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NATIONAL AND REGIONAL CULTURAL VALUES IN THE UNITED STATES*

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I

AMERICAN anthropologists have made no systematic and comprehensive study of the culture of the United States. The few attempts by followers of this discipline to generalize upon the ways of North Americans, such as those of Mead, Gorer, and the Kluckhohns have on their own admission been tentative and suggestive rather than definitive.[1] The same will be true of the present brief discussion.

Anthropological data on our own culture have been produced mostly by "community studies," either carried out by professional cultural anthropologists themselves or under their direction or inspiration. This has represented a transference of methods and point of view from the study of the tribe by ethnologists to the local group in our own society. As Goldschmidt[2] has pointed out, care must be taken not to make the unwarranted assumption that a given American community represents or exhibits the whole of American culture in microcosm. The typical "primitive" tribe or self-contained peasant community contains the cultural universe of its members. But no community that is an integral part of American society exhibits the total culture of this nation. Numerous subcultures exist within the general pattern of the country. And in the nature of the case all of them cannot be present in any single community; for example, class subcultures, urban as over against rural subcultures, occupational and professional subcultures, and, not least, regional subcultures.

It should also be added that none of the American community studies have attempted a *complete* exposition and analysis even of the local system of custom under observation, in the manner of an ethnographic report upon a previously unknown tribe. For example, the details of "material culture" have usually been taken for granted, unless very "peculiar," on the assumption that readers are already familiar with such matters. The emphasis on the whole has been on social structure (including class and status), economic culture, patterns of interpersonal relationships, and the cultural aspects of personality. These remarks are not made in criticism, but rather to remind the reader that, in considering regional aspects of American culture, we do not have the type of organized data that is available for the study of the areal aspects of American Indian cultures. Indeed, a systematic collation of the contributions of all researchers in the social sciences and humanities who have dealt with the American scene would be necessary to begin an ethnographically "complete" picture of the modern civilization of the United States. For these reasons the present very tentative and incomplete remarks will center about the regional distribution of those aspects of culture known as values.

A value, for present purposes, can be thought of as a conception, culturally held, concerning what is regarded as desirable with respect to human beings and their behavior in relations with each other and with the non-human universe. (Cf. Kluckhohn; also Keesing, has been of service to the writer)[3]. However, only certain of the broadest or most basic values can be listed. For example,

* This paper was prepared in time made available to the author as a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, to which grateful acknowledgment is made. The paper was written before I had seen the excellent article on American values by Cora Du Bois, to appear in the *American Anthropologist*, December 1955.

[1] Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (New York: Morrow, 1942); Geoffrey Gorer, *The American People* (New York: Norton, 1948); Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientation in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 388–433; Clyde Kluckhohn and Florence R. Kluckhohn, "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns," in Lyman Bryson (ed.), *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture* (New York: Harper's, 1947), pp. 106–128.

[2] Walter R. Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (New York: Harper's, 1947).

[3] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientation in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," *loc. cit.*, p. 359; Felix M. Keesing, *Stanford File on Values* (processed; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, n.d.).

what may be called technological values, such as a preference for the use of ploughs instead of disc-harrows or cattle-raising instead of general farming, must be left out of consideration here.

II

The following partial list of values is offered as being dominant in United States culture as a whole. Space is lacking for documentation or discussion of numerous corollaries and variations.

1. Personal output of energy is regarded as a good thing in its own right, whether in earning a living, in recreation, or in other endeavors. It does not necessarily mean "manual labor," but does imply "keeping busy" and "hard work." Personal effort is necessary to the solution of all problems. "Laziness" is bad.

2. Pragmatic ingenuity is valued and is expected to be applied not only to materialistic problems, but to all problems, including social and personal maladjustment. Conversely, low rating is given to the passive contemplation of "unsolved mysteries" for sheer aesthetic or other "impractical" reasons. It should be noted that *thrift* is a value probably to be included under this heading.

