

Uniting Theories of Morality, Religion, and Social Interaction: Grid-Group Cultural Theory, the “Big Three” Ethics, and Moral Foundations Theory

JOSHUA R. BRUCE
University of Chicago

This paper considers three current models of morality and social relations, how they inform each other, and their potential unification. Richard Shweder’s tripartite theory of morality has a considerable following in moral development circles, while Jonathan Haidt and his collaborators have advanced a dualistic model of how people frame, understand, and discuss morality. These veins of research have already critically engaged and drawn from each other. I propose that Grid-Group Cultural Theory, initiated by Mary Douglas, draws on the strengths of these theories and offers a path toward further unification and greater theoretical holism based on fundamental commonalities between the three models. Cultural Theory offers a structure for framing Shweder and Haidt’s models in a theory of social relations, while these models contribute a moral lexicon currently missing in Cultural Theory. Religious moral concerns are examined through the unified model and further research is proposed.

To understand why people act as they do, we must first know what they value. As Blasi (1980) points out, theories of moral action must be anchored in a psychological account of morality. In their chapter on morality, Haidt and Kesebir (2010, p. 808) outline three types of moral psychology. The third type, social-functional moral psychology, shares Blasi’s recognition and urges moral psychologists to consider how morality acts as a guide to successful human existence within and against larger social groups. This paper examines the principles that guide our moral compasses and the social actions resulting from those moral coordinates. The result is a testable framework of moral concepts tied to social actions built from leading theories of moral psychology.

Richard Shweder, Jonathan Haidt, and their intellectual progeny have conducted important work developing psychological accounts of morality. Their groundbreaking work directly examines the moral principles people around the world share. What their theories lack, and what I argue Grid-Group Cultural Theory¹ (“CT”) provides, is a social-relational framework within which these morals direct behavior. The purpose of framing Shweder, Haidt, and others’ moral research within a clear framework of social action is to further anchor moral behavior within moral psychology theory.

¹ The “Grid-Group” qualifier was recommended by Mamadouh (1997) to distinguish CT from other “cultural” theories. Douglas, Wildavsky, and many other scholars use simply “Cultural Theory.”

GRID-GROUP CULTURAL THEORY

CT was initially formulated by Mary Douglas (1970; 1978) and greatly expounded upon by Wildavsky (1987; Thomson, Ellis, and Wildavsky, 1990). CT is a systematic model of human interactions, and is based on specific conceptions of interpersonal relations. In the model, interpersonal relationships are codified in terms of *Grid* and *Group*. These two basic social descriptors are categorized as weak-versus-strong or low-versus-high, with four possible combinations found among socially active people.² Each of these four combinations is expressed as a fundamental mindset, known as a *cultural bias* in CT parlance. Figure 1 graphically represents CT (from Thompson et al., 1990, p. 8).

