

# WHAT GOLDBLOCKS, SHERLOCK HOLMES, MODULES, AND MAPS MIGHT YET TEACH ME ABOUT TEACHING U. S. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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## Abstract

In this paper I explore how web-based modules might promote awareness of the multiple levels of U. S. politics. Tensions between and among national and subnational politicking and governing might enhance students' appreciation of multiple federalisms across spaces, over times, and throughout cultures and subcultures. In particular, images of Democracy, of Equality, and of Liberties, Rights, and conceptions of Justice might hone the sophistication and the perspectivism of instructors and students alike even in introductory coursework. Political cultures national and subnational, richly and theoretically elaborated in modules, might introduce students to multiple governmental units [the "many" in *E pluribus unum*] beyond the national union [the "one" in *E pluribus unum*] that tends to dominate instruction in U. S. politics and government. Counterposing national culture with subcultures in regions, states, and localities might enable students to learn and to retain "Big Ideas" about ranges of politicking and governing in the U. S. A. I argue my case for modules by means of the habits of reasoning dramatized by Goldilocks [of "Three Bears" fame] and Sherlock Holmes and by means of maps and "monikers," the labels assigned subcultures in published works.

This paper was prepared to be presented to the 2021 meeting of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association in Portland Oregon.

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I dedicate this paper to the late Professor David J. Olson, who taught me so much about subnational government. "And here, man, here's the wreath I've made: / 'Tis not a gift that's worth the taking, / But wear it and it will not fade." A. E. Housman, *A Shropshire Lad*, XLIV

## Overview of Contents

### §0.0 Introduction—*E pluribus unum* [Out of many, one]

*Two overlooked methodologists might help me atone for 40 years of inadequate teaching: Goldilocks by urging me to seek approaches “just right” for introducing U. S. politics and governance beyond the national to beginners; Sherlock Holmes by urging me to imagine possibilities for creating accessible, attractive, and memorable supplements.*

### §1.0 E Nonagintis Miliis Unum [Out of 90,000 one]

*The puzzle of this paper: How might I have conveyed to college students in introductory courses more about almost 90,000 governments other than the national government of the United States?*

### §2.0 E Tribus Unum—Interdum [Out of three one—sometimes]

*Imagining [Holmes] a sometimes, somewhat unified national culture for the United States out of multiple subcultures might be just right [Goldilocks] for generating in students and instructors alike insights memorable and useful, albeit that for an introductory course the greater the imagining the less will be “just right” without great pains.*

### §3.0 De Profundis Sagacitas Diuturna [Out of the depths lasting acumen]

*Even when imagining [Holmes] three enduring perspectives across Spaces, Times, and Cultures may be tailored to introductory students in a manner “just right” [Goldilocks] for prompting learning about and insights into mainsprings of U. S. politics and government state and local as well as national, balancing breadth, depth, detail, and incisiveness to ensure accessibility and memorability may not be possible or practicable.*

### §4 Non Sunt Multiplicanda Imagines Sine Necessitate<sup>1</sup> [Proliferate no images unless needed]

*Imagining more than three enduring perspectives across Spaces, Times, and Cultures may be “just right” for testing Elazar’s Conjecture but impossible or impractical for fathomable and lasting learning, so statistical inductions and journalistic narratives will reinforce and challenge Elazar’s Conjecture(s) only if great care is taken to sample them to ensure accessibility, understanding, and memorability.*

### §5 Concessions and Conclusions

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<sup>1</sup> Please see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occam%27s\\_razor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occam%27s_razor) for an original phrasing: “*Non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate.*”

## §0.0 Introduction—*E Pluribus Unum*

*Two overlooked methodologists might help me atone for 40 years of inadequate teaching: Goldilocks by urging me to seek approaches “just right” for introducing U. S. politics and governance beyond the national to beginners; Sherlock Holmes by urging me to imagine possibilities for creating accessible, attractive, and memorable supplements.*

How might I have expanded my teaching of politics and government<sup>2</sup> so that I introduced students to politicking and governing beyond a singular nation but short of 50 states, more than 3,000 counties,<sup>3</sup> 10,000 school districts,<sup>4</sup> or the remainder of more than 90,000 units of governance across the United States? How might instructors make U. S. politics truly plural as in the *pluribus* of the motto *E pluribus unum*? How might courses impart adequately ranges of politicking and governing in federal systems that vary over times, spaces, and cultures? Might students counterpoise evolving nationalism(s) with persisting sectionalism(s)?<sup>5</sup>

At the precipice of my retirement, I attempt in this paper to address such questions tentatively. I proceed—whimsically and perversely—by exploiting useful fallacies attributed to Goldilocks and to Sherlock Holmes.

Following Goldilocks [“fictional ladies first”],<sup>6</sup> I search for ways “just right” to introduce undergraduates to politics other than national politics. Nearly exclusive emphasis in all but a few introductory textbooks on national processes and institutions in politics in the United States has provided my classes “too little” information about “too few” polities closer to students’ lives and citizenship than national politics. But the plenitude of localities, municipalities, counties, and even states presented “too many” polities and too much variety to mention, let alone to cover. Perhaps attention to a few maps, models, metaphors, monikers, and other representations of subnational politicking must be “just right!” to enhance introductory instruction and to ground advanced courses. I allude to Goldilocks’ “just right” to signal three likelihoods. First, students likely find repeated

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<sup>2</sup> In this paper I usually use “politicking” or “politics” to subsume government, administration, management, and similar pursuits to spare readers. Who wants this paper longer?

<sup>3</sup> Counties and county-equivalents in the fifty states and the District of Columbia numbered 3143 as of 2020 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/County\\_\(United\\_States\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/County_(United_States)); accessed 17 April 2020. Dante Chinni and James Gimpel, *Our Patchwork Nation: The Surprising Truth about the “Real” America* (2010) reported 3141 counties while Joel Lieske, “Regional Subcultures of the United States,” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Nov., 1993), pp. 888-913 at 893 reported 3164 based on the 1980 U. S. Census Glenmary data and 3141 in 2012.

<sup>4</sup> See Michael B. Berkman and Eric Plutzer, *Ten Thousand Democracies: Politics and Public Opinion in America’s School Districts* (Georgetown University Press 2005).

<sup>5</sup> For example, James A. Morone and Roger Kersh, in *By the People: Debating American Government* (Oxford University Press 2013) Chapter 4 show how nationalism and federalism might be introduced as dynamic, even dialectic concepts rather than the static, formal categories that punctuate too many introductory texts. The late Deil Wright covered intergovernmental relations (IGR) so eruditely, magisterially, and comprehensively that I despair of mentioning IGR in this paper but concede that resources for an introduction to U. S. politics might include interactions of national and subnational entities. Please see Deil S. Wright, *Understanding Intergovernmental Relations* (Pacific Grove CA: Brooks-Cole 1988) (3rd ed.) or Robert Agranoff and Beryl A. Radin, “Deil Wright’s Overlapping Model of Intergovernmental Relations: The Basis for Contemporary Intergovernmental Relationships,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 2014 pp. 1-21. I concede as well that nationalization of U. S. politicking should inform courses. Please consider Colin Woodard’s latest *Union: The Struggle to Forge the Story of United States Nationhood* (Viking 2020); Richard Kreitner, *Break It Up: Secession, Division, and the Secret History of America’s Imperfect Union* (Little, Brown 2020); and Daniel J. Hopkins, *The Increasingly United States: How and Why American Political Behavior Nationalized* (University of Chicago Press 2018).

<sup>6</sup> “Goldilocks and the Three Bears” [https://www.dltk-teach.com/rhymes/goldilocks\\_story.htm](https://www.dltk-teach.com/rhymes/goldilocks_story.htm); last accessed 23 September 2021.

patterns and processes of politicking accessible, understandable, and interpretable if not flat-out familiar. Second, instructors will likely find imparting such patterns practicable as opposed to merely practical in classrooms if pithy, inexpensive aids are available. Third, students and instructors will deem collaborative formulations of comprehensible patterns of politicking pertinent to their presents and worth remembering into their futures. These three likelihoods promise to make learning in introductory courses neither too little about varieties of politicking in the United States, especially varieties below the national level, for students and instructors to appreciate nor too much about parochial practices and processes for students and instructors to retain. Instead, some range(s) of distinctive modes of politicking might prove “just right” for imparting and for assimilating fundamentals of subnational as well as national politicking and governing.

Following Sherlock Holmes,<sup>7</sup> I advocate open-minded, imaginative pursuit of multiple possibilities and perspectives—in Holmes’ case investigative; in this paper pedagogical—that remain available and seem advisable after other possibilities have been discarded.<sup>8</sup> Subcultures of the United States of America, elaborated richly yet elegantly and panoramically yet imaginatively, might counterpose and complement national culture and thereby help students to learn other than and more than national politicking without profusions and confusions of states, counties, municipalities, and

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<sup>7</sup> The Holmes Method is illustrated amid “The Adventure of the Blanched Soldier,” a 1926 short story in which Arthur Conan Doyle has Sherlock Holmes state the following: “When you have eliminated all which is impossible, then whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth. Please see [https://www.dfw-sherlock.org/uploads/3/7/3/8/37380505/1926\\_november\\_the\\_adventure\\_of\\_the\\_blanched\\_soldier.pdf](https://www.dfw-sherlock.org/uploads/3/7/3/8/37380505/1926_november_the_adventure_of_the_blanched_soldier.pdf); last accessed 4 November 2021 p. 11..

Please note that the rest of the paragraph in which Holmes’ oft-cited maxim appears makes that maxim less fallacious:

“That process,” said I, “starts upon the supposition that when you have eliminated all which is impossible, then whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth. It may well be that several explanations remain, in which case one tries test after test until one or other of them has a convincing amount of support.” [*punctuation moved inside double quotation marks as per current U.S. convention*]

On the fallacy usually inhering when someone invokes the Holmes Method without being a fictitious, superhuman genius, please see [https://rationalwiki.org/wiki/Holmesian\\_fallacy](https://rationalwiki.org/wiki/Holmesian_fallacy).

Conan Doyle’s sentence might better be phrased “When you have eliminated all which is impossible, then whatever remains, however improbable, must contain some truth.” In this paper I emphasize the openness to possibilities and nimbleness of imagination concerning all that cannot be eliminated as Conan Doyle’s lesson for social scientists.

<sup>8</sup> Readers may see my formulation of Holmes’ method as contrary to Occam’s Razor, testability, parsimony, or other tenets of modern social science. Occam’s Razor counsels us not to proliferate causes or factors needlessly; I presume that apprising students of a multiplicity of perspectives enriches, broadens, and deepens their understanding of sociopolitical matters—in Holmes’ terms the imagined possibilities. I presume further that, however useful eliminating some variables by statistical controls may be for elegant equations, alerting beginners to panoplies of considerations and to complex, dialectical interactions of political, social, cultural, and economic factors is far more useful for enduring learning. Indeed, acquiring sophistication regarding the interplay of ideal, moral, instrumental, rhetorical, and practical considerations is in my view needful proliferation rather than the needless proliferation of factors against which Occam warned. Holmes’ approach counters “critical tests” of putative operationalizations of specified variables alleged to have been deduced from hypotheses fashioned to assess competing models. I presume that instructors serve students better by opening minds to “Both/And” instead of indulging “Either/Or” or “More Likely/Less Likely” oversimplifications. I may, for example, introduce students to Charles Beard’s economic interpretation of the U. S. Constitution then referee scholarly debates across the 20th century about the interests or motivations of founders. I can even invoke statistical demonstrations in Robert A. McGuire’s *To Form A More Perfect Union: A New Economic Interpretation of the United States Constitution* (Oxford University Press 2003) or analyses of coalitions in Calvin C. Jillson’s “Constitution-Making: Alignment and Realignment in the Federal Convention of 1787” [*American Political Science Review* Vol. 75, no. 3 (1981) pp. 598-612; accessed September 7, 2021. doi:10.2307/1960955] to pronounce Beard’s Thesis tenable if not demonstrable contrary to Beard’s filiopietistic critics over a century. By contrast, I may follow Holmes’ logic: the founders, being human, pursued instrumental and idealistic ends, their hands in the till [self-interest] and their heads in the clouds [idealism]. At least in the classroom, I hold such proliferation of possibilities to be more educational than parsimonious exclusion of variables from equations.

localities.<sup>9</sup> Pedagogic perspectivism—openness to possibilities and potentialities, appreciation of alternative ways and manners, and ingeniousness and creativity in spotting dynamics and dialectics that too many instructors, students, and citizens miss—amplifies learning. Students might discern patterns and possibilities in idealizations and realizations of democratic and republican values; in aspirations and frustrations of egalitarian impulses; in expansions, contractions, conceptions, and reconceptions of liberties, rights, and justice over time and across spaces; and in evolving images and implementations of federalisms across times, spaces, and cultures. In sum, Holmes might have advised us instructors to open minds and to fire imaginations by proliferating perspectives after the impossible and the unimaginable, the canards and the clichés, and the bombast and the blather had been exposed and eliminated.

I execute the guidance that Goldilocks and Holmes provide me in sections festooned with many maps and a few tables to illustrate in this conference paper what I can detail only in a much longer medium [God help us all!].

In Section One I set out a problem with my teaching [and a shortcoming of the teaching of others to judge from textbooks]: so much attention to national institutions and processes of politicking and governing leaves so little time and attention to politicking and governing in which students have greater opportunities to observe critically and to participate effectively. Might I strike a balance “just right” for some or many students by means of open-minded imagination?

In Section Two I answer that query by reminding my readers that the late Professor Daniel J. Elazar’s three-part interpretation of U. S. subcultures has long been available, advisable, inclusive, and—most important to Sherlock Holmes—rife with imagination for instruction in history, religio-ethnic settlement, conquest, immigration, and migration, as well as other demographic and long-standing “Big Ideas” about politicking and governing in subnational settings. What I thenceforth label “Elazar’s Conjecture” strikes me as a starting point “just right” [Goldilocks] between too few polities [national politicking and governing] and too many [more than 90,000 entities].

In Section Three I ponder how challenging I should find rendering Elazar’s three-part harmony and disharmony of subcultures<sup>10</sup> in a manner “just right” for introductory courses [Goldilocks] yet imaginative and openness to manifold possibilities and perspectives [Holmes] as well as to afford students multiple models of “U. S. Politics.” I presume that, at a minimum, introductions to U. S. Politics should convey ranges of democratic, egalitarian, libertarian, and federal values, habits, customs, and expectations at subnational as well as national levels if my instruction is to be “just right” [Goldilocks] as well as open-minded and imaginative [Holmes] to spur tyros to reflection on and commit to modes of citizenly conduct. I examine graphic and verbal images that might impress upon beginners “Big Ideas” that could stick in memories long after graduation. I emphasize maps

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<sup>9</sup> I neither forget nor disparage textbooks designed for courses in subnational government. I admire and have perused many: Todd Donovan, Daniel A. Smith, Tracy Osborn, & Christopher Z. Mooney, *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform* (2013 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition); Virginia H. Gray, Russell L. Hanson, & Thad Kousser (eds.) *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis* (10<sup>th</sup> Edition 2013); Kevin B. Smith & Alan Greenblatt, *Governing States and Localities: The Essentials* (CQ Press 2015); Ann O’M. Bowman & Richard C. Kearney, *State and Local Government: The Essentials* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company 2009); and Ann O’M. Bowman & Richard C. Kearney, *State and Local Government* (Wadsworth Cengage Learning 2011; 4th edition). I acknowledge that many versions of introductory texts feature chapters on state and local politics. Guides to Advanced Placement tests in American Government allude to state and local politics as well. My presumption in this paper is that I might have done better to provide my students modules or packets—especially maps!—that conveyed efficiently but effectively the panoply of U. S. politics.

<sup>10</sup> Concerning oversimplifications inherent in “region,” “section,” and similar terms, please see Wilbur Zelinsky, *Not Yet a Placeless Land: Tracking an Evolving American Geography* (University of Massachusetts Press 2011) and Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration* (Peter Smith 1966).

and labels assigned regions to evaluate how “just right” for classrooms or supplements such large-scale notions and fertile ideas might be. Some maps and labels, I maintain, reinforce Elazar’s Conjecture, some complement that conjecture, and some challenge it. All of the maps and much of the theorizing daunt me, but I hope a more talented thinker might lead the way. My tentative conclusion is that, despite the “trained incapacity” worked by behavioral methods and scientific brio in journal articles over decades of critiques of Elazar’s Conjecture, sensitive, sensible, inductive inquiry might yet make Elazar’s representations memorable, understandable, and adaptable [Goldilocks] and available, advisable, and creative [Holmes].

Then in Section Four, I assay narratives, interpretations, and graphics proffered by Robert Savage, Colin Woodard, Joel Lieske [and Virginia Gray], James Gimpel and Jason Schuknecht, and Dante Chinni and James Gimpel as aids to inculcation in students and scholars alike an imaginative perspectivism that deepens and enriches understanding in a manner “just right” to inform, intrigue, and improve understanding in what may be the last course on U. S. politics and government undergraduates take. Although I find each such addition to the works of Elazar to be fraught with barriers to the understanding of even advanced undergraduates, I wonder whether each might complicate supplements or modules derived from Elazar’s Conjecture in ways that even first-year college students might master and remember.<sup>11</sup>

I anticipate that such open-minded, imaginative, capacious aids to instructors and instruction likely would overextend any textbooks or supplementary volumes—volumes already as extensive as expensive—so that modules on the Internet might be the better logistic by which to execute the logics of Goldilocks and Holmes. Thus, I sprinkle throughout this paper maps and a few tables to envisage modules that, especially when created by instructors more imaginative, creative, and artistic than I, might enhance instruction accessible to, understandable by, and memorable for students beginning [and, often, completing] their higher education in U. S. politicking and governing.

## §1 E Nonagintis Miliis Unum<sup>12</sup>

***The puzzle of this paper: How might I have conveyed to college students in introductory courses more about almost 90,000 governments other than the national government of the United States?***

For forty years I have introduced college students to U. S. politics and government by short-changing more than 90,000 governments and their associated politics in favor of one national government and the politics directly pertaining thereto.<sup>13</sup> How might I atone for my sins of omission?

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<sup>11</sup> Here I follow the claim that education is the general sense of how things work that students retain after they have forgotten most specifics they learned in school. To locate variants on this claim, please begin from <https://quoteinvestigator.com/2014/09/07/forgotten/>; last accessed 26 October 2021.

<sup>12</sup> I entitle this section by deploying my decaying schoolboy Latin to transform *E pluribus unum* into “Out of 90,000 one.”

<sup>13</sup> Many introductions to U. S. politics and government feature a chapter on state or subnational politics. I should add intergovernmental relations to my mix, but such a task daunts me in this paper. Nonetheless, an introduction to U. S. politics should include more about intergovernmental politicking than modal textbooks do. [Easy for the fellow who is not going to write such an introduction to state.] Scholars have revealed much by breaking the U. S. into smaller regions that modules should posit finer-grained divisions as options that compete with states and with Elazar’s Conjecture: Lieske “Regional Subcultures of the United States;” Chinni and Gimpel, *Our Patchwork Nation*; James G. Gimpel and Jason E. Schuknecht, *Patchwork Nation: Sectionalism and Political Change in American Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press 2004).

