Power, Economic Inequality, and Moral Psychology

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This paper demonstrates how cultural psychology incorporates power into its theorizing and explanatory capabilities. It begins by outlining a unified model of moral psychology based on Shweder's "Big Three" Ethics, Moral Foundations Theory, and Cultural Theory. It then examines three types of power—relational, discursive, performative—which can be incorporated into cultural psychological work to offer a more nuanced analysis of social phenomena. These forms of power are then applied to the issue of economic inequality to illustrate how money acts as a proxy for power, especially in market-based societies. Different perspectives on inequality are then analyzed through the worldviews contained in the unified model. In conclusion, the strength of this power-inclusive cultural psychological model is recapitulated and recommendations for future research are made.

As the proposal for this journal edition states, cultural psychology has made important advancements in understanding both the locally particular and the universal aspects of human thinking. This point was underscored in a recent interview with eminent cultural psychologist Richard A. Shweder (Shweder & Power, 2013). Our knowledge of how people conceptualize themselves, their social groups, and the proper way of organizing people in those groups has been enormously informed by cultural psychology (cf. Shweder & Sullivan, 1993). How people answer the questions "Who am I?" and "What shall I do?" depends a great deal on the sociocultural context they are acting within (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990). Thus, social context can have considerable power over how people identify themselves and their available repertoire of actions.

The phenomenon of economic inequality, which has recently become a major focal point of both scholarly and lay consideration, is one arena in which cultural psychology can tell us much. It gets directly at the proposed topic of this journal edition; namely, how can cultural psychology explain, and not just from the periphery, different social phenomena and their exercise of power over individuals. Following a recent stream of research and theorizing, I draw from several major theories in sociocultural psychology and sociology to analyze psychological representations of social relations and order to explain divergent, conflicting perspectives on economic inequality. These preferences manifest and become institutionalized in policy prescriptions and instruments of policy implementation around the world, bearing directly on the lives of people regulated by those policies. In sum, I argue that culturally constituted worldviews motivate social policy and thus exert enormous power over millions of lives. To concretize this argument, I analyze the range of policy perspectives around the issue of economic inequality in the contemporary United States, which cultural psychology can help us understand well beyond left-right politics.

A UNIFIED MODEL OF MORAL PSYCHOLOGY

Bruce (2013b) began the project of incorporating multiple models of moral thought and action into a single model. This model incorporates Shweder's "Big Three" Ethics (1990; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997), Haidt's Moral Foundations Theory (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004), and Douglas and Wildavsky's Cultural Theory (Douglas, [1970] 2003; 1978; 1982; Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982; Thompson et al., 1990; Wildavsky, 1987). Cultural Theory builds from two foundational concepts, Grid and Group.

Grid: the degree of freedom an individual has to act however he or she chooses, based on a person's identity and the relative individual identities of actors surrounding the person

Group: the degree to which a person's group membership(s) define who he or she is and what he or she may do in light of such group membership(s)

Grid and Group are orthogonal axes in Cultural Theory, giving birth to the model depicted below in Figure 1. Drawing from Shweder's "Big Three" Ethics, Grid is analogous to the Ethic of Autonomy, which embodies moral concerns related to individual freedom and agency.[1] Group is likewise analogous to the Ethic of Community, which includes moral concerns related to one's group and the proper manner of acting within and opposed to the group. Grid and Group are augmented by the interrelated concepts of Grip and the Ethic of Divinity (Bruce, 2013b, pp. 46-48; Thompson, 1982), which legitimate the combination of Grid and Group an individual acts within.[2] For example, Puritan religious ethics in Weber's (2001) eponymous work serve to legitimate each person's individual station in life, thereby reinforcing Grid with the Ethic of Divinity (e.g., who an individual is relative to others as defined by their vocation).

Moral Foundations Theory ("MFT") further refines Grid and Group by enumerating the moral components of each. The moral principles of harm/care and fairness/reciprocity underlie Grid, while the principles of in-group/loyalty and authority/respect underlie Group, which have been cast as the "individualizing" and "binding" foundations of MFT, respectively (Weber & Federico, 2013). MFT's final moral cluster, sanctity/purity, underlies the Ethic of Divinity and reinforces the alignment of the other four moral clusters and their resultant moral worldview.

