

Chapter

4 Folk and Popular Culture



Why is the man in the middle wearing a sweater to work?
Page 109



Why are these people posing for the camera? Page 117

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Folk and Popular Leisure Activities Distributed?



What We Do For Fun p. 109

Music and sports can be folk or popular. The differences between them involve geography.

KEY ISSUE 2

Where Are Folk and Popular Material Culture Distributed?

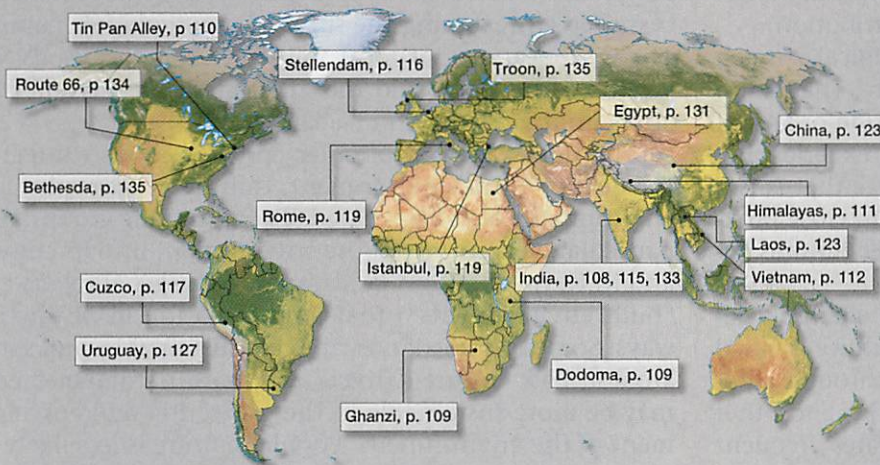


Coke or Pepsi? p. 116

We all need food, clothing, and shelter. How we provide for these needs says a lot about our society's culture.



▲ These dancers from India are performing a Kathakali dance drama on the streets of New York as part of a dance festival. The drama depicts stories of Hindu gods Rama and Krishna. Audiences in New York can admire the costumes and the technical skills of the performers, but popular culture in the United States does not relate easily to the meaning of folk culture like this.



KEY ISSUE 3

Why Is Access to Folk and Popular Culture Unequal?



Accessing the World, if You Can p. 126

Watching TV is the world's most popular leisure activity. What about people who can't afford a TV? Or those who prefer Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube?

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Folk and Popular Culture Face Sustainability Challenges?



Don't Throw Away That Culture p. 132

The relentless push of popular culture can threaten the survival of folk culture—and the well-being of the entire planet.

Introducing

Folk and Popular Culture

Culture can be divided into two types:

- **Folk culture** is traditionally practiced primarily by small, homogeneous groups living in isolated rural areas (Figure 4-1).
- **Popular culture** is found in large, heterogeneous societies that share certain habits despite differences in other personal characteristics (Figure 4-2).

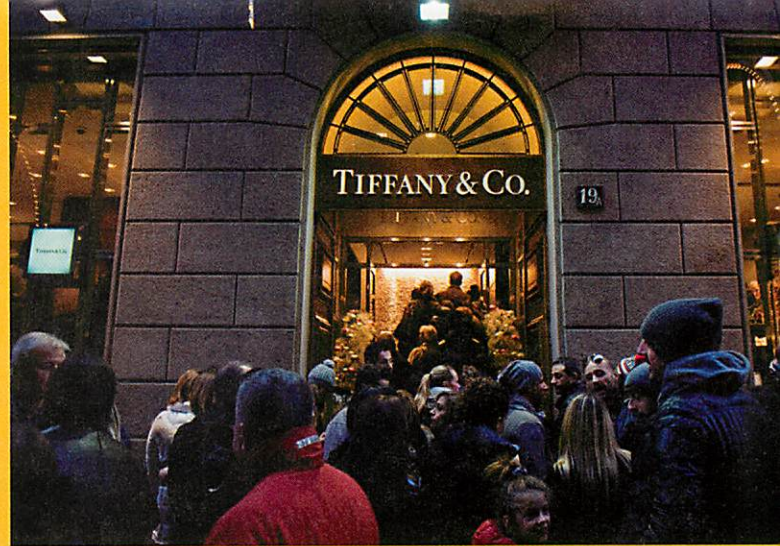
Geographers focus on where folk and popular cultures are located in *space*. Each cultural element has a distinctive origin, diffusion, and distribution. Geographers observe that folk culture and popular culture typically differ in their patterns of origin, diffusion, and distribution.

