CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPES:

Diversity and Uniformity

The Amish, one of the most distinctive folk culture groups in the United States and Canada, pursue traditional farming methods.

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AP Learning Objectives

- Define the characteristics, attitudes and traits that influence geographers when they study culture.
- Describe the characteristics of cultural landscapes.

- Explain how landscape features and land and resource use reflect cultural beliefs and identities.

- Explain how the process of diffusion results in changes to the cultural landscape.

China's urban landscape features replicas of world land-marks including Athens' Parthenon, Sydney's Opera House, Egypt's Great Sphinx of Giza, London's Tower Bridge, Paris' Arc de Triomphe, Venice's Grand Canal, the Roman Colosseum, the Moscow Kremlin, and the White House in Washing-ton D.C. Some of these landmarks are functional, serving as highway bridges, concert venues, theme parks, or shopping malls. Others are purely ornamental such as the 108-meter (354-foot) tall version of Paris' Eiffel Tower that squats in the center of a gated neighborhood.

As China opened its economy to the world, its civic lead-ers and designers repeated a long-established tradition among American elites—the Grand Tour of European capital cities and landmarks. In addition to Europe, their tours included some of North America's most distinctive landscapes such as the sprawl-ing suburbs of southern California and the neon-lit Las Vegas strip. The Chinese tourists brought back more than photographs. They returned with building measurements, furnishings, and de-signers, aiming to replicate what they'd seen abroad.

Some Chinese middle-class urbanites reside in neighborhoods that carry the name and capture the look of some of the world's most desirable places. New developments in Chinese cities have opened with names such as Manhattan Gardens, Orange County, Palm Springs, Thames Town, and Vancouver Forest. The Orange County development near Beijing mimics the white stucco and red-tile roofs of single-family houses in sunny southern California. Beijing's Vancouver Forest neighborhood imitates its namesake's housing styles and tree-lined streets. Thames Town features Tu-dor and Georgian architecture just like London, classic red British phone booths, and statues of Harry Potter and Winston Churchill. Like many other Chinese real estate investment schemes, the Thames Town development has failed to attract the planned num-ber of residents. Instead, wedding parties and photographers are among the most common users of its quaint landscape.

These uncanny Chinese copies of foreign landmarks and landscapes reflect the rising economic power of China, its fasci-nation with Western culture, and the growth of its own popular, consumer culture. Nowhere is the growth of Chinese consumer culture more apparent than in its immense shopping malls. The three largest shopping malls in the world are all located in China. The New South China Mall features twice as much leasable space as the famed Mall of America in Minnesota. China's malls brim with consumer goods from stores such as Gap and H&M, luxury brands such as Gucci and Louis Vuitton, and global chain restau-rants such as KFC and McDonalds. Some critics complain that the extensive borrowing from elsewhere has led to the neglect of Chi-na's rich cultural fabric, its distinctive cultural landscapes, and its historic folk-building traditions. As such, these additions to the Chinese landscape demonstrate the importance and interweaving of cultural landscapes and cultural identities.

7.1 Cultural Identities

The kaleidoscope of culture presents an endlessly changing de-sign, different for every society, world region, and national unit. Ever present in each of its varied patterns, however, are persis-tent fragments of diversity amidst the spreading color of uni-formity. One distinctive element of diversity derives from *folk*

culture—the material and nonmaterial aspects of daily life pre-served by small, local groups partially or totally isolated from the mainstream currents of the larger society around them. Additional sources of diverse cultural identities are provided by language, religion, and ethnicity, as we have seen in Chapters 5 and 6. Gender, and norms related to it, adds an additional element of cultural diversity. Finally, given time, easy communication, and common interests, globalized *popular* culture may provide a unifying color to the kaleidoscope, reducing differences among formerly distinc-tive groups, though perhaps not totally eradicating them.

In this chapter, we will trace the tensions between diver-sity and uniformity, particularly in U.S. and Canadian contexts, where diversified immigration provided the ethnic mix, frontier and rural isolation encouraged folk differentiation, and modern technology produced the leveling of popular culture. Along the way, we shall see the close interconnections between folk and popular culture, as well as reactions against the unifying tenden-cies of globalized popular culture. For geographers, the world is composed of multiple cultural landscapes bearing the imprint of human culture: values, preferences, activities, social relations, and technologies. Landscape features as varied as land survey systems, houses, shopping malls, and heritage landscapes can all be interpreted to better understand diverse cultural identities and the tensions between diversity and uniformity (**Figure 7.1**).

Folk Culture

Folk connotes traditional and nonfaddish, the characteristic or prod-uct of a cohesive, largely self-sufficient group that is isolated from the larger society surrounding it. **Folk culture,** therefore, may be defined as the collective heritage of institutions, customs, skills, dress, stories, music, and way of life of a small, stable, close-knit, usually rural community. Tradition controls folk culture, and resis-tance to change is strong. The homemade and handmade dominate in tools, food, music, story, and ritual. Buildings are erected without

Figure 7.1 Disney films and merchandise are popular around the world. Part of their popularity may stem from the fact that many of the sto-ry lines were adapted from classic folk tales. Disney movies, merchandise, and theme parks symbolize the globalization of popular culture. Starting with Disneyland, which opened in southern California in 1955, Disney has built theme parks in Florida, Paris, Tokyo, Hong Kong, and Shanghai.
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architect or blueprint using locally available building materials. Folk societies, because of their subsistence, self-reliant economies, and limited technologies, are particularly responsive to physical environmental circumstances. Thus, foodstuffs, herbs, and medicinal plants reflect what is naturally available or able to be grown locally, and buildings reflect local climate and available materials.

Folk culture is often understood in opposition to popular or mass culture. It is seen as the unchanging, rural way of life, largely relegated to nonmodern, "traditional" peoples untouched by outside influences of mass media and market economies. Where folk culture exists in developed countries like the United States, it is found only among socially or geographically isolated rural groups—for example, the Amish, some Native American communities, or the presumably reclusive mountain folk of Appalachia. The prevailing notion in most of America is that the artifacts, beliefs, and practices of folk culture are curious reminders of the past, to be relegated to museums or tourist destinations offering the quaint and exotic "other." Thus, the relationship between folk and popular culture tends to be portrayed as one of conflict with folk culture doomed to eventual extinction by the forces of modernization and globalization. As we shall see, reality is more complex, with complicated linkages between folk and popular culture.

Although folk cultures are conservative and tend to resist innovations, they are not static. They often demonstrate flexibility and creativity when they encounter new or changing environmental or social circumstances, and they adapt accordingly. Indeed, all cultures were subsistence rural folk cultures until people built cities and developed a class hierarchy in which social and economic stratification began to differentiate the elite from commoners. The popular or mass culture that now so totally dominates modern life is a product of the industrialization and urbanization trends that began in the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe and the United States. Recently, globalization of popular culture has affected nearly every inhabited corner of the world. People everywhere tend to discard or alter elements of their folk culture when confronted with the attractions of modernity. Despite the tourism trade's efforts to sell "pristine" traditional cultures as a commodity, few if any groups remain, even in the developing world, that are still totally immersed in folk culture.

Yet folk cultural elements persist in all advanced societies. In Japan, traditional culture is tenaciously preserved in a highly industrialized and urbanized society that enthusiastically embraces nearly every fad produced by the Western culture that they have adopted. And the popularity in the United States of folk-themed movies and music (such as Mumford and Sons) and the proliferation of folk music and folk life festivals are evidence that folk culture is far from irrelevant to modern society. Rather, it should be viewed as an underlying foundation for popular culture, intersecting and influencing popular culture.

Folk life in its unaltered form, however, is a cultural whole composed of both tangible and intangible elements. **Material culture** is made of physical, visible things: everything from musical instruments to furniture, tools, and buildings. **Nonmaterial culture,** in contrast, is the intangible part, the mentifacts and sociofacts expressed in oral tradition, folk song and folk story, and customary behavior. Ways of speech, patterns of worship, outlooks, and philosophies are parts of the nonmaterial component passed to following generations by teachings and examples.
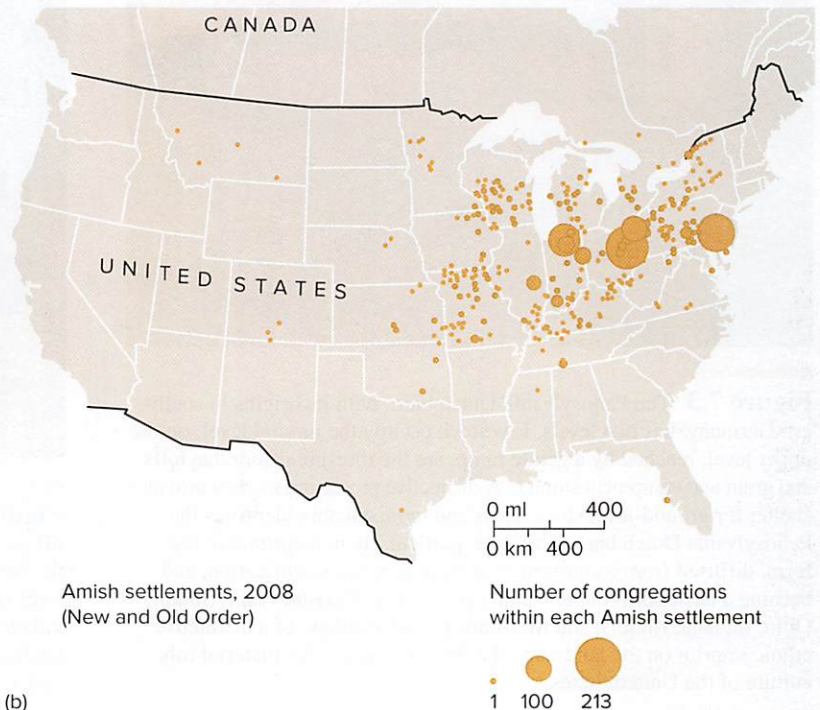
Within the United States, true folk societies are rare; the impacts of industrialization, urbanization, and mass communication have been too pervasive for their full retention. The Old Order Amish, with their rejection of electricity, the internal combustion engine, and other "worldly" accoutrements in favor of buggies, hand tools, and traditional dress are one of the least altered—and few—folk societies of the United States (**Figure 7.2**). Yet the Amish are very adept at dealing with the

(a)

CANADA

UNITED STATES

0 ml 400
0 km 400

Amish settlements, 2008
(New and Old Order)

Number of congregations
within each Amish settlement

1   100   213

Figure 7.2 (a) An Amish schoolhouse surrounded by horse-drawn buggies is evidence of a surviving folk culture. Motivated by religious convictions favoring simplicity, the Old Order Amish, a small conservative branch of Protestant Christianity, shun modern luxuries and most connections with the wider secular society. Children take a horse and buggy, not a school bus, on their daily trip to this rural school in east central Illinois. (*b*) Distribution of Old Order Amish communities in the United States. Starting from Lancaster County in eastern Pennsylvania, the Amish have spread west in search of available agricultural land.

(b)

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modern world, often with the assistance of their non-Amish (or *English*, in their vernacular) neighbors. For example, they own and operate successful cheese-making and furniture businesses; occasionally ride in, but do not drive, motor vehicles; use their *English* neighbors' telephones; and use propane gas to power their refrigerators instead of the forbidden electrical power grid.

Canada, on the other hand, has more clearly recognizable folk and decorative art traditions. One observer has noted that nearly all of the national folk art traditions of Europe can be found, in one form or another, well preserved and practiced somewhere in Canada. From the earliest arts and crafts of New France to the domestic art forms and folk artifacts of the Scandinavians, Germans, Ukrainians, and others who settled in western Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, folk and ethnic traditions have been adapted to the Canadian context.

Indeed, in many respects, the geographies of ethnicity and folk culture are intertwined. The variously named *Swiss* or *Mennonite* or *Dutch* barn (**Figure 7.3**), introduced into Pennsylvania by German immigrants, has been cited as physical evidence of ethnicity; in some of its many modifications and migrations, it may also be seen as a folk culture artifact of Appalachia. The folk songs of, say, western Virginia can be examined either as

nonmaterial folk expressions of the Upland South or as evidence of the ethnic heritage derived from rural English forebears. In the New World, the debt of folk culture to ethnic origins is clear and pervasive. With the passage of time, of course, the dominance of origins recedes and new cultural patterns and roots emerge.

Culture Hearths of the United States and Canada

The United States and Canada are "lumpy stews" composed of groups of people who came with distinct ethnic identities and underwent partial or complete assimilation. They brought more than tools, kitchen items, and clothing. They brought ideas of what implements were proper to use, how to cook, dress properly, find a spouse, and practice their faith. They brought familiar songs to be sung and stories to be told, and ideas of how a house should look and a barn be built. They came, in short, with all the mentifacts and sociofacts to shape the artifacts of their way of life in their new home (**Figure 7.4**). (Mentifacts, sociofacts, and artifacts are discussed in Chapter 2.)

Their material and nonmaterial culture frequently underwent immediate modification in the New World. Climates and soils were often different from their homelands; new types of crops and livestock were found. Building materials differed. The settlers still retained the essence and the spirit of the old but made it simultaneously new and American. The first colonists, their descendants, and still later arrivals created not one but many cultural landscapes of America, defined by the structures they built, the settlements they created, and the customs they followed. The natural landscape of America became settled, and superimposed on the natural landscape as modified by its Amerindian occupants were the cultural traits and characteristics of the European immigrants.


Figure 7.3 The Pennsylvania Dutch barn, with its origins in southern Germany, has two levels. Livestock occupy the ground level; on the upper level, reached by a gentle ramp, are the threshing floor, haylofts, and grain and equipment storage. A distinctive projecting forebay provides shelter for ground-level stock doors and unmistakably identifies the Pennsylvania Dutch barn. The style, particularly in its primitive log form, diffused from its eastern origins, underwent modification, and became a basic form in the Upland (i.e., off the Coastal Plain) South, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. It is an example of a distinctive ethnic imprint on the landscape that became part of the material folk culture of the United States.

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Figure 7.4 The reconstructed Plimoth Plantation in Massachusetts offers visitors a 17th century village experience. The first settlers in the New World carried with them fully developed cultural identities. Even their earliest settlements reflected established ideas of house and village form. Later, they were to create a variety of distinctive cultural landscapes reminiscent of their homeland areas, though modified by American environmental conditions and material resources.

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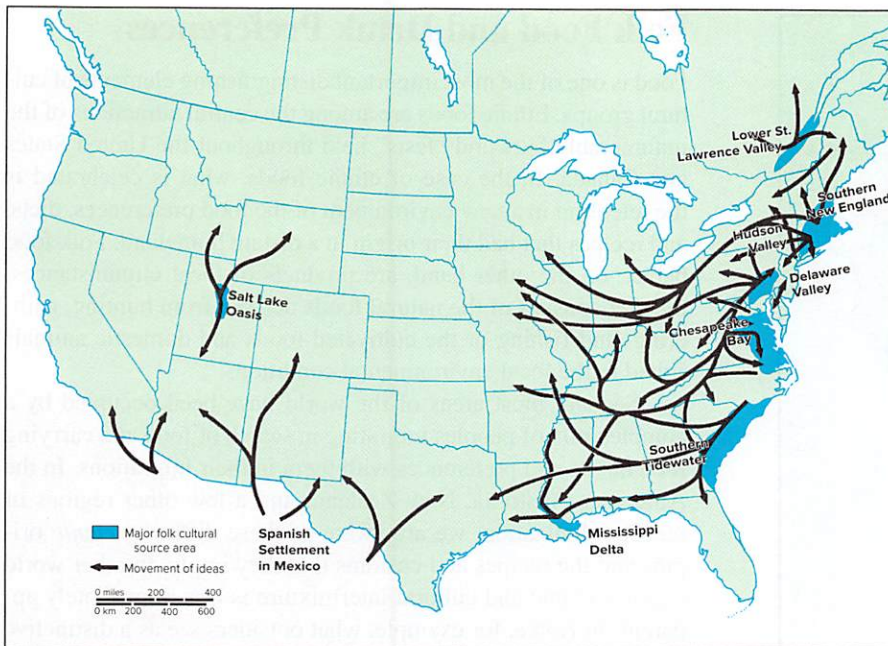
Figure 7.5 Folk culture hearths and diffusion paths for the United States and Canada.

Sources: Based on Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, *37–38, 1968, University of Pennsylvania Press; Michael P. Conzen, ed.,* The Making of the American Landscape *(Winchester, Mass.: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 373. Allen G. Noble,* Wood, Brick, and Stone, Vol. 1 *(Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984); and* Annals of the Association of American Geographers, *Richard Pillsbury, Vol. 60, 446, Association of American Geographers, 1970.*

The early arrivers established footholds along the East Coast. Their settlement areas became cultural hearths, nodes of introduction into the New World—through *relocation diffusion*—of concepts and artifacts brought from the Old. Each of the North American hearths had its own mix of peoples and, therefore, its own landscape distinctiveness. Locales of innovation, they were source regions from which relocation and *expansion diffusion* carried their cultural identities deeper into the continent (**Figure 7.5**). Later arrivals, as we have seen in Chapter 6, added to the cultural mix, and in some cases, they set up independent secondary hearths in advance of or outside the main paths of diffusion. French settlement in the lower St. Lawrence Valley re-created the long lots and rural house types of northwestern France. Upper Canada was English and Scottish, with strong infusions of New England folk housing carried by Loyalists who left that area during the Revolutionary War. Southern New England bore the imprint of settlers from rural southern England, while the Hudson Valley hearth showed the imprint of Dutch, Flemish, English, German, and French Huguenot settlers.

In the Middle Atlantic area, the Delaware River hearth was created by a complex of English, Scotch-Irish, Swedish, and German influences. The Delaware Valley below Philadelphia also received the Finnish Karelians, who introduced the distinctive backwoods subsistence lifestyles, self-sufficient economies, and log cabin building techniques of their forested homeland. It was their pioneering "midland" culture that was the catalyst for the rapid advance of the frontier and successful settlement of much of the interior of the continent and, later, of the Pacific Northwest.

Coastal Chesapeake Bay held English settlers and some Germans and Scotch-Irish. The large landholdings of the area led to dispersed settlement and prevented a tightly or clearly defined culture hearth from developing. However, distinctive house types later diffused from there. The Southern Tidewater hearth was dominantly English modified by West Indian, Huguenot, and African influences. The French again were part of the Mississippi Delta hearth, along with Spanish and Haitian elements.