3. Mechanistic world view: the universe and any discrete aspect of it are wholes consisting of parts that work together, well or badly, as the case may be, and this image is of course, valued as the correct one. Through pragmatic ingenuity and energy man may discover and manipulate these mechanical relations. (a) Practically all features of life experience are seen in the image of material things, which are regarded either as parts or as mechanically interrelated mechanisms; this concept includes time as a thing, also "personality," "group relations," etc. (b) Precise measurement is highly valued, not only for material objects, but also for time, "intelligence" of the individual, interpersonal interactions, etc. The idea is that in a mechanistic scheme the component parts must "fit" and therefore must be of exactly the correct size. "Adjustment" in this sense means essentially the same thing. Great value is placed upon money, not only as an economic instrument, but also because of its usefulness in "measuring" many intangibles, such as social status, influence, etc. (c) Cleanliness and orderliness may also be seen as subsidiary values of a mechanistic world view. Machines do not work well if dirty and if the parts are out of place; neither do individuals or social groups. (d) Science is appreciated so long as it is applied in such a way as to "make things work better." Pure science or curiosity for its own sake is each regarded as dubious in the general culture.

4. Mobility of the person, whether with respect to physical or social position, rates high. One is reminded of the mechanical interchangeability or adjustment of parts, because whether one moves to a strange locality or to a higher social stratum, great emphasis is put upon "fitting into" the new situation, unless one goes outside the boundaries of the nation.

5. Change and novelty are values in themselves within a restricted area of the culture, such as styles of consumer goods, amusements, and vacations. Such things are supposed to give the average American a "thrill," i.e., relief from the ennui of routine. Changes in basic social institutions or in the general value system, however, are usually viewed as "radical" when first proposed.

6. Optimism, as contrasted with fatalism or melancholy, is valued. Any problem can be solved if suitable energy and ingenuity are applied to it. Furthermore, God, insofar as he represents a general cultural formulation, will help, because he approves of these methods. When God is looking the other way, about the only thing that can block success is bad luck. But if one keeps at the job and uses his head, the "breaks are bound to come his way."

7. Individualism,[4] always highly praised, has some aspects more or less peculiar to the American system. Among them are the following. (a) Ideally each person should have an equal opportunity economically, socially, and politically at the start of his adult life. Officially this is supposed to be guaranteed by the refusal to recognize hereditary economic and social classes, by universal free education, by universal adult suffrage, and the right to hold public office open to all native-born citizens. These rights are supposed to be upheld regardless of race, creed, or color. Given such equal opportunity the individual's success in winning the rewards provided by the culture depends upon his following or applying the appropriate values of the system, especially energy and ingenuity. (b) Freedom or liberty for the individual is prized

[4] It is understood that these remarks on the individualistic values are not to be considered as a sketch of American "basic personality," "national character structure," or some other similar psychocultural formulation.

and is formally guaranteed by such legal formulations as the Bill of Rights. Liberty is regarded as freedom from unnecessary frustrations and interferences, many of which are explicitly spelled out. What freedom is *for*, on the other hand, is much less clear. Officially, it is described as "the pursuit of happiness," but the system of values contains neither a general nor a specific definition of "happiness" as a state of affairs. (c) Self-reliance and initiative are expected of individuals; Americans are supposed to be "self-starting." Courage in the face of obstacles is also involved, and the individual is borne up by adherence to the general value of optimism. (d) Status achieved "through one's own efforts" is valued. Although high status carries with it many perquisites, it does not, according to the pattern, confer the right to treat persons of lower status openly as "inferiors," implying that their less fortunate position is due to failure to apply the values of the system. Other persons may make such comparisons, but not the occupant of high status. (e) Achievement requires a certain competitiveness in the individual, and competitiveness is also a general value of the culture, expected not only of individuals but also of groups.

The individualistic values are tempered by the worth placed on (f) generosity and (g) social conformity. The ideal individual is generous and takes an interest in other members of his group or society, in the weak, the unfortunate, the underdogs. In modern America, acting, at least, in conformity with this value wins more rewards than crass "selfishness." Outward conformity to the opinions of others has a certain value in relation to the individual. Although some observers hold that conformity in thoughts and "feelings" is also a part of the value system, this writer postulates that it is not—yet. (h) However, individuals are expected to have consciences; that is, the values of the cultural system are supposed to be internalized in persons and the internal punishment of guilt sanctions deviations from them. In common parlance an individual with a well developed conscience or super-ego who acts in accordance is a man or woman of "character."