The *region* covered by a folk culture is typically much smaller than that covered by a popular culture. The reason why the distributions are different is *connection* or lack of it. A group's distinctive culture derives from experiencing local social and physical conditions in a *place* that is isolated from other groups. Even groups living in close proximity to one another may adopt different folk cultures because of limited connections.

Landscapes dominated by folk culture change relatively little over time. In contrast, popular culture is based on rapid simultaneous global connections through communications systems, transportation networks, and other modern technology. Rapid diffusion facilitates frequent changes in popular culture. Thus, folk culture is more likely to vary from place to place at a given time, whereas popular culture is more likely to vary from time to time at a given place.



▲ **FIGURE 4-1 FOLK CULTURE** The Gadaba people of eastern India wear jewelry that reflects local folk culture, including large, heavy neck rings that are not removed until death.



▲ **FIGURE 4-2 POPULAR CULTURE** In popular culture, jewelry is purchased in a store, including this branch in Milan, Italy, of Tiffany & Co, a U.S.-owned company that has nearly 200 stores around the world.

At a global *scale*, popular culture is becoming more dominant—at least for people with the income to have access to it—threatening the survival of unique folk culture. The disappearance of local folk culture reduces local diversity in the world and the intellectual stimulation that arises from differences in backgrounds.

The dominance of popular culture can also threaten the quality of the environment. Culture and the physical environment are interrelated. Each cultural group takes particular elements from the environment into its culture and in turn constructs landscapes (what geographers call “built environments”) that modify nature in distinctive ways. Some of these landscapes are sustainable, and some are not. Folk culture derived from local natural elements may be more sustainable in the protection and enhancement of the environment. Popular culture is less likely to reflect concern for the sustainability of physical conditions and is more likely to modify the environment in accordance with global values.

- **KEY ISSUE 1** describes *where* leisure and recreation elements of folk culture and popular culture are distributed. Art, music, and sports are used as examples. Compared to folk culture, popular culture is more likely to originate at a specific time and place and to diffuse over a wider region.
- **KEY ISSUE 2** looks at the distribution of folk and popular material culture, including food, shelter, and clothing. Popular culture is more likely to vary over time, and folk culture between places.
- **KEY ISSUE 3** explains reasons *why* folk culture and popular culture have different distributions. Especially critical in understanding differences is uneven access to media, especially electronics.
- **KEY ISSUE 4** looks at sustainability concerns raised by *globalization* of popular culture. The diffusion of popular culture threatens the maintenance of *local diversity* in folk customs.

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Folk and Popular Leisure Activities Distributed?

- **Characteristics of Folk and Popular Culture**
- **Origin and Diffusion of Folk and Popular Music**
- **Origin and Diffusion of Folk and Popular Sports**

Culture was defined in Chapter 1 as the body of material traits, customary beliefs, and social forms that together constitute the distinct tradition of a group of people. Geographers are interested in all three components of the definition of culture:

- Chapter 4 focuses on the first part of this definition (material traits)—the visible elements that a group possesses and leaves behind for the future.
- Chapters 5 and 6 examine two important components of a group's beliefs and values—language and religion.
- Chapters 7 and 8 look at the social forms (ethnicity and political institutions) that maintain values and protect the artifacts.

Two elements of culture are emphasized in this chapter:

- **Daily necessities: Food, clothing, and shelter.** All people must consume food, wear clothing, and find shelter, but different cultural groups do so in distinctive ways (Figure 4-3).
- **Leisure activities: Arts and recreation.** Each cultural group has its own definition of meaningful art and stimulating recreation (Figure 4-4).

Geographers search for where these various elements of culture are found in the world and for reasons why the observed distributions occur. How does culture influence

▼ **FIGURE 4-3 MATERIAL CULTURE** Roots are being cooked near Ghanzi, Botswana.



▲ **FIGURE 4-4 LEISURE** Women play soccer in Dodoma, Tanzania.

behavior? To answer this question, habit must be distinguished from custom:

- A **habit** is a repetitive act that a particular individual performs, such as wearing jeans to class every day.
- A **custom** is a repetitive act of a group, performed to the extent that it becomes characteristic of the group, such as many students typically wearing jeans to class.