A Jacob Marley not even retired let alone seven years dead, I haunt teachers who will succeed me—in more than one sense of “succeed”—by rattling chains of mistakes that I forged in four decades of introducing U. S. politics. I might have taught my students something of the spatial, temporal, and cultural evolution of governance in and across 90,000 governments, but I did not. So now I howl at instructors not on the verge of retirement.<sup>14</sup> I moan that some of my students might have learned that dynamic, evolving interactions within, between, and among locations and populations shaped politics, government, democratic and republican practices and principles, hierarchies of liberty, equality, tradition, economy, and order in settings far more accessible and assessable than the District of Columbia, but it is not too late for current students. Perhaps even more important, I lament that attentive, diligent students might have enhanced their perspectivism and ramified their perspectives instead of acquiring an overwhelmingly national focus. Because dynamics historical, etiological, geographic, demographic, economic, anthropological, and sociological might have deepened my students’ understanding, I warn teachers to mend their ways or at least their courses lest in their retirements they be unable to inculcate large, important, and fertile ideas.

Beneath my general howling about spatial, temporal, and cultural dynamics and developments to which I never introduced my students, I voice more specific regrets. Had I attended more to “spatial evolution” I might have touched on geography physical as well as human; on demographic dynamics racial, ethnic, and religious; on climate and hydrology and agronomy and economy in environments capacious and niche. I might have introduced my students to maps and other graphics revealing how conquest, immigration, and migration formed sectarian and ethnic strata that crossed North America—including Canada and Mexico<sup>15</sup>—on quasi-geological<sup>16</sup> graphics that convey cultural continuities and changes. Had I attended more to “temporal evolution”—that is, to historical origins and eras of development; to conquests, immigration, and migrations across the North American continent and into the Pacific [spatial] as well as across decades and centuries; mosaics<sup>17</sup> and patchworks<sup>18</sup> of frontiers, sections, and federalism(s); and to other developments in periods [and places] including shifting allies and competitors, opponents and enemies, majorities and minorities, and heroes and villains, perpetrators and victims, and bystanders and recluse—I should have to have invoked space, time, and culture. So too might some attention to the evolution of national, subnational, and local cultures have comprised founding beliefs and aspirations, enduring

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<sup>14</sup> I summon “spatial, temporal, and cultural” as homage to Daniel J. Elazar in *The American Mosaic: The Impact of Space, Time, and Culture on American Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press 1994). I presume that any set of modules will be seriously incomplete absent attention to alternatives to Elazar’s tripartite formulation. Indeed, to the degree that one reads Elazar to argue that his three subcultures may be assigned to concentrated cores, marginal domains, and capacious spheres, then to such a degree individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic subcultures must be variegated.

<sup>15</sup> One of the many advantages of instructors’ reading and relaying Colin Woodard’s *American Nations: A History of the Eleven Rival Regional Cultures of North America*—especially p. 25 of Chapter 1, “Founding El Norte”—is to remind instructors and to inform students that conquest and resettlement of North America moved from east to west **after** it had moved from south to north from present-day Monterrey, Mexico beyond present-day Taos, New Mexico. This initial incursion persists in modern New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and southernmost Colorado, as can be seen in Figure Two, p. 907 in Lieske. “Regional Subcultures of the United States.”

<sup>16</sup> See “The ‘Geology’ of Political Culture,” a heading in Chapter Four of Daniel J. Elazar’s *American Federalism* (1966) pp. 94-96; “The Geology of Settlement” in Elazar, *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics: Cities of the Prairie* (Transaction Publishers 2003) pp. 153ff.; and “The Cultural Geology of the Cities of the Prairie: A Historical Model” *op. cit.* pp. 194ff.

<sup>17</sup> Elazar, *The American Mosaic*.

<sup>18</sup> Gimpel and Schuknecht, *Patchwork Nation*; Chinni and Gimpel, *Our Patchwork Nation*. The map in Lieske’s “Regional Subcultures of the United States” resembles a patchwork and a mosaic. I do not tarry in this paper with differences among conjectures, patchworks, and mosaics, but such differences might matter for teaching.

principles and ideals, and relatively valorized preferences. Spatial, temporal, and cultural dynamics and developments interweave in the best scholarship on political cultures in the United States; might spaces, times, and cultures merit a mention or an entry on a list of recommended readings? Let instructors and researchers pick out or pick at strands as they please, but let the persistence and functions of cultures and subcultures dramatize how space, time, and culture interrelate.

This inextricability of spatial, temporal, and cultural strands inclines me to adduce an agenda for teaching that candidly acknowledges that any account of national culture(s) and of regional subcultures must be interpretive with some aspirations of becoming theoretic. To trace present-day cultures and subcultures back in time and across in space requires inferences that cannot be strictly logical, only empirical,<sup>19</sup> solely inductive, or exclusively scientific. Connections may be logical if the logic deployed is exploratory, tentative, and inquiring. Linkages may be empirical if grounded in experience or observations not easily contested. Purely inductive reasoning will not likely reach generalizations more than tentative. Purported deductions from interpretations or theories may be operationalized or otherwise made testable but will not likely furnish critical tests by which any elaborate interpretation or speculative theory might be disconfirmed or disproved. Rather, expect inquiry to be less scientific than scientific as statisticians extract and operationalize variables they dub independent from inextricably interwoven, dialectical relations with other variables.

Neither purported logical leaps, reported empirical inferences from unobserved variables, alleged inductions, convoluted statistical manipulations, nor pseudo-scientific promise me much atonement anyway. I could not cram them into even an affordable textbook, and I have already enough to cover in lectures before under-prepared students. Thus, I anticipate modules on the Internet. These modules might take many forms but in this paper I emphasize maps more than other heuristic images and imaginings [such as models, metaphors, and even taxonomic monikers] in the hope that maps might efficiently yet memorably suggest historical even evolutionary dynamics, geographic stratigraphy, and other representations.

My hope is that modules, maps, monikers, and other concoctions<sup>20</sup> should, at the least, improve on ordinary representations of U. S. politicking and governing. Many, perhaps most, students come to introductory courses without even basic understandings of variations in subnational geography, history, economics, and demographics. Only the best students are likely to appreciate sectional or regional politicking and governing. Perhaps modules featuring maps and monikers crafted to meet Holmes' demands for creative imagination yet "just right" impart memorable learning to

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<sup>19</sup> I strive to use "empirical" accurately and precisely throughout this paper but expect that here and there I succumb to the temptation to treat "empirical" and "statistical" as synonyms less rough than they are. I take "empirical" to denote "observed," "experienced," or, perhaps, "reasonably objective." By contrast, many fellow social scientists label statistical results empirical even when what is to be explained is neither observed nor observable, neither experienced nor capable of being experienced, and inferred or interpreted far more than objective. Products of factor analysis, for example, are not observed but are inferred; factor scores, to continue the example, may be ascertainable but the meaning of factor scores must always be the product of interpretation. [For a splendid, candid example of the rigors of a Q-factor analysis far beyond bounds of observed or observable, please see David R. Morgan and Robert E. England, "Classifying The American States: An Update" *Social Science Quarterly* Vol. 68, No. 2 (June 1987), pp. 405-417. While Morgan and England use "empirical" in a manner I avoid, they epitomize striving for understanding beyond the apparent.]

<sup>20</sup> "Other concoctions," for example might include infographics such as those in Christine Barbour & Gerald C. Wright, *Keeping the Republic: Power and Citizenship in American Politics* (Sage C Q Press 2020) (9th ed) and Carissa Lytle and Jara Kern, *The Infographic Guide to American Government: A Visual Reference for Everything You Need to Know* (New York: Adams Media 2019.)



tyros might to some degree expiate my dissatisfaction with my own introductory efforts. At the very least, such representations should improve on long extant mappings.

In sum, we instructors might impart to beginning college students more basic education in geography and demography, in historical circumstances and dynamics, in economic variety, and in other matters relevant for educated citizenship. If I am to expiate my guilt and improve my instruction, I must formulate ways in which to provide such education within the confines of a semester or quarter. Let us see how well I anticipate an approach to that goal below.

## §2.0 E Tribus Unum—Interdum<sup>21</sup>

***Imagining [Holmes] a sometimes, somewhat unified national culture for the United States out of multiple subcultures might be just right [Goldilocks] for generating in students and instructors alike insights memorable and useful, albeit that for an introductory course the greater the imagining the less will be “just right” without great pains.***

Although studies of U. S. political culture or subcultures—especially histories of sectionalism—predated formulations of Professor Daniel J. Elazar,<sup>22</sup> Elazar’s Conjecture<sup>23</sup> has informed study of U. S. political cultures or subcultures since the first edition of *American Federalism: A View from the States*. Hence, I anticipate herein modules, maps, models, metaphors, and even monikers

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<sup>21</sup> My schoolboy Latin play on *E pluribus unum* [“Out of many one] is “Out of three one—sometimes.”

<sup>22</sup> Please see, for example, Tocqueville, consult <https://www.ushistory.org/gov/4a.asp>; last accessed 2 October 2021.

<sup>23</sup> I use “Conjecture” to characterize Daniel Elazar’s endeavors as “Big Ideas,” panoramic yet penetrating visualizations that might yet fire imaginations and stick in recollections of students and instructors alike. As Seneca the Younger may have put the matter, humans learn while teaching [“*Homines dum docent discunt*,” often paraphrased in the maxim “*Docendo discimus*.”] My expiation envisioned in this paper is that my successors and their students might learn better.

I hope “Elazar’s Conjecture” conveys a “throwing together” [*conjicere* in Latin] of propositions or suspicions that might inform citizens and guide them to finer-grained evidence and more persuasive proof yet to be gathered. Hence in this paper I treat Elazar’s work as a Holmesian method for scholars and students alike, what used to be called a *vade mecum*.

Many self-styled empiricists have treated Professor Elazar’s contentions as if they constituted a scientific theory from which hypotheses might be deduced and disconfirmed [even as other self-styled empiricists derogate Elazar’s ideas as impressionistic!]. Elazar did call his ideas hypotheses in footnote one straddling pp.85-86 of the 3rd edition of *American Federalism*, so perhaps he brought on his own work some somewhat nomothetic treatment. Professor Herzik called Elazar’s efforts a “theoretical outline” (p. 414) and a “conceptual framework” (p. 422) in Eric B. Herzik, “The Legal-Formal Structuring of State Politics: A Cultural Explanation,” *The Western Political Quarterly* (September 1985). Each of Herzik’s labels may suggest a sketch or scheme, which is how Kincaid described Elazar’s efforts to map and classify subcultures [although in the same essay Kincaid called Elazar’s creation a “theory” (pp. 1-2) and a “working hypothesis”] (pp. 9, 14) in John Kincaid (ed.), *Political Culture, Public Policy, and the American States* (Philadelphia PA: Institute for the Study of Human Issues 1982). “Taxonomy” may overstate matters, but “typology” and geopolitical mapping (Lieske, “Regional Subcultures of the American States” p. 888) might suit the tastes of many scholars and students. In a paper for the 2019 meetings of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association, I scored scholarly responses to Elazar’s interpreting, imagining, surmising, or conjuring that presumed that Elazar adduced some nomothetic generalization(s) from which empirical hypotheses might be deduced and tested. William Haltom, “Regional Cultures of the United States—The Problem of Serial Interdisciplinarity,” [https://www.pugetsound.edu/sites/default/files/2021-10/William\\_Haltom-PNwPSA-2019-Draft-Final.pdf](https://www.pugetsound.edu/sites/default/files/2021-10/William_Haltom-PNwPSA-2019-Draft-Final.pdf); last accessed 6 October 2021. To avoid this misunderstanding of Elazar’s enterprise, I try in this paper to refer consistently to the three subcultures that Elazar imagined as “Elazar’s Conjecture.” If that label seems too pretentious, may I recommend “Elazar’s Vision” or “Elazar’s Contentions?”

Perhaps students might undertake a paper on how to define or label Elazar’s three-way split—theory, hypothesis[ses], framework, sketch, heuristic—but for my purposes in this paper our labeling Elazar’s bequest matters little. The important matter is how might Elazar’s ideas, insights, or inspirations edify students in a manner that reveals possibilities.

based in Elazar’s “Big Ideas.”<sup>24</sup> In keeping with Sherlock Holmes’ dictum, I presume that Elazar’s large-scale three-part [dis]harmony<sup>25</sup> of subcultures remains available for, advisable in, and adaptable to college classrooms and so should not be discarded but should be considered imaginatively and creatively. I further presume that combinations of traditionalistic, moralistic, and individualistic subcultures promise to enhance understanding of how fifty states, more than 3000 counties, and more than 90,000 governmental units tend at once to diversify and to unify politics and government in the United States of America. Students who acquire memorable insights and expansive perspectives from Elazar’s “Big Ideas” stand a greater chance of perceiving centrifugal and centripetal tendencies and tensions that inhere in varieties of U. S. federalism across spaces, over time, and in varying cultures and subcultures, so students and instructors might develop understandings of federalism beyond layer cake and marble cake models.<sup>26</sup> Such perceptions and perspectives make Elazar’s Conjecture “just right” by Goldilocks’ and my lights: adaptable to classrooms, practicable by instructors, understandable even for beginners, and inclusive of contrasting, large-scale possibilities [Holmes].

**Map 1—Panoramic Political Geology Mapped in Three Tiers of States<sup>27</sup>**



<sup>24</sup> Professor Lieske stated that Professor Kincaid and he had located more than one hundred scholarly works that referred to Elazar. John Kincaid and Joel Lieske, “Political Subcultures of the American States,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, 1991, cited in Lieske, “Regional Subcultures of the United States,” p. 538. In keeping with my emphasis in this paper with expiating my guilt, I assay Elazar’s Conjecture as a tool for instruction. For other purposes, a summary of Elazar’s scheme superior to my summary in this paper may be found in the introduction to Kincaid, *Political Culture, Public Policy and the American States* pp. 1-23. See as well, of course, Elazar, *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*.

<sup>25</sup> I mean “three-part [dis]harmony” to be heuristic as well as droll. Elazar synchronized, so to speak, individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic subcultures into counterpoints at times harmonious and at times cacophonous. To avoid cluttering this paper still more, I use “harmony” within quotation marks in the remainder of this paper when I seek to remind the reader that the national harmonizing is often raucous at best and from time to time discordant.

I have chosen not to try my readers’ patience with greater and more granular specification of harmony and disharmony in Elazar’s Conjecture. Those interested will profit from the two paragraphs that begin “The Three Political Cultures” on p. 93 of Elazar, *American Federalism* (1984 3rd ed.) and from Elazar’s articulation on pp. 114-115 of each of the cultures as “. . . models or ideal types that are not likely to be fully extant in the real world.” in footnote 8 on p. 115.

“While forces of nationalization, centralization, and homogenization have promoted a certain cultural commonality, countervailing forces of distinction, communalism, and individuation have also maintained diversity.” Kincaid, “Introduction,” *Political Culture, Public Policy and the American States* p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Please see [http://encyclopedia.federalism.org/index.php/Marble\\_Cake\\_Federalism](http://encyclopedia.federalism.org/index.php/Marble_Cake_Federalism); last accessed 30 October 2021.

<sup>27</sup> Donovan, Mooney, and Smith, *State and Local Politics* p. 33.

I have reproduced Map One to exhibit a basic, memorable representation of Elazar's Conjecture "just right" for posing to collegiate novices intriguing possibilities. The subcultural sandwich in Map One, it seems to me, would instruct even students in AP courses in Professor Elazar's foundational idea of three subcultures stretching east to west across North America. Although modules and instructors would have to tidy historical and geographic details—e.g., that migration from present-day Mexico to present-day New Mexico long predated immigration and migration from the Atlantic coast—the stark depiction in Map One could stick with students after their final examinations.

**§2.1 Elazar's Biggest Inspiration—Spatial, Temporal, and Cultural Patterns of U. S. National Politicking and Governing—might be "just right" [Goldilocks] to fire imaginations and perspectivism [Holmes] if maps and other aids might be made accessible to tyros.**

Elazar's Conjecture promises to enrich learning and understanding by relating temporal, spatial, and cultural patterns of enduring values, longstanding beliefs, and established practices in governing and politicking and in institutions and processes on "a continental canvas."<sup>28</sup> What is more and may be better, representations of the national compound republic may atone for my hitherto inadequate introductions to U. S. politics by means of monikers, maps, models, and metaphors that encompass large structures and convey more sweeping understandings that students may take from coursework and may long recall and reuse for perspective. What may matter most and may be best, these representations may yield narratives or at least anecdotes that stick with undergraduates long after they move on from their coursework.

I should find Elazar's Conjecture available to instructors, accessible and appropriate for students, and thus advisable by the lights of Goldilocks and Holmes even if Elazar had focused merely on panoramas of frontiers, migrations, sectionalisms, and federalisms. I find Elazar's Conjecture even more available, advisable, and mind-opening owing to Elazar's imagining spatial, temporal, and cultural patterns:

- Spaces: Statics and dynamics of human geography and religio-ethnic demographics, especially location, migration, and relative isolation and insulation on or away from frontiers, widens appreciation and understandings of distinguishable locales, areas, states, and sections and the elective affinities between such settings and values, beliefs, and chronic practices.
- Times: Origins and co-evolution of cultures and subcultures, with special attention to periods of external immigration and internal migration, enlarge appreciation and understanding of manifold values, beliefs, and practices amid eras.
- Cultures: The characteristic socio-economic presumptions, especially archetypical values, longstanding beliefs, and enduring practices associated with religions, ethnicities, and national origins, deepen appreciation and understandings of cultural gestalts<sup>29</sup> that narrate if not explain development.

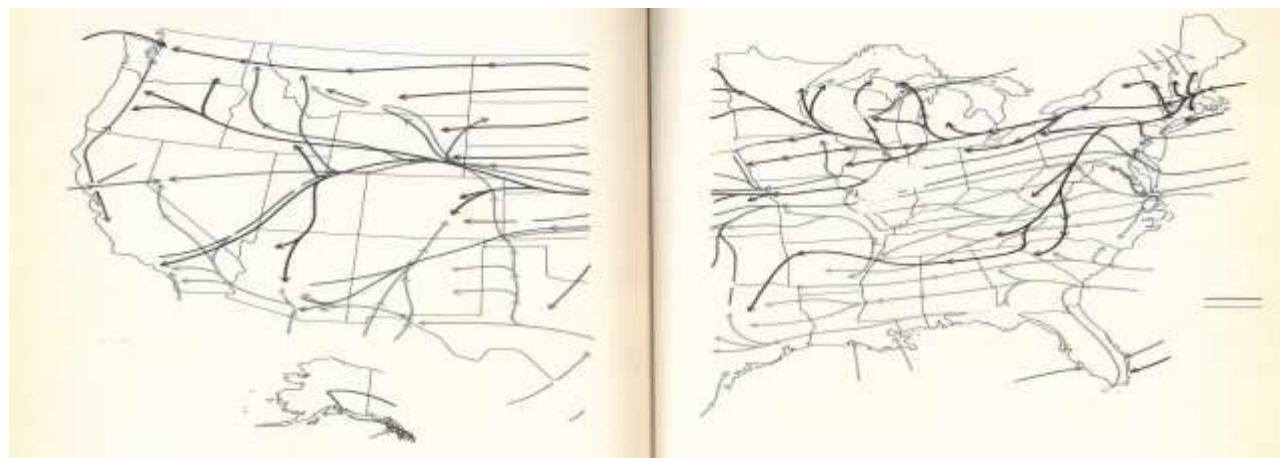
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<sup>28</sup> I deliberately omit "attitudes" and "behaviors" from my list of patterns. Scaling down Elazar's continental, historical, cultural, and sub-cultural speculations to present-day attitudes and behaviors would daunt Hercules. Attitudes derived from surveys and behaviors calculated from elections furnish ready operationalizations suited to statistical procedures; they match the values, beliefs, and practices about which Elazar thought and wrote poorly.