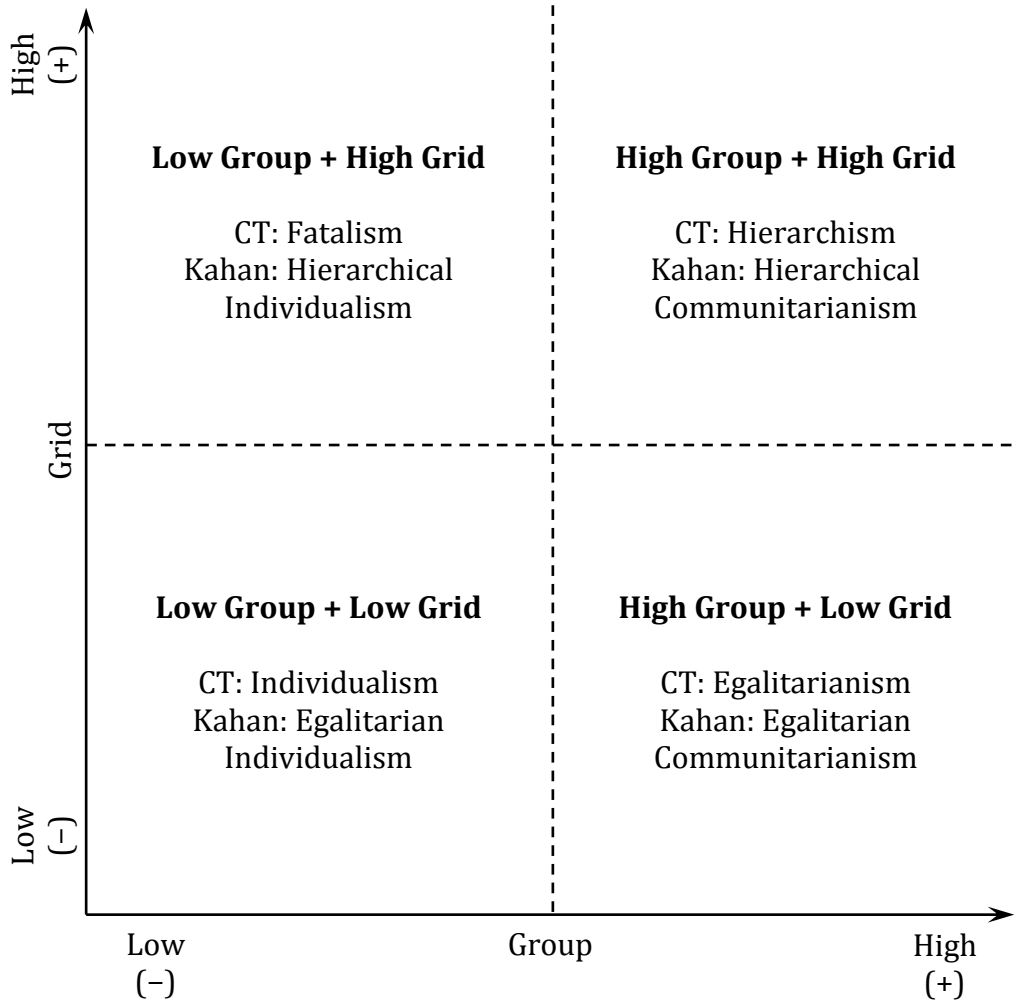
The amalgam of these three models generates a four-quadrant model, depicted in Figure 1. Each of these quadrants represents a unique worldview with specific moral concerns and beliefs about the proper ordering of the world and the people within it. Each of these is an idealization, and it is fully recognized that most people will not fall perfectly into any

[1] Grid and the Ethic of Autonomy are represented inversely in the model; e.g., a low-Grid social environment draws strongly on the Ethic of Autonomy.

[2] The concept of Grip is an understudied element of Cultural Theory, and represents a fruitful opportunity for future research.

category. Likewise, individuals may exhibit one worldview in specific contexts, such as the workplace, while relying on another worldview in other contexts, such as the home or religious group (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Figure 1. **A Unified Model of Morality**



Four archetypal worldviews originate from this model. *Egalitarianism* is typified by group solidarity coupled with high interpersonal equality amongst group members. Group membership plays a large role for egalitarians in understanding who they are and how to act, both toward fellow group members and non-members. This worldview is related to MFT's Religious Left (Haidt, Graham, & Joseph, 2009). *Hierarchism* is also defined by strong group adhesion, but within groups there is a clear status hierarchy. Members are not equal in terms of standing or power, but all are expected to contribute to the group. This worldview is analogous to MFT's Social Conservatism. In both of these worldviews, the collective entity is defined against outsiders, leading to a preference for one's group over other groups, regardless of the level of hierarchy within the group itself.