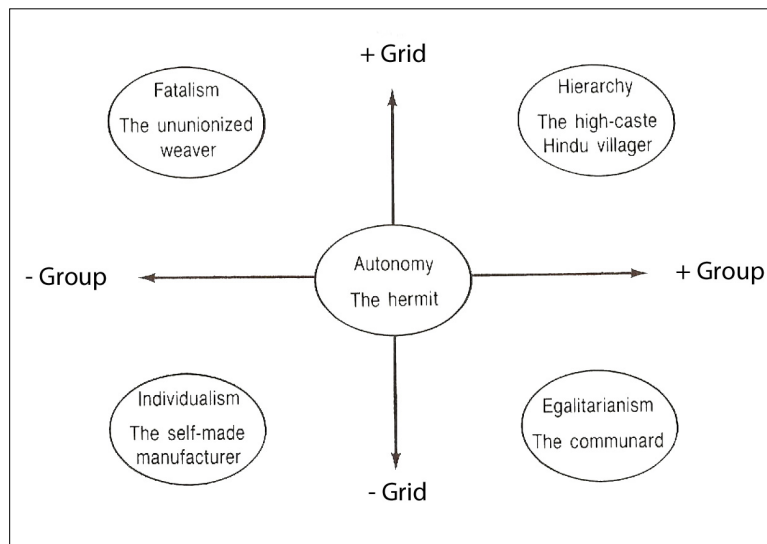


Figure 1. Cultural Theory

Grid and Group

CT is based on two fundamental concepts: Grid and Group. The concept of Grid can be traced back to the work of Emile Durkheim and his discussions of social regulation. Grid embodies the degree of freedom in an individual's life to be and act as he or she pleases, based on personal identity, and relative to the personal identities of the people with whom he or she interacts. Grid does not account for group-derived identity or social pressures, instead focusing on ego-to-ego relationships. Low-Grid social environments place few restrictions on behavior based on individual identification; high-Grid environments restrict and dictate who is whom and what they may do based on individual identification (Thompson et al., 1990, pp. 5-6; Gross and Rayner, 1985, pp. 5-6).

Group is a more familiar concept, embodying the degree to which a person's group membership defines who they are and what they may do. Group also encapsulates how

² There is a fifth possibility, which CT calls the Hermit. As the name implies, Hermits eschew all social interaction, and are of little interest to this particular line of inquiry.

important group membership is to a person's sustenance, happiness, and sphere of people with whom they may or may not interact. In low-Group environments, individuals recognize themselves and act without input from their social unit. In high-Group environments, individual identity and behavior is moderated or dictated by the group for the individual, whether the individual acquiesced or was somehow coerced.

Thompson et al. (1990, pp. 11-12) relate Group and Grid to key elements in relationship analysis: groups and networks, respectively. Groups can be mapped, and no matter where the map starts within a group, the final map will always be the same, as there is only one relationship map for a group. Networks, too, can be mapped, but every network map will be unique to the individual mapping starts with, as every person has a unique set of relationships specific to themselves. While groups have often been recognized as having discrete patterns, CT also posits that networks have discernable patterns.

Durkheim referred to this duality in *The Division of Labor in Society*, where he proclaimed, "[t]wo consciousnesses exist within us: the one comprises only states that are personal to each one of us, characteristic of us as individuals [i.e., Grid], whilst the other comprises states that are common to the whole of society [i.e., Group]" (p. 61). Further on, Durkheim again discusses our "two consciousnesses; one that we share in common with our group in its entirety, which is consequently not ourselves, but society living and acting within us [Group]; the other that, on the contrary, represents us alone in what is personal and distinctive about us, what makes us an individual [Grid]" (p. 84). Grid and Group, like Durkheim's "two consciousnesses," exist together to varying degrees in every social environment. When these two phenomena of social life are combined, as the theory insists they must be, they combine to create four and only four person-types.

Cultural Biases

The person-types corresponding to each of the four possible Grid-Group combinations are known as cultural biases.³ The biases take the Grid-Group abstraction and bring it to life, describing the degree of Grid and Group in a person's life in terms of distinct behaviors and relationships. The biases are prototypical exemplars of polarized combinations of Grid and Group, thus ignoring but not precluding the infinite number of gradations within either dimension. They are not meant as absolute characterizations to which all people must adhere, and it is not assumed that people apply the same cultural bias to every aspect of their lives. CT, like many other theories of human interaction, simplifies circumstances and assumptions in order to understand a wider array of behaviors and get to the most rudimentary truths about the human social experience.

Egalitarianism is characterized by high group affiliation, differentiation between in-group members and external society, and minimal "role differentiation" within the group. Egalitarians are generally free to do as they please within their specific group, but are defined as members of their group rather than unique individuals. Equality between group members is a primary concern, and egalitarians are often focused on social justice issues.

³ These descriptions of cultural biases are based on Thompson et al. (1990) and Wildavsky (1987).

Individualism, familiar to many, is based on a lack of social prescriptions and group membership. Individualists are free to interact with as many or few social networks as they choose. Alongside this freedom, individualists often seek to exert influence over others, and may be judged by the size of their following. Individualists ardently support freedom to contract as one wishes in all aspects of life and support *laissez-faire* government.

Hierarchism is the planar opposite of individualism. It brings together both a bounded social unit and highly prescribed interpersonal relationships. Individuals in hierarchies are both defined by group membership and subject to restrictions on behavior related to their social position. Hierarchists believe in putting the health of the entire social system above their own interests, and are willing to sacrifice for the sake of the whole. Hierarchical societies are built from and rely on institutionalized authority over individual will.