8. Competitiveness has already been mentioned in connection with individualism. Most observers, as well as native defenders, of the system hold that it is a general value permeating almost all parts of the culture. It is institutionalized among business organizations, but also appears among religious sects, certain social classes, groups of scholars, and so on. Conversely anything which tends to stifle competition, such as economic monopoly or inherited perquisites, is regarded unfavorably.

9. In the American system competitiveness is tempered by the value of "fair play," probably borrowed from British culture.

10. Cooperation in the common welfare is another value that mitigates competitiveness. It is manifested by a great variety of voluntaristic groups and organizations, all of which are oriented at least toward the common welfare of their members and often toward that of the whole society. Voluntary charitable contributions in which all are expected to participate, controlled neither by church nor state, are characteristic of the society.

11. Honesty or frankness in human relations has high value ideally, while dissimulation is "bad."

12. Prestige as manifested in respect or deference given by others is highly valued. No space is available to discuss the numerous forms of prestige, but it should be remarked that, contrary to some superficial observations, it is not exclusively a matter of high social position or large financial resources. It is held in the system that prestige and respect *can* be achieved by any member of the society, and that, strictly speaking, all prestige *must* be achieved or "earned."

13. Power or the ability, by some means or other, (a) to influence or control other persons or groups is an American value. In the system, however, power exerted over other persons through force is given a low rating. The ideally "best" type of power is that achieved and maintained by "moral" suasion and influence. (b) Power over material things, including other animals, and over the forces of nature, is a basic value and is sought without limit.

14. Recreation is a "right" for Americans, but from the ideal point of view, is defined somewhat literally. This is to say that, although recreation is doing something one is not required to do (in distinction to "work"), whatever is done should recreate one, it should "be good for you." Thus recreation is to be distinguished from mere pleasure; only certain pleasures are also recreational. Activities that run counter to the major values are bad, regardless of how pleasurable they may be. Needless to say numerous members of the society do not behave entirely consistently with this value pair.

15. Efficiency is another ideal value sometimes,

of course, not followed. In line with the mechanistic world view it is held that all things should operate to the full extent of their inherent capacities and at the lowest cost in whatever terms. This applies not only to machines, but also to social organizations and personalities. One of the virtues of pragmatic ingenuity is that by its application the efficiency of anything can be increased. With respect to the population as a whole, as well as the individual organism, good health, both physical and mental, is valued, not only because it is pleasant but also because it is efficient.

16. Love is a state of interpersonal relations that practically all Americans cherish. It is generally regarded as a satisfying feeling state which may be enjoyed by the individual either actively or passively. The "best" kind of love, however, is reciprocal. Although one hears most about love of the romantic kind, nevertheless the non-sexual love of the family and friendship types is highly prized. Whether between the sexes, in the family or in friendship, love means essentially a sort of intimate relationship in which most thoughts or feelings of individual advantage are submerged in one's regard for the loved person or persons.

17. Inner-regulated morality is believed to be one of the virtues of the system. In the general culture it is thought that all individuals should have a "conscience" and should "feel guilty" when doing "wrong." In other words, the value system is supposed to be supported and maintained in conduct by an inner mechanism in each individual whose sanctions are internal rather than external. This is believed by many to be one of the bases of the American type of democracy. As American society has grown in size and complexity, doubts have arisen as to the effectiveness of this mechanism, supported by evidence of crime, delinquency, and other forms of "social disorganization." And there is, as Riesman[5] has pointed out, some reason to question whether inner-regulated morality can still be regarded as a basic value of the system.