Unlike custom, habit does not imply that the act has been adopted by most of the society's population. A custom is therefore a habit that has been widely adopted by a group of people (Figure 4-5).

A collection of social customs produces a group's material culture; for example, jeans typically represent American informality and a badge of youth. In this chapter, *custom* may be used to denote a specific element of material culture, such as wearing jeans, whereas *culture* refers to a group's entire collection of customs.

A consideration of culture follows logically from the discussion of migration in Chapter 3. Two locations have similar cultural beliefs, objects, and institutions because people bring along their culture when they migrate. Differences emerge when two groups have limited interaction. For example, a group living in one mountainous area may have little connection with a group living in another mountainous area, such as in the Himalayas, described on the next page.



▲ **FIGURE 4-5 HABIT AND CUSTOM** As CEO of Fiat and Chrysler, Sergio Marchionne had a habit of wearing black sweaters, even when meeting other executives who adhered to the custom of wearing suits and ties.

Characteristics of Folk and Popular Culture

Learning Outcome 4.1.1

Compare the origin, diffusion, and distribution of folk and popular culture.

Each social custom has a unique spatial distribution, but in general, distribution is more extensive for popular culture than for folk culture. Two basic factors help explain the different spatial distributions of popular and folk cultures—the process of origin and the pattern of diffusion.

ORIGIN

Culture originates at a *hearth*, a center of innovation. Folk culture often has anonymous hearths, originating from anonymous sources, at unknown dates, through unidentified originators. It may also have multiple hearths, originating independently in isolated locations.

In contrast, popular culture is most often a product of developed countries, especially in North America and Europe. Popular culture is typically traceable to a specific person or corporation in a particular place, whereas folk culture typically has an unknown point of origin. For example, popular music as we know it today originated around 1900. At that time, the main popular musical entertainment in North America and Europe was the variety show, called the music hall in the United Kingdom and vaudeville in the United States. To provide songs for music halls and vaudeville, a music industry was developed in a district of New York that became known as Tin Pan Alley (Figure 4-6).

Popular music and other elements of popular culture, such as food and clothing, arise from a combination of advances in industrial technology and increased leisure time. Industrial technology permits the uniform reproduction of

▼ **FIGURE 4-6 ORIGIN OF POPULAR MUSIC** Shops such as this one in New York City's Tin Pan Alley sold popular music in records and sheet music in the early twentieth century.



objects in large quantities (iPods, T-shirts, pizzas). Many of these objects help people enjoy leisure time, which has increased as a result of the widespread change in the labor force from predominantly agricultural work to predominantly service and manufacturing jobs.

DIFFUSION

Compared to popular culture, folk culture is transmitted from one location to another more slowly and on a smaller scale, primarily through relocation diffusion (migration). The spread of popular culture, such as popular music, typically follows the process of hierarchical diffusion, diffusing rapidly and extensively from hearths or nodes of innovation with the help of modern communications.

The diffusion of American popular music worldwide began in earnest during the 1940s, when the Armed Forces Radio Network broadcast music to American soldiers and to citizens of countries where American forces were stationed or fighting during World War II. In the late twentieth century, western dance music diffused rapidly from the United States to Europe, especially Detroit's techno music and Chicago's house music (Figure 4-7). Techno music was heavily influenced by soul, gospel, and ultimately African folk music. House music was heavily influenced by hip-hop that emerged in New York and other urban areas, which in turn diffused from funk, jazz, and again ultimately African folk music.