Later in time and deeper in the continental interior, the Salt Lake hearth marks the penetration of the distant West by the Mormons, a group identified by their religious distinctiveness. Spanish American borderlands, the Upper Midwest Scandinavian colonies, English Canada, and the ethnic clusters of the Prairie provinces could be added to the North American map of distinctive immigrant culture hearths.

The ethnic hearths gradually lost their identification with immigrant groups and became source regions of American architecture and implements, ornaments and toys, cookery and music. The evidence of the homeland was there, but the products became purely indigenous. In the isolated, largely rural American hearth regions, the ethnic culture imported from the Old World was partially transmuted into the folk culture of the New.

Folk Culture Regions of the United States and Canada

When folk **customs**—repeated, characteristic acts, behavioral patterns, artistic traditions, and conventions regulating social life—are shared by a people living in a distinctive area, a folk culture region may be recognized. Frontier settlers carrying to new, interior locations the artifacts and traditions of those hearth areas created a small set of indistinctly bounded eastern folk cultural regions (**Figure 7.6**).

From the small *Mid-Atlantic* region, folk cultural items and influences were dispersed into the North, the Upland South, and the Midwest. Furniture styles, log construction, decorative arts, house and barn types, and distinctive "sweet" cookery were among the European imports converted in the Mid-Atlantic hearth to American folk expressions.

The folk culture of the *Lowland South,* by contrast, derived from English originals and African admixtures. French influences in the Mississippi Delta hearth combined with elements from the highland areas added to the amalgam. Dogtrot and I houses became common; English cuisine was adapted to include black-eyed peas, turnip greens, sweet potatoes, small-bird pies, and syrups from sugarcane and sorghum. African origins influenced the widespread use of the banjo in music.

Folk Food and Drink Preferences

Food is one of the most important distinguishing elements of cultural groups. Ethnic foods are among the central attractions of the innumerable fairs and "fests" held throughout the United States and Canada. In the case of ethnic foods, what is celebrated is the retention in a new environment of the food preferences, diets, and recipes that had their origin in a distant homeland. Folk food habits, on the other hand, are products of local circumstances; the diet consists of the natural foods derived from hunting, gathering, and fishing or the cultivated foods and domestic animals suited to the local environmental conditions.

Second, most areas of the world have been occupied by a complex mix of peoples migrating in search of food and carrying food habits and preferences with them in their migrations. In the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, and a few other regions of recent colonization, we are aware of these differing *ethnic* origins and the recipes and customs that they imply. In other world regions, ethnic and cultural intermixture is less immediately apparent. In Korea, for example, what outsiders see as a distinctive ethnic cookery best known, perhaps, for *kimch'i*—brined, pickled, and spiced vegetables in endless combinations and uniquely Korean—also incorporates Japanese and Chinese foodstuffs and dishes.

Third, food habits are not just matters of survival but are intimately connected with the totality of *culture*. People eat what is available and also what is, to them, edible. Sheep's brains and eyeballs, boiled insects, animal blood, and pig intestines, which are delicacies in some cultures, may be unclean or disgusting to others. Further, in most societies, food and eating are considered a social experience, not just a personal one, and a specially prepared meal is the true mark of hospitality.

The interconnections among folk, ethnic, and customary food habits are evident in the U.S. diet. Of course, the animals and plants, the basic recipes and flavorings, and the specialized festive dishes of American folk groups have ethnic origins. Many originated abroad and were carried to and preserved in remote New World areas. Many were derived from the diet of the Amerindians and adapted in widely different regional contexts. Turkey, squash, pumpkin, and cranberries are among the foods adapted from Amerindians, as is corn (maize), which appeared over time south of Pennsylvania as Southern grits, Southwestern tortillas, and cornbread. Such classic American dishes as Brunswick stew (a thick stew made with vegetables and two meats, such as squirrel and rabbit or chicken), the clambake, smoked salmon, cornflakes, and beef jerky were originally Indian fare. Gradually, the environmental influences and isolation, over time created culinary distinctions among populations recognized as American rather than as ethnic immigrants.

Cookbook categories of New England, Creole, Southern, Chesapeake, Southwestern, and other regional fare may be further refined into cookbooks containing Boston, Pennsylvania Dutch, Charleston, New Orleans, Southern Tidewater, and other more localized recipes. Their diversity is ample proof of the diffusion into national and international popular culture of formerly local folk cultural distinctions. Specific American dishes that have achieved fame and wide acceptance developed locally in

Figure 7.6 Material folk culture regions of the eastern United States.

Source: Redrawn from Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, *p. 39, 1968, University of Pennsylvania Press.*

The *Upland South* showed a mixture of influences carried from the Southern Tidewater hearth and brought south from the Mid-Atlantic folk region along the Appalachian highlands by settlers of German and Scotch-Irish stock. The physical isolation of the Upland South and its Ozark Mountains outlier encouraged the retention of traditional folk culture long after it had been lost in more accessible locations. Log houses and farm structures, rail fences, traditional art and music, and home-crafted quilts and furniture make the Upland South region a prime repository of folk artifacts and customs in the United States.

The *North*—dominated by New England, but including New York State, English Canada, Michigan, and Wisconsin—showed a folk culture of decidedly English origin. The saltbox house and Boston baked beans in stoneware pots are characteristic elements. The New England–British domination is locally modified by French Canadian and central European influences.

The *Midwest*—a conglomerate of inputs from the Upland South, from the North, and, particularly, from the Mid-Atlantic region—is the least distinctive, most intermixed, and most Americanized of the cultural regions. Everywhere the interior contains evidences, both rural and urban, of artifacts carried by migrants from the eastern hearths and by newly arriving European immigrants.

response to food availability. New England seafood chowders and baked beans; southern pone, johnnycake, hush puppies, and other corn-based dishes; the wild rice of the Great Lakes states; Louisiana crayfish (crawfish); gumbo; and salmon and shellfish dishes of the Pacific coast are but a few of many examples of folk foods and recipes originally and still characteristic of specific cultural areas but now also—through cookbooks, television cooking shows, and supermarket products—made part of the national food experience.

In the United States, drink also represents a hybrid mixture of ethnic imports and folk adaptations. A colonial taste for rum was based on West Indian and Tidewater sugarcane and molasses. European rootstock was introduced, with mixed results, to develop vineyards in most seaboard settlements; the native scuppernong grape was tried for wine making in the South. Peach, cherry, apple, and other fruit brandies were distilled for home consumption. Whiskey was a barley-based import accompanying the Scots and the Scotch-Irish to America, particularly to the Appalachians. In the New World, the grain base became native corn, and whiskey making became a deeply rooted folk custom integral to the subsistence economy.

Whiskey also had significance in the cash economy. Small farmers of isolated areas far from markets converted part of their corn and rye crops into whiskey to produce a concentrated, low-volume, high-value commodity conveniently transportable by horseback over bad roads. Such farmers viewed a federal excise tax imposed in 1791 on the production of distilled spirits as an intolerable burden not shared by those who could sell their grain directly. The tax led first to a short-lived tax revolt, the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 in western Pennsylvania, and subsequently to a tradition of moonshining—producing untaxed liquor in unlicensed stills. **Figure 7.7** suggests the close association between its isolated Appalachian upland environment and illicit whiskey production in East Tennessee in the 1950s.

Folk Music

Folk music in North America is not merely intertwined with popular culture; it is the foundation for American popular music. In turn, American popular music that was derived from folk sources exerts a global influence that since the late 1800s has fostered both popular and folk music genres throughout the rest of the world. And those folk sources continue to serve as inspirations and themes for the commercial music industry, films and film scores, musical theater, concert music, and television. Here again, folk and popular culture intermingle and influence each other.

Old World songs were carried by settlers to the New World. Each group of immigrants established an outpost of a European musical community, making the American folk song, in the words of Alan Lomax, "a museum of musical antiques from many lands." But the imported songs became Americanized, hybridization between musical traditions occurred, and
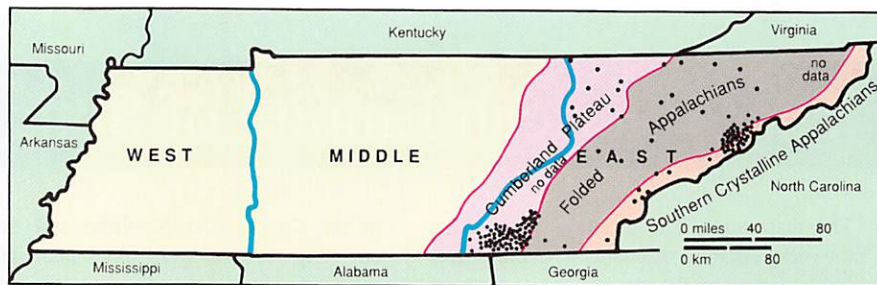
Figure 7.7 In the mid-1950s, official estimates put weekly moonshine production at 24,000 gallons in mountainous eastern Tennessee, at 6,000 gallons in partially hilly middle Tennessee, and at 2,000 gallons in flat western Tennessee. The map shows the approximate number of stills seized each month at that time in East Tennessee. Each dot indicates one still.

Source: Redrawn from Loyal Durand, "Mountain Moonshining in East Tennessee," Geographical Review 46 (New York: American Geographical Society, 1956), 171.

the American experience added its own songs of frontier life, of farming, courting, and laboring (see the feature "The American Empire of Song"). Eventually, distinctive American styles of folk music and recognizable folk song cultural regions developed (**Figure 7.8**).

The *Northern* song area—including the Maritime provinces of Canada, New England, and the Middle Atlantic states—in general featured unaccompanied solo singing in clear, hard tones. Its ballads were close to English originals, and the British
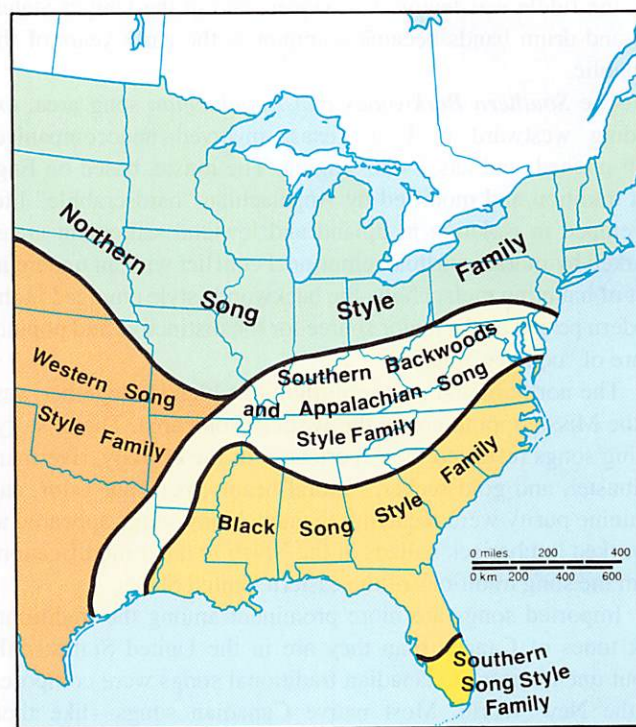
Figure 7.8 Folk song regions of eastern United States. Alan Lomax has indirectly outlined folk culture regions of the eastern United States by defining areas associated with different folk song traditions.

Source: Redrawn "Map depicting folk song regions of the Eastern U.S." by Rafael Palacios, from Folk Songs of North America by Alan Lomax, 1960.

The American Empire of Song

The map sings. The chanteys surge along the rocky Atlantic seaboard, across the Great Lakes and round the moon-curve of the Gulf of Mexico. The paddling songs of the French Canadians ring out along the Saint Lawrence and west past the Rockies. Beside them, from Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England, the ballads march towards the West.

Inland from the Sea Islands, slave melodies sweep across the whole South, from the Carolinas to Texas. And out on the shadows of the Smoky and Blue Ridge mountains, the old ballads, lonesome love songs, and hoedowns echo through the upland South into the hills of Arkansas and Oklahoma. There, in the Ozarks, the Northern and Southern song families swap tunes and make a marriage.

The Texas cowboys roll the little "doughies" north to Montana, singing Northern ballads with a Southern accent. New roads and steel rails lace the Southern backwoods to the growl and thunder of Negro chants of labor—the axe songs, the hammer songs, and the railroad songs. These blend with the lonesome hollers of levee-camp mule-skinners to create the blues, and the blues, America's *cante hondo,* uncoils its subtle, sensual melancholy in the ear of all the states, then all the world.

The blues roll down the Mississippi to New Orleans, where the Creoles mix the musical gumbo of jazz—once a dirty word, but now a symbol of musical freedom for the West. The Creoles add Spanish pepper and French sauce and blue notes to the rowdy tantara of their reconstruction-happy brass bands, stir up the hot music of New Orleans and warm the weary heart of humanity. . . . These are the broad outlines of America's folk-song map.

Source: "Introduction" from *Folk Songs of North America* by Alan Lomax, 1960, Doubleday.

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connection was continuously renewed by new immigrants, including Scots and Irish. The traditional ballads and popular songs brought by British immigrants provided the largest part of the Anglo Canadian folk song heritage. On both sides of the border, the fiddle was featured at dances, and in the United States, fife-and-drum bands became common in the early years of the Republic.

The *Southern Backwoods and Appalachian* song area, extending westward to East Texas, involved unaccompanied, high-pitched, and nasal solo singing. The music, based on English tradition and modified by Appalachian "hardscrabble" life, developed in isolation in upland and lowland settlement areas. Marked by moral, spiritual, emotional conflict with an undercurrent of haunting melancholy, the backwoods style emerged in the modern period as the major source for the distinctive and popular genre of "country" music.

The northern and southern traditions blended together west of the Mississippi to create the *Western* song area. There, storytelling songs reflected the experiences of the cowboy, riverman, sodbuster, and gold seeker. Natural beauty, personal valor, and feminine purity were recurring themes. Many songs appeared as reworked lumberjack ballads of the North or other modifications from the song traditions of the eastern United States.

Imported songs are more prominent among the traditional folk tunes of Canada than they are in the United States; only about one-quarter of Canadian traditional songs were composed in the New World. Most native Canadian songs—like their U.S. counterparts—reflected the daily lives of ordinary folk. In Newfoundland and along the Atlantic coast, those lives were bound up with the sea, and songs of Canadian origin dealt with fishing, sealing, and whaling. Remote Cape Breton Island, off the east coast of Canada, remains a refuge of traditional Scottish folk music styles that have mostly disappeared elsewhere.

Particularly in Ontario, it was the lumber camps that inspired and spread folk music. Anglo Canadian songs show a strong Irish character in pattern and tune and traditionally were sung solo and unaccompanied.

The *Black* folk song tradition, growing out of racial and economic oppression, reflects a union of American folk song, English country dancing, and West African musical patterns. The African American folk song of the rural South or the northern ghetto was basically choral and instrumental in character; hand clapping and foot tapping were used to establish rhythm. A strong beat, a leader-chorus style, and deep-pitched mellow voices were characteristic.

Rounding out the North American scene, there are the river and fur trader songs of the French Canadians and the strong Mexican American musical tradition in the Southwest.

Different folk music traditions metamorphosed and spread in the 20th century as distinctive styles of popular music. Jazz emerged in New Orleans in the later 19th century as a union of ragtime and the blues, a type of Southern black music based on work songs and spirituals. Urban blues—performed with a raw vocal delivery accompanied by electric guitars, harmonicas, and piano— was a Chicago creation, brought there largely by artists who had migrated from Mississippi. Country music spread from its Southern hearth region with the development of the radio and the phonograph in the 20th century. It became commercialized, electrified, and amplified but retained folk music elements at its core. Bluegrass style, a high-pitched derivative of Scottish bagpipe sound and church congregational singing, is performed unamplified, true to its folk origins. Bluegrass groups often take their name from local places or landscape features, emphasizing the ties of people, performers, and the land. As these examples of musical style and tradition show, the ethnic merges into the folk and the folk blends into the popular—in music and in many other elements of culture.

Popular Culture and National Uniformities

In the early 20th century, rural America was a mosaic of unique regional cultural landscapes. Socially, the cities of the eastern and midwestern parts of the country were a world apart from life on the farm. Brash and booming with the economic success of rampant industrialization, the cities were in constant flux. Building and rebuilding, adding and absorbing immigrants and rural in-migrants, increasingly interconnected by telegraph and by passenger and freight railroads, their culture and way of life were far removed from the surrounding agricultural areas.

It was in the countryside that regional cultural differentiation was most clearly seen. Although the flow of young people to the city, responding to the push of farm mechanization and the pull of urban jobs and excitement, was altering traditional social orders, the automobile, electrification, and the lively mass medium of radio had not yet obscured the distinction between urban and rural. The family farm, kinship and community ties, the traditions, ways of life, and artifacts of small town and farm existence still dominated rural life. But those ways and artifacts, and the folk cultural regions they defined, were all eroded and erased with the modernization of North American life and culture.

Regional character is transient. New immigrants, new economic challenges, and new technologies serve as catalysts of rapid change. By World War I and the Roaring Twenties, the automobile, radio, motion pictures, and a national press began to homogenize America. The slowing of the immigrant stream and assimilation of second-generation immigrants blurred some of the most regionally distinctive cultural identifications. Mechanization, mass production, and mass distribution through mail-order catalogs diminished self-sufficiency and household crafts. Popular culture began to replace traditional culture in everyday life for the majority of the population throughout the United States and Canada.

As early as the middle 19th century, women's magazines dictated taste in fashion and household furnishings, at least for urban elites. Mail order catalogs appearing in the late 19th century served the same purpose for more ordinary goods, garments, and classes of customers. Popular culture, based on fashions, standards, or fads developed in national centers of influence, diffused across wide areas and diverse social strata. Popular culture promises liberation through exposure to a much broader range of available opportunities—in clothing, foods, tools, recreations, and lifestyles—than the limited choices imposed by custom and isolation.

As we have seen, folk and popular culture are distinct but not necessarily opposites. Folk or ethnic culture is the domain of distinctive small groups, and above all, tradition. **Popular culture,** in contrast, refers to the general mass of people, mostly urban or suburban, constantly adopting, conforming to, and quickly abandoning ever-changing trends and fads promoted by the mass media and social media and sold in the market economy. Even so, folk culture often forms the inspiration and backdrop for new popular cultural forms. For example, universally enjoyed popular and spectator sports such as soccer, football, golf, and tennis originated as local and regional folk games, many of them hundreds of years old.