Fatalism symbolizes a life of socially prescribed roles without group membership and the support that membership usually brings. Fatalists have their freedoms dictated from above from an authority they do not believe in. They hold dispassionate views of the world and take their individual inefficacy as a fact of life.

Within CT, there has been considerable research into each cultural bias's observable social phenomena.⁴ What CT lacks is a clearly enumerated and falsifiable index of moral concerns for each cultural bias. CT contains precise examples of how people interact, the issues they are concerned with, and even the language they use to describe the world and their place within it. However, in order for CT to be a satisfactory model, it must provide testable claims for why people behave as they do. By filling in CT's social scaffolding with a moral vocabulary derived from Shweder and Haidt's work, we can create such a model.

CULTURAL THEORY AND SHWEDER'S BIG THREE ETHICS

Richard Shweder's "Big Three" Ethics of Autonomy, Community, and Divinity originated from cross-cultural research between the United States and India (Shweder, 1990; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, and Park, 1997). The advancements made by Shweder and others after him have been instrumental in the development and propagation of cultural psychology. This paper draws on key insights into human morality the Big Three first developed, demonstrating how the Big Three work in tandem with CT's social interaction framework, attempting to provide a holistic account of both how people interact and the personal moral philosophies that guides them to those actions.

The Big Three does not prescribe a finite number of social structures, but rather enumerates three fundamental veins of moral development (Autonomy, Community, Divinity), which can be drawn from and arranged however a society or individual might desire. Within each Ethic, there are key concerns, such as justice or purity, which that Ethic articulates and embodies. Cultures "specialize" in a particular set of issues (Shweder and Haidt, 1993, p. 363), thus situating their moral concerns within a particular Ethic or Ethics.

⁴ See Dixon (2003) for a comprehensive summary of CT research.

As evidence of this moral specialization, Jensen (2008) shows that either one or two Ethics often dominate moral discourse within a particular culture. For example, Americans draw from the Ethic of Autonomy more than Brazilian, Indians, or Filipinos (p. 297) and conservative Christians and Orthodox Jews rely on the Ethic of Divinity to create different sets of religious rules for fellow believers and non-believers (p. 304).

Grid/Autonomy and Group/Community

From the outset, there is one clear and significant similarity between CT and the Big Three. Both models include vectors that encompass individuality-based and group-based phenomena. CT examines these phenomena from a social-relational perspective, while the Big Three embodies the moral concerns surrounding the same events. The Ethic of Autonomy contains moral concerns related to the wellbeing of the individual, and makes moral evaluations of all things concerning the individual. It is, in short, the moral counterpart of CT's Grid. The Ethic of Autonomy "relies on regulative concepts such as harm, rights, and justice . . . and aims to promote the exercise of individual will in pursuit of personal preferences [and] . . . is usually the official ethic of societies where 'individualism' is an ideal" (Shweder et al., 1997, p. 138). The Ethic of Autonomy asks what the level of individual prescription *ought* to be, while Grid gauges what the level of prescription on an individual actually *is*.

The Ethic of Community collects the moral concerns related to group life, and is clearly analogous to CT's Group. Community-based "moral discourse focuses on the person as a part of a community, an attendant at court with a position or station or role that is intimately connected to the self" (Shweder, 1990, p. 2064). While Group measures and describes the degree to which one is involved with, reliant upon, and beholden to a group or groups, the Ethic of Community is the moral evaluation of the degree to which a person *ought* to be involved with, reliant upon, and beholden to a group or groups.

The sliding scales of Grid/Autonomy and Group/Community seek to encompass all possible answers to the two fundamental questions of Cultural Theory: "Who am I? and What shall I do?" (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 6). The Ethics and their CT cohorts share the same language, with the primary difference being that the Ethics are focused on the moral evaluation of social arrangements, while CT is focused on mapping the lived social experience without explicitly addressing those experiences' moral bases. The Big Three offers a start to developing a moral vocabulary to fill in Grid and Group, as well as a guiding principle for how to understand the phenomenon of religion, to which I return below. However, the Big Three, much like CT, lacks the heightened degree of specificity that empirical testing necessitates. The branches of the Big Three need further refinement.