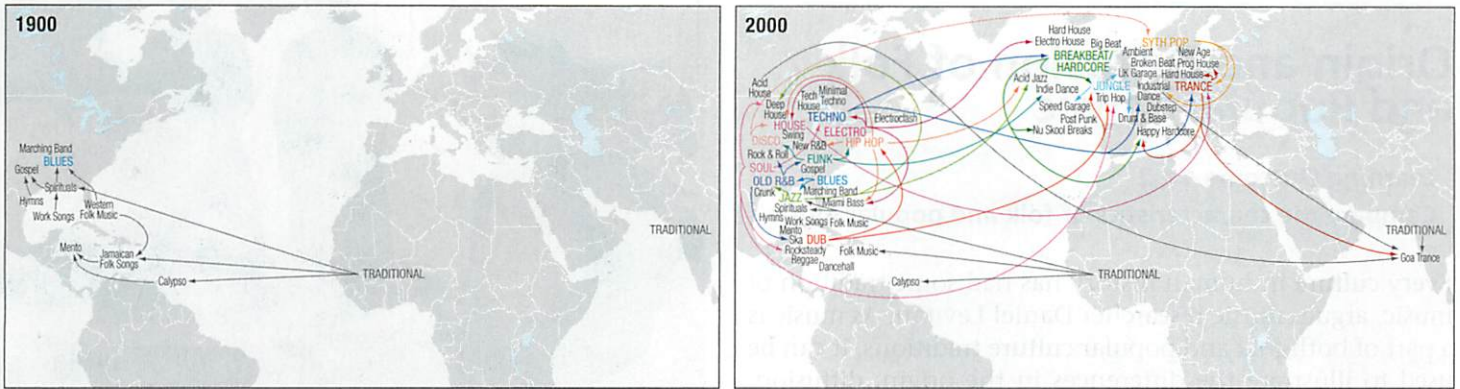
DISTRIBUTION

Popular culture is distributed widely across many countries, with little regard for physical factors. The distribution is influenced by the ability of people to access the material. The principal obstacle to access is lack of income to purchase the material.

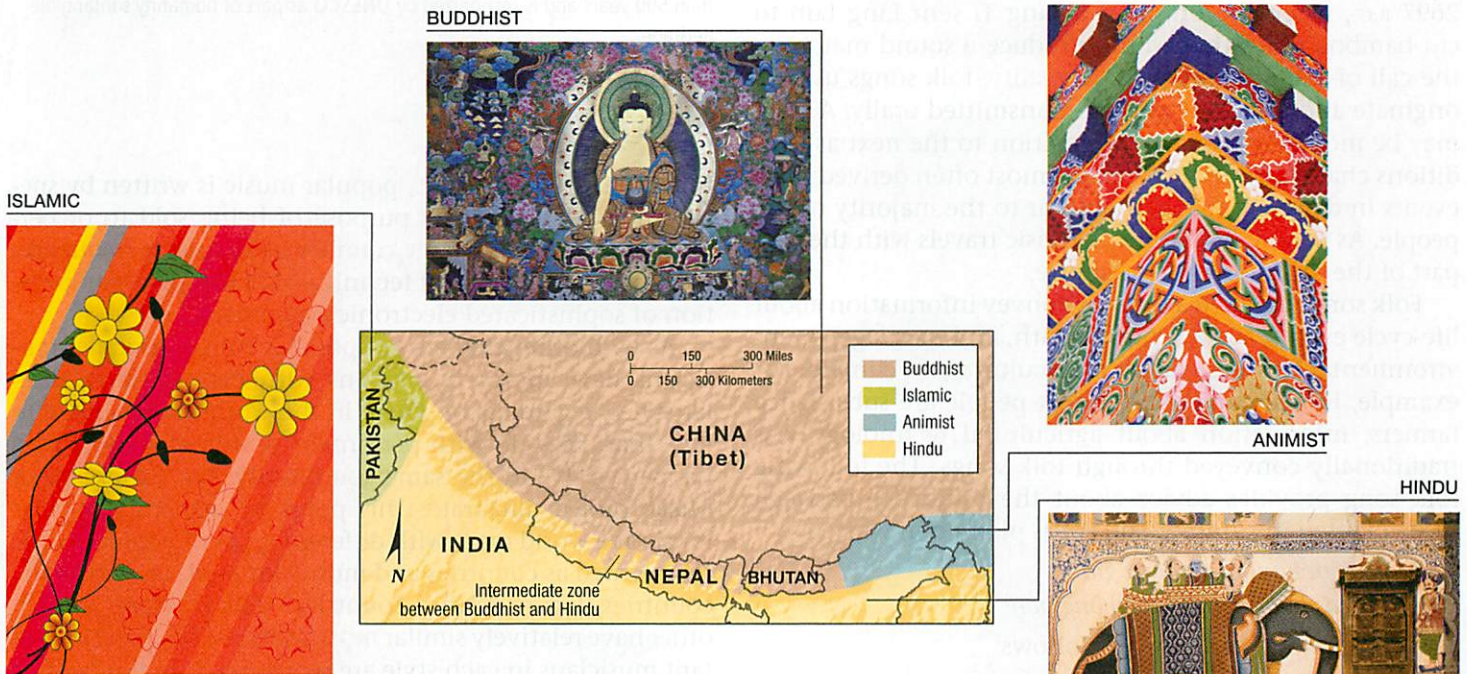
A combination of local physical and cultural factors influences the distinctive distributions of folk culture. For example, in a study of artistic customs in the Himalaya Mountains, geographers P. Karan and Cotton Mather revealed that distinctive views of the physical environment emerge among neighboring cultural groups that are isolated. The study area, a narrow corridor of 2,500 kilometers (1,500 miles) in the Himalaya Mountains of Bhutan, Nepal, northern India, and southern Tibet (China), contains four religious groups: Tibetan Buddhists in the north, Hindus in the south, Muslims in the west, and Southeast Asian animists in the east (Figure 4-8). Despite their spatial proximity, limited interaction among these groups produces distinctive folk customs.