The popular mass culture of the latter part of the 20th century that locked millions of American viewers into sharing the "must see" offerings of variety shows, situation comedies, and evening newscasts on three national television networks had largely passed by the early 21st century. It was replaced by a culture of multiple entertainment and information niches. With hundreds of cable and satellite television channels to choose from, millions of Web sites, and proliferating social media, the mass-culture era has been transformed into one of fragmented subcultures. Individuals interact electronically with likeminded persons, become their own music and entertainment programmers, use their computer and cell phone as personal media, and forego at least some of the contact with the larger society that is implied by notions of mass popular culture.

Presumably, all mass-produced consumer goods should be equally available to all segments of a society. Our travel experiences, however, have taught us that tastes and styles differ from place to place. Similar *regionalism* can be found throughout the popular culture realm. For example, while most of the world is unfamiliar with the game of cricket, it is remarkably popular in Britain and the countries of its former empire, such as Australia, India, Pakistan, South Africa, and Sri Lanka.

Popular culture uniformity is frequently, though not exclusively, associated with national populations: the American or Canadian way of life distinguished from that of the English, the Japanese, or others. Even these distinctions are eroding as popular culture in many aspects of music, movies, sports (soccer, for example), and fashion becomes internationalized (**Figure 7.9**). Popular culture becomes dominant with the wide dissemination of common influences and with the mixing of cultures that force both ethnic and folk communities to become part of a larger homogeneous society.

Figure 7.9 Soccer is the most globalized of sports. It is extremely popular in Africa, Europe, and South America, as these Brazilian fans demonstrate. Its world championship, the World Cup, is watched by an estimated 600 million fans. The market for professional players is also highly globalized.
©kaisersosa67/iStock/Getty Images

Cultural Globalization

Popular culture exerts a leveling force, reducing but not eliminating locally distinctive lifestyles and material and nonmaterial cultures. Uniformity replaces diversity. Landscapes of popular culture also tend to acquire uniformity through the installation of standardized facilities. Within the United States, for example, national motel chains announced by identical signs, advertised by repetitive billboards, and featuring uniform facilities and services may comfort travelers with the familiar but also denies them one of the benefits of travel—local variety. Chain gas stations, discount stores, and other enterprises offer familiar standardized products and services wherever one resides or journeys.

Other material and nonmaterial items are subject to the same widespread uniformities. The latest movies are simultaneously released throughout the country; the same children's toys and adults' games are everywhere instantly available to satisfy the generated wants.

Wilbur Zelinsky reported on the speed of diffusion of a manufactured desire:

> In August, 1958, I drove from Santa Monica, California, to Detroit at an average rate of about 400 miles (650 km) per day; and display windows in almost every drugstore and variety store along the way were being hastily stocked with hula hoops just off the delivery trucks from Southern California. A national television program the week before had roused instant cravings. It was an eerie sensation, surfing along a pseudo-innovation wave.[2]

Many of these North American elements of popular culture are oriented toward the automobile, the ubiquitous means of local and interregional travel. Advertising and distinctive design assures instant recognition as chain outlets cluster along highway retail strips, guaranteeing that whatever regional character still remains, the commercial areas are everywhere the same—*placeless*. Critics perceive that the diffusion of popular culture promotes **placelessness,** the replacement of local identity and variety with a homogeneous and standardized landscape. Increasingly, news reports bring stories of communities protesting the arrival of a Wal-Mart "big box" store, the multiplication of uniform highway strip malls, and the like. For some people, that uniformity and loss of local control is unacceptable, and individuals and whole communities fight the pervasive influence of popular culture. For these protesters, globalized popular culture destroys valuable traditions, unique local identities, and a way of life that is perhaps more in tune with place and the environment. In its defense, popular culture brings a cultural uniformity that is vastly richer in choices than that which was lost.

The globalization of popular culture is seen in the rapid diffusion of brands and styles of clothing, food and drink, movies, television shows, and music. However, those uniformities are transitory. Whereas folk cultures have ingrained traditions that change only slowly and locally, popular culture tends to change rapidly and uniformly over wide expanses. That is, popular culture diffuses rapidly, even instantaneously, in our age of immediate global communication and sharing of ideas through television, radio, and the Internet. Those same media and means assure the widespread quick replacement of old fads with new. Chain stores and restaurants quickly go in and out of fashion. Now, news reports tell of communities mourning the loss of their chain stores, put out of business by online shopping in the latest wave of globalized consumption.

Imagine this scene: Wearing a Yankees baseball cap, a Hollister shirt, Abercrombie and Fitch jeans, and Nike shoes, a middle-class teenager in Shanghai, China, goes with his friends to see the latest Hollywood release. After the movie, he uses his smart phone to text-message his mother that they plan to eat at a nearby McDonald's. Meanwhile, his sister sits at home, listening to the latest American music on her iPhone, uploading pictures to Facebook while playing multiplayer video games with gamers from around the world. The activities of both young people are evidence of the globalization of popular culture that is Western and particularly—though certainly not invariably—American in origin. U.S. movies, television shows, software, music, food, brand names, and fashions are marketed worldwide. They influence the beliefs, tastes, and aspirations of people in virtually every country, though their effect is most pronounced on the young. They, rather than their elders, want to emulate the stars in movies and popular music. They are also the group most apt to use English words and slang in everyday conversation, though the use of English as the worldwide language of communication in economics, technology, and science is an even broader indication of current cultural merging.

Rapid introduction and quickly falling prices of high-tech communication and entertainment devices have had a profound effect on lifestyles wherever personal freedom and Westernized economies, incomes, and cultures prevail. These new communication technologies speed the diffusion of popular culture and expand opportunities for education, recreation, and information. Africa has lagged the rest of the world in telecommunications access because it lacked landline telephone networks in many areas. But with the advent of prepaid mobile phones, Africa has begun to catch up. It would be a mistake to believe that the United States leads in the adoption and development of new communication technologies. Europe leads the United States in the adoption of mobile telephones, and residential broadband Internet service is substantially faster in Japan and South Korea than in the United States.
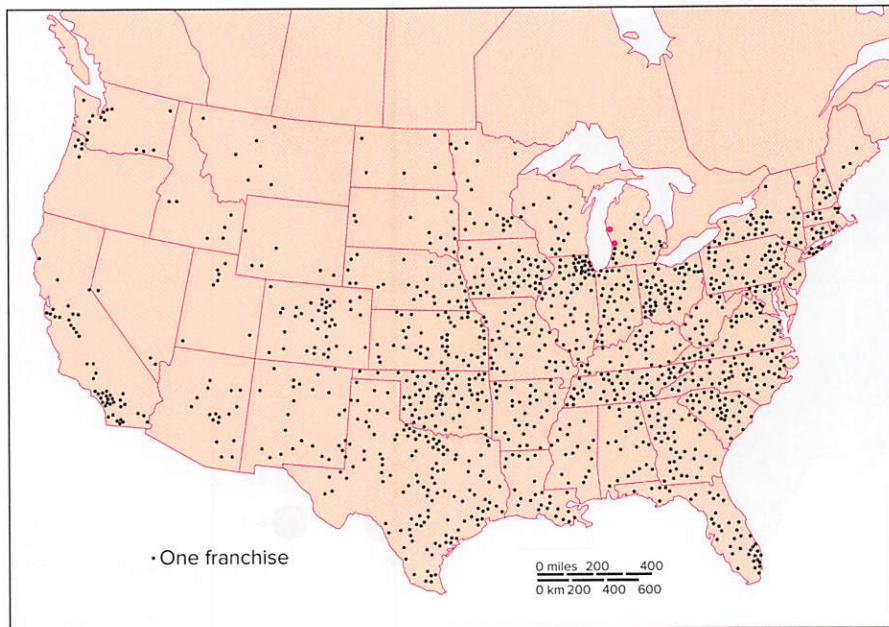
Popular Food and Drink

Fast-food restaurants—franchised or corporate owned—use a standardized logo, building design, and menu across cultural and political borders (**Figure 7.10**). With large budgets for advertising and expansion, they are major carriers of the globalization of popular culture. For communities outside the mainstream of popular culture, their arrival is a status symbol. For the traveler, they provide the assurance of a known product, at the cost of insulating the palate from the regionally distinctive. Even food outlets identified with ethnic identities tend to

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[2]*The Cultural Geography of the United States*. Rev. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992), p. 80, fn 18.

Figure 7.10 Western fast-food chains, classics of standardized popular culture, have gone international—and bilingual—as this KFC outlet in Xian, China, reveals.

©Jon C. Malinowski/Human Landscape Studio

Figure 7.12 Anti-Starbucks graffito on a San Francisco sidewalk contesting the corporate homogenization of the urban landscape.

©Jerry Fellmann

· One franchise

0 miles 200   400
0 km 200 400 600

Figure 7.11 The locations of pizza parlors of a single national chain.

Source: Floyd M. Henderson and J. Russel, unpublished drawing.

lose their cultural character. Pizza has become American, not Italian (**Figure 7.11**), just as the franchised Mexican American taco and burrito have escaped their regional and ethnic confines and been carried nationwide and worldwide.

Starting in the 1990s, specialty coffee establishments serving cappuccinos, lattes, and other variants began displacing local beverages such as tea or soft drinks. Like other globalized products, specialty coffee has a distinct geography and place identity. Drinking coffee connects consumers to the world, offering the sensation of globe-trotting by purchasing beans from Sumatra, Colombia, Kenya, or Ethiopia. The American hearth region for the specialty coffee culture was Seattle, Washington, the original home of Starbucks, the most prominent corporate identity in the trade. Starbucks was established in 1971 in Seattle's Pike Place Market, an eclectic public market and distinctive local landmark, popular with both tourists and locals. Starbucks didn't invent specialty coffee but was inspired by the espresso bars of Milan, Italy. Of course, the Italians didn't invent coffee either—the crop was first domesticated in present-day Ethiopia. Today, Starbucks has 27,000 stores in 75 countries and continues to spread, an expansion diffusion process that is not universally appreciated (**Figure 7.12**).

The standardization brought about by globalized popular culture, of course, is not complete. Seemingly universal popular icons are always differentially adapted and modified for easy acceptance by different national societies. The term **glocalization** describes this adaptation of globalized products to fit local contexts. Regional food and drink preferences persist.

Domino's and Pizza Hut, for example, have a combined total of some 6,000 overseas outlets in more than 100 countries, but they do not serve a standard product worldwide. In India, customers likely will order their pizza with spicy chicken sausage or pickled ginger. In Japan, a best seller is pizza topped with potatoes, mayonnaise, and ham or bacon bits. Hong Kong customers prefer Cajun spice pizza flavoring; Thais favor hot spices mixed with lemon grass and lime; and in Australia, the number one topping for pizza is eggs. McDonald's sells the Chicken Maharaja Mac, McVeggie and McCurry Pan in India, kosher Big Macs in Israel, and beer in Germany. Outside the United States, McDonald's advertising emphasizes the use of products from local farms. The store name and logo may be universal, but the product varies to fit local tastes.

In contrast to the standardization of popular food and drink, there has been a movement termed **neolocalism** that emphasizes a return to local or regional food and drink products and a rejection of more homogeneous national and global products. Neolocalism cultivates a distinctive local place identity and can be seen in the popularity of microbrewed beer. Beer was once a local product before refrigeration, interstate highways, national advertising, and industry mergers concentrated production in the hands of two companies, Anheuser Busch and Miller, both located in interior cities with large German immigrant populations, St. Louis and Milwaukee. By contrast, the source or hearth for the microbrewery or craft beer movement in the late 1980s was the West, specifically the Colorado Front Range cities, the San Francisco area, and the coastal cities of Oregon and Washington. The spatial distribution of the approximately 6,300 craft

breweries in the United States, for example, is not uniform across the country but exhibits regional concentrations (**Figure 7.13**). The names and labels used in craft beers, as well as the decor inside the brew pubs, are often based on local history, landmarks, or distinctive landscapes that create and strengthen the product's place identity (**Figure 7.14**). For fans, drinking a microbrewed beer is a way of demonstrating one's attachment and loyalty to the local region.

Popular Music and Dance

The music and dance styles of folk and popular culture and high-status and low-status groups intertwine in complex ways. For example, the waltz began as a folk dance in Austria and southern Germany, was refined into an elite style of dance in Vienna, diffused through the cities of Europe and the Americas, and finally sparked a popular culture craze among the rising middle and working classes.

In popular music and dance, geography still matters. Differences in regional tastes and hearth regions for innovation are evident. Music is symbolically expressive of the experiences and emotions of people with particular geographic and group identities. Country music lyrics, for example, contain themes that resonate with the experience of the rural working class. At the local scale, both rap and grunge originated as expressions of the alienation felt by particular segments of the youth population in the Bronx and in Seattle, respectively. Regional musical expressions of culture include Cajun music of south Louisiana, Tejano music of the TexMex borderlands, and the polka of the Upper Midwest. To enter the popular and mass cultural spheres, however, particular regional genres of music must diffuse at the national and global
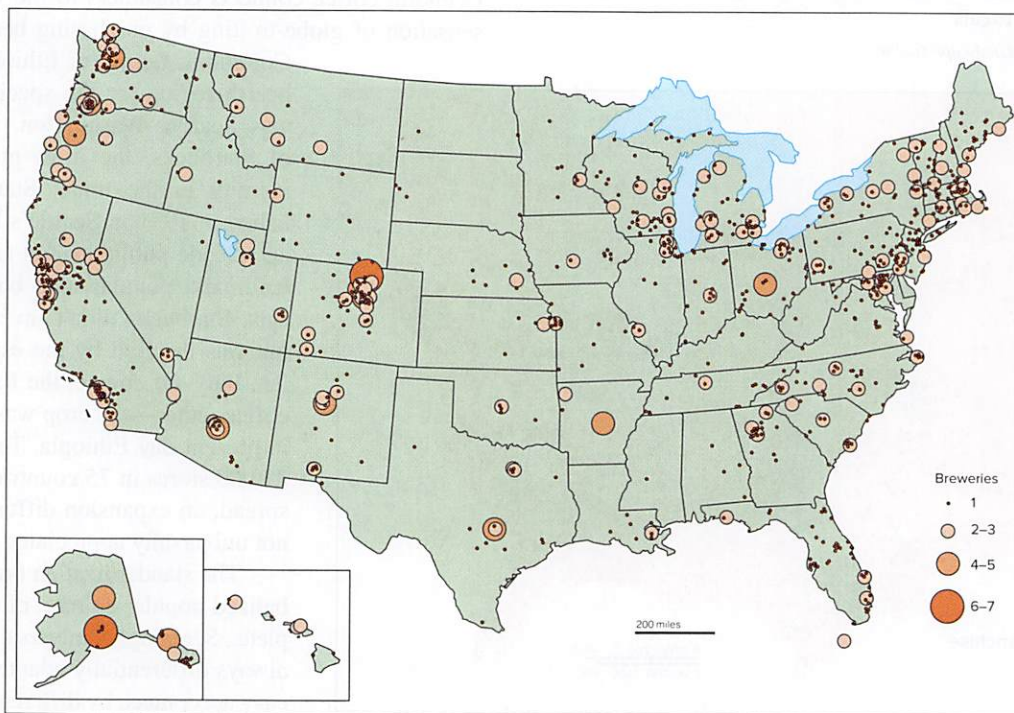
Figure 7.13 Microbreweries by zip code, 2002. Heavy concentrations of microbreweries are found in the source regions of the West.

Source: "Microbreweries as Tools of Local Identity," by Steven M. Schnell and Joseph F. Reese from Journal of Cultural Geography, 21, 1 (2003), Figure 1, 50.
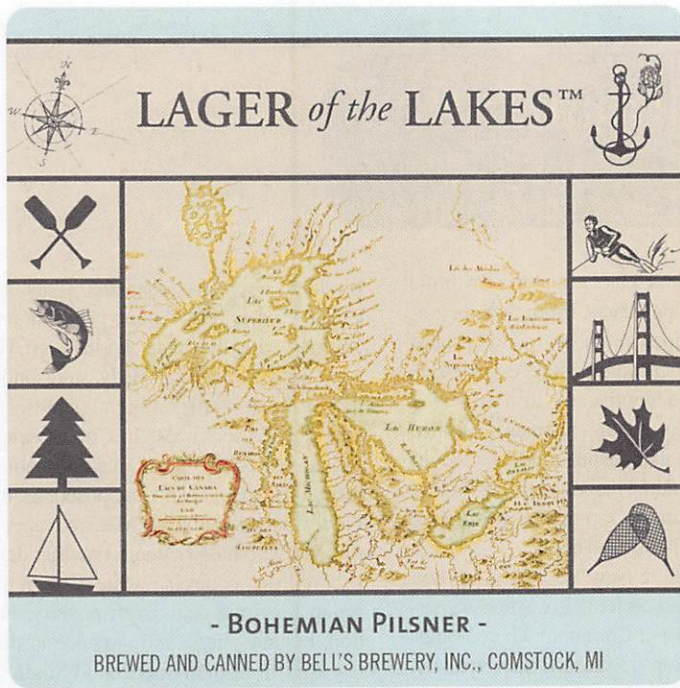
Figure 7.14 Local imagery often appears in craft beer labels. Craft breweries work to cultivate a regional identity in order to compete with national and international brands. They draw upon their customer's sense of place, often using images of distinctive local landscapes and emphasizing the use of local ingredients.

©Bell's Brewery, Inc.

scales and, in turn, be modified to express the collective cultural identities of people occupying different places. Country music was originally associated with the Upland South. It has long since lost that regional exclusivity, and Nashville has become a product, not a place. By the late 1970s (**Figure 7.15**), no American with access to radio was denied exposure to slide guitar and melancholy lyrics.