MORAL FOUNDATIONS THEORY

Jonathan Haidt and collaborators developed Moral Foundations Theory ("MFT") to systematically enumerate a concise list of moral concerns. MFT has been applied to numerous topics and played an integral role in furthering social psychology, largely by bringing together cultural and social psychology. As Haidt and Kesebir (2010) and Jensen

(2008) illustrate, the findings of cultural psychology, often stemming from Shweder's work, inform, refine, and occasionally refute theories of morality prevalent within social psychology. I apply MFT here to demonstrate how MFT, through its five moral clusters, can be situated within the CT framework. This theoretical situation provides CT with the moral vocabulary it has been missing and also places MFT within a theory of social interaction.

MFT researchers identified five clusters of moral concepts that were present in moral philosophies from around the world (Haidt and Graham, 2007; Haidt and Joseph, 2004; Graham et al., 2011). MFT organizes these five moral clusters into two distinct areas of morality: individuality-based and group-based moral concerns (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek, 2009; Motyl, 2012). These two areas of morality, I argue, address the same phenomena as CT's Grid and Group, respectively, though from a moral-evaluative rather than lived perspective. Not coincidentally, these moral clusters also fall inside Shweder's Big Three Ethics. Although MFT "did not set out to validate Shweder's three ethics," it nonetheless "ended up confirming and refining his tripartite scheme. . . . by being specific about the psychological mechanisms underlying moral judgment and moral discourse" (Haidt and Graham, 2007, p. 107).

Individuality-based moral concepts are analogous to those within the Ethic of Autonomy. Fairness/reciprocity and harm/care are the core individual moral concerns. These concepts contain a general emphasis on the welfare of individuals, and form the beginnings of a moral lexicon for the CT's Grid dimension. Likewise, group-related moral concerns, which constitute the Ethic of Community, form the basis for CT's Group moral lexicon. The primary concerns for this moral tract are ingroup/loyalty and authority/respect, which emphasize "group-binding loyalty, duty, and self-control" (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek, 2009, p. 1031). MFT also includes a fifth moral cluster, purity/sanctity, within its group-based moral concerns, which is the primary conflict between MFT and the Big Three. In the Big Three, these moral concerns belong to the Ethic of Divinity. This inconsistency serves as evidence for my proposed unification, which I discuss in detail below.

Just as MFT refines the moral psychology and vocabularies of the Big Three, so it contributes to CT's Grid and Group. As described above in comparing the Big Three Ethics with CT, the primary difference between CT and MFT is that MFT looks at how people morally evaluate their social experiences, while CT focuses on measuring certain qualities of social experiences. MFT thus contributes to CT by filling in Grid and Group with ethnographically collected and lab tested moral discourses.

Furthermore, MFT's planar system is almost identical to CT's grid and four cultural biases, as depicted in Figure 2 below, which is constructed from Figure 1 above and MFT's following description. Instead of CT's cultural biases, Haidt, Graham, and Joseph (2009) label the four quadrants "ideological narratives." They acknowledged that each of the four ideological narratives:

"contains its own diversity, and we can be sure that many members of each cluster would reject the narrative we associate with it. Nonetheless, we predict that a larger number of participants in each cluster would endorse the narrative, would endorse that narrative more

than the other three narratives, and would prefer to have their ideology expressed in this way, as a story that makes claims about what is right and wrong, rather than simply having themselves described by a series of psychological traits” (p. 115).

In short, MFT maps nearly identical worldviews on a Cartesian plane constructed of the same elements as CT’s own axes. Three of the four ideological narratives Haidt, Graham, and Joseph (2009) describe have distinct CT pairs. The fourth narrative, while occupying the same axial location as its CT counterpart, does not match up as clearly to a cultural bias, though there are noteworthy characteristics shared between the two.