There is less theoretical agreement about the two remaining quadrants. According to traditional Cultural Theory (i.e., Thompson et al., 1990), *Individualism* is characterized by non-group adhesion and an everyone-for-themself ethos. Individualists avoid pressure from groups to behave in any way other than how the desire to act, and every person is generally free to relate to others as their equal. The final quadrant, labeled *fatalism*, results when people have no group membership and are subject to the authority of those above them. Fatalists, in the extreme example, operate under the assumption that they lack agency in the world; nature is capricious and there is nothing they can do to control their own fate. However, new research has sough to refine these concepts.

The Cultural Cognition Project at Yale Law School has been at the vanguard of research on Cultural Theory in the United States for several years.[3] Kahan (2012) outlines some of the most important refinements of Cultural Theory, especially for the four quadrants. Kahan (2012) leaves the general character of egalitarianism and hierarchism relatively intact, but implies some important distinctions for the individualistic quadrant and meaningfully reinterprets the fatalistic quadrant. In Kahan's model, the individualistic worldview is better conceived as "egalitarian individualism." The individual is valued and not to be trammeled upon by either society or other people, making them distinct from both egalitarians (who seek out and accept a strong group presence in their lives) and hierarchical individualists (who are subject to and/or propagators of the domination of other individuals). The low-Group/high-Grid quadrant is conceptualized as a segregated but nonetheless connected community, typified by individuals who avoid restriction from the larger outside world while enforcing role hierarchy at the local level.

This is one of the most important contributions Kahan and his colleagues have made, and I employ these refined categories in the analysis below. I retain the label of "individualism" for the low-Group/low-Grid quadrant, as it does not mislead the meaning of this quadrant. However, I refer to the formerly "fatalist" quadrant as low-Group/high-Grid throughout, as fatalism does not adequately represent this quadrant.[4]

Inequality and the Four Worldviews

Along with specific views of how people should relate to one another, the four worldviews include different preferences for resource distribution (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982, pp. 176-180; Wildavsky & Thompson, 1986; see also Verweij et al., 2014, pp. 85-86). Egalitarianism assumes that people should all receive a similar percentage of the group's total resources. This equality of outcome is also driven by a commitment to all group members sharing in the labors of the group. Economic inequality is a concern for egalitarians, who see it as a failing of the group to care for its members if income discrepancies are too severe.

[3] See www.culturalcognition.net

[4] A possible label for the low-Group/high-Grid quadrant may be "libertarianism," despite the connection made previously in Bruce (2013b) between libertarianism and the low-Group/low-Grid quadrant. This clarification is another issue future Cultural Theory research must address.

Hierarchism is based on social inequality, which often means economic inequality. While explicit reasons for this differ based on cultural particularities, the overall theme is that those at the top deserve more than those at the bottom, whether for religious reasons, superior attributes, or as compensation for making it to the top of the hierarchy (see, e.g., Dumont, 1974). In many hierarchical societies, this acceptance of inequality is accompanied by faith that those with more will look out for the wellbeing of those with less, engaging in willful trickle-down economic patronage. As will be seen below, those at the top of the economic hierarchy frequently share this sense of *noblesse oblige*.

Individualists are concerned with some types of inequality, but not inequality of outcomes per se. When people are at a structural disadvantage or are unable to compete due to excessively coercive oversight, individualists may seek to intervene and level the playing field. With that caveat, individualists assume that as long as everyone has a roughly equal opportunity to do business as unfettered free agents, there is no need, and indeed it is morally wrong for governments to engage in economic redistribution or other regulation. For individualists, meritocracy is the guiding philosophy in resource distribution.

Kahan's (2012) hierarchical individualists, like hierarchists, naturally assume the world is unequal. The distinctions between people exist for either structural or personal reasons; that is to say, inequality exists because of differences in individual effort or circumstantial factors, and hierarchical individualists are expected to accept both. As such, economic inequality is legitimate in and of itself, without reference to any group ethos. The metaphor of natural selection of the fittest may be employed to legitimize the unequal resource distribution.