Globalization of popular music with folk culture roots is clearly demonstrated by *world music*. It is usually described as music strongly rooted in the folk and/or ethnic traditions of non-Western cultures but often blended with Western music to retain its sense of the exotic and yet be acceptable to Western tastes. Originally used to describe music from Africa and its diaspora in the New World, the term *world music* now more broadly includes the music of folk, ethnic, and minority groups in any culture. Much of world music is hybrid in nature, a fusion of various music genres from different global origins. In that blending process, local musical forms are
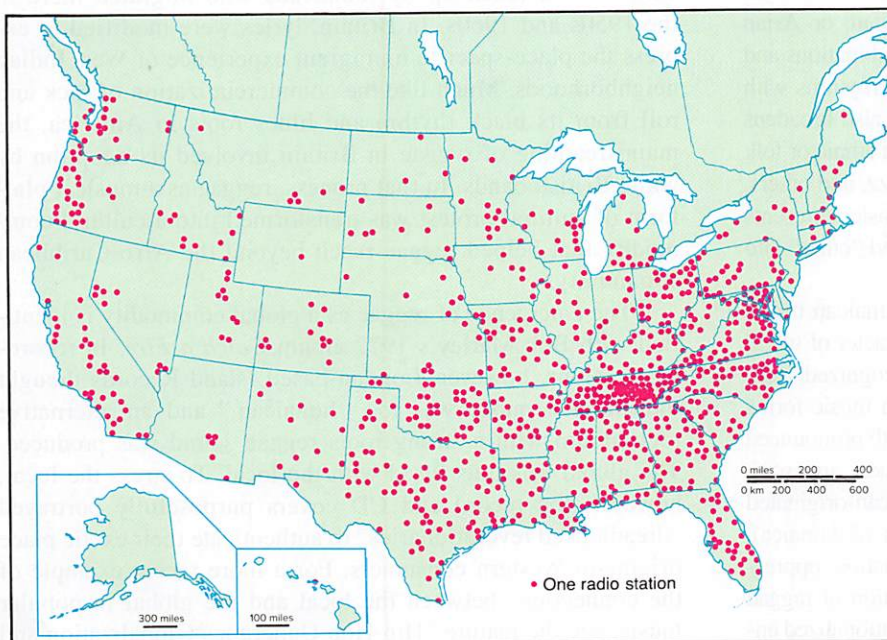
Figure 7.15 Country music radio stations. Although still most heavily concentrated in the Upland South, radio stations playing only country music had become commonplace nationally by the late 1970s.

Source: Redrawn from George O. Carney, "From Down Home to Uptown," Journal of Geography, 76 (Indiana, PA: National Council for Geographic Education, 1977), 107.

Hip-Hop Undergoes Globalization and Glocalization

Unlike the distant folk background of some world music, the beginnings of hip-hop culture are recent and easily mapped. Hip-hop culture emerged in the Bronx borough of New York City in the 1970s at a time when the South Bronx was undergoing a massive downward spiral. The disruptive Cross-Bronx expressway had been sliced through the neighborhood, the middle class was fleeing to the suburbs, manufacturing jobs were disappearing by the thousands, the city teetered on the edge of bankruptcy, and it had cut back essential services to the South Bronx. Many landlords responded by abandoning their tenement buildings, sometimes setting them afire to collect insurance money. Out of this urban wasteland arose hip-hop culture.

DJs at dance clubs and in street parties began stylized talking with a simple four-count beat—which became known as rapping—over a background of funk rock and disco music. Hip-hop culture, which involves rap music, DJs, graffiti, and break dancing, exhibits West African and Jamaican influences and is a contemporary expression of older forms of "talking music," such as spirituals, work songs, talkin' country blues, and the rhythmic sermons of black preachers. From these beginnings, rap developed as underground "protest music," with lyrics voicing the experiences of socially and economically disadvantaged black and Latino youth—alienation, police harassment, drug use, sexual conduct, race relations, and the like. Themes of place, home, and identity abound in rap music, with many songs depicting life in the "hood."

From its hearth in New York City, hip-hop diffused to a second center in Los Angeles (particularly the suburb of Compton) where "gangsta" or "reality" rap developed. Subsequently, hip-hop spread nationally to suburbs and corporate boardrooms, becoming the biggest-selling genre of popular music in America. Other centers of rap music have emerged, such as the South Coast region (including Atlanta, New Orleans, Miami, and Memphis) and a Midwest region (centered on Detroit).

Rap music has often been controversial due to lyrics and imagery that frequently celebrate violence, hopelessness, and the oppression of women. For example, among Tibetan immigrant youth, the adoption of hip-hop culture has generated objections because of negative stereotypes and its associations with the black underclass. Hip-hop has also diffused globally and undergone *glocalization*—adaptation to suit local cultures and experiences. In Cuba, popular rap lyrics protested racial discrimination and inequality that wasn't supposed to exist in Fidel Castro's Cuba. In Mexico, rapper Control Machete has written lyrics that denounce U.S. border controls, while Colombian rap group La Etnia deals with poverty, prostitution, homelessness, and violence in their lyrics. And from the Americas to South Africa, black youth have used hip-hop as a way to forge a black identity that spans the Atlantic.

Sources: *Arlene Tickner, "Aqui en el Ghetto: Hip Hop in Colombia, Cuba, and Mexico,"* Latin American Politics and Society, 50(3):121–146 (2008); Emily Yeh and Kunga Lama, *"Hip-hop Gangsta or Most Deserving of Victims? Transnational Migrant Identities and the Paradox of Tibetan Racialization in the USA,"* Environment and Planning A, 2006, 38: 809–829; Marc Perry, *"Global Black Self-Fashionings: Hip Hop as Diasporic Space,"* Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 2008, 15: 635–664.

"deterritorialized" and globalized, taking on transnational and cross-cultural characteristics not tied to a single culture or location. World music, then, not only establishes African, West Indian, or Asian music in Western popular culture but creates new combinations and syncretisms such as Afro-Celtic, a fusion of African rhythms with traditional Celtic folk music, or reggae. World music also broadens the awareness and modifies the purity of such Western ethnic or folk genres as Celtic, zydeco, klezmer, Rom, bluegrass, jazz, and others. Whatever its folk, cultural, or national origin, world music represents a process of transformation of the musically unique and "other" into forms accepted by globalized popular culture.

Although popularly perceived as an authentic Jamaican music form, reggae displayed the hybrid and globalized character of world music even before that separate music category was recognized. Reggae is a fusion of African rhythms, earlier Caribbean music forms such as ska and rock steady, and European melodies with pronounced influences from modern American jazz, rhythm blues, and soul. As employed by Rastafarians (members of an African-originated religion associated with the poorer black population of Jamaica), reggae lyrics often address issues of poverty, subordination, oppression, black pride, and pan-Africanism. The globalization of reggae music, however, depended on contracts with the internationalized entertainment industry to package and market the reggae product.

Reggae first diffused to England from Jamaica in the early 1970s, taken up by Jamaicans who migrated there in the 1950s and 1960s. In Britain, lyrics were modified to express the place-specific immigrant experience of West Indian neighborhoods. Much like the commercialization of rock and roll from its black rhythm and blues roots in America, the mainstreaming of reggae in Britain involved its adoption by white British bands. In that process, reggae as a musical platform of cultural protest was transformed into a cultural commodity that helped reggae reach beyond the Afro-Caribbean community.

The emergence of reggae as a global commodity is identified with Bob Marley's 1972 album *Catch a Fire*. In recording sessions, however, London-based Island Records thought the album's music was too "Jamaican," and an alternative rock album with a strong roots reggae sound was produced. The global was thus fused with the local. To stress the local, however, the record and CD covers purposefully portrayed "dreadlocked revolutionaries" to authenticate their exotic place origins to Western consumers. For a more recent example of the connections between the local and the global in popular music, see the feature "Hip-Hop Undergoes Globalization and Glocalization."

Birds of a Feather . . . or Lifestyle Segmentation

How does Starbucks or McDonald's decide where to open a new outlet? Will there be enough families with children to justify a play area? What sort of design theme and special menu items will work in this location? Why do some stores consistently outperform other locations? Geodemographic analysis, a marketing application of human geography, attempts to answer these and other related questions. Starting from the premise that "birds of a feather flock together," geodemographic market analysts argue that "you are where you live." Geodemographic marketing analysts point out that the populations cluster into lifestyle segments, so where a person lives is a useful predictor of the kind of car she will drive, her recreational pursuits, her household and personal purchases, the music she will listen to, and the magazines and newspapers she will read. Using a geographic information system (GIS) to map data from the census, and consumer spending records (now you know why store clerks ask for your

phone number or postal code), geodemographic marketers have mapped and classified urban and rural neighborhoods. Claritas is one such company; it has classified U.S. ZIP codes into 66 different lifestyle segments. Some of the company's lifestyle segments include the following:

Shotguns and Pickups: White working-class couples with large families who live in small houses or trailers. This group has a moderate median household income. They are typically high school graduates and are likely to own Ford F-series pickup trucks, go hunting, shop at Sears Hardware, and read *North American Hunter* magazine.

Young Digerati: Affluent young families living in trendy urban neighborhoods filled with boutiques, fitness clubs, coffee shops, and microbreweries. The young digerati often have graduate degrees and are early adopters and leaders in the use of new technology. This group has higher than average median household incomes. They are likely to read the

Economist magazine, go snowboarding, watch independent films, and drive hybrid cars or Audis.

Multi-Culti Mosaic: Lower middle-class, ethnically diverse families living in immigrant gateway neighborhoods. This group has lower than average median household incomes. They are likely to buy Spanish-language music, shop at chain pharmacies, and read *Seventeen*.

Blue Blood Estates: Wealthy suburban families with a significant percentage of Asian Americans. This group consists mostly of well-educated professionals and business executives and has the highest median household incomes. They are likely to drive expensive European automobiles, read architectural magazines, play tennis, and live in manicured suburbs.

The company realizes that the designations don't define the tastes and habits of everyone in a community, but it maintains that the clusters summarize typical behavior.

Reactions Against Globalized Popular Culture

As we have seen in the case of popular food, drink, and music, the globalization of popular culture does not erase all regional differences. Globalization of popular culture generates counterreactions. Just as speakers of minority languages have resisted the dominance of English, the globalization of popular culture is resented by many people, rejected by some, and officially opposed or controlled by certain governments. The Canadian government imposes minimum "Canadian content" requirements on television and radio broadcasters, for example, and Iran, Singapore, China, and other states attempt to restrict Western radio and television programming from reaching their people. Governments of many countries—Bahrain, China, Cuba, Ethiopia, Iran, Myanmar, North Korea, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam among the most restrictive—impose pervasive Internet surveillance and censorship and demand that U.S.-based search engines filter content to conform with official restrictions and limitations. Many more countries impose partial censorship on the Internet.

In other instances, religious and cultural conservatives may decry what they see as the imposition of Western values, norms, and excesses through such mass culture industries as advertising, the media, and professional sports. Whether or not movies, music, television programming, or clothing fads accurately reflect the essence of Western culture, critics argue that they force on other societies alien values of materialism, violence, self-indulgence, sexual promiscuity,

and defiance of authority and tradition. More basically, perhaps, globalization of popular culture is seen as a form of dominance made possible by Western control of the means of communication and by Western technical, educational, and economic superiority. What may be accepted or sought by the young and better educated in many societies may simultaneously be strongly resisted by those of the same societies more traditional in outlook and belief.
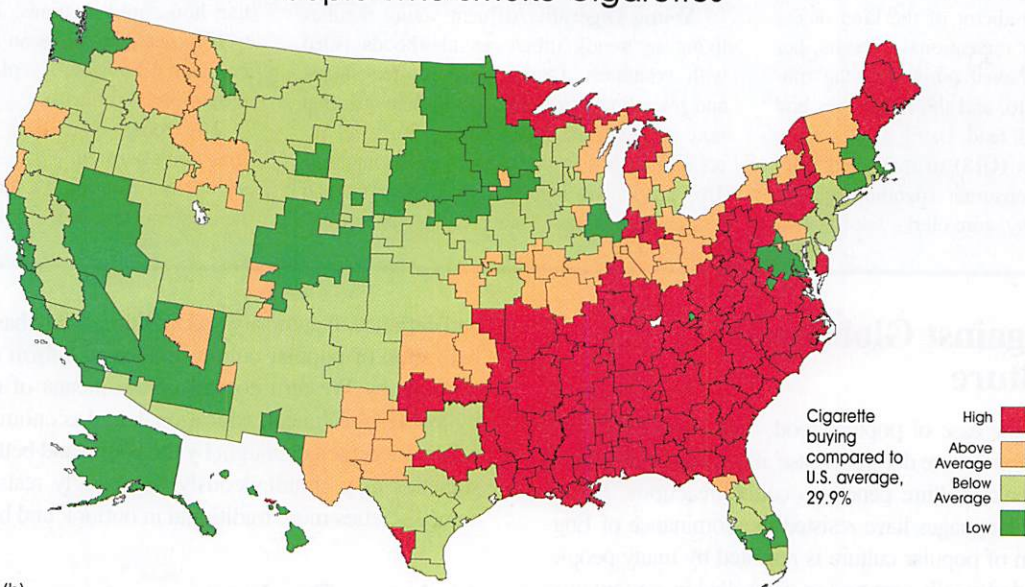
Culture Regions

Of course, not all expressions of popular culture are spatially or socially uniform. Areal variations do exist in the extent to which particular elements of popular culture are adopted. Spatial patterns in sports, for example, reveal that the games played, the migration paths of their fans and players, and the sports landscape constitutes part of the geographic diversity of the world. For example, Brazil is a hotbed for soccer, the Dominican Republic for baseball, and Canada still dominates the production of hockey players, despite the increasing globalization of these sports. Figure 7.16a, for example, shows that television interest in professional baseball is not universal despite the sport's reputation as "the national pastime." Studies and maps of many regional differences in food and drink preferences, leisure activities, and personal and political tastes such as **Figure 7.16** are important to marketers and demonstrate ongoing regional contrasts along with the commonalities of popular culture (see the feature Birds of a Feather . . . or Lifestyle Segmentation).

People Who Watch TV Baseball

Baseball viewership compared to U.S. average, 35.6%
- High
- Above Average
- Below Average
- Low
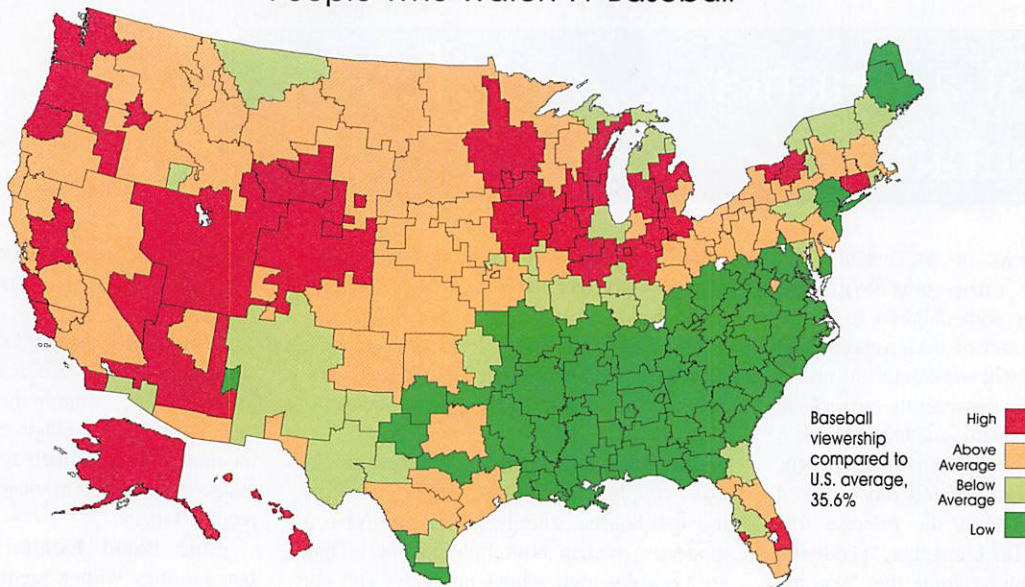
(a)

People Who Smoke Cigarettes

Cigarette buying compared to U.S. average, 29.9%
- High
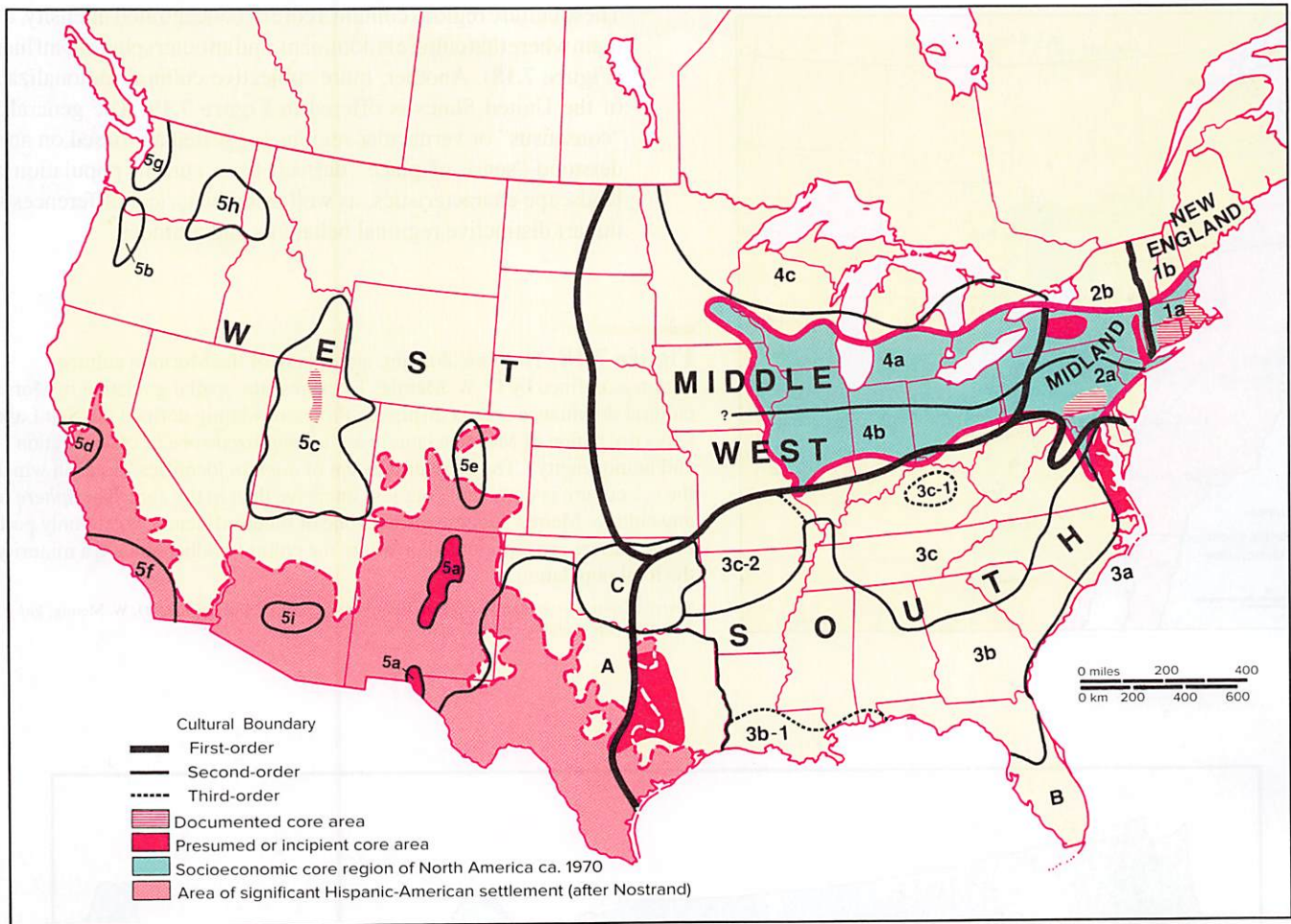- Above Average
- Below Average
- Low

(b)

Figure 7.16 Expressions of popular culture display regional variations. (*a*) Part of the regional variation in television viewing of baseball reflects the game's lack of appeal in the African American community and, therefore, its low viewership in the South and in metropolitan centers where, in addition, attendance at games is an alternative to watching TV. (*b*) Even bad habits regionalize. The country's cigarette belt includes many of the rural areas where tobacco is grown.