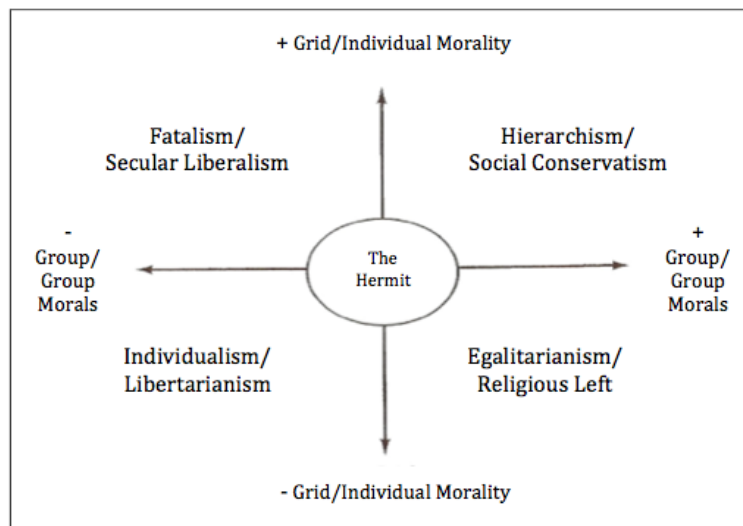


Figure 2. MFT and CT Combined

The first cultural bias discussed above, egalitarianism, embodies strong group membership but considerable freedom and concern for equality within the group. This bias corresponds to MFT’s “Religious Left,” which “aim[s] to right wrongs related to Harm and Fairness while embracing the group-centered foundations of Ingroup, Authority, and Purity” (p. 117)

Social Conservatism corresponds to CT’s hierarchism. Social Conservatism exhibits concern for maintaining traditional social roles, supporting and honoring the social system, a commitment to rules and punishment for rule breakers, and a minimal concern for equality of condition among group members. Roles, rules, authority, and concern for the group are hallmarks of both worldviews, as well as disregard for equitable distribution of resources or a concern for social justice, favoring instead law abidance and tradition.

Corresponding to CT’s individualism is Libertarianism. For Libertarians, “the most important value, the good that may not be sacrificed to any other, is—as the name of this position implies—individual *liberty*” (Haidt, Graham, and Joseph, 2009, p. 116, emphasis in original). Individualists and Libertarians alike revile group control or efforts to seek social justice. The Libertarian/individualist acts for only himself as a “creative and rugged individualist who refuses to conform.”

The final, more tenuous pairing is between CT's fatalism and what Haidt, Graham, and Joseph (2009) called "Secular Liberalism." CT describes fatalists as subject to all the negative phenomena Secular Liberals worry about. The Secular Liberal "narrative makes extensive use of the Harm foundation ("suffering," "misery," "oppression") and the Fairness foundation ("unjust," "inequality"). There is no mention of ingroup or nation, and no mention of purity or sanctity. Authority and tradition are mentioned only as the sources of harm and injustice" (p. 116). It is as though MFT describes the people Secular Liberals are worried about, who CT labels fatalists, rather than describing the lived experiences of Secular Liberals themselves. The two clearly consider the same set of phenomena, but further work is necessary to clarify the exact relationship between them.

MFT's ideological narratives, arranged on axes corresponding to Grid and Group, lack principles detailing how people who hold a narrative should act. While it is not necessary to model how people would act in each narrative from a purely psychological perspective, it is necessary to provide such accounts, and test them against observable phenomena, if the goal is an accurate account of both how and why people behave as they do.

THE UNIFIED MODEL

The model that emerges from this synthesis draws the content from the Big Three and MFT and places it within the framework of CT. The Big Three and MFT lack a clearly defined, empirically supported framework, and have little to say about actual social interactions. CT offers these necessary elements, and draws considerable support from the moral content of the Big Three and MFT. Together, they provide a far more complete and testable model that has both predictions and explanations for lived social phenomena and a clear enumerated and falsifiable theory of the morality underlying those social phenomena. Anyone who wishes to truly understand not only how people interact but also why they interact the way they do must incorporate these theories to create the most holistic explanation possible.

Figure 3, below, depicts the unification of the three theories. Group corresponds, in terms of high and low, to the degree to which the Ethic of Community and its related MFT moral clusters are drawn on. Grid, on the other hand, corresponds in the opposite direction. A low-Grid (i.e., individualistic) worldview draws *strongly* on the Ethic of Autonomy and its constituent moral clusters, while a high-Grid (i.e., fatalistic) worldview is *weakly* associated with any moral concern.