<sup>29</sup> By "gestalt" I intend "a configuration, pattern, or organized field having specific properties that cannot be derived from the summation of its component parts." <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/gestalt>; accessed 14 June 2021.

Thus might Elazar's Conjecture foment large-scale imagining about spaces, times, and cultures—far beyond passing, faddish attitudes, transient pronouncements, or impulsive votes—to furnish models, maps, metaphors, and even monikers off which modules might riff. I know of no other sources that supply more such breadth, length, or depth than does Elazar's Conjecture. Hence, I contend that Elazar's Conjecture promises “Big Ideas” that may promote memorable learning.

**Map 2—North American Immigrations and Migrations<sup>30</sup>**



Accessible, memorable lessons seem to me even likelier if instructors and students have access to maps that trace historical patterns by which Elazar's three subcultures supplanted the cultures of original holders of territory and suffused large regions of North America.<sup>31</sup> Map 2 reminds us how Elazar describe some dynamics of space and time for his readers. If Map 2 were updated by subsequent information, supplemented with notations of dates or eras, extended across all of North America, labelled with some indicators of major groups of tribes, and embellished with colors to make some features recede and some jump out, it might instruct novices in social geography and history in an accessible [Goldilocks] panoply of possibilities [Holmes].

## **§2.2 Elazar's Multi-dimensional and Dynamic Imagining and Imaging of Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces May Meet the Standards of Goldilocks and Holmes through Graphics, Especially Cartographics.**

Beyond Elazar's formulation of a national culture somewhat unified or unifying [*unum*] yet hovering amid, across, and atop many<sup>32</sup> subcultures [*pluribus*], Elazar's Conjecture makes instruction in federalism even at the national level dynamic [Map 2] and multidimensional, which may make tensions inherent in Mr. Madison's Compound Republic memorable beyond the final examination in some course for some students. I presume those tensions crucial to enlarged understanding of U. S.

<sup>30</sup> Elazar, *American Federalism* (1984) pp. 128-129.

<sup>31</sup> One of the many virtues of the late Theodore J. Lowi's *Incomplete Conquest: Governing America* (1981) was his devotion of pages in an introductory text to Native American cultures, politics, and governance.

<sup>32</sup> Elazar proposed moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic subcultures but proliferated these three through amalgams or admixtures. Please see Figure 4 in Elazar *American Federalism* (1966) p. 106 for a map of dominant political cultures in 48 states relying on eight sorts of political cultures. In a later variant “subcultural areas” based on dominant religious groupings in 48 states make up Map 10 in Elazar, *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*, p.195.

politicking. Since Mr. Madison, somewhat centripetal national cultures<sup>33</sup> co-evolved with independent and often centrifugal regional and local subcultures to reshape the compound of national and states sovereignties into manifold modes of federation.<sup>34</sup> Multiple modes of “federalism” adorn nearly every elementary textbook in U. S. politics. At least some of these federalisms [*sic*] inform lectures, adorn boards, and enrich classrooms by revealing rubrics, shibboleths, and symbols that have always contested the idea and the essence of “federalism.”<sup>35</sup> This long-term, multidimensional co-evolution shaped more recent national, subnational, and interlevel practices, religious and ethnic demographics, human geography, shifting frontiers, and 21<sup>st</sup> century sorting in ways that can be made available and advisable to students in courses and classrooms.

**Map 3—Elazar’s Panoramic Political Geology Mapped within States<sup>36</sup>**



Map 3 is far busier than Map 1 and thus may overmatch some novices. Still, variants on Elazar’s mapping of moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic subcultures within states—including Alaska and Hawaii—could trace interesting contiguities and swirls. Indeed, modules could invite students to connect M’s, I’s, and T’s to create patterns of students’ own devising. Please notice that Dr. Elazar juxtaposed letters when a dominant subculture was paired with a substantial but secondary subculture. Novices could note those conjoined letters to see how patterns of paired subcultures presented in new relief the interplay of subcultures. If new data were provided, dynamic trends might be mapped as well.

<sup>33</sup> I pluralize “culture” because who would liken national political culture in the 21st century to national political culture in the 18th century?

<sup>34</sup> “While forces of nationalization, centralization, and homogenization have promoted a certain cultural commonality, countervailing forces of distinction, communalism, and individuation have also maintained diversity.” Kincaid, “Introduction,” *Political Culture, Public Policy and the American States*, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> “Federalism” and its synonyms point at one or more essentially contested concepts. William H. Stewart listed 497 conceptions of U. S. federalism in *Concepts of Federalism* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1984).

<sup>36</sup> Ira Sharansky, *The Maligned States: Policy Accomplishments, Problems, and Opportunities* (McGraw-Hill 1972) p. 41.

### §2.3 Elazar's Layered Imagining and Imaging of Core, Domain, and Spheres may fulfill Holmes' imagination of possibilities and perspectives but must strain Goldilocks' "just right" unless modified for accessibility.

Elazar also treated of overlapping cores, domains, and spheres of traditionalistic, moralistic, and individualistic subcultures in ways that promise not only imaginative interpretations of national and regional cultures and subcultures over times and spaces but also imaginative speculations that would compete—cores with spheres, spheres with domains, and the like.<sup>37</sup> The core presents the most concentrated, most homogeneous traits or patterns that define types. The domain displays traits or patterns less intensely and more heterogeneously than the core, presumably because domains overlap one another more than do cores. The sphere is an even more extensive and less intensive zone at greater remove from a core than the domain. If cores, domains, and spheres were depicted in colors—as a module might do with multiple shades and hues—core-areas would feature the most saturated hues, domain-areas an intermediately saturated hue, and spheres a nearly transparent hue. Like overlapping ripples in a pond, then, the cores, domains, and spheres of moralism, individualism, and traditionalism might nearly cover a depiction of the United States of America, albeit that human geography, socioeconomic settings, and other factors would complexify the depiction by defeating any concentric models.

Overlapping spheres, competing domains, and persisting but adapting cores represent the “Compound Republic” across SPACE, TIME, and CULTURE. Across SPACE, spheres of culture “cleave” the United States of America: moralism, individualism, and traditionalism divide even as they unify nation and states. Elazar’s “view from the states” in 1966 looking backward disclosed three large spheres that spanned ordinary divisions of 48 states to form roughly triangular “Greater Northeast,” “Greater South,” and “Greater West.”<sup>38</sup> Elazar’s labelling of Map 4 disclosed considerable cleavage—that is, simultaneous combinations and distinctions—in that the names assigned to subsections [to be called “monikers” below in this paper] “encompassed” designations of another section.<sup>39</sup> Over TIME, domains of culture spread first from south [Mexico] to north then from east to west, forming strata of moralism, individualism, and traditionalism [north to south]. Diffusion of dominant subcultures both differentiated and comingled domains as sections co-evolved. Across SPACE and over TIME, sharp contrasts of core subcultures blurred as cores, domains, and spheres mediated centripetal and centrifugal countervailing forces to maintain “the compound republic.”

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<sup>37</sup> Tutored mostly by Robert L. Savage, “Patterns of Multilinear Evolution in the American States,” *Polity* Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1973) pp. 75-108 at pp. 95-97, I learned much as well from Geographer Donald W. Meinig as relayed by Geographer Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall 1992) p. 114 .

<sup>38</sup> Elazar *American Federalism* (1966) p. 115.

<sup>39</sup> This is the best scan of Dr. Elazar’s Map 7 [*The Metropolitan and American Politics* p. 102] that I have been able to manage. I apologize for the thin but dark lines reflecting domains. The heavier lines delimit divide the “Greater West” sphere from the “Greater Northeast” sphere and the “Greater South” sphere. The thin but dark lines separate the “FAR WEST” domain [Arizona, California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington] from the “NORTHWEST” domain [Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming] from the “NEAR WEST” domain [Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin] from the “MIDDLE ATLANTIC” domain [Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania] from the “UPPER SOUTH” domain [Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia] from the “LOWER SOUTH” domain [Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina] from the “SOUTHWEST” domain [Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas] from the “NEW ENGLAND” domain [Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont].

#### Map 4—Professor Elazar’s Image of Domains and Spheres



Elazar’s plies of cores, domains, and spheres add depth to the capaciousness I have already saluted. More, the plies elaborate the dynamic multidimensionality in space and time of what Elazar called his geology of political culture. One easily visualizes three core subcultures surging westward along three distinguishable strata: a northern stratum from New England disappears over New York but resurfaces in states abutting Canada;<sup>40</sup> a middle stratum runs from mid-Atlantic states through the Midwest and into the Great Plains; and a southern stratum runs westward from temporarily confederated but perpetually likeminded states. At the margins<sup>41</sup> strata blend with other ways of living, competing hierarchies of values, and distinguishable modes of politicking in ways that dilute cores into domains in which moralism, individualism, and traditionalism “buffer” one another. Mutual accommodations create overarching spheres that hold the compound republic and its constituents more or less together: *E pluribus unum*. Depths, dynamics, and developments coevolve across a somewhat unified, sometimes far-flung continental federal republic. This, of course, is but one interpretation of Elazar’s Conjecture, an admittedly narrative interpretation.<sup>42</sup>

For all the potential of narrative imagination for instructors, scholars, and perhaps graduate students, Elazar’s concoction of core, domain, and sphere seems to me too elaborate and complex for most undergraduates. Professor Elazar “located” the Illinois cities he was studying in *The Metropolitan Frontier* at an intersection of chords of western, northern, and southern spheres. This geographic “Not-Quite-as-Big Idea” might complement and might compete with what Professor Elazar called his “political geology” but seems to me to overshoot the abilities of most readers absent serious revision of Map 4 above. Even if, heeding Holmes, we appreciate the imaginative, dynamic, flexible possibilities of representing cores, domains, and spheres, heeding Goldilocks we must doubt

<sup>40</sup> Elazar depicts an interrupted cultural stratum that misses New York, perhaps detours into Ontario, than reappears in Michigan. Woodard classes New York State outside New York City as part of “Yankeedom.”

<sup>41</sup> Lest I neglect margins to the north of moralistic states and south of traditionalistic states, please consider that Garreau and Woodard do the continental in their works.

<sup>42</sup> Cue Holmes’ correcting Dr. Mortimer in “The Hound of the Baskervilles:” “‘We are coming now rather into the region of guesswork,’ said Dr. Mortimer. ‘Say, rather, into the region where we balance probabilities and choose the most likely. It is the scientific use of the imagination, but we have always some material basis on which to start our speculation.’” <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2852/2852-h/2852-h.htm>; last accessed 30 October 2021.

if such representation could be “just right” in any introductory course. Even Professor Savage’s well-conceived table [discussed later in this paper] will likely overtax all but the finest student.

## §2.4 Conclusions regarding Elazar’s Imagining and Imaging of Large-Scale Patterns

In this section, I have neither accepted nor rejected Elazar’s judgments but, like Holmes, admitted those judgments impossible to dismiss. I do not insist on my reading of Elazar’s texts. Instead, my attitude in this section has been instrumental and pragmatic: Elazar’s formulations offer multiple, memorable perspectives on political cultures in the USA. Such “Big Ideas” may infuse courses introductory, advanced, or graduate in memorable ways. Varieties of national and subnational governance and politicking across spaces, times, and cultures may prove memorable in ways simplistic, staid definitions and jargon are not. Metaphors for cross-continental strata and invocations of layer versus marble/rainbow cakes may give way to mosaic or patchwork or splatter painting in a large *unum*. Monikers for regions and sections of the United States of America may be refurbished to suggest dimensions of similarities and of differences, dissensus and consensus. Models that titrate three subcultures from a more or less unified national culture may explain centrifugal and centripetal forces and multiple venues for politicking closer to or further from “the people.” Maps most of all may illustrate elements that constitute a somewhat unified nation [*E pluribus unum* again].

I have rendered Elazar’s Conjecture above as an inchoate sketch of imagined and imaged patterns. That is, I suspect, perhaps the greatest pedagogical promise of Elazar’s Conjecture. Elazar’s “Big Ideas” fire imaginations and Elazar’s imagery will impress not just students but memories. Many students may be unable to look at a map of the U. S. without recalling, at least vaguely, the subcultural strata that Elazar imagined and imaged in his geology. Perhaps most important, open-minded and imaginative perspectivism may broaden students’ learning by that education that is said to be what one retains after one has forgotten the information.

In sum, I have above presumed that imparting—even proliferating—multiple perspectives on U. S. politicking and governing is an important point of introductory classes. If so, Elazar’s juggling of cultures and subcultures in states and in sub-states presents an opportunity that more scientific treatments of Elazar’s Conjecture did not. As theory, framework, taxonomy, or whatchamacallit, Elazar’s Conjecture may rightly be subjected to “critical tests” or assessments of validity. In this paper, by contrast, I am assaying Elazar’s Conjecture as tool of teaching. However, when we move from bigger pictures and larger-scale cultural structures to finer-grained depictions, I conclude that tyros will drop off [in more than one sense of “drop off”] contrary to Goldilocks’ dictum.

## §3.0 De Profundis Sagacitas Diuturna<sup>43</sup>

*Even when imagining [Holmes] three enduring perspectives across Spaces, Times, and Cultures may be tailored to introductory students in a manner “just right” [Goldilocks] for prompting learning about and insights into mainsprings of U. S. politics and government state and local as well as national, the balancing of breadth, depth, detail, and incisiveness may not be possible or practicable.*

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<sup>43</sup> Schoolboy Latin for “Out of the depths, lasting acumen.” This heading, too, plays on “*E pluribus unum*.”



Elazar imagined<sup>44</sup> and imaged each subculture to orient and to motivate authorities, activists, and citizens in every section, region, state, county, and municipality. The enduring dominance, perhaps even hegemony of Traditionalistic Subculture in southern polities did not foreclose ample individualistic, entrepreneurial exertions and communitarian, idealistic aspirations. Indeed, one might suppose that the more traditionalistic the impulses in fact and in long-settled habits, the more that individualistic and moralistic rhetoric will mask or embellish traditionalism. We misapprehend Elazar if we [mis]take any subculture to drive out competing impulses.<sup>45</sup> Instead, Elazar presumed that across a somewhat, sometimes unified political culture in the United States [the *unum* at the end of *E pluribus unum*] each subculture would provide a familiar, sensible perspective even in regions or locales in which another perspective prevailed or predominated [the *pluribus* in *E pluribus unum*].

Although many social scientists have applied Elazar to topical policies, transient issues, and evanescent attitudes and non-attitudes, I have thus far in this paper presumed that major pedagogical payoffs of Elazar's Conjecture will lie more in Elazar's panning across spaces, times, and cultures. I presupposed that big depictions of big ideas about U. S. politics would more likely inform and guide students past final examinations passed. Such big ideas, however, may be nearly as nationalizing as introductory tests. I now must test the forbearance of my readers as I rehearse in finer detail Elazar's thinking as signaled in Table One, adapted *verbatim* from Elazar's *American Federalism*. I read Elazar to treat of government in general, of bureaucracy in general, and of politics in general [please refer to entries Elazar boldfaced in Table One reproduced below] in ways likely to stimulate reflections about the variety [*pluribus*] of impulses that must be reconciled and accommodated if never quite unified [*unum*] in the Compound Republic. However, the pedagogic payoff(s) of Elazar's schematic so complicate the politics of his three subcultures that only the best students in introductory courses would prove up to slogging through it. Such challenges represented well by Table One will task those who develop modules and instructors and students who use the modules to make interconnection more accessible and fathomable than Elazar, writing for fellow scholars, did.

Table One displays definitive<sup>46</sup> elements of American development Elazar imagined<sup>47</sup> within major divisions of governing, regulating, and politicking. Elazar's overlapping, overarching aims reflect to students and teachers alike the richness of techniques by which Elazar integrated interviews, interpretations, and other gathering of data, information, and observations.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Elazar explicitly grounded his interpretations and conjectures in anthropological theory as well as methods common to social sciences and history. Other such "groundings" and concomitant maps and imaginings offer us hope for future syntheses that may complement the perspectivist scholarship of Elazar.<sup>49</sup> For the instant concerns of this paper, Elazar's inclusive, open-minded, perspectivist, multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional imaginings of possibilities [Holmes] and images

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<sup>44</sup> My references to Professor Elazar's imagining allude to the genius for speculative and interpretive imagining that Conan Doyle poured into Sherlock Holmes in "The Hound of the Baskervilles."

<sup>45</sup> Professor Charles Johnson applied discriminant analysis to memberships in religious denominations to allow states to manifest various mixes of moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic faiths. Charles A. Johnson, "Political Culture in American States: Elazar's Formulation Examined." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 20, no. 3, 1976, pp. 491–509. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/2110685](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2110685). Accessed 6 Sept. 2021.

<sup>46</sup> I use "definitive" rather than "causal." Casual usage of "causal" to describe interrelations clearly dialectical or reciprocal may impair theorizing and understanding less than I fear, yet I note the facile invocation of causality in such serious scholarship as David R. Morgan and Sheila S. Watson, "Political Culture, Political System Characteristics, and Public Policies among the American States," *Publius* (Spring 1991) pp. 31-48 [see specifically pp. 32, 39, and 45].

<sup>47</sup> Please recall that I mean "imaginative" positively: emulating Holmes' method in "The Hound of the Baskervilles."

<sup>48</sup> Appendices to Elazar, *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics* probably most fully develop Elazar's methods.

<sup>49</sup> I have in mind Chinni and Gimpel, *Our Patchwork Nation* and Woodard, *American Nations*.

follow from and reinforce his temporal-spatial capaciousness and may recommend as “just right” [Goldilocks] Elazar’s conceptions of culture and of subcultures to and for classrooms if instructors can tame and tamp down the intricacies and complexities. As I now lead us row by row down Table One I hope to do justice to Elazar’s imaginings and images appear even as I acknowledge challenges in adapting Elazar’s images and imaginings to the introductory classroom. [That I must fret about adapting the breadth, depth, and intricacies of Elazar’s insights and contentions to introductory instruction testifies to the challenges posed by introductory coursework.]