The unified model presented above contains a great deal of information. As stated at the beginning of this essay, part of the goal is to demonstrate how this model, and cultural psychology more broadly, can successfully import a nuanced conception of power. This is the project to which I now turn, which will culminate in a return to the unified model and its application to contemporary American perspectives on economic inequality.

DEFINING POWER

Power is a nebulous and often embattled concept in the social sciences (Lukes, 2005). As mentioned in this edition's call for papers, cultural psychology can seem to focus on superficial concepts at play within a group of people or between multiple groups. Without rigorous examination, a society can indeed be described superficially with this and other models. One of the significant contributions this model makes to cultural psychology is its ability to incorporate a nuanced theory of power into the field, enriching cultural psychological analyses. While the incorporation of power discussed below is not the only means of bringing a fuller explication of power into sociocultural psychology, this specific model of power (a predominantly sociological model) is largely new to cultural psychology.

Reed (2013) succinctly describes the current state of affairs in power theorizing and issues a call for holistic analyses of power going forward. In his summary, there are three essential forms of power: relational, discursive, and performative. Each of these forms is

often considered singularly, and almost never all together in understanding social dynamics, a weakness cultural psychology can address going forward. I propose that each of these forms of power is present in the unified model I have outlined herein, and cultural psychology would be well served by incorporating this heretofore-sociological conception of power into future work.

Relational power, as the label implies, is based on how humans relate to one another; it is a measure of one's capacity to induce others to act as one wishes based on one's structural position vis-à-vis others. This requires the coerced subject to view that status as a legitimate source of power, and it often requires some form of institutionalized enforcement mechanism (Weber, 1978). Research has demonstrated that status attainment is driven by both social and psychological factors, depending on the social context, making cultural psychology well adapted to examine these processes (Adkins & Vaisey, 2009).

"*Discursive power* refers to the degree to which the categories of thought, symbolizations and linguistic conventions, and meaningful models of and for the world determine the ability of some actors to control the actions of others, or to obtain new capacities" (Reed, 2013, p. 203, emphasis in original). Discursive power can be employed to naturalize a desired outcome, using language to construe the outcome as a foregone conclusion. As Reed (2013, p. 200) states, Edward Said's (1979) *Orientalism* is a clear analysis of discursive power, wherein colonial intellectuals used specific words and concepts to signify the domination of the East by the West. Geertz's ([1973] 2000) "thick description," or hermeneutic analysis, is a dominant methodology used to interpret the array of discursive meanings active in a given social setting, whereby social scientists can come to understand the symbolic arrangement of power.

Performative power derives its force from the interactions and interpretations that take place in human interaction. It relates directly to symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) and the interactive performativity of Goffman (1967; 1983). The performance of an act (for Reed [2013], the act is revolution) is what causes the act to obtain in reality. A revolution is not a revolution until someone fires a gun, storms a building, or raises a new flag. These acts can take on symbolic (i.e., discursive) power, but their origin is in performative power. A series of interactions between people that follows a distinct pattern and is accompanied by an individual or group compelling another individual or group may eventually accrete into a recognized social relationship (Collins, 2005), which is likely to be discursively and relationally crystalized.

Power in the Unified Model

The major focal point of power in the unified model as described here is the concepts of Grid and Group. For example, a high-Grid environment is one in which people determine who may do what and the proper mode of social relations based on how they relate to each other. Most patriarchal families around the world are high-Grid, in that the parents, especially the father, has the most power due simply to the fact that he is the father (a relational identity). Children are expected to be subordinate and deferential to their fathers out of respect for the status distinction, and it is within many father's socially acceptable

rights to discipline children who do not conform to this. Group, too, may incorporate relational power, as membership in some groups confers powers upon the members, regardless of their standing within the group, that non-members do not hold.

Discursive power is also on display in the high-Grid family structure. In the New Testament, the role of husband over the household is naturalized and divinely sanctioned through the metaphor of the "church . . . subject unto Christ" (Ephesians 5:22-24 King James Version). The historical role of men as breadwinners has also been employed to naturalize and solidify the expectation that men are rightfully the heads of household. Naturalized metaphors are often utilized to help people make decisions, which Cultural Theory calls "myths of nature" (Thompson et al., 1990). These metaphors can become extremely powerful, guiding policy for entire nations (Dobbin, 1992; 1994). Both Grid and Group are reinforced and articulated in discursive form, such as in "us-them" dichotomies, which can indicate both in-group/out-group or high/low social status.