Source: From Michael J. Weiss, Latitudes and Attitudes: An Atlas of American Tastes, Trends, Politics and Passions, *Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994.*

Ordinary people have a clear view of space. They are aware of variations from place to place in the mix of phenomena, both physical and cultural. They use and recognize as meaningful such common regional names as Corn Belt, Sunbelt, and "the Coast." More important, people individually and collectively agree on where they live. They occupy regions that have reality in their minds and that are reflected in regional journals, in regional museums, and in regionally based names employed in businesses, by sports teams, or in advertising slogans. These are **vernacular** or **popular regions;** they have reality as part of folk culture or

popular perceptions rather than as political impositions or scholarly constructs. Geographers are increasingly recognizing that vernacular regions are significant concepts affecting the way people view space, assign their loyalties, and interpret their world. One geographer has drawn the boundaries of the large popular regions of North America on the basis of place names and locational identities found in the white pages of central-city telephone directories (see Figure 1.19). The subnational vernacular regions recognized accord reasonably well with cultural regions defined by more rigorous methods employed by geographers (**Figure 7.17**).

Cultural Boundary
— First-order
— Second-order
---- Third-order
▦ Documented core area
▨ Presumed or incipient core area
▨ Socioeconomic core region of North America ca. 1970
▨ Area of significant Hispanic-American settlement (after Nostrand)

REGION	APPROXIMATE DATES OF SETTLEMENT AND FORMATION	MAJOR SOURCES OF CULTURE (listed in order of importance)
NEW ENGLAND		
1a. Nuclear New England	1620–1750	England
1b. Northern New England	1750–1830	Nuclear New England, England
THE MIDLAND		
2a. Pennsylvania Region	1682–1850	England and Wales, Rhineland, Ulster, 19th-Century Europe
2b. New York Region or New England Extended	1624–1830	Great Britain, New England, 19th-Century Europe, Netherlands
THE SOUTH		
3a. Early British Colonial South	1607–1750	England, Africa, British West Indies
3b. Lowland or Deep South	1700–1850	Great Britain, Africa, Midland, Early British Colonial South, aborigines
3b-1. French Louisiana	1700–1760	France, Deep South, Africa, French West Indies
3c. Upland South	1700–1850	Midland, Lowland South, Great Britain
3c-1. The Bluegrass	1770–1800	Upland South, Lowland South
3c-2. The Ozarks	1820–1860	Upland South, Lowland South, Lower Middle West
THE MIDDLE WEST		
4a. Upper Middle West	1800–1880	New England Extended, New England, 19th-Century Europe, British Canada
4b. Lower Middle West	1790–1870	Midland, Upland South, New England Extended, 19th-Century Europe
4c. Cutover Area	1850–1900	Upper Middle West, 19th-Century Europe

REGION	APPROXIMATE DATES OF SETTLEMENT AND FORMATION	MAJOR SOURCES OF CULTURE (listed in order of importance)
THE WEST		
5a. Upper Rio Grande Valley	1590–	Mexico, Anglo America, aborigines
5b. Willamette Valley	1830–1900	Northeast U.S.
5c. Mormon Region	1847–1890	Northeast U.S., 19th-Century Europe
5d. Central California	(1775–1848) 1840–	(Mexico) Eastern U.S., 19th Century Europe, Mexico, East Asia
5e. Colorado Piedmont	1860–	Eastern U.S., Mexico
5f. Southern California	(1760–1848) 1880–	(Mexico) Eastern U.S., 19th and 20th-Century Europe, Mormon Region, Mexico, East Asia
5g. Puget Sound	1870–	Eastern U.S., 19th and 20th-Century Europe, East Asia
5h. Inland Empire	1880–	Eastern U.S., 19th and 20th-Century Europe
5i. Central Arizona	1900–	Eastern U.S., Southern California, Mexico
REGIONS OF UNCERTAIN STATUS OR AFFILIATION		
A. Texas	(1690–1836) 1821–	(Mexico) Lowland South, Upland South, Mexico, 19th-Century Central Europe
B. Peninsular Florida	1880–	Northeast U.S., the South, 20th-Century Europe, Antilles
C. Oklahoma	1890–	Upland South, Lowland South, aborigines, Middle West

**AP** ▌ **Figure 7.17** Culture areas of the United States based on multiple lines of evidence.

Source: From Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States, *Rev. ed., 1992, 118-119. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Upper Saddle River, NJ.*

These culture regions contain a core of concentrated intensity, a domain where that culture is dominant, and an outer sphere of influence (**Figure 7.18**). Another, more subjective cultural regionalization of the United States is offered in **Figure 7.19**. The generalized "consensus" or vernacular regions suggested are based on an understood "sense of place" derived from current population and landscape characteristics, as well as on historical differences that impart distinctive regional behaviors and attitudes.

Figure 7.18 The core, domain, and sphere of the Mormon culture region as defined by D. W. Meinig. To express the spatial gradation in Mormon cultural dominance and its diffusion, Professor Meinig defined the Salt Lake City *core* region of Mormon culture as "a centralized zone of concentration . . . and homogeneity." The broader concept of *domain* identifies "areas in which the . . . culture is dominant" but less intensive than in the core. The *sphere* of any culture, Meinig suggests, is the zone of outer influence, where only parts of the culture are represented or where the culture's adherents are a minority of the total population.

Source: Redrawn from Annals of the Association of American Geographers, D. W. Meinig, Vol. 55, 214, Association of American Geographers, 1965.
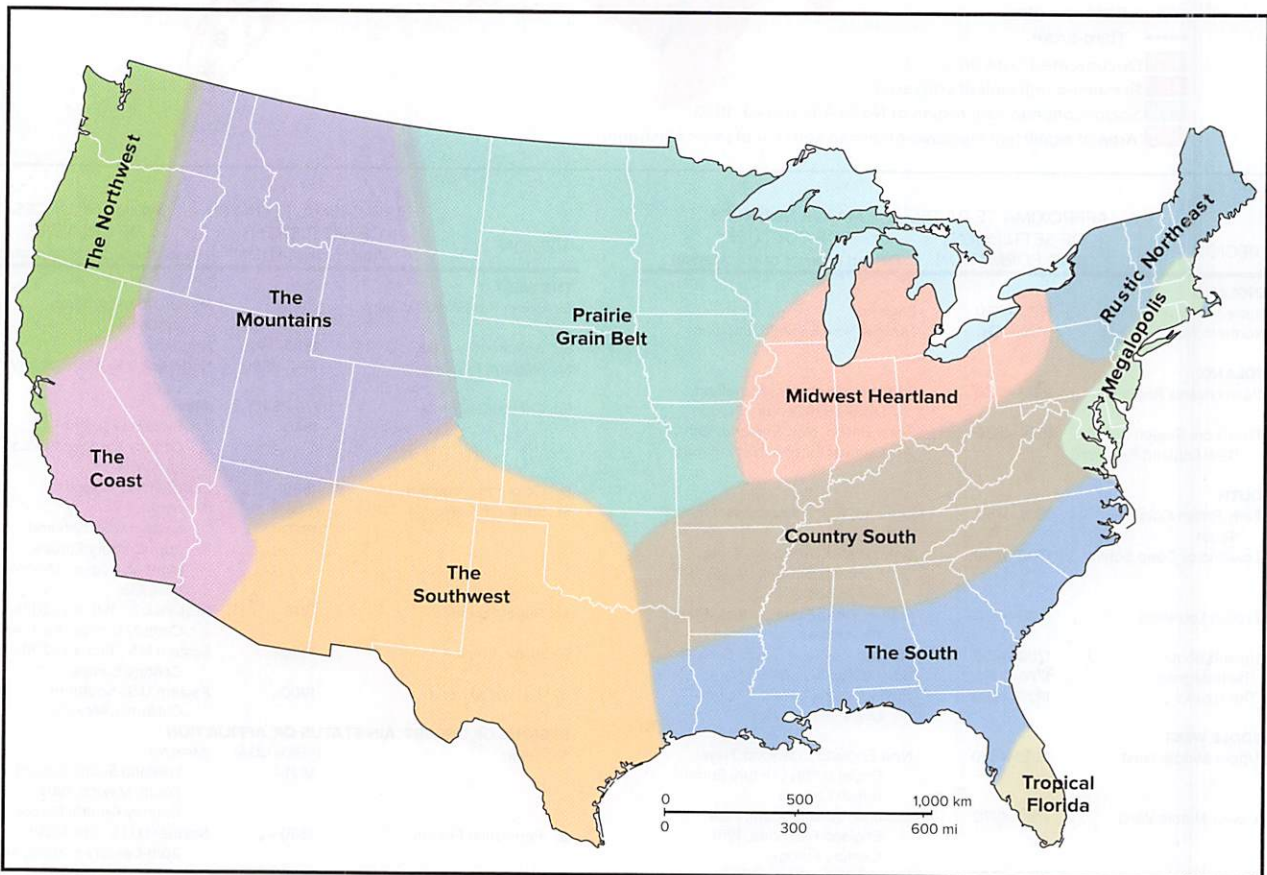
Figure 7.19 Generalized U.S. culture regions. "In spite of strong tendencies toward cultural homogenization and place obliteration, . . . regional identities persist," in the view of geographer Larry Ford, who suggests the 11 culture regions shown. Whatever the reasons for that persistence, "the different [culture] regions of the United States continue to have their own personalities and senses of place."

7.2 Cultural Landscapes

Folk and popular cultures involve more than food, drink, music, and folklore. Cultures make a distinct impression on the landscape, as they fashion the raw material of the natural landscape into a human habitat. Influential geographer Carl Sauer described it as follows:

> The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result.[3]

Landscapes are more than pretty scenes. They are all around us, and they tell us a great deal about those who shaped them. The **cultural landscape** is a blended work of nature and culture and offers some of the best evidence of human-environment interactions. American geographer Peirce Lewis wrote,

> "[O]ur human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible visible form."[4]

In other words, the everyday landscape—farms, gardens, suburbs, cemeteries, trailer parks, shopping malls, and more—offers the savvy observer important insights into a culture's attitudes, priorities, and way of life. While a highway lined with billboards, neon signs, and fast-food restaurants is designed to communicate messages to all who pass by, many landscapes are just there. Nonetheless, all landscapes can be "read" and interpreted. For example, a cemetery tells us something about how a culture approaches death, and a derelict trailer park hidden on the "wrong side of the tracks" says something about a society's way of dealing with economic inequality. As students of geography, we develop a vocabulary and basic skills to begin a lifetime of reading the landscape, interpreting its messages, and attempting to understand the culture that produced it.

National and regional cultural identities remain embedded in urban and rural landscapes (**Figure 7.20a**). Certain landmarks and landscapes take on special significance in the identity, emotions, and politics of a country. Such landscapes exert great symbolic power and can be contested by different groups in society (see feature "Monuments and Memorials"). In the United States, politicians use the rhetoric of "Main Street" and "Wall Street," referring to places that really exist but are also deeply symbolic and associated with particular vices or virtues (**Figure 7.20b**). Landmarks come to symbolize a city in the mental imagery of residents and tourists alike. London's Big Ben, Paris's Eiffel Tower, New York's Statue of Liberty, and Sydney's Opera House are just a few examples of symbolic landmarks. Symbolic landscapes and landmarks have great emotional power and are often used in advertising

(a)
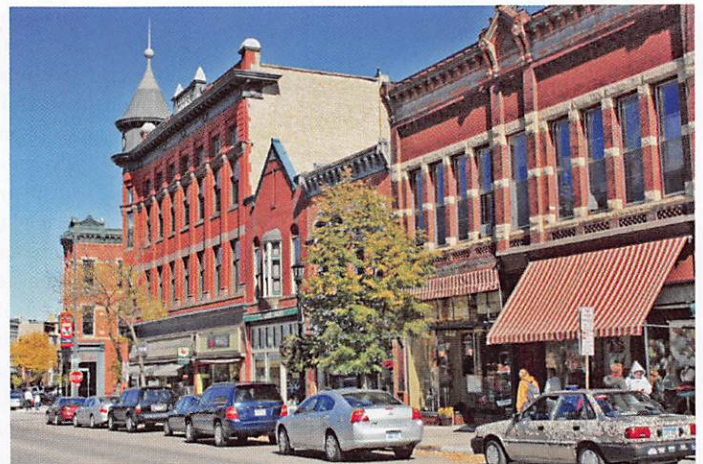
(b)

Figure 7.20 Cultural landscapes are the joint creations of humans and nature. (*a*) Cultural landscapes such as this scene from Italy are often intimately connected to regional or national identities. Often such national landscapes are the subject of countryside protection rules. (*b*) Ordinary landscapes can become symbolic landscapes. In the United States, the small-town Main Street has come to symbolize the values of face-to-face community, small businesses, honesty, and integrity. This scene of Main Street in Northfield, Minnesota, is typical of the 19th-century business districts in small towns across the United States and Canada. Local residents have defended it against the intrusion of big box stores.

(a) ©Rob Tilley/Blend Images; (b) ©Mark Bjelland

images and political speeches. Not surprisingly then, the targets of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks were the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, landscape symbols of economic globalization and U.S. military power. And again, not surprisingly, the 2011 Occupy movement began with the very symbolic occupation of Wall Street by protesters.

Time is an important element in the creation of cultural landscapes. Both urban and rural landscapes, especially those in Europe and Asia, bear the imprint of human reshaping over thousands of years of use. Today's largest cities are often located on the site of ancient settlements. The **sequential occupation** of the

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[3]Carl Sauer, *The Morphology of Landscape*, University of California Publications in Geography Number 22, 1925, 19–53.

[4]Peirce Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, D. W. Meinig and F. B. Jackson, eds., Oxford: Oxford University Press 1979, 12.

Monuments and Memorials

Monuments, memorials, civic squares, public buildings, and historic sites are part of a nation's symbolic landscape. They contribute to the shared cultural identity of a people. They express and transmit to successive generations an understanding of who they are as a people, who and what deserves honor, and how the past is to be remembered. To tour the National Mall in Washington D. C., making pilgrimage to its many monuments and memorials, is a way of experiencing one's identity as an American citizen. It is one thing to read history in a book, quite another to stand in the same location, touch the walls, walk the terrain, and experience firsthand the landscapes where world-changing events took place. It is because of the power of landscape that debates are so fierce over how public spaces, monuments, and historic sites in the United States represent the Civil War and the treatment of Native Americans and African American slaves.

Berlin, Germany was at the center of many of the most tumultuous and destructive episodes in 20th-century history and yet is also a busy capital region with 5 million residents. For decades, Berliners have worked to build landscapes of remembrance into the fabric of the city. Near a remnant section of the Berlin Wall, the Topography of Terror site documents the Gestapo prison that operated in the heart of the city. Artwork, installed throughout the city, tells the stories of the city's violent past. Walking to a suburban train station one passes a concrete retaining wall with rounded cut outs in vaguely human forms—a reminder of lives lost in the Holocaust. Or, on an overgrown train platform, metal plaques, one for each rail shipment, list the dates and number of Jews deported to concentration camps at that location.

During the Soviet era, communist leaders rebuilt city centers to reflect their ideals and show their power. They created broad avenues and wide open squares for civic events such as the annual May Day parade. They also made a practice of demolishing prominent Christian churches and replacing them with government buildings. Located on the Moskva River near the Kremlin in Moscow, the gold domes of

the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of Christ the Savior made it the tallest Orthodox church building in the world. The cathedral was detonated in 1931 on orders from Josef Stalin to make way for the highly symbolic Palace of the Soviets. After the collapse of communism, the Russian Orthodox Church reasserted its power in Russian society and immediately set about rebuilding the Cathedral of Christ the Savior. With donations from a million local residents, the soaring gold domes of the cathedral were rebuilt in an exact replica of the destroyed building.

Leipzig, Germany's Paulinerkirche was a marvel of 13th-century gothic architecture. It faced Augustusplatz, the city's largest civic square where it played a prominent role in German culture and history, hosting performances by musicians such as J. S. Bach and Felix Mendelsohn. It survived the World War II bombings intact but in 1968, East German communist leaders detonated the church to make space for university classrooms. With the collapse of communism in 1989, proposals and funders arose to reconstruct the gothic Paulinerkirche. Opponents of the rebuilding argued that a gothic church would be too expensive and lack authenticity. Further, declining church attendance meant that Leipzig had more than enough existing church space. City and university officials

argued that by replacing the destroyed church with an exact copy, the rebuilders would be sanitizing Germany history and hiding the story of the willful destructiveness of the communist era. In 2009, instead of a gothic replica, a university building with a small prayer chapel was erected on the site of the original church. The new university building mimics the form of the gothic original, including a steeple spire and a steeply pitched roof, but is finished in a modern, concrete and glass architectural style.

Thinking Geographically

1. Who or what is honored in the memorials and civic spaces in your community? What do they communicate about your community's shared identity and values? Choose one example and conduct research to learn more about it. Share your findings in a brief presentation.