Table One<sup>50</sup>—Reproduction of Elazar’s Schematic

Concepts	Individualistic	Moralistic	Traditionalistic
<b>Government</b>			
How Viewed	As a <i>marketplace</i> [Means to respond efficiently to demands]	As a <i>commonwealth</i> [Means to achieve the good community through positive action]	As a means of maintaining the <i>existing order</i>
Appropriate spheres of activity	Largely economic [Encourages private initiative and access to the marketplace] Economic development favored	Any area that will enhance the community although non-governmental action preferred. Social as well as economic regulation considered legitimate	Those that maintain traditional patterns
New programs	Will not initiate unless demanded by public opinion	Will initiate without public pressure if believed to be in the public interest	Will initiate if program serves the interest of the governing elite
<b>Bureaucracy</b>			
How viewed	Ambivalently [Undesirable because it limits favors and patronage, but good because it enhances efficiency]	Positively [Brings desirable political neutrality]	Negatively [Depersonalizes government]
Kind of merit system favored	Loosely implemented	Strong	None [should be controlled by political elite]
<b>Politics</b>			
<i>Patterns of Belief</i>			
How viewed	Dirty [left to those who soil themselves engaging in it]	Healthy [every citizen’s responsibility]	A privilege [only those with legitimate claim to office should participate]
<i>Patterns of Participation</i>			
Who should participate	Professionals	Everyone	The appropriate elite
Role of parties	Act as business organizations [Dole out favors and responsibility]	Vehicles to attain goals believed to be in the public interest [Third parties popular]	Vehicle of recruitment of people to offices not desired by established power holders
Party cohesiveness	Strong	Subordinate to principles and issues	Highly personal [based on family and social ties]
<i>Patterns of Competition</i>			
How viewed	Between parties; not over issues	Over issues	Between elite-dominated factions within a dominant party
Orientation	Toward winning office for tangible rewards	Toward winning office for greater opportunity to implement policies and programs	Dependent on political values of the elite

<sup>50</sup> I rotated and reformatted Table One from Table 8.1 in Elazar, *The American Mosaic* pp. 238-239, which is almost identical to tables in Elazar, *American Federalism* (1984) and (1972). I have tried to avoid deviating from Elazar’s wording.

§3.1.1 Elazar's Images of **Governmental** Politicking in States<sup>51</sup> would fire imagination and perspectives on possibilities [a la Holmes] and might prove accessible, adjustable, and memorable to introductory students [a la Goldilocks] at considerable risk of spreading too thin efforts of instructors and students.

Under the rubric "**Government**," Elazar differentiated between and among

- an Individualistic View of governments as sets of private transactions through which individuals or groups govern themselves by pursuing personal interests, goals, and goods;
- a Moralistic View of governments as public interactions through which citizens and representatives govern themselves by pursuing shared interests, values, and goods; and
- the Traditionalistic View of government as sets of actions through which elites govern others by maintaining hierarchy and the status quo.

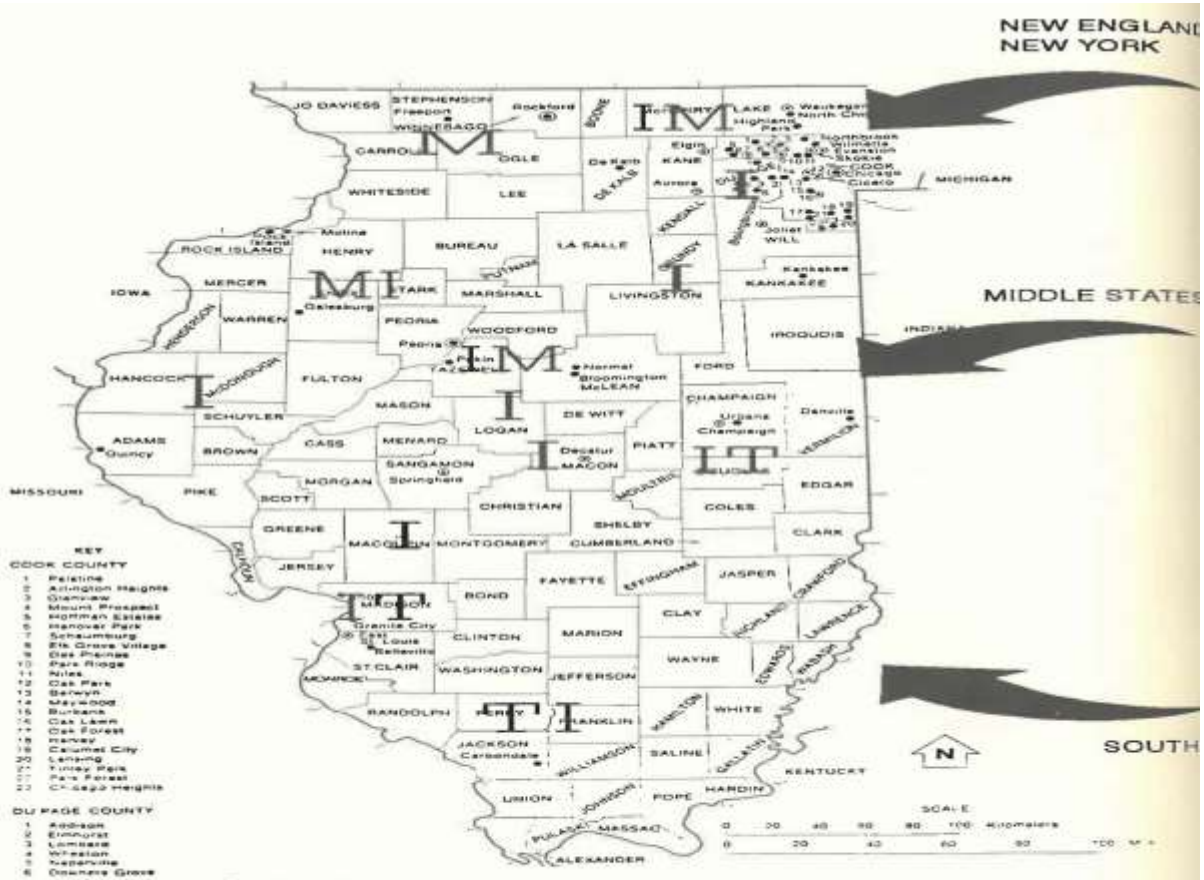
Each view Elazar imagined may present a model of [description] and a model for [prescription] ordinary, routine governance. Ordinary college students and maybe advanced high school students may find familiar the Individualistic subcultural view, which prioritizes demand-driven governance aimed at commercial, material development over traditional, established order with "creative destruction" and which need not concern itself with spiritual or moral or collective goods. Likewise, the Moralistic subcultural view's enshrinement of aspirations for positive and constructive if not idealistic changes to better society and citizens over established routines that served elites and preserved customary justifications and understandings should seem available and accessible. In contrast to Individualistic and Moralistic governance, Traditionalistic governance that privileges customary, top-down governance—even or perhaps especially oligarchy—over innovations owing to materialistic, commercial governance and over aspirational, idealistic governance should find a majority of understanding, perhaps even sympathetic students. Three orderings of governance held throughout U. S. culture and subculture represented, then, divergent models of and models for governing society. To the extent that mixes of moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic perspectives prevail to differing extents in localities across the U. S. A., instructors and students acquire from Elazar's Conjecture more differentiated, more sophisticated understandings of "**Government**" [Table One].

If students learn and instructors impart only that individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic images, rhetorics, and terms are perpetually available and must be accommodated, even that learning enhances students' and instructors' acknowledgement of and openness to possibilities and differing perspectives. More memorable learning lies [pun intended] in the varieties of procedures and processes constructed in different states and locales to pursue workaday politicking and to valorize some politics over other politics.

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<sup>51</sup> Again I note that states are units at once obvious and problematic. To map political culture state by state will at least seem fitting given Mr. Madison's Compound Republic and the U. S. Constitution's divvying novel national from existing state authority. [21st century considerations might also incline us to use state as units: see Gary F. Moncrief and Peverill Squire, *Why States Matter* (Rowland and Littlefield 2020).] Such an obvious, "natural" mapping, however, may easily mislead those who behold the mapping into presuming a homogeneity of culture, values, traditions, and practices contradicted within states. Indeed, most participants in meetings of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association hail from if not study states that are far from homogeneous. Also, please see Map 3 in this paper.

Map 5—Elazar’s Depiction of Streams of Political Subcultures in Illinois



One more talented than I might be able to refashion Elazar’s insights for novices, but I see many challenges. Any granular application of Elazar’s imagination and images would ask much of developers of modules, of instructors, and of students. Imagine trying to conduct introductory students through Elazar’s somewhat murky visualization of Illinois.<sup>52</sup> Elazar’s portrait of the confluence of three “streams” of immigration [north to south Moralistic, Individualistic, and Traditionalistic subcultures] might drive home to students the dynamism of subcultures in the Midwest. I do not doubt that engaged, industrious introductory students might gather much from such focused attention to a single state. Such focus would require considerable knowledge of the geography [SPACE], the history [TIME], and the religio-socio-economics [CULTURE] of Illinois beyond Elazar’s somewhat spotty sourcing. Generalizing from such gathering to one or two or forty-nine other states would be diffuse such learning I fear. Applying Elazar’s ideas state by state [rather than region by region] would call for considerable skill and impressive imagination lest students scatter.

52 Elazar, *The American Mosaic* p. 34.

It follows, I believe, that the governmental tier of Table One would challenge instructors and students alike but that challenge(s) might be managed at a general level of “Big Ideas” to a far greater extent than at the level of state or intrastate governance. If instructors and modules provided students means to pursue their own interests at a level of finer detail—if, for example, supplemental matter provided bibliographies for studies of generalized governance in particular states—then the class as a whole might emphasize the general and leave particulars to a few interested tyros.

**§3.1.2 Elazar’s Images of Bureaucratic Politicking in the States might prove somewhat accessible to introductory students [Goldilocks] and thus accentuate for the most attentive and dedicated students dialectics among subcultures, institutions, and processes that would pose possibilities [Holmes] but only at considerable cost in immersing beginners in ideas and entities about which average students have thought very little.**

As with “**Governance**” in Table One, so with “**Bureaucracy**.” Each view Elazar imagined corresponds to a model of [description] and a model for [prescription] ordinary, routine bureaucratic politicking. Regulation, administration, and control through hierarchical administration, rules, and policies threatens customs and norms of established order by admitting efficiency-conscious notions from political entrepreneurs in the Individualistic Subculture or headlong pursuit of betterment by visionaries in the Moralistic Subculture, so instructors and students alike stand to enhance their understanding of bureaucratic politicking and governing by mastering the three images. While all bureaucracy must accommodate or appear to incorporate traditionally tolerated inequalities, to preserve personal liberties while pursuing efficiencies, and to proclaim realization of or advancement toward ideals and common conceptions of values, each subculture elevates one perspective relative to the other two. The more libertarian the subcultural perspective, the greater the insistence that regulators and policymakers achieve or claim to achieve business-like efficiency and accounting for profit and costs in economic or material terms. The more communitarian subcultural perspective hardly can afford to ignore libertarian views or impulses, but must orient regulations and execution by spiritual or moral rhetoric and symbols and must fit collective aspirations into individual exertions. The more entrenched the established interests to which the bureaucratic order must cater, the more that interests personal and communal must be marshaled to obscure and, if exposed, to explain away traditional hegemony executed through offices and authorities.

This “**Bureaucracy**” tier of Table One might yield the best prepared students and painstaking instructors a perspectivism at once immediate and memorable. Bureaucracies will tend to vary according to the subcultures dominant in a state or locale. The more individualistic the state or locale, the more than bureaucratic structures will be subject to expectations of efficient, ordered transactions sensitive to self-government by contracts and informal agreements. The more moralistic the venue, the more that bureaucratic entities will accommodate or at least acknowledge conjoint missions. The more traditionalistic the subculture, the more longstanding, personalized routines of citizenship will grow out of and feed back into established orders.

My forty-plus years of introducing undergraduates to U. S. politics, however, reminds me that acquainting beginners with the concept “bureaucracy” and the major features of public and private bureaucratic entities demands many trials and much error and results in small advances even for the best students. To add to instructors’ difficult balancing acts instruction in multiple views of what are to students novel ideas—new notions that often barely overcome longstanding prejudices and erroneous stereotypes about what “bureaucracy” is and what bureaucrats do—seems to me not terribly promising for modal courses.

§3.1.3 **Elazar’s Images of Other Politicking in the States would call for substantial, painstaking and pain-inflicting elaborations before those visualizations could be even remotely “just right” [Goldilocks] or imaginatively productive of possibilities [Holmes] for the modal beginner.**

In general, *noblesse oblige* and other rationalizing beliefs of the Traditionalistic Subculture must be challenged by political and partisan brokers imbued with Individualistic Subculture as by the participatory democracy preached by Moralistic Subculture, so students and perhaps their instructors stand to learn how Elazar’s three orientations must reconcile if not harmonize “Beliefs,” “Participation,” and “Competition,” the patterns of “**Politics**” Elazar inscribed in Table One. The patterns of politicking in the lowermost six rows of Table One may posit the most intriguing set of ideas in the table. The rich interplay of cultural orientations, roles, and views fascinates me. For that very reason, the prospect of trying to convey the intriguing, fascinating insights frightens me. At the very least, the development of Elazar’s speculations into imagined possibilities [Holmes] that would be appropriate [Goldilocks] to tyros’ preparation, accessible to tyros’ comprehension, and recallable after introduction’s completion would necessitate thorough rewriting if not rewiring of Table One. I despair of reformulating Elazar’s erudite thinking without reducing Elazar’s intelligent designs, so I abandon any hope of probing the most transfixing syntheses that Table One betokens.

§3.1.4 **Taken together, Elazar’s Images of and for Governance, Bureaucracy, and Other Politicking Evinced Enormous Promise that will not easily be made “just right” or imaginatively fecund in an introductory class.**

In sum, Elazar’s capacious, perspectivist imaginings abounded in implications for theories<sup>53</sup> positive and normative and for issues empirical and interpretive. Elazar in his original formulation and elsewhere treated of styles and visualizations of Democracy and democracies,<sup>54</sup> of Equality and inequalities, and of Communities and institutions and processes that make for distinguishable modes and models of politicking and governing<sup>55</sup> that promised and threatened to actualize *E pluribus unum* beyond shibboleth. I wish good luck to her, him, or them who would tutor ordinary undergraduates with minimal background in civics and democratic theory through Elazar’s attempts to harmonize and to synthesize the three subcultures. To wish good fortune to any and all who would bridge from Elazar’s formulations to Democracy and democracies in state and local practice,<sup>56</sup> to Equality and inequalities in “the one” and among “the many,”<sup>57</sup> or to Communities and communitarian institutions and processes and impulses would be cruel schadenfreude, so from that I abstain.

Let us not use the challenges of translating Elazar’s insights to introductory classrooms as excuses to overlook Elazar’s bequest. In texts aimed at fellow scholars and, to a degree, teachers,

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<sup>53</sup> By “theories” I mean creative, disciplined posing of possibilities [a la Holmes] and assuredly not Scientific Theories.

<sup>54</sup> Nearly 20 years after Elazar’s initial publication of his conjecture, Dr. Herzik observed, “. . . despite the wealth of research devoted to this topic, no direct analysis linking the work of Elazar with observed variations of formal governmental structure has been performed.” Herzik, “The Legal-Formal Structuring of State Politics: A Cultural Explanation” p. 413. My response to Professor Herzik’s remark would be perhaps too glib: governmental structures and processes are not as easily “measured” or reliably characterized or typified as, for example, electoral data. Please see my discussion of treatments of regions and subcultures based on voting data and the like later in this very paper.

<sup>55</sup> Please review, for example, Elazar’s discussion of oligarchy and polyarchy in local politics: *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*, Ch. 5, esp. p. 218.

<sup>56</sup> See, for examples, Herzik, “The Legal-Formal Structuring of State Politics: A Cultural Explanation,” Kim Quail Hill, *Democracy in the Fifty States* (University of Nebraska Press 1994), and Berkman and Plutzer, *Ten Thousand Democracies*.

<sup>57</sup> E. g., Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger* (Bloomsbury Publishing 2011) (Revised Edition) and Rodney E. Hero, *Racial Diversity and Social Capital: Equality and Community in America* (Cambridge University Press 2007).

Elazar deployed his three subcultures in general and in particular to explain government, bureaucracy more particularly, and, perhaps most crucial for pedagogy, patterns of democratic-republican politicking. What Elazar's Conjecture did or might yet do, however, may matter less than how or out of what Elazar concocted and conducted his conjecture. Elazar conceived of national and regional polities and societies as combining if not synthesizing if not unifying [as in *E pluribus unum*] spatial, temporal, and cultural fundamentals. The spatial fundamentals included physical and human geography, demography, and especially relative isolation and insulation on or away from frontiers. Over time [the temporal fundament], these spatial fundamentals co-evolved and changed into persistently distinctive histories beyond their origins in human geography and demography. Trends in ethnic and religious immigration, migration, and settlement over space and time selected for persisting, fundamental values, beliefs, and practices, especially values, beliefs, and practices associated with religions, ethnicities, and national origins. In this manner, Elazar's Conjecture and his concomitant narratives posit that space, time, and values<sup>58</sup> have fashioned politicking and governing in modes less characteristic of the nation as a whole [*unum*] and more characteristic of subnational regions [*pluribus*] containing or crosscutting states, counties, municipalities, and smaller units.

Let the scientific and self-proclaimed empiricists worry that Elazar's approach and methods were not merely interpretive and theoretical but at times impressionistic<sup>59</sup> and perhaps even speculative or intuitive, for theoretical, interpretive, impressionistic, intuitive, and even speculative conceptions of culture and subcultures seem to me to liberate students as well as instructor to imagine patterns that augment understanding. Indeed, to hear me tell the tale, the best follow-ups to Elazar's impressionism—his imagining of possibilities [Holmes] that would be “just right” [Goldilocks] to account for a sometimes, somewhat unified political culture amid distinct if not disparate political subcultures—were at least interpretive and sometimes impressionistic. Even follow-ups that were, in my view, misbegotten were unmistakably interpretive if not quite impressionistic.<sup>60</sup> For classroom purposes, the grand possibilities of Elazar's Conjecture taken as a cultural system enlarge students' understanding of politicking and governing recent and historical.<sup>61</sup>

However such openness to possibilities and imagination may task those who work in laboratories or in studies, in classrooms I hold such free ranging to be wholesome and welcome. Elazar's

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<sup>58</sup> Elazar, *The American Mosaic*; Elazar, *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*.

<sup>59</sup> [Mis]characterizations of Elazar's approach are beside the point of this paper because the contexts in which scholars invidiously distinguished their work likely will be lost on 21st century students and probably should be disregarded by atavistic instructors such as I. Still, I feel I must “flag” the characterizations lest they creep into the minds of instructors or students. I find characterizing Elazar's labor as “impressionistic” droll in that so much quantitative work on cultures and subcultures in the United States deployed factor analysis, which entailed interpreting factors, and techniques that rely on latent variables and inferences more than observations. Phillip W. Roeder's usage of “idiographic” (in *The Western Political Quarterly* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec., 1976), pp. 563-574 at p. 574) as an antonym to empirical amuses me in a research note in which Roeder deployed discriminant analyses to produce classes that must be construed, especially since a proper antonym for “idiographic” might be “nomothetic.” I resist listing other descriptors of Elazar's Conjecture that are less than charitable and perhaps offensive. Instructors willing to pursue any approaches I sketch in this paper would be well advised to review Elazar's methods and methodological presumptions in *The Metropolitan Frontier in American Politics*.

<sup>60</sup> Haltom, “Regional Cultures of the United States: The Problem of Serial Interdisciplinarity.”