It will be noticed that no place is given in the above list to values of a "spiritual" or transcendental type. Foreign observers frequently ask: Is there nothing Americans value beyond these? What are the ultimate goals of existence? Does not life and the universe have some "higher" meaning? And so on. With the decline in this century of general acceptance in America of the traditional theological answers to such questions, the average person as well as those who speak for the nation find it difficult to provide positive formulations that have meaning to others not reared in the United States value system. This writer believes that convincing evidence can be produced that, buried in the American culture, certain values of a spiritual and transcendental nature do exist, of which few Americans are consciously aware and which, therefore, they are unable to make explicit. This is not the place to attempt a demonstration and formulation. It does seem to be true that the culture has so developed during the past fifty years as to set up defenses, one might say, against overt consideration of the "soul," "the absolute," and the like. Not the least of such defenses is American humor, which in addition to serving as a social sanction and tension-reducer, also acts as a deflector of serious attempts to discuss submerged values that have become unfashionable.

[5] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951).

III

American anthropologists developed the concept of the culture area, first as a tool for analyzing the distribution of American Indian cultures. And their work served as a stimulus to sociological students of regionalism, of whom the leader was the late Howard W. Odum[6] of the University of North Carolina. Of course, both anthropologists and sociologists had been preceded in the study of regionalism by ecologists and geographers. And at about the same time American historians, such as Turner,[7] had developed the concept of sectionalism in the United States.

From the present point of view the United States as a whole is one "culture area," and the cultural regions within it signify geographical distributions of subcultures. Whereas "sectionalism" implies conflict, regionalism implies an "orchestration of diversity" within a total national cultural unity.[8]

[6] Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936); Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism, A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1938).

[7] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of Sections in American History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8 (1925), pp. 254–280.

[8] Rupert B. Vance, "The Regional Concept as a Tool for Social Research," in Merrill Jensen (ed.), *Regional-*

In other words, it is assumed that all regions subscribe to the general list of values of the national culture, but with certain additions, emendations, or special emphases more or less peculiar to themselves.

The geographical delineations of regions used here are those proposed by Odum[9] and followed in the main by the Wisconsin conference on regionalism,[10] except that I place Utah and Nevada in the Southwest. The regions are the Northeast, the Southeast, the Middle States, the Southwest, the Northwest, and the Far West.[11] Within regions thus demarcated, there appear to be subregional types of culture: for example, in the Southeast, Coastal Fringe, Low Country, Piedmont, and Mountains.[12] Published community studies made by anthropologists or under their direction or inspiration include the following. For the Northeast we have the Yankee City studies made by Warner and his collaborators[13] and a New Hampshire study.[14] The Southeast is represented by studies of the unindustrialized Piedmont,[15] a somewhat similar Georgia setting,[16] the "Delta area,"[17] the Plantation area,[18] a Negro subculture of the Piedmont,[19] and one sketch of a Coastal Fringe fishing community,[20] and a sociopsychologically oriented report on the Mountain subregion.[21] A systematic series of ethnological studies of the subcultures of the Southeast was directed by the present writer, of which the Rubin and Lewis volumes are the first to be published. For the Middle West we have reports by Lynd and Lynd, Miner, Bell, West, Warner, Hollingshead, Blumenthal, and Moe and Taylor.[22] The Southwest is represented by El Cerrito[23] and various unpublished reports by Florence Kluckhohn, Wayne Unterreiner, Evon Vogt and others. I am not aware of any anthro-

ism in America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951), pp. 119–140.

[9] Odum and Moore, *op. cit.*

[10] Merrill Jensen (ed.), *Regionalism in America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951).

[11] The regions and their constituent states are as follows: (1) *Northeast:* Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia. (2) *Southast:* Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky. (3) *Southwest:* Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada. (4) *Middle States:* Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. (5) *Northwest:* North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado. (6) *Far West:* Washington, Oregon, and California.

[12] John Gillin and Emmet J. Murphy, "Notes on Southern Culture Patterns," *Social Forces*, 29 (1951), pp. 422–432.

[13] W. Lloyd Warner and Others. *The Yankee City Series*. 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941 to 1947).

[14] Kenneth Macleish and Kimball Young, "Landgraf, New Hampshire." *Rural Life Studies, No. 3* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1942).

[15] H. C. Nixon, *Possum Trot* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941).