2. When important historic buildings or monuments have been lost or demolished, how should the past be honored? Would you support the approach to rebuilding taken at the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow, the approach taken in Leipzig, or a different approach altogether? Defend your position in a one-page essay.

OUT OF THE MOUNTAIN OF DESPAIR,
A STONE OF HOPE
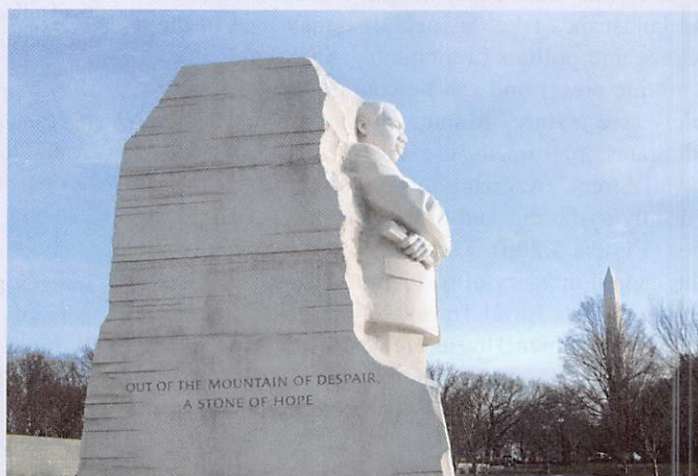
Figure 7A The Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial in Washington, D.C.
Source: NPS Photo

Figure 7.21 A landscape can be viewed as a palimpsest that often contains visible traces of multiple past cultures. In Rome, drivers travel on streets laid out in ancient times while skirting 2,000-year-old ruins.

©r.nagy/Shutterstock

Figure 7.23 Vernacular landscapes can help us understand the values and lifestyles of their creators. This highway strip in the United States reflects a fast-moving, automobile-based way of life. Placeless landscapes are created by the spread of chain restaurants, hotels, and gas stations.

©Mark Bjelland

landscape by different groups of people almost always leaves behind visible traces, some of which influence future human uses of the land. Ancient paths and roads have often become the busy streets of the contemporary world. The trace of ancient medieval walls remains visible as circular parkways in many European cities. The routes of abandoned railroad lines are often reused for trail networks. Thus, the landscape has been compared to a **palimpsest**—an ancient parchment or vellum document that has been written on over and over again, with the earlier writings scraped away. Just as historians attempt to read the faint traces of earlier writings on a palimpsest, geographers look to the landscape for visible traces of the past (see **Figure 7.21**).

Elite landscapes communicate the refined taste and exclusivity of society's most privileged and powerful members. Through imposing architecture, gardens, gates, and the generous use of space, elite landscapes communicate sophistication, power, and status (**Figure 7.22**), In doing so, elite landscapes tend to legitimate and reproduce the status of their occupants. Vernacular or ordinary landscapes of houses, trailer parks, roadside motels, and fast-food restaurants are equally important to the geographer seeking to understand a culture (**Figure 7.23**).

While learning to pay attention to and interpret cultural landscapes is among the pleasures of geography and a source of important insights, we must remember that much remains hidden. Geographer Don Mitchell reminds us of how the landscape works to normalize a particular set of social relationships—relationships that may be unjust or unhealthy. For example, the fertile fields of California's Central Valley communicate a message of prosperity emerging from the harmonious human cultivation of the Earth. Hidden from view, however, are the shacks of exploited migrant workers and the dangerous agricultural chemicals that make that productive landscape possible. Similarly, derelict landscapes composed of abandoned buildings, rusting factories, broken windows, and overgrown lots speak loudly of cultural change and a people's attitude toward progress and the past (**Figure 7.24**). In the remainder of this chapter, we explore two major elements of the cultural landscape: systems for surveying

Figure 7.22 Historic or elite architecture, exclusivity, and spaciousness convey the high status of those who occupy elite landscapes.

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Figure 7.24 The direct landscape of the vacant Packard automobile manufacturing plant in Detroit, Michigan offers landscape evidence of the creative destruction of capitalism.
©Josh Cornish/Shutterstock

and dividing land and the houses built in different times and places. We then examine a sampling of different types of landscapes: places of consumption and heritage landscapes.

Land Survey Systems

Flying over North America, one sees a distinct difference between the checkerboard fields of the Midwest, the narrow fields of southern Quebec, and the irregular shaped fields of the Atlantic Seaboard. These differences stem from different land survey systems. In a capitalist system, the division of land into individual holdings is necessary for both agricultural and urban development. The charter group settling an area had to create a system for surveying, dividing, claiming, and allocating land and that system leaves a lasting legacy, shaping the look and feel of both rural and urban landscapes.

For the most part, the English established land-division policies in the Atlantic Seaboard colonies. The **metes-and-bounds** system, which had long been used in England, was used to describe property boundaries using landform or water features or such temporary landscape elements as prominent trees, unusual rocks, or cairns. Not surprisingly, the metes-and-bounds system led to boundary uncertainty and dispute and lengthy descriptions of property boundaries (**Figure 7.25a**). It also resulted in *topographic* road patterns, such as those found in Pennsylvania and derelict landscape of the other eastern states, where routes are often controlled by the contours of the land rather than the regularity of a geometric survey.

When independence was achieved, the federal government decided that the public domain should be systematically surveyed and subdivided before being opened for settlement. Inspired by Enlightenment ideals of rational order and the prospect of rapidly dividing and settling the vast continent, the United States adopted **a rectangular survey** system in the Land Ordinance of 1785. The resulting **Public Land Survey System** (PLSS) established township and range survey lines oriented in the cardinal directions and divided the land into townships (9.7 km) 6 miles square, which were further subdivided into sections that were (1.6 km) 1 mile on a side (**Figure 7.25b**). The sections were divided into quarter sections of 160 acres, the size of a typical grant under the Homestead Act of 1862. The resultant rectangular system of land subdivision and ownership was extended to all parts of the United States included within the public domain, creating the basic checkerboard pattern of minor civil divisions, the regular pattern of section-line and quarter-line country roads, and the block patterns of fields and farms.

Elsewhere in North America, the French and the Spanish constituted charter groups and established their own traditions of land description and allotment. The French imprint has been particularly enduring. The **long-lot system** was introduced into the St. Lawrence Valley and followed French settlers wherever they established colonies in the New World: the Mississippi Valley, Detroit, Green Bay, Louisiana, and elsewhere. The long-lot holding was typically about 10 times longer than wide, stretching far back from a narrow river

(a)
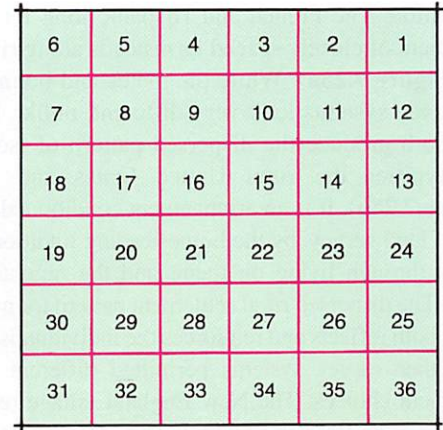
(b)

Figure 7.25 The original metes-and-bounds property survey of a portion of the Virginia Military District of western Ohio is here contrasted with the regularity of surveyor's townships, made up of 36 numbered sections, each 1 mile (1.6 km) on a side.

Source: Redrawn from Original Survey and Land Subdivision, Monograph Series No. 4, Norman J.W. Thrower, 46, Association of American Geographers, 1966.

frontage (**Figure 7.26**). The back of the lot was indicated by a roadway roughly parallel to the line of the river, marking the front of a second series (or *range*) of long lots. The system had the advantage of providing each settler with a fair access to fertile land along the floodplain, lower-quality river terrace land, and remote poorer-quality back areas on the valley slopes serving as woodlots. Dwellings were built at the front of the holding, in a loose settlement alignment called a *côte*, where access was easy and the neighbors were close.

Although English Canada adopted a rectangular survey system, the long lot became the legal norm in French Quebec, where it controls land surveying even in areas where river access is insignificant. In the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico and Texas, Spanish colonists introduced a long-lot system similar to the French.

Settlement Patterns

Settlement patterns reflect ways different cultures understand the relationship between the individual and the wider group. In some cultures, the extended family is the basis for the settlement system (**Figure 7.27**). In much of the world, farmers historically lived in small, agricultural villages creating a clustered rural

Figure 7.26 A portion of the Vincennes, Indiana–Illinois, topographic quadrangle (1944) showing evidence of the original French long-lot survey. Note the importance of the Wabash River in both long-lot and Vincennes street-system orientations. This U.S. Geological Survey map was originally published at the fractional scale of 1:62,500.

Source: U.S. Geological Survey map.
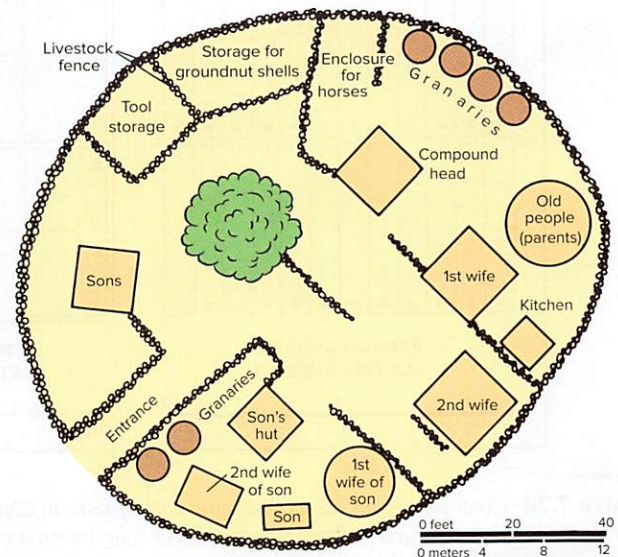
Figure 7.27 The extended family compound of the Bambara of Mali.

Source: Redrawn from Reuben K. Udo, The Human Geography of Tropical Africa (Ibadan: Heinemann Education Books (Nigeria) Ltd., 1982), 50.

population. The French and Hispanic long lots encouraged the alignment of closely spaced farmsteads along river or road frontage (**Figure 7.28a**). While the metes-and-bounds and rectangular survey systems look very different, unlike long-lot systems, they both produce the dispersed pattern of isolated farmsteads that typifies the rural United States and English Canada (**Figure 7.28b**). It is an arrangement conditioned by the block pattern of land survey, by the homesteading tradition of "proving up" claims through living on them, and the regular pattern of rural roads. The dispersed rural settlement pattern for much of the United States both reflects and reinforces the individualism of U.S. culture.

Other survey systems permitted different culturally rooted settlement choices. The New England village reflected the transplanting of an English tradition. The central village, with its meeting house and its commons area, was surrounded by larger fields subdivided into strips for allocation among the community members. The result was a distinctive pattern of nucleated agricultural villages and fragmented farms. Agricultural villages were found as well in Mormon settlement areas, in the Spanish American Southwest, and as part of the cultural landscapes established by utopian religious communities, such as the Oneida Community of New York; the Rappites's Harmony, Indiana; Fountain Grove, California; and others. On the prairies of Canada, the Mennonites were granted lands not as individuals, but as communities. Their agricultural villages with surrounding communal fields (**Figure 7.28c**) reflected their religious ideals and re-created in Manitoba the landscape of their European homelands.
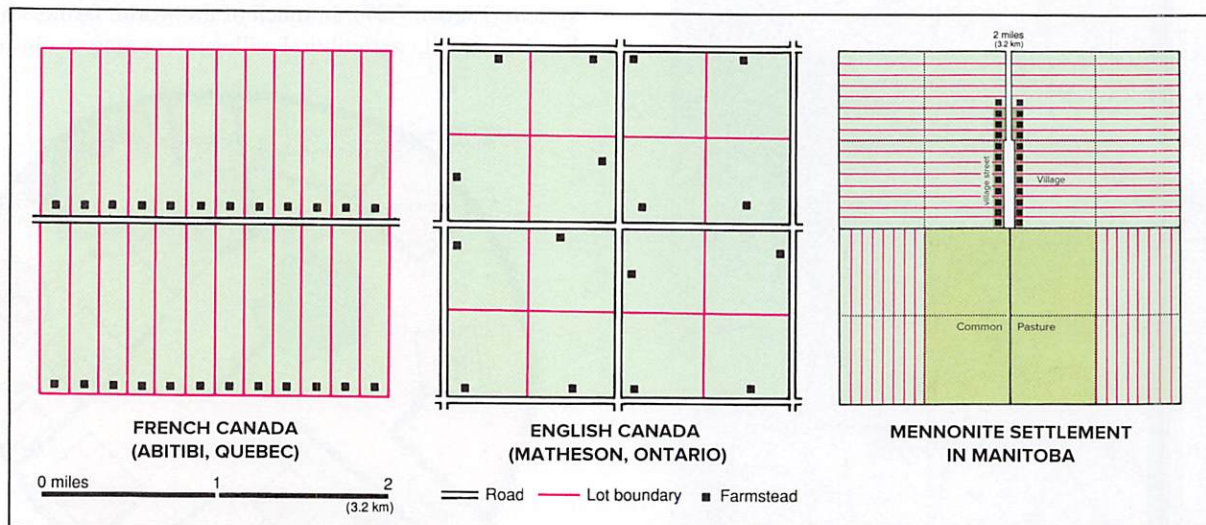
The spatial pattern of streets, blocks, and lots exerts a major influence on the feel and social life of urban settlements. Urban street grids may be irregular, rectangular, or contain winding loops and lollipops. Irregular street grids are common in areas of metes-and-bounds surveying, and a rectangular street grid can be easily created in areas of rectangular surveying. The best-known rectangular street grid is the 1811 New York City plan for Manhattan featuring 11 major avenues and 155 perpendicular crosstown streets. Frederick Law Olmsted, the designer of Central Park and many other famous urban parks, created elite, romantic suburbs in the 1800s using winding, picturesque streets and detached single-family houses on large lots. After World War II, middle-class housing developers copied the look of elite suburbs and created the winding street patterns that typify most North American suburbs. While often attacked by transportation planners, the winding, dead-end streets of contemporary suburbs reflect the cultural ideal of the house as a quiet, private retreat.

Houses

Houses are among the most important material expressions of a culture and most visible features of the cultural landscape. Nearly a century ago, French geographer Jean Brunhes called houses a "central fact" of human geography. Using Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs as a framework, we can see that houses meet both basic and higher-level human needs. Houses meet physiological needs for shelter, safety needs for the protection of one's person and property, and needs for belonging by placing individuals within a household and a community. At the higher end of the needs hierarchy, houses meet needs for self-esteem by serving as a marker of achievement, and they meet self-actualization and self-expression needs through their design, color, and interior and exterior decor.

Vernacular house styles—those built in traditional form but without formal architectural plans or drawings—are of particular interest to cultural geographers. Throughout the world, folk societies established types of housing appropriate to their economic and family needs, available materials and technologies, and local

FRENCH CANADA (ABITIBI, QUEBEC)

ENGLISH CANADA (MATHESON, ONTARIO)

MENNONITE SETTLEMENT IN MANITOBA

0 miles 1 2 (3.2 km)

Road — Lot boundary ▪ Farmstead

Figure 7.28 Contrasting land survey and settlement systems in Canada. Adjacent areas of Canada demonstrate the effects of different survey systems and cultural heritages on rural settlement patterns. The long-lot survey of Quebec in French Canada (*a*) creates a linear village. The regular plots of Ontario in English Canada (*b*) display the isolated farmsteads that are characteristic of much of the United States and Canada. The German-speaking Mennonites, a Protestant Christian group, settled in Manitoba in the 1870s. They created an agricultural village that reflected the group's European homeland and strong emphasis on community (*c*). Individual farmers were granted strip holdings in the separate fields to be farmed in common with the other villagers. The farmsteads themselves, with elongated rear lots, were aligned along both sides of a single village street in an Old World pattern.

Sources: Redrawn from Annals of the Association of American Geographers, George I. McDermott, Vol. 51, 263, Association of American Geographers, 1961; and from Carl A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Vol. 7, Canada Frontiers of Settlement (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936), 111.

environmental conditions. Thus, folk housing is wonderfully diverse, reflecting ingenious adaptations to local conditions. Industrialization, transportation improvements, and the influences of popular culture have revolutionized styles of house construction so that today, there is more diversity in a given place but fewer differences between places. In some cases, folk housing styles are being revisited as contemporary homebuyers attempt to recover a local sense of place and/or reduce the amount of energy used to heat and cool their houses.

The Mongol or Turkic *yurt* or *ger,* a movable low, rounded shelter made of felt, skin, short poles, and rope, is a housing solution well adapted to the needs and materials of nomadic herdsmen of the Central Asian grasslands (**Figure 7.29a**). A similar solution with different materials is reached by the Maasai, another nomadic herding society living on the grasslands of eastern Africa. Their temporary home was traditionally the *manyatta,* an immovable low, rounded hut made of poles, mud, and cow dung that was abandoned as soon as local grazing and water supplies were consumed. As the structures in **Figure 7.29** suggest, folk housing solutions in design and materials provide a worldwide mosaic of nearly infinite diversity and ingenuity.
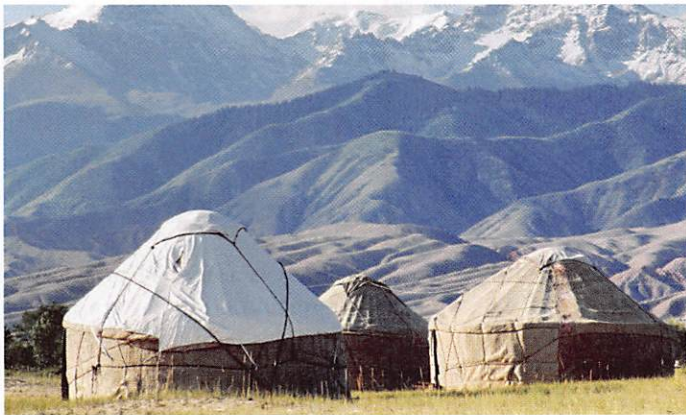

(a)
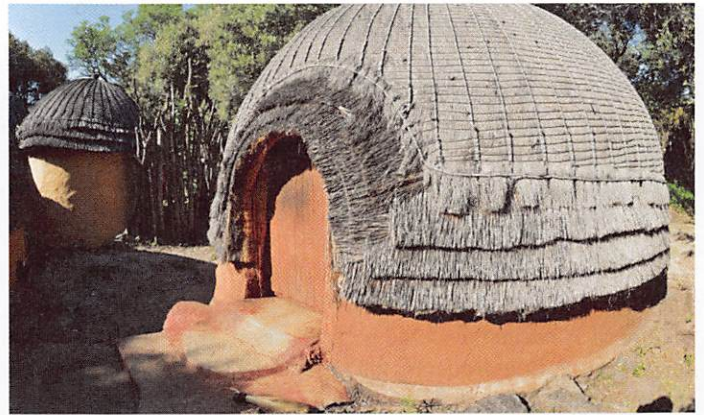
(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

Figure 7.29 The common characteristics of preindustrial folk housing are an essential uniformity of design within a culture group and region, a lack of differentiation of interior space, a close adaptation to the conditions of the natural environment, and ingenious use of available materials in response to the dictates of climate or terrain. (*a*) A *yurt* in the Tian Shan mountains, Kyrgyzstan; (*b*) The traditional Zulu hut in South Africa. (*c*) stone house of Nepal; (*d*) Icelandic sod farm house; (*e*) reed dwelling of the Uros people on Lake Titicaca, Peru; (*f*) traditional thatched roof housing in Zimbabwe decorated with geometric paintings.