<sup>61</sup> If my proliferating possibilities troubles those imbued with certainty and enamored of Occam's Razor, I counsel them to consult anew the wisdom of Sherlock Holmes in “The Hound of the Baskervilles:” openness to possibilities and imaginative visualization solve crimes. Maybe similar tactics can describe or explain cultures and subcultures?

analysis of subcultures imparted considerable elegance to his mapping to the extent that three sub-cultural regions comprehend [*sic*] both the national culture and most of the regional subcultures.<sup>62</sup>

Elazar's Conjecture seems to me at least wieldy, perhaps somewhat memorable, and therefore probably an imaginative and open-minded departure from conventional approaches [Holmes] that could prove appropriate [Goldilocks] if experienced instructors could make it accessible and intriguing for beginning students, but that mission will not be easy!

### §3.2 Elazar's Imaginative, Open-minded Perspectivism encourages insights and understandings just right for instructors and graduate students alike but not for novices.

In addition to the sweeping breadth of his characterizations, Elazar described cultures in admirable depth.<sup>63</sup> Elazar grounded his three-part "harmony" in studies of history [especially evolution], sectionalism, regionalism, religion, ethnicity, values, beliefs, attitudes. Such harmony—it might be too much to claim synthesis or integration—endowed Elazar's insights with heft and depth that even novices might appreciate and thus retain. Moreover, dynamics both motivated and adorned Elazar's Conjecture, especially in displays that mimic geologic stratigraphy. These virtues, notwithstanding vices attributed by critics, may account for persistence of Elazar's Conjecture(s); they certainly redound to the accessibility and utility of Elazar's mapping in introductory materials and classrooms. Whatever the shortcomings of generalizing the three subcultures to states, the stark simplicity of resulting representations must impress especially tyros as "just right" [Goldilocks].

We saw above in Map 1 how Elazar's Conjecture may be visualized as the individualistic "filling"<sup>64</sup> squeezed between a northern moralistic layer and a southern traditionalistic layer. This facile but accessible image, I imagine, might stick with students beyond the final examination. Elazar elaborated that simplistic three-part "harmony" by mixing his three subcultures.

I have noted above that Elazar constructed his typology or taxonomy from tensions between perpetual protections of privilege and solicitude for social and economic elites, which Elazar would label "traditionalistic," and two dueling, longstanding conceptions of resistance to traditionalistic order, authority, and elitism—conceptions Elazar styled individualistic and moralistic.<sup>65</sup> The moralism of the Puritans who escaped what they regarded as persecution in an old order of The Old

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<sup>62</sup> No one wishes this paper longer or more convoluted, but I feel compelled to reiterate that Elazar's 1966 mapping of his three-way scheme [See Map 3 earlier in this paper] militates against many if not most if not nearly all statewide "critical tests" of Elazar's scheme.

<sup>63</sup> I cannot begin to do justice to Elazar's methods and methodological presumptions in this paper. Please consult Elazar, *American Federalism* (editions one, two, and three) and Elazar, *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*.

<sup>64</sup> I play again on Grodzins' familiar layer-cake metaphor. Morton Grodzins, "The Federal System," in *Goals for Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960).

<sup>65</sup> Elazar conveyed most succinctly his contention that the national culture of the United States reflected sometimes conflicting and sometimes consisting individualistic and moralistic perspectives in *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics* pp. 258-259. Elazar suggested (Kincaid, *Political Culture, Public Policy, and the American States* p. 226, FIGURE I) that individualistic and moralistic cultures might relate to traditionalistic culture in a triangular manner in which traditionalistic political culture forms the base of the triangle from which moralistic and individualistic political cultures extend to form sides. I form no opinion on the basis of Elazar's triangular imagining whether traditionalistic subculture might be listed first as the status quo in opposition to which commonwealth moralistic culture and market individualistic culture evolve. However, instructors might ponder whether to begin from near-feudal traditionalistic culture and thence move to individualistic and moralistic cultures. Please note that in Table One reproduced above Elazar arrayed his core cultures from left to right individualistic, moralistic, and then traditionalistic—the same order in which he introduced the cultures in *American Federalism*. If an instructor were to proceed chronically or historically, the instructor would have to



World by invading a New World that would become New England and the individualism of refugees from government oppression who overran then ran what became New York, New Jersey, and Delaware resisted the traditionalism that plantation agriculture fashioned and imposed in and on the southern colonies.<sup>66</sup> Elazar's three tributaries constituted [*sic*] a confluence that roiled the national culture before that culture was quite its own nation. Before the putatively singular, figuratively fluid *unum* formed, its prominent tributaries had long molded the thirteen cultures that would constitute the *pluribus*. Let us examine the individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic subcultures in turn.

Having beheld the reproduction of Elazar's representation [Table One] from Government and Bureaucracy to Politics to get the big picture, I now review each column to understand how each subculture regarded and reconciled, acknowledged and accommodated features of governing, regulating, and politicking. No reader wishes this paper longer, but my assaying the pedagogical payoffs of Elazar's Conjecture demands that I show the images of politicking Elazar incorporated.

**§3.2.1 Imagining and Imaging the Core<sup>67</sup> of the Individualistic Subculture would seem accessible and understandable even to those being introduced to U. S. politics, albeit that working out some of the implications of politicking and governing viewed primarily as a marketplace might challenge instructors and students more.**

Elazar imagined then imaged governing the Middle Atlantic polities as an individualistic marketplace driven by "bottom-up" demand and private initiative and an affinity for access. Individualist settlers of lands—let us pause to remind ourselves that those lands had been settled long before<sup>68</sup>—were escaping what they regarded as intrusive if not tyrannical governance and so favored government, bureaucracy, and other politics that facilitated commerce, competition, development, and trade but left colonists otherwise free to pursue their personal preferences as individuals determined.<sup>69</sup> This relative orientation toward individuals' governing their own lives through contracts and markets—Elazar's individualistic subculture—tended to select for private initiative, contractual negotiation and agreements among individuals and groups, and development and improvements by means of bargaining in forums open or closed, public or private. Government, governors, and politicians reluctant to foment or formulate changes unless entrepreneurs anticipated or agitated demand permitted citizen-consumer demand to drive policy and polity in a manner more bottom-up than in Elazar's other two relatively top-down subcultures.<sup>70</sup> This individualistic subculture, then, depicted

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choose between world history, in which traditionalistic perspectives predate the other two, and U. S. colonial history, in which permanent settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth might jostle the order a bit.

<sup>66</sup> In this sentence I have arrayed three sorts of European incursions from north to south for heuristic convenience, but readers should recall both that penetrations from and through what would become Mexico into what Colin Woodard would call "El Norte" precede Jamestown and Plymouth.

<sup>67</sup> Efforts to operationalize moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic subcultures must conflict with heterogeneity within subcultures that stream across North America and "pool" in various locales. Geographers' conception of cultures and subcultures as consisting of cores, domains, and spheres at the very least complicate "measurement."

<sup>68</sup> One of the many virtues of the late Theodore J. Lowi's *Incomplete Conquest: Governing America* (1981) was his devotion of pages in an introductory text to Native American politicking and governing.

<sup>69</sup> "These were the rugged individualists who, beginning in the Jacksonian frontier, tromped over everyone else in order to homestead and, later, during 'the Gilded Age' of the late 1800s, build this nation's railroads, exploit its mines and forests and oil wells, and then retire to imitation castles to enjoy their riches. They saw trickery and corruption as an inevitable part of politics. Elazar found that the state that most purely defines the individualistic ethic today is that haven of get-rich-quick drifters and male and female gold diggers—Nevada." Charles Press and Kenneth VerBerg, *State and Community Governments in the Federal System* (John Wiley & Sons, 2nd ed., 1983) p. 54.

<sup>70</sup> Of course, both "bottom" and "upward" are relative terms and may be far more ostensible than actual.

collective, public governance and bureaucratic, hierarchical regulation at best ambivalently and constructed patterns of politicking—that is, beliefs, participation, and competition—as dirty and as best left to professionals who would distribute goods to followers through strong parties bent on spoils.

Elazar's Individualistic Subculture should prove available and accessible and perhaps even familiar to socialized American collegians. Even [perhaps especially!] tyros likely will recognize individualism as one perspective and one mode of citizenship.<sup>71</sup> Across about 2.45 centuries of the United States of America, Americans have individually and collectively valued regulating themselves through private bargains, negotiations, and self-regulation over being governed by others through public legislation, administration, and regulation from afar. This preference for self-government over governance by others near or far is important to any introduction to U. S. politics. Elazar's image of individualistic orientations meets, it seems to me, Holmes' and Goldilocks' logics and presents a view of a core set of perceptions and conceptions of politicking and governing.

### **§3.2.2 Imagining and Imaging the Core of Moralistic Subculture may be a bit more difficult to cultivate among many beginners.**

If individualistic subcultures might resemble the aphorism “That government is best which governs least” because individual participants in a marketplace neither require nor welcome much supervision, moralistic subcultures might resemble more the belief that more regulation could make individuals better. In contrast to the ambivalences toward governmental social control and, in time, bureaucracy that Elazar posited for his individualistic political culture, which expected colonists and later citizens to participate as much or as little in politicking and self-governance as they chose, Elazar formulated a moralistic political culture in the Northeast [please see the “moralistic” column in Table One]. The proclivities, expectations, and responsibilities of and for colonists and later citizens of a commonwealth, rather than participants in a marketplace, tended to promote relative other-regarding or to privilege such vernacular in the public square, which in turn promised and presumed far more positive, idealistic government and bureaucracy. It followed, albeit roughly, that moralistic subculture would valorize much more regulation of individuals and of markets than would individualistic subculture. The original “moralists” had escaped religious persecution and created theocracies in which all were expected to contribute and to share. Orientation more to the common good than to private goods and more to shared gains of a “commonwealth” than to individual gains of the marketplace polity imparted to moralistic political culture a far more positive image of governance and, eventually, bureaucracy [as Elazar's table posits].

More important for the purposes of introducing students to contending subcultures were patterns of politicking that Elazar inferred from such a moralistic commonwealth. Citizens socialized in [and into] a commonwealth would tend to perceive politicking as a healthier enterprise than the venal, acquisitive and distributional enterprises in which individual participants might indulge in an individualistic subculture. Those who believed in the primacy of public interest would tend to be inclined in public more by widespread agreement on transcendent principles and fulsome consent to public policies than would the crass partisans bent on divvying up spoils.<sup>72</sup> From such patterns of belief followed patterns of participation in which factions would be expected to aver

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<sup>71</sup> Indeed, I have had many students who viewed individualism as the sole proper lens through which to view citizenship! Is this another way in which a perspective can be “just right?”

<sup>72</sup> In *Stratagems and Spoils: A Social Anthropology of Politics*, the late F. G. Bailey long ago distinguished teams held together by shared morals from teams held together by shared hope of gain [whom Professor Bailey designated “mercenary”].

public-spirited pursuit of the good rather than of monetary or electoral gains and to subordinate party to policy ends much more than to deploy issues, policies, and symbols in pursuit of booty.<sup>73</sup>

The views of Moralistic subcultures might be harder to convey and to cultivate for collegians yet might be at least somewhat available, accessible, and understandable. Modules and other materials would have to be crafted to facilitate students' grasping individualistic and moralistic views.

### **§3.2.3 Imagining and Imaging the Core of Traditionalistic Subculture without inciting students' rejections of elite control, antipathy to aristocracy, and impatience with supposed anachronisms will task development of modules and other supplements.**

Contrasting but not quite contradicting visions of a democratic republic set, on one side, individualistic politicking and governing driven by demand from client-constituents to secure supply from partisan-patrons and policy-entrepreneurs against, on another [but not necessarily opposite] side, moralistic politicking and governing in pursuit of common goods and betterment of followers and leaders alike; Elazar's traditionalistic political subculture presumed that democratic-republican forms and formulas camouflaged elite domination. Traditionalistic political culture fostered a paternalistic, elitist view of commonwealth and commonweal that eyed markets and mores ambivalently when not with outright suspicion. This traditionalism presumed a hierarchy of talent, status, and leisure that delimited "bottom-up" democracy and rationalized "top-down" republican forms of governance, regulation, and politicking. The traditionalist grants moralists and idealists that community, society, and polity should pursue the good but deems a higher good preservation and protection of a not quite post-feudal and not quite pre-commercial order through familiar, flattering forms and formulas that sanction aristocracy of familial and social connections. These familial and social connections overmatch personal connections in individualistic political culture as well as collective connections in moralistic culture. However much participation the traditionalist may tolerate in the name of democratic and republican forms or ideals, actual direction of governance, regulation, and politicking from the bottom up must be assiduously controlled lest the uneducated, envious many overwhelm the educated, paternalistic few. Governance, regulation, and politicking under control, elites leave nonelites to customary authority over families, clans, and communities.<sup>74</sup>

### **§3.2.4 Conclusion: Elazar's work provides a secure basis for teaching subnational politics.**

In sum, Professor Elazar conjured moralistic, individualistic, and traditionalistic cores, domains, and spheres to explain, separately and together, the political culture and political subcultures of the national union and the plurality of states. Far from as subjective, intuitive, or impressionistic as some critics proclaimed, Elazar's three subcultures were and remain the product of wide-ranging yet deep, swashbuckling but disciplined inquiry (cf. the methodological appendix to *The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics: Cities of the Prairie*). Elazar's Conjecture fosters for research and for teaching interdisciplinary understandings of values, beliefs, processes, practices, and institutions that

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<sup>73</sup> Elazar was distinguishing two broad visions of governance, regulation, and valuations. I find it appropriate that Elazar did not sharpen distinctions to a greater extent. That Elazar's archetypes of individualistic and moralistic subcultures did not polarize or make diametrically opposed the subcultures may impede operationalization and application of these contrasting but not necessarily opposite visions and proclivities but does, please note, leave theorists as well as empiricists to make distinctions between the two starker or more indefinite. As I read Elazar, individualistic and moralistic cultures do not contradict one another, for how could they then be reconciled in the national culture?

<sup>74</sup> Elazar characterized oligarchy, pluralism, and other tendencies in politics more localized than the state level. Such characterizations might serve upper division work in state and local politics well but would probably overtax instructors and certainly overmatch beginners.

endure but evolve—and perhaps endure because they evolve—across time and spaces. Whatever the promise of Elazar’s Conjecture for research and theory, representing a singular national culture [*unum*] as a blend or amalgam of at least three subcultures [*pluribus*] should be practicable in introductory courses. Variations on subcultures more local—statewide, countywide, municipal, and smaller—condition or qualify regional subcultures but pose puzzles that students and other researchers might attempt to answer for a few states, for selected counties, or for some few of the 90,000 governments. Indeed, in the next section of this paper I explore how subnational governments and politics other than regions might complement regions in exploring the varieties of politicking in the United States of America. States classed into a few types might explain as much or more than regional subcultures. Modes of municipal governance might be few enough to account for what regional subcultures will not. If Elazar’s Conjecture falls far short as a scientific or scientific generalization or as a sweeping typology or taxonomy or as a theoretical framework or as a sneaking suspicion, if indeed we regard Elazar’s Conjecture as if it were a modern creation myth or a narrative tradition, its utility for the college classroom seems to me secure.

#### §4.0 Non Sunt Multiplicanda Imagines Sine Necessitate<sup>75</sup>

However persuasive the case for modules to build on Elazar’s three-part “harmony,” instructors may be tempted to proliferate categories beyond three or to attend to more granular politicking in counties, municipalities, or localities. In this section of the paper I argue that instructors should succumb to each temptation only to the degree that the temptation satisfies Goldilocks and Holmes. To assure Goldilocks that additions will be “just right,” modules or other supplements will proliferate categories or focus on localities only if additional categories or local foci promise gains in understanding to offset the losses in accessibility, elegance, clarity, understanding, and memorability that lengthy narratives and statistical explorations—two sorts of complementary or challenging additions considered below—portend. To meet Holmes’ demands for imagination and creativity, instructors may want to investigate smaller units of politicking and governing that supplement Elazar’s Conjecture in ways introductory students will likely recall as significant exceptions to or serious qualifications of such “Big Ideas” as Elazar’s Conjecture. Well might instructors deploy additional categories to test the sufficiency of Elazar’s three conceptions if such additions fire imaginations with “Big Ideas” that do not overtax students’ perseverance and understanding. Instructors might also consider extending their attentions to county, municipal, or other of the 90,000 governmental units in ways that accentuate the lessons of Elazar’s Conjecture. To be “just right” and imaginative, Elazar’s ideas might be complemented with accounts of regions, sections, or nations that are at once historical<sup>76</sup> and journalistic [i.e., combining SPACE + TIME + CULTURE] and that contribute memorable graphics [e.g., work of Professors Savage, Lieske, Gray, and Gimpel discussed later in this paper]. In this section as throughout this paper, I stress maps and monikers as indicators of inspiring imagination and memory in a graphic manner that might be “just right.”

I reach in this section of the paper a verdict even more mixed than my verdict in the previous section. On the positive side of the ledger, I highlight a few perspectives on subnational politics that I think might promising additions to educational imagination even in introductory courses.

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<sup>75</sup> Please see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occam%27s\\_razor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occam%27s_razor) for an original formulation in Latin—*Non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate*—that I emulate in titling this section. My schoolboy Latin title may mean “One must not proliferate images unless necessary.”

<sup>76</sup> Please do not read “historical or journalistic” juxtaposition as pejorative. I intend “historical” as opposed to “historiographic” antiquarian minutia of little use in the classroom.

On the negative side, I find each promising perspective hard to tailor “just right” for students who may be taking their first and last course of study on U. S. politics.

**§4.1 Woodard’s historical journalism exemplifies how popular history might enhance Elazar’s Conjecture through imaginative conceptions if narratives could be reduced to teachable lessons and if proliferated categories could be infused into suitable supplements.**

Popular historian Colin Woodard incorporates history [TIME], geography [SPACE], and demography [CULTURE] into a mapping of the United States with some potential to complement and to compete with Elazar’s Conjecture if Woodard’s book-length prose and desultory labels might better serve his memorable map below.<sup>77</sup> Infusing Elazar’s Conjecture with Woodard’s many insights would not be easy and might prove impracticable for introductory students.

**Map 6—Woodard’s Map of 11 “American Nations”**



<http://colinwoodard.blogspot.com/2012/04/presenting-slightly-revised-american.html>

In *American Nations: A History of the Eleven Rival Regional Cultures of North America*, Mr. Woodard describes with range and depth too extensive even to recount herein differences in values and worldviews within, between, and among “eleven rival regional cultures” of his book’s subtitle. In a book that does not, as far as I can tell,<sup>78</sup> mention Elazar, Woodard retraces histories of regions and sections in a manner that might complement Elazar’s Conjecture in the college classroom and in supplements to main textbooks. Woodard’s narrative might fire students’ imaginations and clarify

<sup>77</sup> I intend no criticism of *American Nations*, which admirably serves Woodard’s theses and purposes. It is hardly a flaw in Woodard’s work that he did not accommodate my designs in this project. It is positively a virtue that Woodard synthesizes so thoroughly, insightfully, and richly that I despair of inducing my introductory students of reading *American Nations* amid the crush of other readings and coursework.

