equality of *rights* to pursue equality of *outcomes*, which cannot be obtained in a capitalist system. This may be why the left usually favors higher taxes on the rich, high levels of services provided to the poor, and sometimes a guaranteed minimum income for everyone.

Conservatives, in contrast, are more parochial—concerned about their groups, rather than all of humanity. For them, the Liberty/oppression foundation and the hatred of tyranny supports many of the tenets of economic conservatism: don't tread on me (with your liberal nanny state and its high taxes), don't tread on my business (with your oppressive regulations), and don't tread on my nation (with your United Nations and your sovereignty-reducing international treaties).

American conservatives, therefore, sacralize the word *liberty*, not the word *equality*. This unites them politically with



FIGURE 8.5. *Conservative liberty: car at a dormitory at Liberty University, Lynchburg, Virginia.* The lower sticker says, "Libertarian: More Freedom, Less Government."

libertarians. The evangelical preacher Jerry Falwell chose the name Liberty University when he founded his ultraconservative school in 1971. Figure 8.5 shows the car of a Liberty student. Liberty students are generally pro-authority. They favor traditional patriarchal families. But they oppose domination and control by a secular government, particularly a liberal government that will (they fear) use its power to redistribute wealth (as "comrade Obama" was thought likely to do).

FAIRNESS AS PROPORTIONALITY

The Tea Party emerged as if from nowhere in the early months of the Obama presidency to reshape the American political landscape and realign the American culture war. The move-