

even more powerfully, when a few contributed nothing—most adults do *not* want to see the benefits distributed equally.<sup>51</sup>

We can therefore refine the description of the Fairness foundation that I gave in the last chapter. It's still a set of modules that evolved in response to the adaptive challenge of reaping the rewards of cooperation without getting exploited by free riders.<sup>52</sup> But now that we've begun to talk about moral communities within which cooperation is maintained by gossip and punishment, we can look beyond *individuals* trying to choose partners (which I talked about in the last chapter). We can look more closely at people's strong desires to protect their *communities* from cheaters, slackers, and free riders, who, if allowed to continue their ways without harassment, would cause others to stop cooperating, which would cause society to unravel. The Fairness foundation supports righteous anger when anyone cheats you directly (for example, a car dealer who knowingly sells you a lemon). But it also supports a more generalized concern with cheaters, leeches, and anyone else who "drinks the water" rather than carries it for the group.

The current triggers of the Fairness foundation vary depending on a group's size and on many historical and economic circumstances. In a large industrial society with a social safety net, the current triggers are likely to include people who rely upon the safety net for more than an occasional lifesaving bounce. Concerns about the abuse of the safety net explain the angry emails I received from economic conservatives, such as the man who did not want his tax dollars going to "a non-producing, welfare collecting, single mother, crack baby producing future democrat." It explains the conservative's list of reasons why people vote Democratic, such as "laziness" and "You despise people who work hard for their money, live their own lives, and don't rely on the government for help cradle to grave." It explains Santelli's rant about bailing out homeowners-

ers, many of whom had lied on their mortgage applications to qualify for large loans they did not deserve. And it explains the campaign poster in figure 8.6, from David Cameron's Conservative Party in the United Kingdom.

### THREE VERSUS SIX

To put this all together: Moral Foundations Theory says that there are (at least) six psychological systems that comprise the universal foundations of the world's many moral matrices.<sup>53</sup> The various moralities found on the political left tend to rest most strongly on the Care/harm and Liberty/oppression foundations. These two foundations support ideals of social justice, which emphasize compassion for the poor and a struggle for political equality among the subgroups that comprise society. Social justice movements emphasize solidarity—they call for people to come together to fight the oppression of bullying, domineering elites. (This is why there is no separate equality

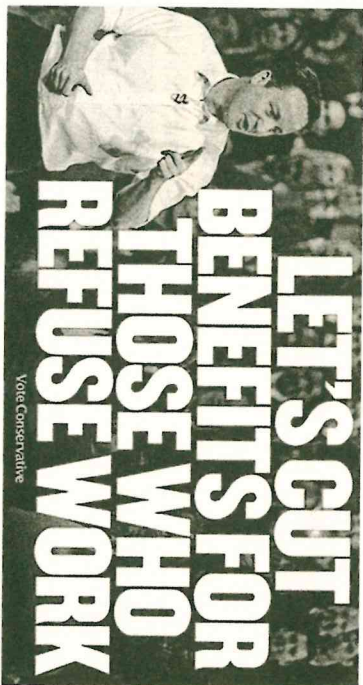


FIGURE 8.6. *Fairness as proportionality.* The right is usually more concerned about catching and punishing free riders than is the left. (Campaign poster for the Conservative Party in the UK parliamentary elections of 2010.)