<sup>78</sup> I perused the readings Mr. Woodard suggested as particularly helpful [*American Nations* pp. 322-325] and deployed “Look inside!” to *American Nations* at Amazon.com. These searches for “Elazar” turned up no reference.

the many nations that make up the United States [*E pluribus unum* again] if modules make that narrative understandable, manageable, memorable, and otherwise “just right.” Far less centered on ideas, ideation, or ideology than Elazar’s system, Woodard’s interdisciplinary narrative might at once complement and compete with the three-part harmony of individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic cultures. Because I am not willing to subject my readers to a thorough review of Woodward’s book [any more than the foregoing has thoroughly mined Elazar’s many works], I rely below mainly on Woodward’s maps and monikers to make the case that Woodward’s characterizations would enhance Elazar’s Conjecture if I [or, even better, a competent instructor] could fashion modules that adduced far fewer than Woodward’s eleven “nations”—an unwieldy proliferation of categories—and if I [or a competent instructor] could render Woodward without rending Woodward.

Like Elazar and similar to other narrators, Woodward presumed a model of politics and government in the United States of America. Elazar viewed federalism from the states<sup>79</sup> to divine how three core cultures across space and time interweaved to create the somewhat unified national-state convergence [*unum*] of meandering subnational streams [*pluribus*]. Woodward treated of federalism less from confluences of “Big Ideas” and more from “Big Politics,” shifting, intersectional coalitions among at least eleven contending cultures headed by “Yankeedom” and “The Deep South.”<sup>80</sup> Well might Woodward’s “Big Politics” complement and challenge Elazar’s “Big Ideas.”

The introduction to *American Nations* teems with the historical roots and evolutionary branches of regions and their cultures that could not but deepen and broaden Elazar’s Conjecture. Woodward reminds readers what, contrary to recurrent calls to overcome current divisions and to repair to national unity, they know or ought to have learned.<sup>81</sup> “. . . Americans have been deeply divided since the days of Jamestown and Plymouth. . . . Only when London began treating its colonies as a single unit—and enacted policies threatening to nearly all—did some of these distinct societies briefly come together to win a revolution and create a joint government. . . . Any effort to “restore” fundamental American values runs into an even greater obstacle: Each of our founding cultures had its own set of cherished principles, and they often contradicted one another. . . . The United States had Founding Fathers, to be sure, but they were the grandfathers, great-grandfathers, or great-great-grandfathers of the men who met to sign the Declaration of Independence and to draft our first two constitutions. Our true Founders didn’t have an ‘original intent’ we can refer back to in challenging times; they had original *intents* . . .”

Woodard thus made clear from his first three pages that *American Nations* would recount and interpret values, principles, motivations [CULTURE] that had persisted over centuries [TIME] and across a continent and parts of oceans [SPACE].<sup>82</sup> Indeed, Woodard had made it clear in his table of contents that Woodward’s approach would recapitulate many of the insights of and in Elazar’s Conjecture. Eight of his first nine chapters and ten of the twenty-eight chapters in *American Nations* feature “Founding” as the first word in their titles. Part One, entitled “Origins: 1590 to 1769,” invokes history. The subsequent three parts cover revolutions, evolutions, and development of both

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<sup>79</sup> Please recall that the subtitle of each edition of *American Federalism* is “A View from the States.”

<sup>80</sup> See Woodward, *American Nations*, p. 295: “The nations have been struggling with one another for advantage and influence since they were founded, and from 1790 the biggest prize has been control of federal government institutions: Congress, the White House, the courts, and the military. . . . Ultimately the determinative political struggle has been a clash between shifting coalitions of ethnoregional nations, one invariably headed by the Deep South, the other by Yankeedom.

Since the end of Reconstruction no one nation has had any hope of dominating the others independently. Instead, each has sought to form alliances with like-minded partners.”

<sup>81</sup> Woodward, *American Nations*, pp. 2-3 (italicized in original).

<sup>82</sup> In this regard as in so many, Woodward’s interpretation emphasizes values and beliefs far more than transient attitudes or stances regarding policies.

“the one” and “the many” in turn: “Unlikely Allies: 1770 to 1815” [how the eight foundings during colonial times led to six distinguishable wars of liberation]; “Wars for the West: 1816 to 1877” [conquest over and migrations across “frontiers” chronicle new foundings in “the Left Coast” and Yankeeedom, The Midlands, Appalachia, and the Deep South alter frontiers to achieve each in its own manner manifest destiny]; then “Culture Wars: 1878 to 2010” [the founding of the Far West and construction of Blue States versus Red States].

Between his introduction and his epilogue, Woodard explains Mexico, Canada, and the United States by means of eleven “nations” that Woodard formulates from affinities among:<sup>83</sup>

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- origins & foundings steeped in religious, political, and ethno-national beliefs, **which followed from and led to**
  - values & ideals, spiritual and secular, most proclaimed and honored over time, **which led to**
  - norms & expectations of and for politicking and governing at least nominally consistent with values & ideals, **which coevolved with**
  - physical & human geography that shaped and continue to shape values, ideals, norms, and expectations over time, **with special emphasis on**
  - economic development and on
  - dynamics of immigration, migration, assimilation, and development, **all conditioned by and with**
  - allies and opponents/competitors
- 

Items above “model” politicking in ways suitable to supplement or perhaps to supplant to a degree Elazar’s Conjecture, but even the limited list above must discourage those who would strive to heed Goldilocks and Holmes while conveying the complexities of Woodard’s imagination.

Condensations of *American Nations* would be challenging. Woodard’s descriptions [rather than definitions or operationalizations] and discussions of nations and their cultures abound with temporal, spatial, and value-cultural history, climate, geography and demography, religion and economics, ethnicity, immigration and migration, and other fundamentals of Elazar’s Conjecture.<sup>84</sup> The origins of “nations” and “cultures” [the evils contrary to which they formed], the physical and human geography amid which the cultures developed [climate and economy], the demographic developments and dynamics of immigration and migration, the evolution of institutions, processes, and other aspects of political culture, each and all present a journalistic version of Elazar’s ecumenical, eclectic social science.

A closer reading of *American Nations* than I dare to squeeze into this paper would disclose “correspondences” between Elazar’s Conjecture and Woodard’s concern for lasting mainsprings of diverse politicking and governing not so much in as across the United States. These correspondences should neither surprise nor puzzle readers, for Elazar and then Woodard were accounting for

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<sup>83</sup> Bulleted items underline what in my reading of Woodard are incontestable features and color red my characterizations of interconnections.

<sup>84</sup> “Digging into regional cultures can be like peeling an onion. I’ve stopped where I have because I believe the values, attitudes, and political preferences of my eleven nations truly dominate the territories they’ve been assigned, trumping the implications of finer-grain analysis.” Woodard, *American Nations* p. 18.

practices, processes, institutions, and other enduring, distinctive “styles” or “modes” of politics and governance across subcultures (Elazar) and nations or regions (Woodard). The range of correspondences and distinctions between Elazar’s Conjecture and Woodard’s Conceit raises problems for researchers, no doubt, but opportunities for students and theorists.

Beyond the remarks above, I dare not do justice to the richness of Woodard’s accounts in this already overlong paper, so I hope to suggest only what students as well as instructors might find intriguing and therefore memorable if modules or other supplements—especially maps and monikers—could throw into relief Woodard’s many virtues. Woodard’s “Yankeedom” strongly resembles Elazar’s moralistic culture in placing values, beliefs, and principles centerstage.<sup>85</sup> More, the dynamism of Elazar’s account of subcultures is evident as well for each of Woodard’s characterizations.<sup>86</sup> In like manner, two cultures that Woodard defined next, New Netherland and The Midlands, correspond to values, beliefs, and principles characteristic of Elazar’s individualistic culture.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Readers who persist through extended quotations in footnotes *numbers* will want to attend to grammatical tense to discern what Woodard is attributing to long ago and what to the present. Woodard, *American Nations*, p. 5:

**Yankeedom** was founded on the shores of Massachusetts Bay by radical Calvinists as a new Zion, a religious utopia in the New England wilderness. From the outset it was a culture that put great emphasis on education, local political control, and the pursuit of the “greater good” of the community, even if it required individual self-denial. Yankees have the greatest faith in the potential of government to improve people’s lives, tending to see it as an extension of the citizenry, and a vital bulwark against the schemes of grasping aristocrats, corporations, or outside powers. For more than four centuries, Yankees have sought to build a more perfect society here on Earth through social engineering, relatively extensive citizen involvement in the political process, and the aggressive assimilation of foreigners. Settled by stable, educated families, Yankeedom has always had a middle-class ethos and considerable respect for intellectual achievement. Its religious zeal has waned over time, but not its underlying drive to improve the world and the set of moral and social values that scholars have sometimes described as “secular Puritanism.”

<sup>86</sup> Woodard, *American Nations*, p. 5: “From its New England core, Yankee culture spread with its settlers across upper New York State; the northern strips of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa; parts of the eastern Dakotas; and on up into Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Canadian Maritimes. It has been locked in nearly perpetual combat with the Deep South for control of the federal government since the moment such a thing existed.”

<sup>87</sup> Woodard, *American Nations*, p. 6:

While short-lived, the seventeenth-century Dutch colony of **New Netherland** had a lasting impact on the continent’s development by laying down the cultural DNA for what is now Greater New York City. Modeled on its Dutch namesake, New Amsterdam was from the start a global commercial trading society: multi-ethnic, multi-religious, speculative, materialistic, mercantile, and free-trading, a raucous, not entirely democratic city-state where no one ethnic or religious group has ever truly been in charge. New Netherland also nurtured two Dutch innovations considered subversive by most other European states at the time: a profound tolerance of diversity and an unflinching commitment to the freedom of inquiry. Forced on the other nations at the Constitutional Convention, these ideals have been passed down to us as the Bill of Rights.

Despite the defeat of the Dutch by the English in 1664, New Netherland has retained its fundamental values and societal model, . . .

Please compare the “fundamental values and societal model” of economics, politics, and governance in New Netherland above to values, beliefs, and symbols of The Midlands below: Woodard, *American Nations*, pp. 6-7:

Arguably the most “American” of the nations, **the Midlands** was founded by English Quakers, who welcomed people of many nations and creeds to their utopian colonies on the shores of Delaware Bay. Pluralistic and organized around the middle class, the Midlands spawned the culture of Middle America and the Heartland, where ethnic and ideological purity have never been a priority, government has been seen as an unwelcome intrusion, and political opinion has been moderate, even apathetic. The only part of British North America to have a non-British majority in 1775, the Midlands has long been an ethnic mosaic, with people of German descent—not “Anglo-Saxons”—comprising the largest group since the late 1600s. Like Yankees, the Midlanders believe society should be organized to benefit ordinary people, but



In sum, Woodard's attention to the origins of "nations" and "cultures" in evils against which they recoiled, to the physical geography [especially climate] and human geography [especially economic] amid which the cultures developed, to the demographic developments and dynamics of immigration and migration, and to the evolution of institutions, processes, and other aspects of political culture each and all elaborate a journalistic version of Elazar's ecumenical, eclectic approach that might challenge and complement Elazar's Conjecture. Woodard's prose, deftly compacted to a module, might complement Map 1 in this paper by elaborating the memorable striations in which moralistic culture and traditionalistic culture "sandwich" individualistic culture.

Woodard [and other journalists and popularizers whose work I do not detail in this paper] might deepen students' attention to and appreciation of enduring values and persistent beliefs that differ between regions, Elazar's moralistic, traditionalistic, and individualistic heavy on beliefs, especially sectarian beliefs, and concomitant hierarchies of values. *American Nations* deftly addresses what Professor Herzik pronounced Elazar's "four decisive elements of American development: the frontier; migration; sectionalism; and federalism,"<sup>88</sup> which far transcend passels of attitudes, voting behaviors, policy preferences, and other static "measures" that have been reduced to factors and clusters to make too many articles not so much beside Elazar's point as "beneath" Elazar's Conjecture.<sup>89</sup>

Nonetheless, Woodard's map in *American Nations* truly and duly establishes the potential of Woodward's imaginings. His map is inclusive in that it cuts across national lines into Canada and Mexico [albeit that it cuts off the northernmost and southernmost parts of North America and excludes Alaska and Hawaii, which I admit is not part of North America but may nonetheless feature an "American Nation" that interacts if not rivals some other "nations"]. Woodard's map is incisive when it traces counties that cut across states in swirls and puddles ["The American Nations Today" above] yet can be panoramic [please see the cover map below]. Woodard's delineation of counties may thus challenge here and complement there Elazar's three-part "harmony."

Still, the sheer numbers of cultures and of monikers that are not as revealing as Elazar's three conceptions undermine the utility of Woodard's scheme for an introductory course. Eleven nations are much harder than three subcultures to keep in mind for a moment and impossible to recollect after cram sessions have passed. As I read Woodard's labels, "Yankeedom" will illuminate at least a bit less than "moralistic,"<sup>90</sup> "Deep South" and "Greater Appalachia" together convey far less than "traditionalistic," and "the Midlands" is a place name and, theoretically, a placeholder relative to "individualistic." If Woodard is to be used to challenge Elazar's Conjecture, some pedagogue more knowledgeable, enterprising, and persistent than I shall have to design the module!

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they are extremely skeptical of top-down governmental intervention, as many of their ancestors fled from European tyrannies. The Midlands is home to a dialect long considered "standard American," a bellwether for national political attitudes, and the key "swing vote" in every national debate from the abolition of slavery to the 2008 presidential contest.

... While less cognizant of its national identity, the Midlands is nonetheless an enormously influential moderating force in continental politics, as it agrees with only part of each of its neighbors' strident agendas.

<sup>88</sup> Eric B. Herzik, "The Legal-Formal Structuring of State Politics: A Cultural Explanation" p. 413.

<sup>89</sup> Please see Haltom, "Regional Cultures of the United States—The Problem of Serial Interdisciplinarity," in which I protested that many scientific, positivistic studies hijacked Elazar's Conjecture for studies of political behavior. Little wonder that such studies turned up attitudes and behaviors that suited electoral settings. Indeed, in instances I am too decorous to cite, Elazar's Conjecture has been applied to states to yield results that improve little on the red, the blue, and the purple states preferred and proffered by members of the chattering classes.

<sup>90</sup> I concede that understanding what Elazar means by "moralistic" is no easy challenge for a college student; however, in my judgment figuring out what "Yankee" means to Woodard is no easier.

As well as *American Nations* might enhance Elazar’s Conjecture for scholarly specialists and graduate students, maps and monikers from scholars, observers, and even commentators seem more problematic, although snippets from each might suggest insights, embellishments, and perhaps term papers. Gastil’s maps depend substantially on Elazar’s earliest analyses for political culture and so would hone readings and interpretations of Elazar’s ideas but furnish few graphics or labels that might meet the standards of Goldilocks and Holmes.<sup>91</sup> A map on the dust jacket of Garreau’s popular *The Nine Nations of North America* provides somewhat provocative and colorful descriptions of nine “nations” that, like Woodard’s eleven nations, sprawl across North America, but Garreau’s monikers—like “the Empty Quarter”—advance pedagogy as little as they improve theoretical nor multidimensional heft.<sup>92</sup> Each introduces many more than three subcultures, so as with Woodard’s formulation considerable Procrustean compression would be needful to escape the problem or proliferation. Each source of maps invokes cultures and regions less political and more broadly socio-cultural, posing difficulties of articulation with the Elazar’s Conjecture. Backtracking from Woodard, narratives, interpretations, and—yes—even impressions might enrich description and understanding, but probably by dribs and drabs at daunting costs in less accessibility, less clarity, and less excitement for novices.

I conclude, then, that Woodard and others proliferate “nations” or regions for students to recall. Woodard’s eleven or more nations, Garreau’s nine nations, Gastil’s seven to eleven socio-cultural regions, Odum’s six regions, and Zelinsky’s five regions may accentuate and deepen and valorize elements beyond Elazar’s three but only if recrafted by skillful design of modules and painstaking detail work to make monikers more revealing and more memorable.<sup>93</sup> These proliferations are not, strictly speaking, necessary for introductory coursework however fecund they might be for graduate and postdoctoral studies. My best guess is that the gains in imaginative possibilities [Holmes] would not likely be “just right” [Goldilocks] for almost all beginners.

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**§4.2 Statistical studies attuned to historical dynamics might complement and compete with Elazar’s Conjecture but are not needful in any strict sense, would be nearly impossible to make “just right” for undergraduates, and exhibit far too little imagination to satisfy Holmes’ methodology.**

In addition to maps and monikers in geographies, historical journalism, and popular cultural surveys just considered, some statistical efforts published in academic journals might complement and contest Elazar’s Conjecture. In a previous paper for the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association,<sup>94</sup> I contended that the holistic, interpretive, theoretical, and speculative syntheses of

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<sup>91</sup> Raymond D. Gastil, *Cultural Regions of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1975). Please note that Gastil’s chapter titles add wide-ranging insights economic, social, and other.

<sup>92</sup> In *The Nine Nations of North America* Joel Garreau provides quite anodyne maps of each of his nine nations.

<sup>93</sup> David Hackett Fischer’s *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press 1989) strikes me as geographically circumscribed relative to the task of introducing politics and government across the North American continent, so I do not include that excellent book in my essay.

<sup>94</sup> Haltom, “Regional Cultures of the United States—The Problem of Serial Interdisciplinarity,” [https://www.pugetsound.edu/sites/default/files/2021-10/William\\_Haltom-PNwPSA-2019-Draft-Final.pdf](https://www.pugetsound.edu/sites/default/files/2021-10/William_Haltom-PNwPSA-2019-Draft-Final.pdf); last accessed 6 October 2021. I argued that purported tests or validations of Elazar’s Conjecture failed to articulate with Elazar’s writing. As a result, any dialogue between Elazar and his critics tended, I argued, to be oblique and unproductive. I contrasted this “Serial Interdisciplinarity” with “Synergetic Interdisciplinarity” that might promote refined understandings of subcultures in the United States by dialectical exchanges among theorists, empiricists, and statisticians.

Professor Elazar and the limited, inductive, empirical, quantitative analyses had neither informed nor refined each other despite some shared disciplinary ties, topics, and predilections. Thus I am not even persuaded, let alone convinced, that most statistical validations published in journals are useful, let alone as necessary as Occam’s Razor or my Latin formulation above demands. Indeed, I find almost all published articles counterproductive for imagining possibilities and imaging “Big Ideas.” In this section I barely rehearse the scientism, presentism, and other flaws in statistical assessments of Elazar’s Conjecture to show why their complementing or refining Elazar’s Conjecture was at best limited, as exemplified by an obviously faulty map and monikers in Luttbeg [below]. Rather I concentrate on Professor Robert Savage’s imaginative, painstaking analyses that, ironically, featured no map but manifest considerable promise for refining monikers in a manner accessible to undergraduates, albeit with considerable adaptation to an audience less scholarly than Professor Savage’s.

Map 7—Luttbeg’s Map and Monikers



**§4.2.1 Scientific, presentist “tests” of Elazar’s Conjecture would be difficult to translate to academic peers and thus “just wrong” for introductory resources, whatever one may think of their imaginativeness or lack thereof.**

Almost all heavily statistical responses to Elazar’s Conjecture in journals of social science will elude most undergraduates and not a few instructors. Even statistical tests of Elazar’s contentions, however, might yield insights and perhaps progress in ideas that could heed the direction of Ms. Goldilocks and Mr. Holmes. In keeping with my focus on maps and monikers, I reproduced above a map from a “test” of Elazar’s Conjecture that I find methodologically stronger than most<sup>95</sup> to argue briefly that the behaviorist brio and ballyhoo of quantitative work that dotted academic journals after Elazar’s three editions of *American Federalism* produced at least some light amid the heat.