Finally, the emphasis in performative power is on the socially interactive process of meaning-making. Analysis of this kind avoids taking the meaning of things as inherent in the things themselves or in our emotive reactions to things. Instead, it strives to understand the meaning of a thing as it arises and is transformed "in the process of interaction between people" (Blumer, 1969, p. 4). Repeated forms of interaction help to solidify a power dynamic, and performance can be used to alter the distribution of power in a social environment. In the women suffrage movement, activists carefully drew from repertoires of action that were nonpolitical to avoid being shut down by men who recognized their acts as political. By acting in conventionally philanthropic and commercial styles, women suffrage organizers were able to support their cause and change the power dynamic for women in the United States through the performance of seemingly nonpolitical acts with political consequences (Clemens, 1993). A similar point is made in Reed's (2013, pp. 205-206) example of the French Revolution, which came to exist in reality through the action of the storming of the Bastille, thus instantiating revolution through the social performance of revolution. Through performative processes, Grid and Group can be altered and new models for the proper form of interpersonal and group relations can emerge.

Power and Economic Inequality

The degree of inequality in a society and what it means for people's day-to-day lives is often examined through the lens of relational power. Reports of economic inequality are concerned with the hierarchical structure of incomes. Income deciles, purchasing power parity, and even Gross Domestic Product are all means of understanding the position of people or groups of people in *relation* to others. What is not always explicitly stated but nonetheless exists is an understanding that with more economic resources comes greater power relative to those with fewer resources (Graeber, 2001). In the West in particular, where the market economy has pervaded virtually every facet of life, money, the ultimate measure of economic resources, reins as the supreme measure of relational power. In the United States, money not only buys material goods, but also higher quality education, political influence, and, depending on how it is earned and spent, social prestige. Money, or wealth more broadly defined, serves as an excellent proxy for relational power in

developed Western countries, as it is one of the most powerful mediums in a market economy where everything is for sale if the price is right (Ferguson, 2008; Martin, 2002).

With money also comes the ability to exercise discursive power. The media are controlled by an ever-shrinking group of wealthy interests in the United States, and the ability to project one's ideas into the media is largely facilitated by one's wealth (Iosifides, 1999). In a country that has come to view economic success as a major, if not the major, defining feature of success, those with vast economic resources are also given prime placement in offering their opinions to the national discourse on many issues. Likewise, at the other end of the spectrum, those with limited economic resources have virtually no opportunity to express their views through mass media. Twitter, Facebook, and other social media provide outlets for less wealthy individuals, but their ability to significantly alter national discourse is usually minimal compared to wealthier individuals or groups. The end result is that those with greater resources have the capacity to naturalize and influence policy preferences in ways that the less advantaged could never imagine.

In much the way that economic resources give access and influence to discourse, so too does wealth give access to a broader audience for one's performative acts. The wealthiest groups and people are often the subject of attention for less-wealthy groups and individuals. As such, those with fewer resources imitate the manner in which the wealthy interact in the world and the beliefs they develop about the proper order of things. Whatever the motivating factor behind such imitations (e.g., Berger & Heath, 2008, on identity signaling), those with more economic resources are given an means of spreading their definitions and understandings of the world, arrived at through performative experiences, with numerous others, despite the fact that these others do not share their economic situation. Furthermore, quotidian, everyday rituals reinforce power differences, and are often made possible by unequal economic resources (6, 2011; Douglas & Isherwood, 1979). For example, the power differential between a waiter and a restaurant-goer is not only ensconced in the titular difference (i.e., the power differential is discursively defined), but also by the act of ordering food and drink from another person. The entire relationship is made possible by the fact that one person has money to pay for the other person to do as he or she wishes.

FOUR WORLDVIEWS, POWER, AND SOCIAL POLICY ON INEQUALITY

As outlined above, each of the four worldviews contains specific preferences for resource distribution and who should have power over others. In the United States, there are a variety of opinions about the proper distribution of economic resources, which has recently spawned both considerable academic work (e.g., Piketty, 2014) and mass protests, such as the Occupy Wall Street movement. The remainder of this essay examines some of these perspectives, categorizing and analyzing them according to Cultural Theory's worldviews.