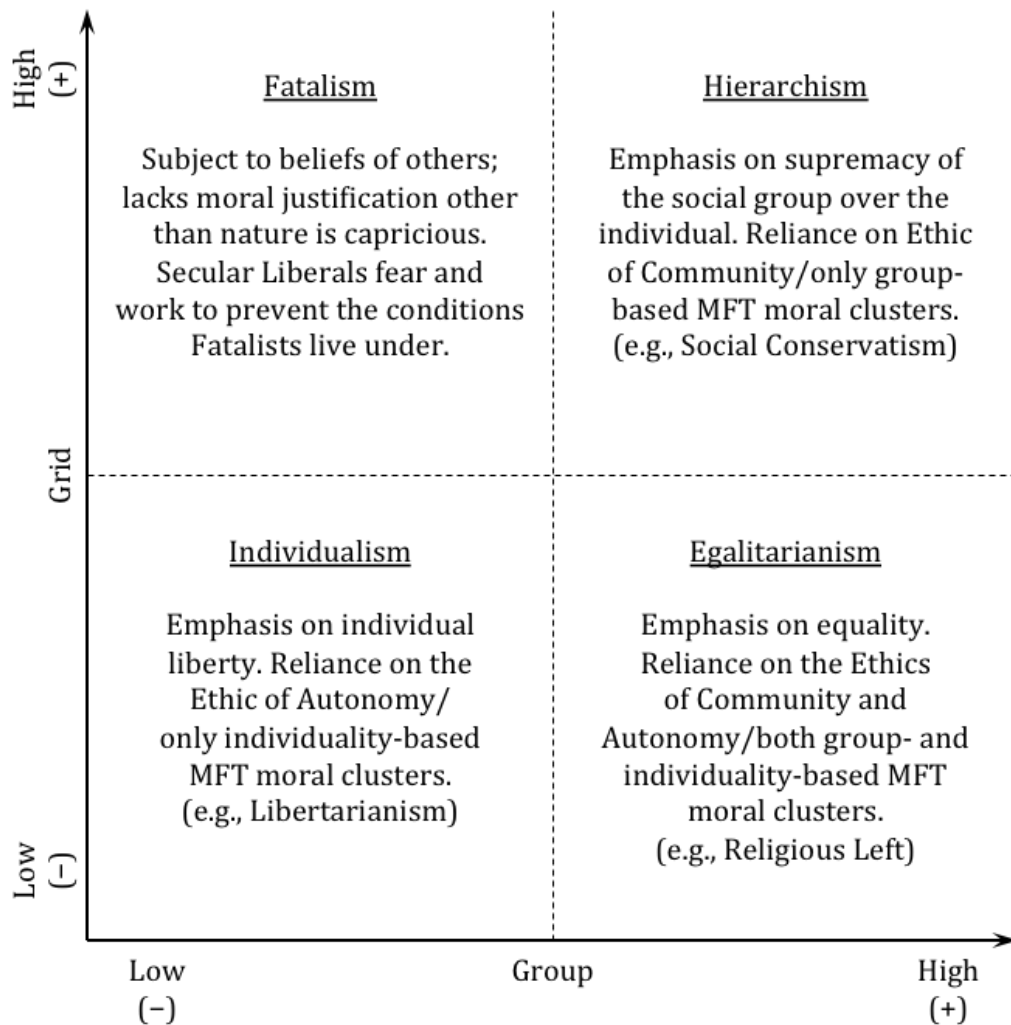


Figure 3. The Unified Model

While it is clear how the Ethics of Autonomy and Community and their individuality- and group-based moral concerns respectively correspond to Grid and Group, the Ethic of Divinity has not been satisfactorily addressed thus far. MFT clearly identifies a single moral cluster that belongs to the Ethic of Divinity, purity/sanctity, which MFT locates within group-based moral concerns, instead of separate as the Big Three does. The CT framework, in the concept of Grip, offers a solution to this discrepancy.