<sup>95</sup> Please see Robert L. Savage, “Looking for Political Subcultures: A Critique of the Rummage-Sale Approach,” *The Western Political Quarterly* Vol. 34, No. 2 (Jun., 1981), pp. 331-336.

Even if we overlook the resemblance of Professor Luttbeg’s map to a certain 2019 weather map doctored with a Sharpie pen,<sup>96</sup> we must notice shrinkage of Elazar’s “Big Ideas” and narrative in Luttbeg’s map—a shortcoming according to Holmes. In contrast to Elazar’s broad and deep conceptions, Luttbeg’s map assigns states labels less likely to edify or inspire students and even instructors than Elazar’s categories.<sup>97</sup> Labels for Luttbeg’s four divisions underscore Elazar’s greater utility in classes. If Luttbeg’s “Southern” corresponds to Elazar’s “traditionalistic subculture,” it should be expected to radiate denotations and connotations far richer and more resonant [and thus more penetrating and memorable], especially when we recall that part of Elazar’s intellectual enterprise was to reveal three subcultures that made up the national culture [*E pluribus unum*].<sup>98</sup> [In addition, I find it easier to consider New Mexico and Arizona “traditionalistic” than to think of those two states as “Southern.”] Even if we account for some mysteries of attaching the “Industrial” label to this or that state but not to others, plunking Nevada and Hawaii under “Frontier” with Alaska is mysterious at best.<sup>99</sup> As presented, “Sparsely Populated” is vague at best and an empty signifier for a residual category at worst. Such are the perils of submitting oneself to quantification and subordinating imagination and interpretation to the requirements of statistics. Thus, Luttbeg’s makeshift map strikes me as far from “just right” [contra Goldilocks] and bereft of the imagination [contra Holmes] that distinguishes Elazar’s work and, we shall see below in this paper, other work based on statistics.<sup>100</sup> Although Elazar’s rough stratigraph of states and a rough dichotomy of formerly slave states versus free states persist and might be said to validate Elazar’s Conjecture, Luttbeg’s study and contemporaneous “critical tests” add too little value to assist undergraduates or those who instruct them.<sup>101</sup> Far from as “needful” as Occam’s Razor would counsel, then, Professor Luttbeg’s minimal proliferation of categories would be, in my opinion needless. It seems to me, further, that statistical work less defensible than Luttbeg’s would be at least as daunting and even more counterproductive.

### **§4.3 Professor Savage’s monikers—even in the absence of maps!—show potential to enhance Elazar’s Conjecture in ways that instructors can use to reach some undergraduates as Goldilocks and Holmes might counsel but would require greater skill than possessed by the author of this paper.**

A sophisticated statistical article roughly contemporaneous with Elazar and serially interdisciplinary publications offers far more potential for introductory modules than the studies I have critiqued just above. Professor Robert L. Savage in 1973 explored patterns of cultures in states with statistical rigor and reached flexible, explorative, tentative, and dynamic<sup>102</sup> “Big Ideas.” Consciously

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<sup>96</sup> The Sharpie incident may have been more an accidental than a deliberate attempt to deceive. See Stephanie Grisham, *I’ll Take Your Questions Now: What I Saw at the Trump White House* (Harper 2021).

<sup>97</sup> Luttbeg invoked the virtue of getting down to four classes. Elazar got down to three.

<sup>98</sup> I play on “made up” to include “compose” and “concoct.”

<sup>99</sup> Almost all of Nevada seems to me “frontierish,” but Reno [to a lesser extent] and Las Vegas [to a greater extent] partake of decidedly non-frontierish characterizations if not qualities. Nevada, then, presents in stark relief perils of classifying cultures statewide. The individualistic features of Nevada and especially Las Vegas problematize “Frontier” as well. Luttbeg need not have known what Elazar did with the concept “frontier” in Illinois.

<sup>100</sup> In this paper, I starkly assert similarities of flaws in so many articles in well-regarded academic journals. For only some specifics, please see Haltom, “Regional Cultures of the United States—The Problem of Serial Interdisciplinarity.”

<sup>101</sup> If Luttbeg’s map and monikers displayed some shortcomings of statistical, scientific responses to Elazar, they nonetheless may provoke insights as well. Luttbeg acknowledged subcultures’ multidimensionality [p. 705], attended to geography and demography, and pondered elements of Elazar’s “political geology.” He wondered how much contiguity mattered. Admitting that states could be heterogeneous, Luttbeg anticipated works I discuss later in this paper.

<sup>102</sup> Savage, “Patterns of Multilinear Evolution in the American States.” Savage’s paper was reprinted in Kincaid (ed.), *Political Culture, Public Policy, and the American States* pp. 25-58.

inductive and candidly<sup>103</sup> interpretive, Savage’s exploratory quantification proved every bit as “empirical” as behavioral, statistical scholars proclaimed their responses to Elazar to be, yet less encumbered by presentism and thus sweeping across periods and states hence more promising for students, instructors, and theoreticians. Deploying factor analyses as others<sup>104</sup> had done and subject to similar rigors and risks,<sup>105</sup> Professor Savage reported a “Q-Factor Matrix rotated to Simple Structure” and “Typal Array Z-Scores for Various Characteristics across Types of Interstate Variations” for the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and for 1930-1970. Beyond such undergraduate-discouraging reports, Savage reached [perhaps in multiple senses of “reached”] insights and patterns imaginative and thus memorable and fertile [Holmes]. Savage’s available, advisable, accessible, and adaptable ideas might be “just right” [Goldilocks] for students if skillfully and sufficiently adapted by module-developers more adept and adroit than I. Professor Savage’s panorama would be a bridge too far for almost any ordinary teacher heedful of Goldilocks and Holmes.

**Table Two—Savage’s Three Configurations**

<b>Major Cultural Regions in the American States</b>			
<b>Structure</b>	<b>Configurations</b>		
	<b>Northwestern State</b>	<b>Industrial State</b>	<b>Southern State</b>
<b>Democratic Association</b>	<b>Populist</b>	<b>Competitive</b>	<b>Paternal</b>
<b>Citizen Orientation</b>	<b>Participant Moralistic</b>	<b>Participant-Subject Individualistic</b>	<b>Subject-Parochial Traditionalistic</b>
<b>Public Bureaucracy</b>	<b>Local Reliance</b>	<b>Centralized-Professional</b>	<b>Traditional-Ascriptive</b>
<b>Message Exchange</b>	<b>Written-Localistic</b>	<b>Multimedia-Integrated</b>	<b>Verbal-Cellular</b>
<b>Economy</b>	<b>Agrarian-Service</b>	<b>Industrial-Financial</b>	<b>Agrarian-Industrial</b>
<b>Settlement Patterns</b>	<b>Urban Centers-Sparse Hinterlands</b>	<b>Metropolitan</b>	<b>Small Town-Rural</b>

In Table Two, Professor Savage only loosely confirmed Elazar’s Conjecture by means of three “configurations” that seem to me more similar to Luttbeg’s map than to Elazar’s stratigraphy of states. But Savage surmised structures of great import for politics and government within his configurations. The most important row of this table may be second from the top. Savage explicitly incorporates in his structure of “Citizen Orientation” Elazar’s trichotomy and associates each of Elazar’s architectonic terms with a distinctive mode of participation that Savage theorizes. These modes, I hold and hope, would assist those who develop modules in imaginatively [Holmes] linking Elazar’s three-part harmony to roles that students might consider in an introductory course. The next most important row in this table might be the top substantive row, in which Savage connects modes of “Democratic Association” to Elazar’s Three: “Populist” to Moralistic Culture; “Competitive” to Individualistic Culture; and “Paternal” to Traditionalistic. To be certain, Savage’s surmises will not fit themselves to Elazar’s Conjecture without considerable effort from instructors and other scholars, and follow-up studies doubtless will reconceive Savage’s entries in the table above. I

<sup>103</sup> I deploy “candidly” here to remind myself that many who followed or built on Elazar’s Conjecture strutted their empirical stuff then denounced Elazar’s impressionistic interpretations seemed to forget how interpretive canonical analyses and especially factor analyses can be. I do not mean to suggest that such scholars attempted to fool anyone.

<sup>104</sup> Savage, “Looking for Political Subcultures: A Critique of the Rummage-Sale Approach.”

<sup>105</sup> For just one example, many differences in Savage’s Tables 7 and 8 were far from yawning.

restrict my immediate point to a claim that Savage's surmises offer ways in which to present tyros possibilities [Holmes] for politicking and governing that might however loosely correspond to enduring, underlying cultures that shape individuals and collectivities alike. Hence, Savage's surmises seem to me "just right" to both challenge and complement Elazar's Conjecture.

And what of Savage's follow-up table, reproduced as Table Three in this paper and arrayed below? By exploring core, domain, and sphere, Savage found far more imaginative associations that might be "just right" to counter and to extend modules based on Elazar's Conjecture. More important for enriching readers' and students' education in history, human geography, and similar studies, Savage conceived in his table dynamic patterns of cultural cores, domains, and spheres that varied over time and across space.<sup>106</sup> Savage derived from Elazar's Conjecture at least the rudiments of "a cultural ecology that recognizes the simultaneous alternatives of sociocultural integration due to the pressures of national norms and policies and multilinear evolution due to varied, 'inherited' cultural legacies and ecological problems."<sup>107</sup> In sum, although Savage provides no map, he provides vision from which instructors and modules could induce committed undergraduates toward perspectivism on politicking and governing.

To be sure, Savage's researches would daunt the average undergraduate and not a few graduate students. They daunt me! Adapting Savage's visions to an introductory audience would challenge those many instructors more talented and better trained than I. I think I see some potential for creating one or more maps that would display some information in Table Three by means of varying colors, patterns, and saturations; such maps might regale even first-year students with a kaleidoscope of possibilities with which to contrast Elazar's Conjecture. Such service, however, would come at steep cost to students unless those costs could be allayed by developers of modules.

Hence, although Dr. Savage reiterates and may even augment the fertility of Elazar's Conjecture and shows how policies and the evolution of policies improve on attitudes and voting behaviors in assessing cultures and his multi-dimensional thinking improves on transmogrifying data to suit statistics, translating his theoretical explorations to an audience of beginners would be imposing.

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<sup>106</sup> Savage produced a vision of dynamic diffusion and multilinear evolution of policies that an astute theorizer might incorporate into materials for advanced undergraduates or graduate students. Please see Robert L. Savage, "Policy Innovativeness as a Trait of American States," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Feb., 1978), pp. 212-224.

<sup>107</sup> Savage, "Patterns of Multilinear Evolution in the American States," p. 76. Not only do Savage's interpretations enhance Elazar's insights into national unity as three-part [dis]harmony, but Savage's interpretations are fertile suggestions for understanding tensions of federalism.

**Table Three—Savage’s Variable Correspondence to Patterns**

The Geographic Distribution of Sociocultural Area Types by Extent of Conformance to Patterning			
<i>Sociocultural</i>	<i>Extent of Conformance</i>		
<i>Area Type</i>	<i>Core</i>	<i>Domain</i>	<i>Sphere</i>
<b>Industrial</b>	New York Pennsylvania Ohio Michigan Illinois	Massachusetts New Jersey Indiana Wisconsin Minnesota Iowa Missouri Kansas California	Maine New Hampshire Rhode Island Connecticut Maryland Virginia West Virginia Kentucky Tennessee Georgia Florida Louisiana Texas Nebraska Colorado Oregon Washington
<b>Western</b>	North Dakota South Dakota Wyoming Montana Idaho Utah	Maine New Hampshire Vermont Rhode Island Delaware West Virginia Oklahoma Nebraska Colorado New Mexico Arizona Nevada Oregon Washington	Connecticut New Jersey Maryland Virginia Kentucky Tennessee South Carolina Florida Indiana Wisconsin Minnesota Iowa Missouri Kansas Arkansas California
<b>Southern</b>	North Carolina Alabama Mississippi	Florida Georgia South Carolina Virginia Kentucky Tennessee Arkansas Louisiana Texas	Wisconsin Massachusetts Indiana Maryland West Virginia Oklahoma New Mexico Arizona California

**§4.4 Professor Lieske’s Map proliferates regions in a manner more intriguing for theorists and specialists than “just right” for teaching beginning [and probably advanced] students of U. S. politics.**

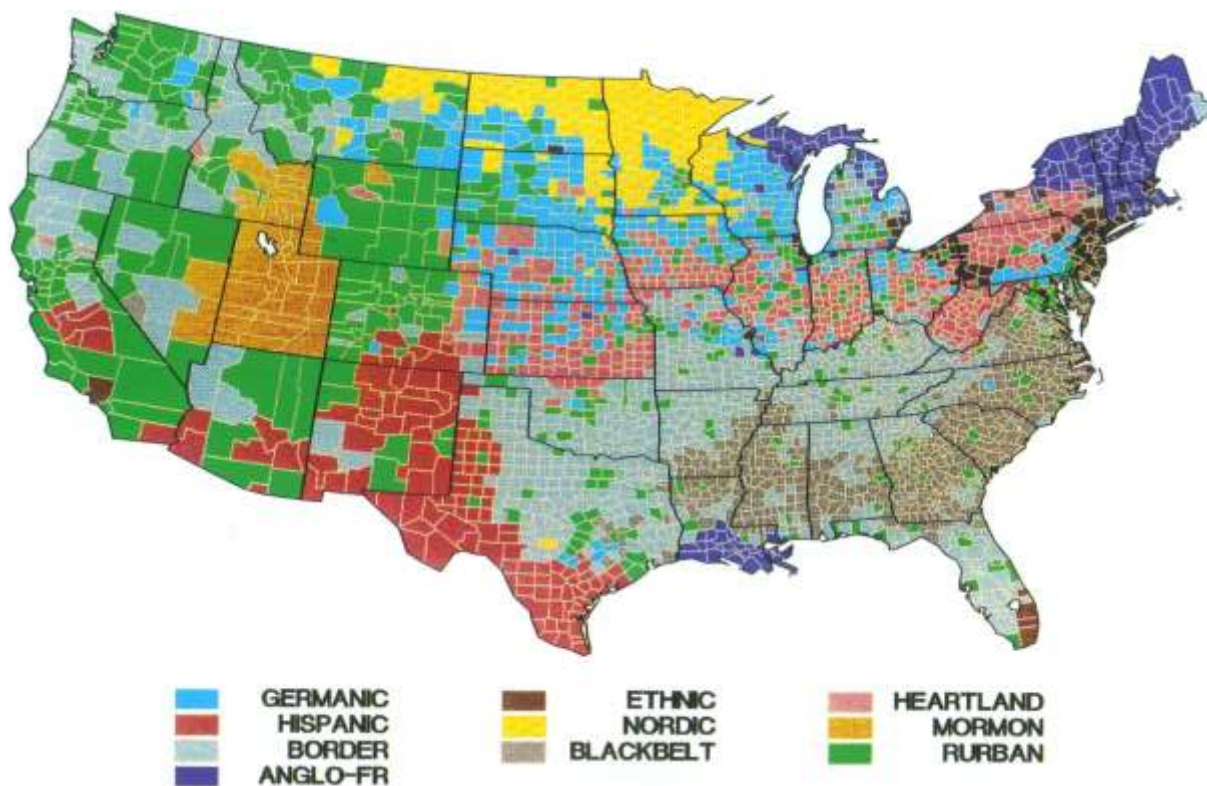
Professor Lieske’s county-based splatter painting of the United States<sup>108</sup> poses potential to test, condition, and enhance Elazar’s Conjecture in ways that instructors might use to reach some undergraduates in a manner consistent with Goldilocks and Holmes, but his revelatory inflation to ten categories will probably not stick with students as long as Lieske’s impressive and expressive map as a whole, and Lieske’s monikers would need extensive “rebranding.”

To read the following from Professor Joel Lieske’s 1993 article is to see in an instant why his work would defy undergraduates yet might, if it could be tailored to ordinary undergraduates, enligh-

<sup>108</sup> For focus and concision, I have selected the excellent, vivid map from Joel Lieske, “Regional Subcultures of the United States,” *Journal of Politics* (November 1993) p. 907 and discussed neither his disquisition on shifting subcultures [Joel Lieske, “The Changing Regional Subcultures of the American States and the Utility of a New Cultural Measure,” *Political Research Quarterly* (September 2010)] nor his updated measurement [Joel Lieske “American State Cultures: Testing a New Measure and Theory,” *Publius* (Winter 2012)]. Each and all are worthy of scholars’ reading and consideration.

ten them greatly. “This study develops the case, theory, and statistical methodology for a new measure of American regional subcultures. Using principal component and cluster analysis on some 45 measures of racial origin, ethnic ancestry, religious affiliation, and social structure, I show how the entire population of U.S. counties can be partitioned into 10 distinctive, regional subcultures that are relatively homogeneous and contiguous.”<sup>109</sup>

**Map 8—Lieske’s Countywise Splatter Painting**



And with what a map Lieske regales us! This colorful map challenges Elazar’s Conjecture when these ethnoreligious regions reveal some additional information or cross-cutting inferences about politicking and governing or, more likely, enable instructors to qualify Elazar’s “Big Ideas” with notions of smaller enclaves. A beholder of Lieske’s splatter art who “steps back” to take in the “lower forty-eight” visualizes regions that correspond to and contrast with Elazar’s mapping, at once complimenting and complementing Elazar’s visions.