Egalitarianism

Egalitarians "value strong equality in the sense of diminishing distinctions among people such as wealth, race, gender, authority, etc." (Wildavsky & Dake, 1990, p. 45). They prefer

to equalize income through redistributive policies administered by a larger, overarching group. This necessarily means, given the assumption that money equates to all three forms of power in market-based societies, that egalitarians prefer to reduce the power of those at the top in favor of more equivalent levels of power for all.

A recent, widely discussed manifestation of egalitarian ideology was the Occupy Wall Street ("OWS") movement, especially the group assembled in New York City. Many of the demands of OWS were directed at the financial system, which, they argued, exercises unbounded power over the political system in the United States, as well as having undue negative impacts on education, the environment, and a host of other issues. Specifically, OWS stated, "no true democracy is attainable when the process is determined by economic power" (Bowers, 2011). In addition to this direct attack on the economic system, the most egalitarian aspects of OWS were in their organizing philosophy and decision-making systems. Characterized as "direct" and "participatory" democracy, they focus on consensus building and equalized power in decision making spread amongst all group members (Hardt and Negri, 2011), a tradition carried forward from older, related egalitarian movements (Graeber, 2003).

By advocating for reduced economic differences between citizens of the United States, OWS sought to equalize the increasingly unequal distribution of the three forms of power caused by growing economic inequality. Anthropologist David Graeber has elaborated on this goal, conceptualizing the egalitarian objective as a sort of "counterpower" (Graeber, 2004, p. 35). This "counterpower" is directed at flattening the three forms of power so as to ensure roughly equal decision-making capacity between all members of the group. The goal of increasing individual autonomy is shared with the low-Group/low-Grid worldview. However, by focusing on equality of outcome instead of just equality of opportunity and legal capacity to act, and by focusing on group membership, OWS is clearly distinct from many individualistic movements. OWS, with its emphases on consensus decision making and economic equality clearly articulates the egalitarian position on income inequality.

Hierarchism

Hierarchism is built upon unequal power and resource distributions; "inequality is written into its constitution" (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982, p. 179). Hierarchism manifests in those groups and individuals who seek to maintain the unequal status quo, both in terms of economic resources and power. Hierarchists may have disagreements about the effectiveness of the system, but they seek to redress those issues through approved channels. Individuals low on the income spectrum who see it as possible to climb the economic ladder are often opposed to increasing economic redistribution because they expect to see advance in their own economic wellbeing and the power that comes with it (Alesina & Giuliano, 2009, p. 15). Those who have achieved a position of wealth and influence, whether through birth or work, are not likely to approve of changes to the structure that keeps them in that position.

Hierarchists are concerned with maintaining inequality "on the grounds that different roles for different people enable people to live together more harmoniously than alternative

arrangements" (Thompson et al., 1990, p. 6, citing Douglas [1978]). Part of maintaining this harmony rests on rewarding and punishing those who deserve the relevant treatment. Steensland (2006) demonstrated the importance in U.S. bureaucratic policy of determining who is morally justified in receiving government assistance in the form of welfare (i.e., the "deserving poor"). Maintaining the status quo, managing social policy according to relevant moral categories, and above all ensuring the stability of the broader system are paramount concerns for hierarchists. Epstein (2013) clearly articulates the contemporary American version of hierarchism:

"WASPs [white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants] were a caste, closed off to all not born within it . . . . WASP credentials came with lineage . . . that is, proper birth . . . . As a class, it was exclusionary and hence tolerant of social prejudice, if not often downright snobbish. Tradition-minded, it tended to be dead to innovation and social change. Imagination wasn't high on its list of admired qualities."

Epstein (2013) further recounted a conversation with "a financier I know who grew up under the WASP standard." The financier expressed disgust with the greed of those who contributed to the sub-prime mortgage collapse that led to the Great Recession "without a shred of character or concern for their clients or country." This financier, and Epstein himself, express the fundamental nature of hierarchism.

Hierarchism is instantiated and reproduced by performative acts. These acts become solidified in relational standing, which is often encoded discursively as well. Hierarchism thus acts to maintain the power differential that exists between categories of people within the social system. Maintaining economic inequality, so long as it benefits those that the top of the hierarchy, is a powerful mechanism for maintaining the hierarchy.

Low-Group + High-Grid

Egalitarianism and hierarchism are reasonably easy to identify in the U.S. political landscape. The two low-Group worldviews are less distinct from each other. The low-Group/high-Grid perspective,[5] perhaps the easier to identify of the two, has long had a home in the United States amongst economists following in the footsteps of Milton Friedman, the intellectual father of the Chicago School of Economics. Robert Nozick (1973; 1974) and, more recently, N. Gregory Mankiw follow Friedman's thinking. Mankiw served as the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors to U.S. President George W. Bush from 2003-2005.