(a) Bark house   (b) Long house   (c) Tipi

(d) Mound house   (e) Pueblo   (f) Hogan   (g) Plank house
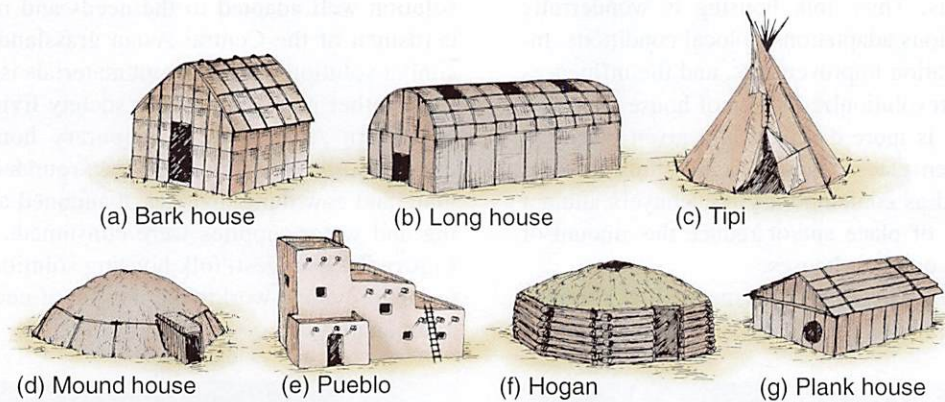
Figure 7.30 Native American housing types reflected varied physical environments and ways of life.

Source: From John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown, The Architecture of America: A Social and Cultural History, *(Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961), 57.*

America, like every other world region, had its own indigenous vernacular architecture (**Figure 7.30**). This was the architecture of Amerindians—the bark houses of the Penobscots, the long houses of the Iroquois, the tipis of the Crow, the mounds of the Mandans, the pueblos of the Zuñi, the hogans of the Navajos, and the plank dwellings of Puget Sound. Despite their elegance and suitability for particular environments, these styles were largely swept away by European settlers. The primary exception is the thick-walled pueblos, which are much more comfortable in desert climates than the wood structures built by some European settlers.

Hearths and Diffusion Streams

Within the United States and Canada, the variety of ethnic and regional origins of immigrants and the differences in environmental conditions led to architectural contrasts among the settlement hearths of the Atlantic Seaboard. The landscapes of structures and settlements creating those contrasts speak to us of their creators' origins, travels, adaptations to new locales, and retention of the customs of other places. The folk cultural heritage is now passing; old farm structures are replaced or collapse with disuse as farming systems change. Old houses are torn down, remodeled, or abandoned, and trendy, contemporary styles replace the evidence of earlier occupants. Preservationists may succeed in retaining and refurbishing some structures but gradually the landscapes—the voices—of the past are lost. Many of those fading voices first took on their North American accents in the culture hearths suggested in Figure 7.5. They are still best heard in the house types associated with them. Each separately colonized area produced its own distinctive vernacular housing mix, and a few served eventually as hearth districts from which imported and developed house forms diffused. Folk house styles for much of the United States and Canada can be traced to four source regions on the Atlantic Coast, each feeding a separate diffusion stream: Northern, Middle Atlantic, Southern Coastal, and Mississippi Delta. By 1850, diffusion from these four eastern architectural hearths had produced a clearly defined folk housing geography in the eastern half of the United States and subsequently, by relocation and expansion diffusion, had influenced vernacular housing throughout the United States.

The Northern Hearths

In the North, cold, snowy winters posed different environmental challenges than did the milder, frequently wetter climates of northwestern Europe, and American timber was more accessible than in the homelands. In the north, the *St. Lawrence Valley* is a cultural landscape shaped by French settlement. There, in French Canada, beginning in the middle of the 17th century, a common house type was introduced based on styles still found in western France today (**Figure 7.31**); they were found as well

Figure 7.31 Vernacular house types in the Lower St. Lawrence hearth region of Quebec, Canada, included the *Norman cottage* with steeply pitched, hipped roofs and wide or upturned eaves, nearly identical to houses in the Normandy region of northern France.

©Professor John A. Jakle

Figure 7.32 Dutch colonial houses, found in New York's Hudson Valley, have a distinctive gambrel roof that gives more headroom in the top floor by using two slopes for the roof.

©*Jon C. Malinowski/Human Landscape Studio*

in other areas of French settlement in North America—Louisiana, the St. Genevieve area of Missouri, and northern Maine. The *Hudson Valley*'s complex mix of Dutch, French, Flemish, English, and German settlers produced a comparable mixture of common house forms. The Dutch were initially dominant, and their houses were characterized by a split "Dutch door" (whose separately opened upper half let air in and closed lower half kept children in and animals out) and a gambrel roof (the slope changes to create more headroom in the upper floor), often with flared eaves (**Figure 7.32**). The rural southern English colonists who settled in *southern New England* brought with them the heavily framed houses of their home counties: sturdy posts and stout horizontal beams sided by overlapping clapboards and distinguished by steep roofs and massive chimneys (**Figure 7.33**). While the house styles of the St. Lawrence Valley and Hudson Valley did not diffuse widely, the New England house styles did. As the New England styles diffused westward, it was the Upright and Wing (**Figure 7.33c**) in particular that settlers spread across New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, and into Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota (**Figure 7.34**).

The Middle Atlantic Hearths

The *Delaware Valley* and *Chesapeake Bay* were ethnically diverse sites of vernacular architecture more influential on North American housing styles than any other early settlement area. The log cabin, later carried into Appalachia and the trans-Appalachian interior, evolved there, as did the vernacular *four-over-four* house—so called in reference to its basic two-story floor plan with four rooms up and four down (**Figure 7.35**). This house type formed the basis for the rowhouses found in the largest cities of the Middle Atlantic region, such as Baltimore and Philadelphia. There, too, was introduced what would later be called the *I house*—a two-story structure one room deep, with two rooms on each floor.


(a)

(b)

(c)

Figure 7.33 New England house types included (a) the *saltbox* house with an asymmetrical gable roof covering a lean-to addition for extra room; (b) the Georgian-style *New England large house* with up to 10 rooms, a lobby entrance, and paired chimneys; and (c) the *upright-and-wing* house (the wing represented a one-story extension of a basic gable-front house plan) which diffused widely in both rural and urban areas from western New York to the Midwest.

(a) ©Professor John A. Jakle; (b) ©WANGKUN JIA/123RF; (c) ©Professor John A. Jakle
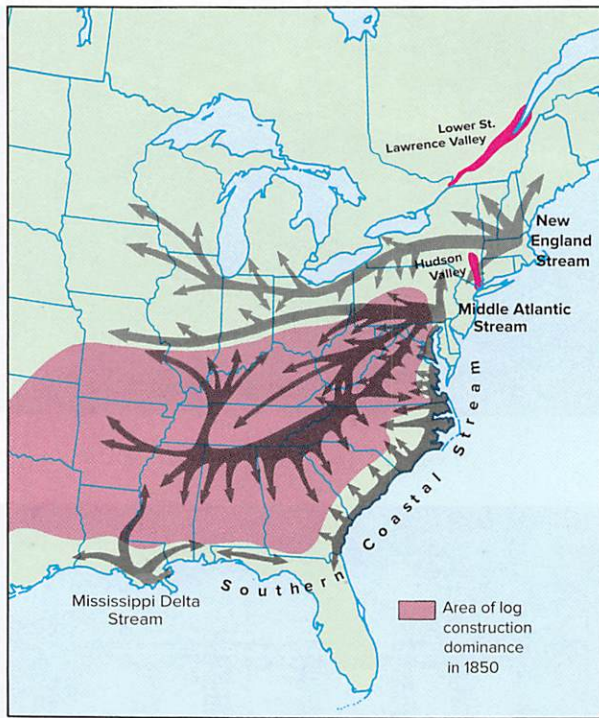
Figure 7.34 Architectural source areas and the diffusion of building styles from the eastern hearths. The variation in the width of paths suggests the strength of the influence of the various hearths on vernacular housing away from the coast. The Southern Coastal Stream was limited in its influence to the coastal plain. The Delaware Valley hearth not only exerted a strong impact on the Upland South but also became—along with other Middle Atlantic hearths—the dominant vernacular housing source for the lower Midwest and the continental interior. By 1850, and farther west, new expansion cores were emerging around Salt Lake City, in coastal California, and in the Willamette Valley area of Oregon—all bearing the imprint of housing designs that first emerged in eastern hearths.

Sources: *F. Kniffen,* Annals of the Association of American Geographers, *Vol. 55: 560, 1965; Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States," in* Geographical Review *56:60, 1966 The American Geographical Society; and Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups,* The American Backwoods Frontier, *8 -9, 1989 The Johns Hopkins University Press.*
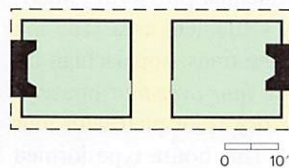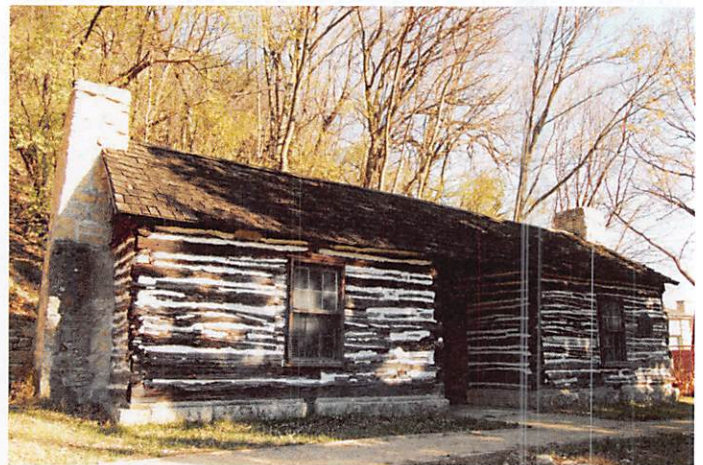
The I house resembles the four-over-four house with its gables at the sides of the house. The I house became prominent in the Upper South and southern Midwest in the 19th century. Its major diffusion directions were southward along the Appalachian Uplands, with offshoots in all directions, and westward across Pennsylvania. Multiple paths of movement from this hearth converged in the Ohio Valley Midwest, creating an interior "national hearth" of several intermingled streams (see Figure 7.5), and from there spread north, south, and west. In this respect, the narrow Middle Atlantic region played for vernacular architecture the same role that its Midland dialect did in shaping the linguistic geography of the United States, as discussed in Chapter 5.

The earliest diffusion from the Middle Atlantic hearth was the backwoods frontier culture that carried the Finnish-German log carpentry to all parts of the forested East. The identifying features of that building tradition were the dogtrot and saddlebag house plans and double-crib barn designs. The basic unit of both house and barn was a rectangular "pen" ("crib" if for a barn) of four log walls that characteristically stood in tandem with an added second room that joined the first at the chimney end of the house. The resultant two-room central chimney design was called a *saddlebag house.* Another even more common expansion of the single-pen cabin was the *dogtrot* (**Figure 7.36**), a simple roofing-over of an open area left separating the two pens facing gable toward gable. Log construction techniques and traditions were carried across the intervening grasslands to the wooded areas of the northern Rockies and the Pacific Northwest during the 19th century.

Figure 7.35 House types of the Middle Atlantic hearths included the *four-over-four house.*
©*Professor John A. Jakle*

Figure 7.36 The "dogtrot" house was built of two log pens joined by a covered open area.
©*Denise McCullough*

The Southern Hearths

In the American South, a new ethnic and cultural mix and a hot and humid climate led to new styles of vernacular housing long before air conditioning or electric fans were available. In the *Southern Coastal* hearth, along the southeastern Atlantic coastal region of South Carolina and Georgia, the malaria, mosquitoes, and extreme heat plaguing their inland plantations during the summer caused the wealthy to prefer hot-season residence in coastal cities such as Charleston, where sea breezes provided relief. The I house was adapted as the characteristic *Charleston single house,* turned sideways with sun-blocking porches extending along the entire length of the house (**Figure 7.37**). The third source area, in the Lower Chesapeake, spread its remarkably uniform influence southward as the *Southern Coastal Stream,* diffusing its impact inland along numerous paths into the Upland South. In that area of complex population movements and topographically induced isolations, source-area architectural styles were transformed into truly indigenous local folk housing forms. The French established a second North American culture hearth in the *Mississippi Delta* area of New Orleans and along the lower Mississippi during the 18th century. There, French influences from Nova Scotia and the French Caribbean islands—Haiti, specifically—were mixed with Spanish and African cultural contributions. Again, heat and humidity were an environmental problem requiring distinctive housing solutions, one of which was the narrow *shotgun* house, which provided excellent cross ventilation (**Figure 7.38**). The shotgun house is a folk cultural contribution that traces its roots to Africa through free Haitian blacks who settled in the delta before the middle of the 19th century. Crossing cultural boundaries, the shotgun house became a common residence type after the Civil War for both poor blacks and whites migrating to cities in the South and southern Midwest in search of employment. The French and Caribbean influences of the *Delta Stream,* in contrast, were much more restricted and localized.

The Interior and Western Hearths

Various immigrant groups, some from the eastern states, and others from abroad responded to the extremes of a continental climate and different building materials by developing new house styles in the *Interior* and North American *West.* Settlers on the Great Plains initially built sod dugouts or sod or rammed earth houses in the absence of native timber stands. Later, after the middle of the century, "balloon frame" construction, utilizing newly available cheap wire nails and light lumber milled to standard dimensions, became the norm in the interior where builders adapted the simple front-gable or upright-and-wing forms. The strong, low-cost housing the new techniques and materials made possible owed less to the architectural traditions of eastern America than it did to the simplicity and proportional dimensions imposed by the standardized materials.

(a)

5 feet   Floor Plan
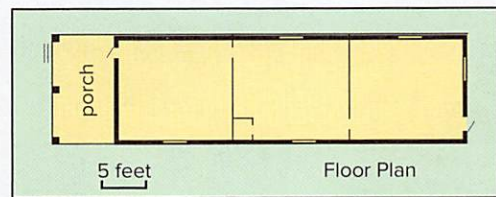
(b)

Figure 7.38 The Mississippi Delta region is the hearth for the shotgun house. (*a*) This simple, three-room *shotgun house* in New Orleans, Louisiana, shows the features typical of this design: narrow and deep, one room wide, multiple rooms deep, a front-facing gable and porch, off-center front and rear doors, and rooms connected by internal unaligned doors. (*b*) One variant of a shotgun cottage floor plan.

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Figure 7.37 The Charleston single house of the Southern Tidewater hearth. The name refers to its single row of three or four rooms arranged from front to back and lined on the outside of each floor by a long veranda extending along one side of the structure.
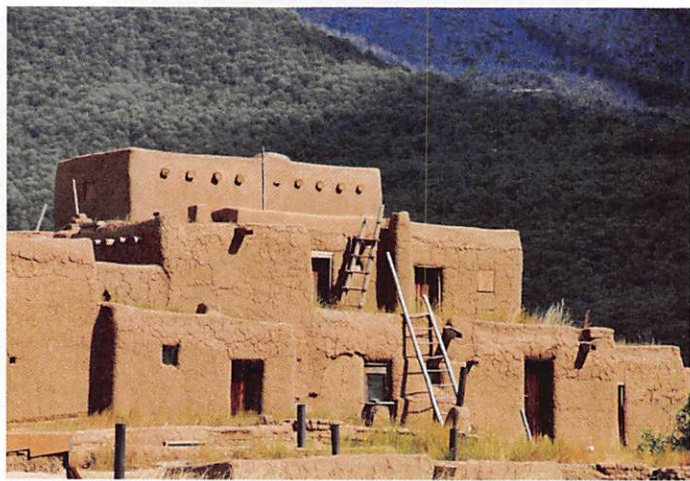It resembles an I house turned on its side and shaded with a veranda from the hot southern sun.

©*Mark Bjelland*

The thick-walled *Spanish adobe house,* with its small windows and flat or low-pitched roof supported by timbers, entered the United States through the Hispanic borderlands. However, most of its features owed more to indigenous Pueblo Indian design than to Spanish origins (**Figure 7.39**). In the Far West, Hispanic and Russian influences were locally felt, although housing concepts imported from the East predominated. In the Utah area, Mormon immigrants established the *central-hall house,* related to both the I house and the four-over-four house, as the dominant house type.

A variety of ethnic and architectural influences met and intermingled in the Pacific Northwest. By the 1870s, an architecturally distinctive Chinatown had emerged in Seattle, and similar enclaves were established in Portland, Tacoma, Vancouver, and Victoria. But most immigrants to Oregon and Washington came from Midwestern roots, representing a further westward migration of populations whose forebears (or who themselves) were part of the Middle Atlantic culture hearths. Some—the earliest—carried to the Oregon and Washington forested regions the "midland" American backwoods pioneer culture and log-cabin tradition first encountered in the Delaware Valley hearth; others brought the variety of housing styles already well represented in the continental interior.