[16] Waller Wynne. "Harmony, Georgia." *Rural Life Studies, No. 6* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1943).

[17] Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937; Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (New York: Viking, 1939).

[18] Morton Rubin, *Plantation County* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951).

[19] Hylan Lewis, *Blackways of Kent* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

[20] Warren S. Hall, *Tangier Island* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939).

[21] M. Taylor Matthews, *Experience-Worlds of Mountain People* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937).

[22] Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown, A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929); Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown in Transition, A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (Harcourt, Brace, 1937); Horace M. Miner, *Culture and Agriculture: An Anthropological Study of a Corn Belt County* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949); Earl H. Bell, "Sublette, Kansas." *Rural Life Studies, No. 2* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1942); James West, *Plainville, U. S. A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945); W. Lloyd Warner, *Democracy in Jonesville: A Study of Quality and Equality* (New York: Harper's 1949); August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: Harper's, 1949); Albert Blumenthal, *Small Town Stuff* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), Edward O. Moe and C. C. Taylor, "Irwin, Iowa." *Rural Life Studies, No. 5* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1942).

[23] Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, "El Cerrito, New Mexico." *Rural Life Studies, No. 1* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1941).

pological community studies made in the region of the Northwest. For the Far West we have a study made by Goldschmidt.[24]

The relative paucity of such studies indicates the amount of work yet to be done. Also, for reasons previously indicated, the community study of anthropological type, although vitally necessary for a complete knowledge of American culture, especially at the local level, does not in itself provide data sufficient for broad generalizations concerning either the national culture or the larger regional varieties of it.

Since any culture is in part a set of customary adaptations to natural environment and resources, it is to be expected in a territory of the size and geographical diversity of the continental United States that a considerable variation in adaptive and exploitative aspects of culture will occur. Despite the efficiency of transportation and communication which has made the United States the most culturally homogeneous nation of its size in history, there is every reason to expect some continued diversity in the cultural aspects of materialistic adaptation and exploitation of natural resources. These diversities will not be listed here, nor can we discuss the values attached to them. Whether such factors, together with variety in historical backgrounds, will continue to have a controlling effect on basic regional value systems is a matter for further investigation.

Here I shall venture to set down only a tentative check list of regional cultural values that may serve to stimulate further research. Perhaps it is necessary to emphasize that no judgment of relative worth of the various regional values is made or implied. Where nothing is said about a certain value of the national culture it will be assumed that the regional culture conforms to the national standard.

1. NORTHEAST. (a) *Special emphases.* Hard work and thrift are still given special emphasis in rural subcultures. Hereditary status is more firmly established than in the country as a whole. Power over persons and groups, including those in other parts of the nation is emphasized, and is more explicitly justified, especially in cosmopolitan centers like Boston and New York. Change and novelty are played down in rural areas, rated high in New York metropolitan area. Very strong differences are shown between metropolitan and rural values in general. (b) *Special values.* Seaboard cities tend to be internationally "minded" and to blend European values into the system rather than rejecting them outright.

2. SOUTHEAST. (a) *Special emphases.* Protestant morality is especially strong. Non-commercial recreations of the "folk" type are well developed. Family relations are strong and include extended kin group. Status and power tend to be based on kinship connections more than in any other region with the exception of Back Bay Boston. Hard work is necessary for most, but little valued as a good in itself. Pragmatic ingenuity, and the corollaries of the mechanistic world view, especially cleanliness and orderliness, are rated lower than in the country as a whole. Mobility of the person is a necessary evil rather than a positive good. Change and optimism for their own sakes rate low. Freedom for the individual from outside (non-Southern) interference is highest of the individualistic values. General competitiveness is restrained by the power and kinship systems. (b) *Special values.* Doctrine of white supremacy and resulting race-castes. Idealization of women in the image of the "lady." Violence as a solution of interpersonal and intergroup problems. Regional cultural chauvinism resulting in attitude that the Southeast can solve its problems if outsiders will not interfere, that it is a special region with a culture uniquely fitted to it, and that "the rest of the country is against us."