In two recent papers, Mankiw (2010; 2013) clearly articulated low-Group/high-Grid beliefs about how income ought to be distributed, descriptively labeling his position "Just Deserts Theory." Its guiding philosophy is that "a person who contributes more to society deserves

[5] This perspective manifests as political libertarianism in the U.S. "Libertarianism provides an ideological narrative whereby the opposition to high taxes and big government is not just an 'economic' position: it is a *moral* position as well" (Iyer et al., 2012, p. 2, emphasis in original). It is very similar to Cultural Theory's original conception of Individualism.

a higher income that reflects those greater contributions" (2010, p. 295). In both papers, Mankiw recognizes that income inequality is a fact, and that it is growing in the U.S., though he has empirical doubts about some of the most influential work that has been critical of economic inequality (viz., Picketty & Saez, 2003). After recognizing that progressive taxation is reasonable and necessary under the theory that those who benefit most from society should also contribute the most back to it, Mankiw (2013) quickly moves to say that the top earners already pay their fair share. He is also critical of the Rawlsian vision of a just society, which would ensure greater economic equality, due to its infringements on individual autonomy by a large group (e.g., the national government).

This vision of minimal economic redistribution by the government and unfettered inequality in the marketplace for wages is part and parcel of the low-Group/high-Grid worldview. With it comes unarticulated but very real preferences for the proper deployment of power. By not allowing the government to intervene and flatten out income inequality, Mankiw and others in this vein of thought prefer to relegate power to those who make the greatest "contributions" to society. By endorsing income inequality, they implicitly endorse widening gaps in relational, discursive, and performative power. Perhaps one of the most profound statements of this belief was the 2010 Supreme Court case *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010). In this case, the Court determined that "all speakers, including individuals and media, use money amassed from the economic marketplace to fund their speech, and the First Amendment [of the United States' Constitution] protects the resulting speech" (p. 5). Few government acts have so clearly equated money with power and cemented the unequal distribution of that power into law (in this case, mainly discursive power).

Individualism (as Low-Group + Low-Grid)

Individualists, under this specific definition, are hard pressed to deal with the issue of economic inequality. On one hand, they are philosophically aligned with the market mechanism. On the other hand, they recognized that without substantial equality of opportunity, it is impossible to say that a system is truly just (Rawls, 1971; Sen, 1985). Summarizing a key component of Rawlsian justice, Nussbaum (2001) wrote, "each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override," reflecting the low-Group orientation of the individualistic worldview.

To think about the ideal situation of any given individual vis-à-vis other individuals, Rawls (1971) devised the "veil of ignorance." From behind this veil, people are asked to imagine a social structure that would be ideal without knowledge of where they would be in the social hierarchy. This inevitably meant people would have to consider a society in which they reside at the bottom of the economic hierarchy. Rawls thus arrived at the controversial conclusion that people should "prefer a distribution of basic goods that would tolerate inequalities (because inequalities provide incentives to production) only when those inequalities raise the level of the least well off" (Nussbaum, 2001). Under this conception, individuals are free from excessive group oversight, but there is a basic level of welfare, such that the people at the bottom of the economic hierarchy are not destitute.

This second premise reflects the low-Grid orientation of individualism, as it seeks to ensure no one has undue influence over anyone else by virtue of his or her economic status.

This worldview found a voice in former president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Martin Feldstein. Feldstein (1998) argued that inequality per se is not the issue economists and the government should worry over. Rather, poverty is the issue that needs to be addressed. He presented this issue in a classic economic manner: how can the government enact poverty policies that are Pareto optimal? That is, how can the government raise the quality of life for the impoverished without reducing the quality of life for the wealthy? Feldstein (1998) referred to the "spiteful egalitarianism" of Europe, which, in his view, goes too far in seeking to redistribute from the wealthy to the poor. Nonetheless, he recognized that poverty needs to be alleviated and is a serious threat to the stability of the United States.