Grip

Michael Thompson’s concept of *Grip* was envisioned as a social force that strengthened adherence to each cultural bias (Thompson, 1982; Thompson, et al., 1990, pp. 16-17, n. 23). Thompson (1982, p. 35) articulated the need for a third dimension within the CT model, “one concerned with the sort of process that gives rise to the group component of social context . . . one concerned with the grid component which I identify as network-building, and one concerned with the exercise of the coercive possibilities that the cosmologies

present,” which Thompson called “manipulation” or Grip. Grip is “concomitant with” Grid and Group, and thus “no new combinations [i.e., cultural biases] emerge” in the model (Mamadouh, 1997, p. 399). Grip is, in essence, rationalizing glue that helps people affirm their particular cultural bias.

Cultural Theorists, aside from those cited, have not explored Grip at all. Nonetheless, I argue that Grip is the answer to the question of where to place religious experiences and their corresponding morals within a unified framework of morality and social relations. MFT and the Big Three are at odds regarding not only the schematic locus of divine moralities, but also the resultant social implications. By cordoning Divinity off from Autonomy and Community, the Big Three depicts Divine moral concerns as equal in importance to others. MFT, however, subsumes these concerns in the realm of group-based morality. By locating the Ethic of Divinity and the purity/sanctity moral cluster within Grip, divine morals and experiences can be modeled as both derived independent of individual and communal moralities while still inextricably tied to those same phenomena.

The Ethic of Divinity can reinforce or oppose the Grid/Autonomy and Group/Community elements of social experiences, and can directly interact with the four cultural biases/ideological narratives. Religious systems “formulate a basic congruence between a particular style of life and a specific . . . metaphysic, and in so doing sustain each with the borrowed authority of the other” (Geertz, 2000, p. 90). In this way religion and spirituality relate to the other two dimensions of life. Divine moral concerns provide a form of affirmation for social roles and moral beliefs. While the role of religion and the concept of Grip have yet to be sufficiently addressed in CT literature, a shortcoming future research must address, placing religion within Grip offers a launching point for that investigation. To begin this investigation, I consider in detail how Grip resolves this contradiction.

Divinity’s Grip on Society and Morality

As discussed above, MFT classifies religion and religious morality, codified in the purity/sanctity cluster, as a solely group-related experience, while the Big Three holds Divinity separate from Autonomy and Community. The Big Three does not preclude religious moral concerns having some effect on individuality-related morals, instead leaving the possibility of Divinity influencing either Autonomy or Community open. In his most recent book, Haidt (2012) focuses on the social effects of religiosity. While religion certainly has a large impact on group-related phenomena, MFT ignores the possibility that religion might also impact elements of the Ethic of Autonomy.

For evidence that religion can affect individuality-based concerns, one needs to look no further than Weber’s *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* ([1930] 2001). In this famous treatise, Weber explains the effects of various Protestant ideologies on individual behavior; namely, how members of various Protestant sects were to think of and behave in their vocations. Describing Lutheran doctrine, Weber stated: “The individual should remain once and for all in the station and calling in which God had placed him, and should restrain his worldly activity within the limits imposed by his established station in life” (p. 44). While the Lutheran Church was no doubt a community of common believers, and thus

communally shared and reinforced their beliefs, the implication of this dictum was that God ordained every person's "station in life," and it was for man to accept and work earnestly in that station. In other words, justification for a person's *individual* identity came from a divine source. Regarding questions of whether or not a person got a fair and just lot in life, or was free to choose a new vocation, (concerns based in the Ethic of Autonomy and individuality-based morality), religion provided the answer, sanctifying everyone's "station in life" through God's will. Geertz summarized the importance of religion in understanding cultures: "the importance of religion lies in its capacity to serve, *for an individual* or for a group, as a source of general, yet distinctive, conceptions of the world, the self, and the relations between them" (2000, p. 123, emphasis added).