National Housing Styles

Just as popular culture has homogenized tastes in clothes, food, drink, music, and dance, national house styles began to replace folk styles in the 1800s, at least for those who could afford it. National house styles diffused across the continent, adopted first by urban elites who wanted the latest architecture. Thus, the look of a house came to say less about where it was from and more about

when it was built and the status of its owner. In the 1800s and early 1900s, popular styles included neoclassical houses modeled on Greek temples, Italianates modeled on Italian villas, the Second Empire style inspired by French designs, the elaborate Queen Anne (or Victorian) style (**Figure 7.40a**), and revivals of various historic styles, including colonial-era styles and English Tudor cottages and castles (**Figure 7.40b**).

Dramatic changes in house design accompanied the widespread adoption of automobiles. As cars become the normal and expected mode of transportation, the cost of distance dropped dramatically, and cities and houses began to spread outward. At the forefront of these changes was the popular ranch-style house.

(a)

(b)

Figure 7.40 Popular national house styles of the 1800s and early 1900s diffused across North America. (*a*) The *Queen Anne* (or Victorian) style was popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with its asymmetry, flamboyance, and elaborately decorated surfaces. This highly romantic and picturesque style appeared as the Industrial Revolution was sweeping Great Britain and North America. (*b*) Tudor Revival houses, which imitate the steeply pitched roofs and half-timbering of Medieval English houses, were popular during the early decades of the 20th century.

(a) ©Mark Bjelland; (b) ©Mark Bjelland

Figure 7.39 The pueblo house of the Southwest with thick-walled, adobe construction, retains a relatively constant temperature, staying warm in winter and cool in summer.

©mtcurado/Getty Images

Figure 7.41 The ranch house was built in large numbers in the burgeoning suburbs of the United States from the 1950s through the 1970s. The widespread adoption of the automobile after World War II allowed houses and neighborhoods to sprawl outward. The garage became part of the house in this unpretentious style that facilitated relaxed, informal lifestyles centered on the backyard patio or pool.
©Mark Bjelland

The ranch house was inspired by the ranch houses of the West and Southwest regions and by modern architecture's rejection of ornamentation. Sprawling, low-slung, unpretentious, and closely connected to the outdoors through sliding, glass patio doors, the ranch house came to symbolize casual lifestyles in southern California, the Sun Belt, and suburbs everywhere (**Figure 7.41**). The ranch became the most popular house built in the United States during the late 1950s and 1960s, when the annual rates of house construction boomed. Eventually, it too went out of style, but not before becoming the most common house type in the United States.

Gaining momentum since 1980 has been a return to building new houses in traditional styles (**Figure 7.42**). This return to regional vernacular styles enhances regional identities and erases some of the homogeneity imposed by national trends and national homebuilders. Because cities tend to add new housing at their outer fringe, the different popular house styles are arranged in concentric rings around the city center, just like a tree's growth rings. During boom times, cities add thick rings of new housing, and in poor times, a particular style might be absent.

Building Styles Around the World

Because most house builders are local or national rather than global, each country has its own traditions and styles of construction. The influences of various folk traditions contribute to ongoing differences in the look of housing in different countries. Even within Europe, there are substantial differences in house types between countries. Taking advantage of their abundant forests, the Scandinavian countries prefer wood houses, while brick rowhouses or duplexes dominate in Britain. Responding to China's newfound prosperity, middle-class home builders have sometimes borrowed the styles of other countries, creating entire suburban communities that imitate the look of Canadian ski towns, alpine villages, and the suburban housing of Orange County, California.

However, in the construction of large apartment, office, factory, or civic buildings, there is less variation from country to country. Here, the diffusion of Western styles, the influence of the modern movement in architecture, and engineering design standards have created a look termed *the International Style*. The International Style uses industrial construction materials of glass, steel, and concrete and is less likely to use local stone or wood. The International Style, by definition, is the

(a)

(b)

Figure 7.42 Architects and urban designers have sometimes revived regional housing styles. (*a*) Beginning in the 1980s, the Kentlands neighborhood in suburban Washington, D.C., was developed following traditional 18th- and early 19th-century Middle Atlantic designs. (*b*) An early 2000s suburb near St. Paul, Minnesota, featured revivals of common Upper Midwest vernacular house styles such as this upright-and-wing.
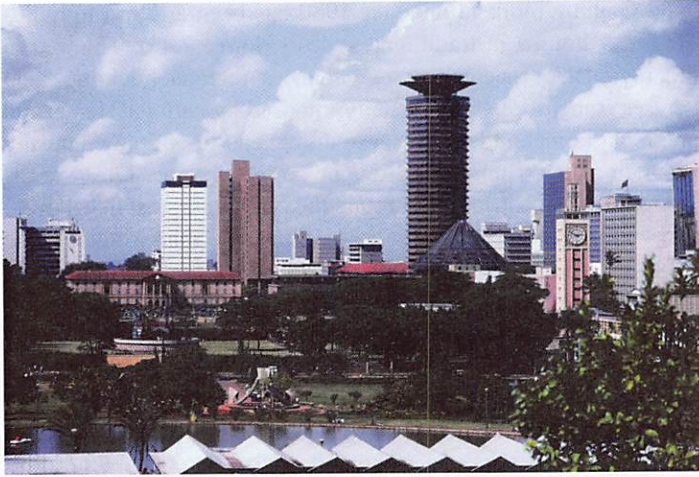©Mark Bjelland

Figure 7.43 Many of the international style buildings in this image of the Nairobi, Kenya skyline could be from anywhere in the world. The diffusion of the modern style of architecture and adoption of universal engineering design standards lends a standardized look to high-rise office buildings and residences.

©*Ralph A. Clevenger/Corbis/Getty Images*

same everywhere and disregards tradition and local vernacular styles. Thus, an International Style office building in Nairobi, Kenya, can look remarkably similar to one in Houston, Bangkok, or Paris (**Figure 7.43**).

Landscapes of Consumption: The Shopping Mall

Traditionally, manufacturing was seen as the key to national strength. However, since World War II, consumption rather than production has been promoted as the dominant engine of the American economy. Shopping is viewed as an enjoyable pursuit, and sometimes even our patriotic duty, as reflected in common phrases such as "born to shop," "shop 'til you drop," or "he who dies with the most toys wins." The most prominent landscape expression of our commodity-driven popular culture, of course, is the shopping mall, sometimes dubbed the "palace of consumption."

Major regional malls have been created in every part of the world that boasts a population of middle-class consumers large enough to satisfy their carefully calculated purchasing-power requirements. With their mammoth parking lots and easy access from expressways or highways, most malls are part of the automobile culture that helped create them after World War II. Enclosed, temperature-controlled, without windows or other acknowledgment of a world outside, some assume monumental size, approximating the retail space contained in the central business districts of older medium-sized and large cities (**Figure 7.44**). The largest mall in the United States, the aptly named Mall of America in Bloomington, Minnesota, boasts more than 500 stores, an indoor amusement park, and aquarium. But the world's three largest shopping malls are located in China, and the fourth-largest is in the Philippines.

On the one hand, there is a sameness and placelessness about shopping malls. Shopping center developers and owners have built nearly identical malls and filled them with a nearly identical mix of national and international chain stores and restaurants. A handful of large real estate companies own the majority of regional malls in the United States, as well as having overseas portfolios. They cater to a full range of homogenized consumer desires that have been molded by popular culture and advertising. On the other hand, many successful malls have been tailored to the income, culture, and tastes of the local area with fine-tuned **geodemographic analysis** of the local population, its age distribution, and social and economic characteristics. Inside the mall, the designs for individual stores reflect the fragmentation of society into various subcultures with storefronts, layouts, and music subtly conveying messages about the appropriate age, tastes, and income levels of the target consumer.

The ubiquity of malls and the uniformity of their offerings homogenize the books, movies, wall art, furnishings, and fashions that the consumer can choose among. Whatever fashion trend may be dictated nationally or internationally is instantly available locally, hurried to market by well-organized chains responding to well-orchestrated customer demand. A handful of centers of innovation for fashion—Milan, Paris, London, and New York—dictate what shall be worn, and a few designer names dominate the popularly acceptable range of choices.

Figure 7.44 The shopping mall is a palace of consumption. Massive, enclosed, and buffered from its surroundings, the modern metropolitan shopping mall is a prime carrier of popular culture. This mall is located in Dubai in the United Arab Emirates, but it could be in nearly any city with sufficient buying power to attract mall developers. The standardized offerings of the mall contrast with the individuality of regional and folk cultures.

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Because popular culture is, above all, commercialized culture, a market success by one producer is instantly copied by others. Thus, even the great number of individual shops within the mall is only an assurance of variations on the same limited range of clothing (or other) themes, not necessarily diversity of choice. Yet, of course, such a range of choices would not be possible within constrained folk or ethnic groups.

While regional shopping malls have successfully outcompeted traditional shopping districts, leading to vacant downtown and Main Street stores in many towns and cities, their own long-term success is not guaranteed. The construction of large, enclosed malls has slowed to a virtual halt in the United States since 2000. A plethora of vacant "dead malls" exist wherever shopping trends, demographic changes, or new competitors have driven away consumers. Because the earlier, impersonal, massive enclosed malls could inspire feelings of alienation, developers have redesigned older malls and constructed new ones to replicate the landscape features of traditional urban places and evoke the sense of a distinctive community. Familiar urban landscape elements are recreated in the design of these malls, but in romanticized forms. The façades create the appearance of multiple buildings, and the central corridors recall the small-town Main Streets of the past, where shoppers jostled with friendly strangers. In the middle may be a large open space that functions as a simulated town square, often with benches and shrubbery imitating the central city park of a small-town center. The ever-present food court is often an idealized reproduction of past urban places: the sidewalk cafes of Paris, or the city squares (piazzas) of Italy, for example. It has been suggested that these new-style shopping centers, with their contrived sense of place, are idealized Disneyland versions of the places that they simulate. They are part of a broader trend inspired by Disneyland and Las Vegas of creating **themed landscapes** that simulate different times and places (**Figure 7.45**). The success of Disneyland's Main Street U.S.A. and other themed environments in the Magic Kingdom inspired the designers of chain stores, chain restaurants, shopping malls, and housing subdivisions to create their own themed environments. In the mall, one casual clothing store catering to teenagers elaborately recreates the look of a California surf shack, while in the food court, a chain restaurant creates a simulated Amazonian rainforest experience.

The redesign of shopping malls is exemplified in the recent popularity of lifestyle centers. The new centers differ from older enclosed malls by being smaller outdoor or open-air assemblages with storefronts facing a pseudo Main Street or plaza. Many lifestyle centers are influenced by the **New Urbanism**, a planning movement that promotes walkability and mixed-use buildings with offices and residences on the upper floors. (**Figure 7.46**). Customers in lifestyle centers are able to park near their destinations, shop, and leave

Figure 7.45 Themed landscapes are created by real estate developers to attract tourists and shoppers. Las Vegas has casino hotels "themed" as New York City, Greco-Roman temples, Egyptian pyramids, medieval castles, Venetian palaces, and a French hotel, complete with a replica of the Eiffel Tower.

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Figure 7.46 Lifestyle centers represent a recent trend to create themed environments for shopping, dining, and entertainment. The Santana Row shopping center in San Jose, California, as shown here, replaced a failing 1950s single-story shopping mall. The designers of Santana Row were inspired by the New Urbanism movement and by the architecture and public spaces of southern European cities.
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without encountering the crowded interior space of traditional malls. Unlike the "placeless" environment associated with the massive enclosed mall, lifestyle centers attempt to create the uniqueness, ambience, and "localized" feel of small towns, although most of the upscale retailers and restaurants are national chains that would not be found in a typical small town. While lifestyle centers pretend to be public spaces, they are privately owned and controlled, unlike traditional shopping streets or city squares. Activities that would be allowed in a traditional city square, such as rallies, proselytizing, and begging, are usually not allowed in a mall or lifestyle center because they aren't conducive to a pleasant shopping atmosphere.

Heritage Landscapes

Just as many countries have decided to preserve their best examples of wild, natural landscapes, some believe that we should designate and preserve important cultural landscapes. With the exception of a few mountaintops, the entire European landscape has been altered by human activities stretching over millennia. The concept of preserving wilderness, as developed in the United States, does not readily fit the context of Europe and much of Asia. However, the many tourists that

visit Europe each year are evidence that a settled **heritage landscape** can be particularly attractive, not in spite of the human presence, but because of a culture's harmonious interaction with the natural landscape or creation of beautiful, human-scale architecture. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) operates a world heritage preservation program that has designated nearly 1,000 cultural sites, natural landscapes, and cultural landscapes from all over the world. The designated cultural landscapes are the joint creations of humans and nature and are selected for their unique scenery, archeology, architecture, history of human habitation, or symbolic significance. A number of the places listed on the World Heritage List are relatively wild landscapes, but have been included not for their ecological significance but for their cultural significance. These are wild landscapes that are viewed as sacred places by indigenous peoples. Unlike most national parks or wilderness preserves, the cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List are often inhabited (**Figure 7.47**). For example, the UNESCO world heritage list includes the city centers of a number of well-preserved historic European cities, a classical Chinese garden, British mining and early industrial landscapes, several of Iraq's ancient cities, and the University of Virginia campus, designed by Thomas Jefferson.

Figure 7.47 The village of Halstatt, Austria has been designated by UNESCO as one of more than 700 world heritage cultural landscapes. The Halstatt area has been occupied by humans for three millennia and prospered in Medieval times as a salt mining center. In the 19th century the town's beauty attracted painters and poets. Today, it is immensely popular with tourists for its blend of natural scenery and intricate, human-scale architecture. It is so popular with East Asian tourists, in fact, that it has inspired Chinese developers to build an exact, life-size replica on a tropical, lakeshore in Guangdong Province, China.

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AP KEY WORDS

Use the terms below with a ▌to focus your study of AP Human Geography key words in this chapter.

▌cultural landscape
▌culture hearth
custom folk culture
geodemographic analysis
glocalization
heritage landscapes
long-lot system
material culture

metes-and-bounds
neolocalism
New Urbanism
nonmaterial culture
palimpsest
placelessness
popular culture
popular region

Public Land Survey System (PLSS)
rectangular survey
▌sequential occupation
themed landscapes
vernacular house
vernacular region

AP TEST PRACTICE

Multiple Choice Questions

1. **Which of the following is true about folk cultures in the United States?**
   (A) Folk cultures no longer exist in the United States, having all been supplanted by popular culture.
   (B) Folk cultures only exist among the Amish in Pennsylvania.
   (C) Folk cultures only exist in geographically isolated, rural groups.
   (D) Folk cultures today can only be seen in museums and recreations of the past.
   (E) Folk cultures are inflexible and never adapt to modernity.

2. **All of the following are examples of the persistence of folk culture in advanced society EXCEPT**
   (A) the popularity of folk music and folk festivals in the United States.
   (B) the wearing of kimonos for special occasions in Japan.
   (C) the use of chopsticks at restaurants in China.
   (D) the adoption of blue jeans and business suits in Kenya.
   (E) the prohibition against eating beef in India.

3. **The culture of the lowland southern United States**
   (A) is a mixture of French, Irish, and Scottish influences.
   (B) mixes English and African elements, with traces of French influence from the Mississippi Delta.
   (C) is like the northeastern United States due to the influence of French Canadians who migrated there.
   (D) includes Native American and Latin American influences from the Spanish colonies in Florida.
   (E) is mainly African due to the forced migration of slaves to the area in the 18th and 19th centuries.

4. **Popular culture refers to**
   (A) the general mass of people, mostly urban and suburban, within a country who are constantly conforming to, changing, and adopting new trends and fads.
   (B) the rural farm communities which dictate nationalistic culture to the rest of the nation.
   (C) the combination of religion, language, food, housing and other artifacts that influence the lives of a group of people.
   (D) the required cultural adoption of totalitarian societies.
   (E) the culture found in very small, isolated areas.

5. **An example of regionalism in popular culture is that**
   (A) everyone can watch the same shows on TV.
   (B) cricket is a popular sport in England and India.
   (C) soccer attracts over 600 million sports fans globally.
   (D) Canadian and American cultures are very similar.
   (E) McDonalds restaurants are found all over the world.

6. **The concept of placelessness causes**
   (A) areas in different regions to look different from one another.
   (B) people to protest the arrival of Walmart and McDonalds.
   (C) folk culture to resist the takeover by popular culture.
   (D) universalizing religions to diffuse to more remote areas.
   (E) people to get lost while traveling.

7. **The concept of glocalization is described as**

(A) the takeover of small local businesses by large corporations.

(B) the practice of outsourcing jobs to developing countries where labor is cheaper.

(C) the homogenization of the cultural landscape as all shopping areas begin to look the same.

(D) the practice of universalizing religions of sending missionaries to convert people.

(E) the small changes that are made in a global business to make it popular in a specific locality.

8. **A reason for the distribution of smokers on the map in Figure 7.16 on page 224 is**

(A) in areas where the fewest people watch baseball, many people smoke cigarettes.

(B) in areas where the fewest people watch baseball, very few people smoke as well.

(C) a below average number of people smoke and watch baseball in the same regions.

(D) more people smoke in tobacco producing regions.

(E) more tobacco is imported into the southeastern United States.

9. **Folk houses tend to be**

(A) much alike in many regions of the world, since the poorest people live in them.

(B) extremely diverse, since they are built of local materials and must deal with local conditions.

(C) built of expensive materials that are imported from far away.

(D) very uncomfortable since they have no heat or air-conditioning.

(E) circular in shape with roofs made of thatch or leaves.

10. **The concept of New Urbanism promotes**

(A) the movement of people from cities to planned suburban communities.

(B) gentrification, as poorer people are unable to afford to stay in newer neighborhoods.

(C) walkability and mixed-use buildings within cities.

(D) the building of large shopping malls and stadiums.

(E) the relocation of young people to small towns.

Free Response Questions

1. **Choose two types of American folk music and explain the following:**

(A) the hearth of each musical type

(B) the initial influence on the musical type

(C) the ways in which the music has changed as it diffused

2. **Answer Parts A, B, and C below.**

(A) Explain how monuments and memorials contribute to the cultural landscape of a country.

(B) Give one example of a national memorial or monument in the United States and explain how it fits into the cultural landscape.

(C) Explain one way that a memorial or monument can cause division within a country.

3. **Using examples from three different regions of the United States, describe the regional housing style, the materials used, and its importance in the cultural landscape.**