Individualists are thus caught in an eternal tension: how does a diffuse government ensure roughly equal access to relational power, but allow the possibility of moderate inequality (which inevitably results in power inequality based on economic resources)? Rawls's (1971) answer, which has been attacked by adherents of the three other worldviews, is that a substantial welfare state should ensure a basic standard of living well above destitution. Some have argued that, in the absence of unequal relational power (that is, power based on social status), other factors will inevitably lead to inequality, driven largely by performative ability (e.g., Adkins & Vaisey, 2009).

CONCLUSION

None of these worldviews exists in a vacuum (Thompson et al., 1990). Rather, all four of the worldviews are present to some extent at any given time. Determining the specific amalgamation of worldviews in a country has proven fruitful for explaining different countries' social policies and forms of governance (Chai, Liu, & Kim, 2009; Dobbin, 1992; 1994; Grendstad, 1999). Democracy, in Cultural Theory, is seen as the best political system for bringing out the strengths in each worldview and putting them to use in governance. The question for democracies is: to what degree should each worldview be drawn from? Dobbin (1992; 1994) argues that a single worldview guides a country, and usually for an extended period of time. However, an emphasis on compromise and a representative political system can help to ensure all worldviews, or at least those with sizeable representation in the population, exert influence on national policy. The question of how to structure organizations to achieve the ideal mixture of worldviews is one important question for future research (e.g., Bruce, 2014; Verweij & Josling, 2003).

Work also needs to be done to further harmonize the traditional model of Cultural Theory (Douglas, 1978; Thompson et al., 1990) and Kahan and others' (2012; Kahan & Braman, 2006) updated version of Cultural Theory. The two most significant changes I employed herein are the refinement of the Individualism quadrant and the reworked low-Group/high-Grid quadrant into hierarchical individualism. A question remains; namely, where did the fatalists go? There are surely still people in the world without any sense of belonging who are ordered about by others. Are they present in all four quadrants, or

should we conceive of them as a special fifth category? These theoretical questions are all issues Cultural Theorists must address.

Research has also begun to further examine Cultural Theory's underlying mechanisms (e.g., Bruce, 2013a; Verweij, Luan, & Nowacki, 2011). The aforementioned Cultural Cognition Project has led the charge on much of this work. However, these studies have too often neglected the sociological elements that generate worldviews. The social conditions Grid and Group measure require attention, and understanding power as theorized by Reed (2013) and others (e.g., Lukes, 2005) will help social scientists from all fields to better articulate the structural phenomena the worldviews originate from.

Finally, as this paper has attempted to do, future research must be more explicit in recognizing that there exist multiple types of power. Drawing out how the forms of power operate in social environments will enable researchers to elucidate the mechanisms that influence behavior and thinking. One of Cultural Theory's most important theoretical assumptions is that social conditions, codified in Grid and Group, give birth to thought styles that directly reflect those social conditions. These thought styles then guide the relational, discursive, and performative acts people carry out in their lives, effectively recreating the social structure that gave birth to them. By building an assumed reciprocal relationship between social structure and action into the theory, Cultural Theory provides an avenue for future research on social behavior to be constantly reflecting on the social conditions that give rise to behaviors and the mechanisms by which behavior recreates social-structural phenomena.

"[T]he knowable world is incomplete if seen from any one point of view, incoherent if seen from all points of view at once, and empty if seen from 'nowhere in particular'" (Shweder, 2000, p. 219). The four worldviews of Cultural Theory aim to represent an exhaustive range of possible "points of view" (Thompson et al., 1990). By elaborating each of these viewpoints, I sought to demonstrate the capacity of Cultural Theory to explain a range of beliefs about economic inequality. By incorporating Shweder's "Big Three" Ethics and Moral Foundations Theory, a unified model of moral psychology is made possible by advancements in cultural psychology (Bruce, 2013b). To gain not only a broadly applicable theory but also a deeply explanatory one, I explicitly incorporated a detailed yet parsimonious conception of power into this model and applied it to the issue of economic inequality. By incorporating this sociological model of power, cultural psychology can move forward with a clearer conception of how power can be built into its analyses, addressing one of the chief goals of this special edition.

Economic inequality is one of the major issues facing Western democracies today, especially the United States (Piketty, 2014; United Nations, 2013). By examining the worldviews and moral foundations different policy recommendations are based on, people can "'look beyond the moral values that are dearest to them, and understand those who live in a different moral matrix" (Graham et al., 2012, p. 43). Through this mutual examination, cultural psychologists can offer a nuanced and powerful analysis of the worldviews that animate policy preferences and the power inequalities likely to result from the enactment of those policies.

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