Haidt and his collaborators may have viewed religion as having a positive effect on the communal concerns and a negative effect on individuality, warranting inclusion in only the group-related moral concerns (Graham and Haidt, 2010). Haidt (2007, p. 1001) states: "Whatever the origins of religiosity, nearly all religions have culturally evolved complexes of practices, stories, and norms that work together to suppress the self and connect people to something beyond the self." This implies that religion affects concepts of the self, but in a way that reduces individual freedom for the sake of communal benefit. Religion may primarily exist to solidify community ties and suppress individualistic concerns, but that does not mean it should be relegated to only group-based moralities. *The Protestant Ethic* describes a lack of personal success as a lack of God's favor in some Protestant sects, offering a religious answer to an individuality-based concern. The ability of religion and religious thought to impact individualistic issues should be a subject of future research, no doubt. These examples serve, at a minimum, to illustrate that religion, the Ethic of Divinity, and any other theoretical conceptualization of these related phenomena can impact both individuality- and group-related moral concerns.

Cultural Theory, without the element of Grip, views religion as a phenomenon both constituted within and constituting part of each cultural bias's cosmology. Drawing on both Durkheim and Weber, CT takes a functional approach to religion. Humans use religion as "a host of imaginary powers, all dangerous, to watch over their agreed morality and to punish defectors.' By setting aside those things that are sacred from those that are profane, society teaches its members what can be questioned, interrogated, and probed, and what must be left unexamined" (Thompson et al., 1990, p. 133, quoting Douglas, 1975, p. xiv). For Weber and for CT, religion exists to legitimate an individual's station within society, providing a form of reinforcement for the rightness of one's social conditions (p. 167).⁵

Thompson et al. are careful to note that "not all social science follows the logic of functional explanation," but "when Weber moves from *describing* relationships between ideas and social strata to *explaining* why the 'affinity' persists, the logic of his explanation becomes unavoidably functional" (p. 169, emphasis in original). They later declare support for

⁵ Thompson et al. (1990, p. 169) address the fact that Weber's "most well known work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, does not focus on accounting for religion in terms of its consequences." Rather, they state, "the *Protestant Ethic* is atypical of the corpus of Weber's sociology of religion," which likely explains why his "work has been overlooked" in this particular context.

Weber's account, which showed how "variations in belief and practice among status groups can be explained by the function (both intended and unintended) that these beliefs and practices serve for the material and ideal interests of status groups." By adding Grip to the model, we have both a theoretical location for the functional role of religion and a resolution for the disagreement between MFT and the Big Three regarding the nature of divine moral experiences.

CONCLUSION

Considerable work must be done to illustrate that the morals of the Big Three and MFT truly do augment the framework of CT, and that predicted worldviews from each model actually coincide. Conducting surveys and ethnographies, and reviewing material from each theory's background in light of the other models will begin this process. The Moral Foundations Dictionary⁶ and Moral Foundations Questionnaire should be harmonized with surveys developed by Cultural Theorists. This will allow testing the unified model in its entirety. For instance, the unified model predicts that individualists/Libertarians activate the same responses on both surveys or articulate the same moral and social language in a textual analysis.

Haidt (2012) addresses the frequent political impasses of recent United States history. This is one of many practical applications for MFT. While Haidt convincingly argues why liberals and conservatives are unable to understand each other's moral vocabularies, MFT misses how people with different ideologies view the government and interact on a day-to-day basis. This is where the social relations information from CT becomes important. Having one without the other leaves observers and would-be problem solvers without the necessary information to achieve the deepest level of understanding or to make the types of reforms that will help ease political gridlock.

This paper began by framing its project within social-functional moral psychology. I hope to have illustrated how two prominent theories of moral psychology fit within a time-tested model of social interaction, providing a falsifiable and theoretically cogent model of moral psychology and moral action. As Haidt and Kesebir (2010, p. 808) state, "moral thought is for social doing." This very important realization necessitates theories of social action be grounded in moral psychology, and vice-versa. The unification herein is such an attempt, which now must be tested against the world of moral thoughts and actions.

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⁶ The Moral Foundations Dictionary and Questionnaire are both available at www.moralfoundations.org.

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AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Josh Bruce is a student in the Master of Arts Program in the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago. He also holds a Bachelors of Arts from Indiana University in political science. His research focuses on the origins of morality, how systems of social interaction are mediated by morals, and how morals are incorporated into socially created institutions, viz., institutionalized governance. Email: brucej@uchicago.edu