

differences, the towns are too nearly the same to account entirely for the difference of 2 to 1 or more in business establishments, clubs, churches, and community facilities.

The cultural background differs as follows: More Arvin residents are native American, but far fewer are native Californian; most Arvin residents come from the Dust Bowl states while the people of Dinuba represent a wide and even scatter of state origins; and finally the duration of residence of Arvin and Dinuba persons is greatly at variance.

The differences are most difficult to assess. It would be hazardous to suggest that the people from any one area have greater cultural or physical capability for creating a social environment more in keeping with American tradition than people from some other section of the Nation. Local opinion is frequently derogatory of people from the Dust Bowl states, using the epithet "Okie" in referring to them and according them poor social standing. But upon closer questioning and examination, these references and social evaluations appear to be not actually directed at their place of origin but at their economic status and level of living. Cultural differences are recognized, of course. Religious behavior and beliefs stand out among such differences, but also manner of dress, colloquial expressions, and conceptions of morality show regional differentiation in America. But the differences between Arvin and Dinuba were not differences in culture but differences in the successful fulfillment of a common cultural tradition. Three fundamental reasons therefore appear which make it impossible to accord direct causative force to place of origin (keeping in mind always that we are not dealing with economic circumstances.) First, the difficulty of assessing cultural differences to separate states or regions in the United States. It would be impossible to assert that the people in the Texas-Arkansas-Oklahoma area either have social values which are universally poorer than those of the remainder of the United States or that they are socially or physically incapable of achieving such values. Second, the behavior patterns that are differentiable between people from that region—either differences in culture or in economic status—are rapidly sloughed and efforts are made to conform to dominant patterns. Older residents generally recognize that the faults found among "Okies" in their personal habits were changed "as soon as they learned better."

The religious beliefs brought by immigrants from the Dust Bowl is predominantly fundamentalist, and is a cultural characteristic which sets them off from older California residents. Yet a study made of this aspect of migrant workers' behavior shows that they readily take on the religious expressions of the older residents when resettling in California communities.²¹ There is evidence that the changes both in personal habits and religion follow from changes in economic conditions as much as or more than from cultural assimilation and education.

Third, while Arvin has a higher proportion of Dust Bowl migrants than Dinuba (66 percent as against 30), this is merely a reflection of the different occupation structures in the two towns. This can be shown, for laborers are predominantly from that area (80 percent in Arvin and 60 percent in Dinuba) whereas they make up relatively unimportant proportions of the independently employed category (40

²¹ Walter R. Goldschmidt, *Class Denominationalism in California Rural Churches*, *op. cit.*