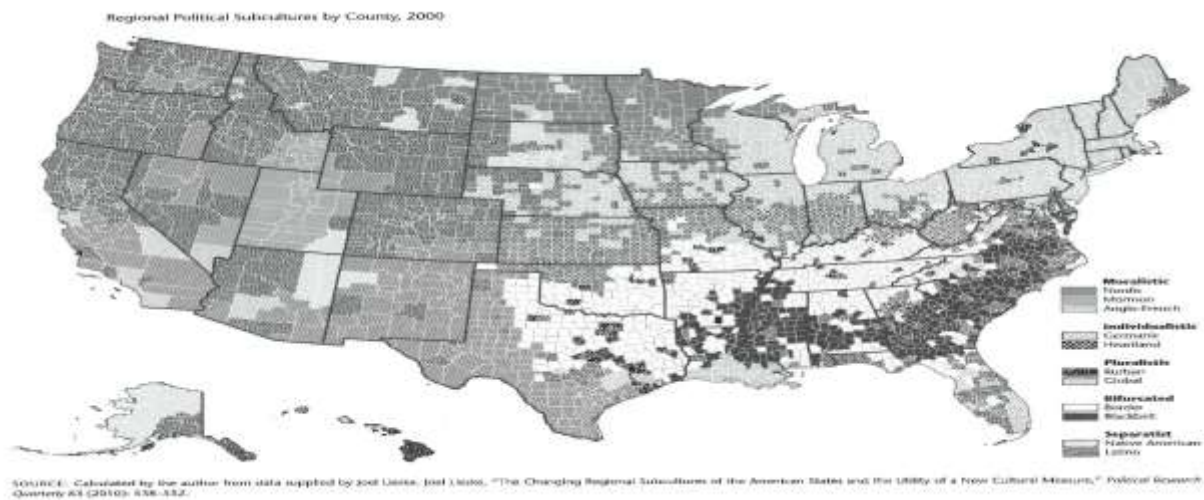
If Professor Lieske’s colorful map above or Professor Gray’s black-and-white map below [formulated in like manner from later data] conveys a wealth of information and inference that might enhance education, albeit at a cost too imposing for undergraduates in an introductory course, the monikers in each map are neither as imaginative as Holmes might demand nor as “just right” as Goldilocks might insist. However apt “RURBAN,” “HEARTLAND,” or “BORDER” may to label

<sup>109</sup> Lieske, “Regional Subcultures of the United States,” p. 888.



clusters or rotated factors, those labels need not impress specialists as all that evocative and likely will not impress undergraduates at all. Gray reduced Lieske’s eleven categories—please note, Lieske increased his regions from ten to eleven in 2010<sup>110</sup>—to five categories, reducing proliferation of regions that must be held in mind, but her labels for the five daunt my imagination and understanding, so I am not optimistic that I can persuade an underclassperson to ruminate on matters even with such a minor proliferation of categories. For example, although “bifurcated” seems to me evocative of “border” versus “blackbelt” mindsets, I do not see how “bifurcated” supplants Elazar’s traditionalistic subculture without great loss of historical, geographical, and cultural understanding. If “separatist” aptly subsumes “Native American” and “Latino”—and I am not yet persuaded that it must—what does that additional category add to or clarify from Elazar’s Conjecture? What politics or government should students associate with categories that Lieske and Gray proliferate?

**Map 9—Fitting Lieske’s Regions to Elazar’s<sup>111</sup>**



Only once I am more confident how the maps, tables, and graphics of Elazar and others might be “retrofitted” profitably and sensibly for introductory students would I be at all ready to assess how Lieske’s [and Gray’s] dazzling displays and penetrating insights might increase beginners’ appreciation of subnational politicking in ways “just right” [Goldilocks] to incite imagination and memory [Holmes]. Even if complementary, contrasting maps were adaptable to tyros far more than extant maps have been, Lieske’s [and Gray’s] monikers would need refining to implant memorable ideas. These obstacles surmounted, the proliferation of categories would remain hard even for specialized pedants to recall and to keep in mind.

**§4.5 Political Geography has proliferated regions more micro-targeted than Elazar’s; these may prove “just right” for teaching beginners about electoral politicking more local than Elazar’s multi-state regions.**

Two co-authored books associated with Professor James G. Gimpel combine statistical, electoral analyses with grounded interpretations that might condition or qualify Elazar’s Conjecture and remind instructors and students alike that Elazar’s three-part harmony hardly explains all about elections and voting, let alone about the vast remainder of political and governmental “culture.”

<sup>110</sup> Lieske, “The Changing Regional Subcultures of the American States and the Utility of a New Cultural Measure.”

<sup>111</sup> Virginia Gray, “The Socioeconomic and Political Context of States.”

*Patchwork Nation* and *Our Patchwork Nation* offer those who develop supplements broad, deep potential for instruction about subnational politicking going on “beneath” the regional level. Realizing that potential in introductory materials will be no mean feat, for displaying the panoply of electoral groupings entails much proliferation of types and risks labeling such types in a manner hard to keep in mind in the short run of the quarter or semester, let alone over the long haul after graduation.

**§4.5.1 In *Patchwork Nation*, Professors Gimpel and Schuknecht provide state maps and general monikers with some potential to enhance Elazar’s Conjecture in ways that instructors can use to reach some undergraduates as Goldilocks and Holmes might counsel; however, would require greater skill than possessed by the author of this paper.**

While Gimpel and Schuknecht<sup>112</sup> may suffer shortcomings of behavioral scientism, they nonetheless reveal aspects of subnational [and even countywise] governance and politics, especially electioneering, that make *Patchwork Nation* useful for undergraduates to learn about modern micro-targeting marketing and centripetal influences and sorting that question the *unum* in the motto with strategic induction and systematic inferences rather than fishing expeditions and prefab datasets. *Patchwork Nation* presents state-by-state case studies but draws trends in a manner that permits comparisons and contrasts. While much of the quantitative analysis, especially the travails of ecological inference, will lose novices amid large-scale spaces, times, and cultures, Gimpel and Schuknecht examine patterns across spaces—including substate spaces—and times [presidential elections 1988-2000 and 1928-1936]. True, the book emphasizes attitudes more than values, but such a focus makes sense when writing of *Sectionalism and Political Change in American Politics*, as the subtitle discloses. Still, more than a little geography [SPACE] albeit within states, more than a little electoral history [TIME], and some great insights into local ethos and mores, values and traditions, geographies physical and human, and societies, economies, and ways of life [CULTURE] make *Patchwork Nation* valuable.

For purposes of my expiating 40 years of insufficient instruction, however, the signal virtue of Gimpel and Schuknecht lies in the systematic analyses and interpretations in their twelve case studies.<sup>113</sup> I must concede that the focus of the work is electioneering and voting rather than other forms of politicking and governing and that such a narrow purview does not match the broad, deep, and rich analyses Professor Elazar performed. Nonetheless, Gimpel and Schuknecht’s emphasis on voting behavior is instrumental to examinations of broader and disparate social changes in twelve states and those examinations facilitate challenging some “Big Ideas” in Elazar’s Conjecture from beneath. First, Gimpel and Schuknecht demonstrate how and why geography [SPACE] affects political<sup>114</sup> [and sometimes social or societal] change and over times more [1988-2000] and less limited [ecological estimates]. Second, their centering of compositional as opposed to contextual changes depletes context [about which they admit some skepticism] of dynamics and dialectics in favor of behavioral and group characteristics or traits. Five group-level characteristics—race, ethnicity, class, ideology, and religiosity—are used to account at specific times and in specific elections for change that is mostly partisan or at least electoral. They account for partisan or electoral changes over longer times by conversions, mobilization and counter-mobilization, generational replacement, and

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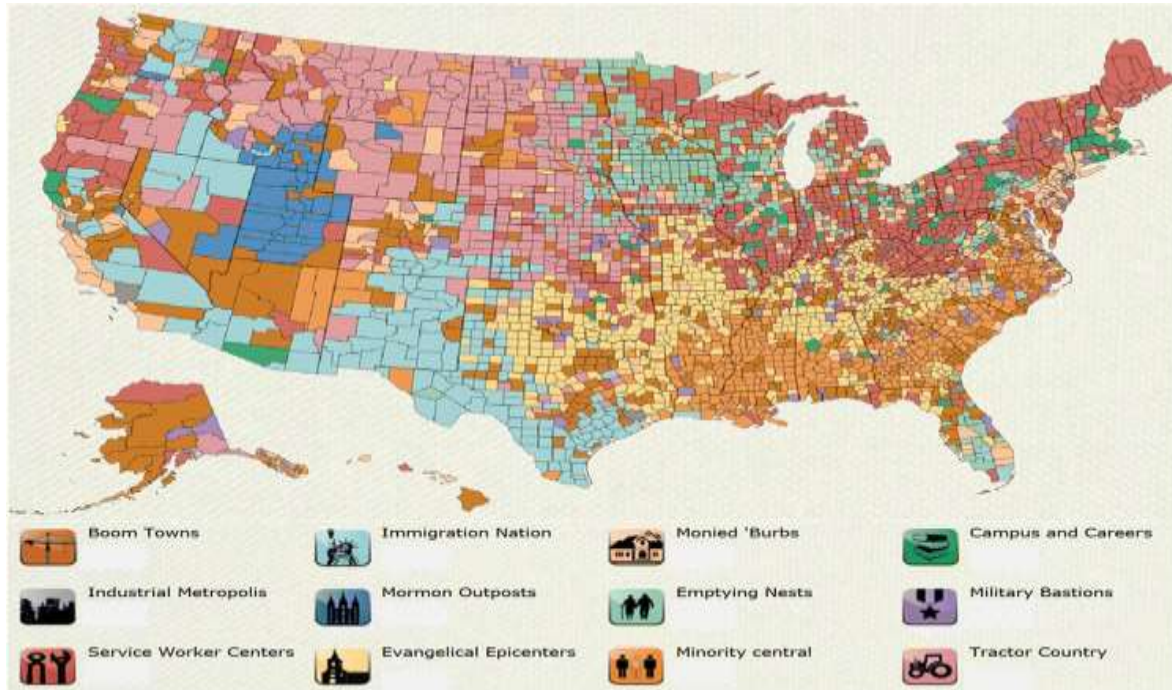
<sup>112</sup> Gimpel and Schuknecht, *Patchwork Nation*. To understand the task of translating this sophisticated work to an aid to undergraduates, please see Randolph C. Horn’s review of *Patchwork Nation* in *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 67, No. 3 (August 2005) pp. 962-964. Distinguishing compositional from contextual factors in voting statistics must challenge scholar-instructors, let alone tyros.

<sup>113</sup> California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, and Texas.

<sup>114</sup> *Patchwork Nation* focuses mostly on partisan or electoral changes.

population inflows and outflows. Third, their case studies introduce considerable system but no little interpretation. Fourth, making presidential elections the objects of explanation plays to the little that “low-information” beginners are likely to know something about.

### Map 10—Chinni and Gimpel’s Countywise Splatter Painting



[https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Patchwork-Nation-Community-Types-Source-Chinni-and-Gimpel-2011-Note-taken\\_fig1\\_305028359](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Patchwork-Nation-Community-Types-Source-Chinni-and-Gimpel-2011-Note-taken_fig1_305028359)

§4.5.2 Maps and Monikers in *Our Patchwork Nation*, adjusted to beginning students to satisfy Goldilocks and Holmes, may compete with or even complement Elazar’s large, bold, and memorable ideas, but can only extend politicking and governing if modules highlight localized political and governmental features distinctive to the dozen categories and easily mastered and recalled.

The map above displays twelve types of communities that Journalist Dante Chinni and Political Geographer James Gimpel induced and introduced in *Our Patchwork Nation*.<sup>115</sup> The dozen exemplars of emergent communities challenge Elazar’s dynamic, evolving “Big Ideas”—Elazar’s tracing CULTURES across TIME and SPACE—but a dozen enclaves featuring distinctive politics and policies will likely defy the recollection of all but the most retentive tyros a week or so after the final examination [if not before!]. As with so many exploratory inductions, Chinni and Gimpel’s statistics will defy more than a few instructors, not to mention almost all undergraduates. Despite their proliferation of categories, Chinni and Gimpel splatter art map reveals dynamics “underlying” and perhaps conditioning or even contradicting Elazar’s three-part harmony. While Goldilocks and Holmes

<sup>115</sup> Chinni and Gimpel, *Our Patchwork Nation*. Because the colorful map from the cover of their book featured no key, I have substituted a modified version based on Chinni and Gimpel: [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Patchwork-Nation-Community-Types-Source-Chinni-and-Gimpel-2011-Note-taken\\_fig1\\_305028359](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Patchwork-Nation-Community-Types-Source-Chinni-and-Gimpel-2011-Note-taken_fig1_305028359); last accessed 11 October 2021.

might counsel that developer(s) of modules would have to surmount the sheer variety of community types, deepen the presentist focus of the data, and make the methodological derring-do by which the map was derived at least somewhat understandable, Chinni and Gimpel's interpretive journalism may make their alternative depiction "just right" for instructors and students if the imaginative, well-written capsules may be "mined" for signal, typical features of democracy and aristocracy, pluralism and elitism, and libertarian, egalitarian, or authoritarian tendencies, or like characteristics or qualities. To Elazar's longer-run harmony and disharmony Chinni and Gimpel add shorter-run pushes and pulls, complements and competition, centrifugal and centripetal forces—if the "Big Map" throws into stark relief with what Elazar's "Big Ideas" must in the here and now and in the workaday polity overcome if those "Big Ideas" are to continue to shape politics and governance. Each dialectic between a perhaps ephemeral present at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and enduring local patterns over a longer period could illuminate Elazar's insights concerning CULTURES across TIME and SPACE.

But Chinni and Gimpel based their tome primarily on voting behaviors hence on attitudes. Perhaps the emphasis on attitudes rather than values, on behaviors rather than habits would compel developers of modules and instructors in courses to work from recent electioneering and campaigning "back" to historical dynamics and other, bigger ideas. *Our Patchwork Nation* would make an affordable supplementary text to provide beginners an introductory snapshot of voting enclaves and regions of an ever more bygone era—prior to the Tea Party and to the Trump campaigns—but, to expiate my guilt, would require supplementation about elements of politics other than elections.

Beyond the presentist orientation and emphasis on electoral attitudes and behaviors of a striking map, the proliferation of categories offers a cacophony of possibilities difficult to fix in the minds of students in the present and perhaps impossible to keep in mind for long after the course. Even if a few of the dozen categories persisted in memory long after the final examination, I should expect that "patches" would change and perhaps—to remain with the patchwork metaphor—bleed into one another. Please survey again the monikers on the map inset above. Monikers represent Chinni's and Gimpel's best renderings [*sic*] of the outputs of their statistical procedures. Some of the monikers seem to me to be stable interpretations of meso- if not micro-markets. I should not anticipate that "Mormon Outposts" or "Military Bastions" or "Campus and Careers" would change rapidly, so those patches persist. In contrast, I should expect "Boom Towns" and "Emptying Nests" and "Service Workers Centers" to mutate. Specialists better informed than I—including, I expect, a majority of the attendees at the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association panel—may adjudge other patches to be relatively permanent or relatively protean. Students could acquire from map and monikers, I conclude, the worthwhile "Big Idea" that *Our Patchwork Nation* involves a kaleidoscope of attitudes and behaviors but little more learning likely to persist long after students graduate.

### §4.5.3 The Patchworks, separately and together, may complement Elazar's Conjecture.

Chinni and Gimpel and Gimpel and Schuknecht provide patchworks useful to counter national foci characteristic of so many introductions to U. S. politics. Each patchwork seems to me likely to deepen the learning of scholars, theorists, and graduate students, but each would demand "translation" for tyros. Openness to perspectivism and ranges of possibilities and inventive, imaginative monikers are assets Holmes could admire albeit that the sheer plenitude of categories and types must overmatch all but the most retentive readers. Not the methodology but the meaning(s) of implications must be translated for and to newbies—and, let's be candid, plenty of our colleagues!—if either patchwork is to prove "just right" for an introduction. That translation will fall on developers and instructors, only some of whom likely will bear the burdens adequately well. Nonetheless, these and other political geographies may throw Elazar's Conjecture into sharper

relief and thereby enable even first-time students of U. S. politics to look beyond Washington D. C. and to learn about democratic republics far closer to students' homes and lives.

**§4.6 I conclude, tentatively, that five reviewed works show promise for enhancing Elazar's ideas if those who develop modules and those who teach the modules can follow the leads of Goldilocks and Holmes.**

I have reviewed contributions from many social scientists and a few journalists to see how those might improve prospects for introductory supplements that might meet the standards of Goldilocks and Holmes. I have dismissed almost out of hand heavily statistical journal articles and chapters published roughly contemporaneous with the three editions of Elazar's *American Federalism* because I despaired of conveying the insights of the articles to undergraduates and because I found that canonical fishing expeditions landed too few "keepers."<sup>116</sup> I have highlighted offerings from Robert Savage, Colin Woodard, Joel Lieske, Virginia Gray, Gimpel and Schuknecht, and Chinni and Gimpel that do, in my reading and rumination, reinforce and reconsider Elazar's insights panoramic as well as granular. I have confessed that I am unsure how to tame the complexities and intricacies without distracting tyros from my object, which is subnational politicking and governing. Can the insights into politicking and governing that Elazar conveys be supplemented in ways that satisfy Goldilocks and Holmes? I have no answer yet. I am reasonably certain that I cannot fit the breadth and depth of insights into accessible, understandable, and memorable lessons and modules. Whether my betters can do so I leave to their judgment.

**§5.0 Concessions and Conclusions**

I apologize for the length of this paper and the number and prolixity of footnotes. As much as a conference paper for colleagues, this paper is a memorandum to myself regarding a project for looming retirement.

I concede that more granular connections would be advisable to drive home to beginners the importance throughout students' lives of politicking and governing at subnational levels. Having opted for "Big Ideas" such as reconciling democratic, egalitarian, and libertarian values, impulses, symbols, and shibboleths, I have perforce skimmed on workaday "small ideas" such as practicality and practicability. Links between Elazar's grand scheme and local politics will have to be exemplified by and fitted to fundamentals.<sup>117</sup> However, connections finer-grained than the "Big Ideas" will cost instructors and students in time, pages, and—perhaps most important—attention. I do not know how to "deliver" instruction that beginners can access, master, and recall past the final examination except by forwarding a few types or idealizations.

I concede further that others than I would be better suited to the instruction of novices and development of supplemental materials. Specialists in subnational politicking and governing would

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<sup>116</sup> For too many particulars amid too much snark, please see Haltom, "Regional Cultures of the United States: The Problem of Serial Interdisciplinarity," [https://www.pugetsound.edu/sites/default/files/2021-10/William\\_Haltom-PNwPSA-2019-Draft-Final.pdf](https://www.pugetsound.edu/sites/default/files/2021-10/William_Haltom-PNwPSA-2019-Draft-Final.pdf); last accessed 6 October 2021. I caution readers that, acerbic as I was in reviewing scientific, pseudo-nomothetic articles purporting to assay Elazar's creations, those articles were generally unhelpful.

<sup>117</sup> By "fundamentals" I mean details about how local, municipal, county [or parish or borough], and state governments proceed. Please see, for example, *How American Governments Work* Roger L. Kemp (ed.) (McFarland and Company 2002).

be trained far better and would—I hope!—know so much more than I have learned. If anyone makes it through this paper, by that act of perseverance alone she or he would improve on me.

Let me concede as well that my invoking Goldilocks and Holmes as methodological guides is more than a little whimsical.

The above conceded, I conclude that introducing students to architectonic notions of democratic, republican self-government beyond the national level might be accomplished by suiting Elazar's Conjecture to supplemental materials that do not require much reading. I have argued for splashy graphics, especially maps, to dramatize the varieties of politicking and governing across spaces, over times, and amid cultures. I have advocated improving monikers by infusing types or labels with theoretical dimensions, with resonant idealizations, and with memorable images. I do not doubt that members of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association can come up with other ways in which to endow introductory courses with incitements to learn about more than the one government formed from and by the many governments not centered in the District of Columbia.

Beyond Elazar's interplay of individualistic, moralistic, and traditionalistic orientations, perspectives, and impulses as a memorable template that tyros can acquire if not master in their introductory course, I have concluded that ideas, interpretations, and arguments in multiple published works authored by Robert Savage, Colin Woodard, Joel Lieske, and James Gimpel promise to enhance Elazar's extensive, deep, rich corpus if and to the extent that the insights of those leading thinkers can meet the strictures that I have attributed to Goldilocks and Holmes. I do not doubt that many members of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association can come up with other experts and other works that will satisfy Goldilocks and Holmes and educate novices better.

If not by the means I have imagined, how? I am open to suggestions.

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