3. MIDDLE STATES. This region is often described as the "most typical" of the United States. (a) *Special emphases.* Outward symbols of prestige and power are devalued and emphasis is placed on "democratic leveling." Much of Middle Western suspicion of "Easterners" and "foreigners" may be connected with the notion that money is supposed to be an instrument for work but not for the gaining of (financial) power. Optimism is strong, especially in the form of community "boosting." Conformity to community norms is rated high by various observers. Honesty and outspokenness are especially valued and the notion is often expressed that "Easterners are crooks," and "foreigners, frankly, are inferior." All the other national values are, in general, strongly held. (b) *Special values.* "Isolationism," if it may be called a value, is the feature of the Middle States most often cited. The basic notion seems to be that the United States is quite capable of "going it alone" without becoming entangled in international affairs.

4. SOUTHWEST. This region, lying along the border with Mexico was, of course, formerly a part of

[24] Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*

that country. It also contains a large area originally settled by the Mormons, as well as other areas (mostly in eastern Texas) settled from the Southeast. (a) *Special emphases*. Although the personal application of energy is highly regarded, manual labor, such as work in the fields, is denigrated for Americans and often considered to be the proper function of Mexicans and Negroes. Whether this is a heritage from Mexico or is connected with the fact that much of the region was originally exploited by cattle and sheep raising on the open range (a type of work that does not require "manual labor") remains to be determined. The original distinction between the horseman and the field worker has led to a degree of classification of the population, although the value of equality of opportunity is strongly held, at least for white "Americans." If we are to believe the publicity, the recent oil millionaires have substituted the Cadillac for the horse as a symbol of status. Physical mobility, whether by horse or mechanical means, has always been highly valued. Optimism is high and perhaps "luck" and "taking a chance" are valued more than in the country as a whole. With respect to measurement, bigness seems to have a certain value in its own right, often said to be associated with a world view conditioned by "wide open spaces." (b) *Special values*. A certain romantic and nostalgic value is given to Spanish-Mexican culture, as evidenced to some extent in architecture, costume, Catholic fiestas, and popular music. Otherwise it is difficult to find much Mexican influence in the value system of the culture.[25] Likewise a sentimental value is given to the image of the old days of the "open range," celebrated in roundups, rodeos, and "covered wagon days" of ceremonial significance. Of course, the cult of the "Old Southwest" has been spread nationally through the mass media of communication mainly for the consumption of moppets of the male sex.

[25] John W. Caughey. "The Spanish Southwest: An Example of Subconscious Regionalism," in Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–185.

5. NORTHWEST. (a) *Special emphases*. Although originally settled by a fairly homogeneous North European Protestant stock from the Southeast and New England, the region has lately received large increments of newcomers with Catholic European backgrounds.[26] Frugality and hard work have been traditionally highly valued in this region, and optimism would probably be rated lower than the national level, partly because of the comparative harshness of nature. In fact, during ruinous periods of drouth in the Dakotas, for instance, it has seemed that the regional culture contained a certain fatalism. The former open range country culture shares some of the "horse culture" values of the Southwest.

6. FAR WEST. (a) *Special emphases*. Outstanding, perhaps, is optimism. This is the region of "progress unlimited." As someone has said, the Far West is the melting pot of elements from all over the United States, rather than from the Old World. Consequently family ties count for comparatively little, and the emphasis on social and physical mobility is strong. Conformity for the individual probably is lowest of any region, and is reflected in great freedom and informality in dress and interpersonal relations. Recreation in the form of "outdoor living" receives special emphasis and there is a more conscious attempt to blur the line between work and play than elsewhere. The Far West has a special focus on cooperation for the public welfare in the unusually high emphasis placed on development of water and other natural resources. As a whole Far Westerners are perhaps less bound by Puritan consciences than residents of other regions. There is high tolerance for eccentricity and flamboyant expressions of individualism. Change and novelty are valued in many ways for themselves. It is difficult to say that the Far West has developed special values, but, as indicated, its regional subculture has given a special "twist" to many of the universal American values.

[26] Lancaster Pollard, "The Pacific Northwest," in Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–212.