Through their choices of subjects of paintings, each group reveals how its culture mirrors the religions and individual views of the group's environment:

- **Buddhists.** In the northern region Buddhists paint idealized divine figures, such as monks and saints. Some of these figures are depicted as bizarre or terrifying, perhaps reflecting the inhospitable environment.



▲ FIGURE 4-7 DIFFUSION OF WESTERN DANCE MUSIC Popular dance music originated in the Western Hemisphere and diffused to Europe and Asia during the 1980s.



▲ FIGURE 4-8 DISTRIBUTION OF FOLK CULTURE Distinct folk painting traditions are distributed within the Himalayas as a result of isolation of cultural groups.

- **Hindus.** In the southern region Hindus create scenes from everyday life and familiar local scenes. Their paintings sometimes portray a deity in a domestic scene and frequently represent the region’s violent and extreme climatic conditions.
- **Muslims.** In the western portion Muslims show the region’s beautiful plants and flowers because the Muslim faith prohibits displaying animate objects in art. In contrast with the paintings from the Buddhist and Hindu regions, these paintings do not depict harsh climatic conditions.
- **Animists.** Animists from Myanmar (Burma) and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, who have migrated to the

eastern region of the study area, paint symbols and designs that derive from their religion rather than from the local environment.

The distribution of artistic subjects in the Himalayas shows how folk customs are influenced by cultural institutions such as religion and by environmental processes such as climate, landforms, and vegetation. These groups display similar uniqueness in their dance, music, architecture, and crafts.

Pause and Reflect 4.1.1

What geographic factors account for the diversity of cultures in the Himalayas?

Origin and Diffusion of Folk and Popular Music

Learning Outcome 4.1.2

Compare the characteristics of folk and popular music.

Every culture in human history has had some tradition of music, argues music researcher Daniel Levitan. As music is a part of both folk and popular culture traditions, it can be used to illustrate the differences in the origin, diffusion, and distribution of folk and popular culture.

FOLK MUSIC

According to a Chinese legend, music was invented in 2697 B.C., when the Emperor Huang Ti sent Ling Lun to cut bamboo poles that would produce a sound matching the call of the phoenix bird. In reality, folk songs usually originate anonymously and are transmitted orally. A song may be modified from one generation to the next as conditions change, but the content is most often derived from events in daily life that are familiar to the majority of the people. As people migrate, folk music travels with them as part of the diffusion of folk culture.

Folk songs may tell a story or convey information about life-cycle events, such as birth, death, and marriage, or environmental features, such as agriculture and climate. For example, in Vietnam, where most people are subsistence farmers, information about agricultural technology was traditionally conveyed through folk songs. The following folk song provides advice about the difference between seeds planted in summer and seeds planted in winter:

Ma chiêm ba tháng không già

Ma mùa tháng rưởi ắt la'không non¹

This song can be translated as follows:

While seedlings for the summer crop are not old
when they are three months of age,
Seedlings for the winter crop are certainly not young
when they are one-and-a-half months old.

The song hardly sounds lyrical to a Western ear. But when English-language folk songs appear in cold print, similar themes emerge, even if the specific information conveyed about the environment differs.

Festivals throughout Vietnam feature music in locally meaningful environmental settings, such as hillsides or on water. Singers in traditional clothes sing about elements of daily life in the local village, such as the trees, flowers, and water source (Figure 4-9).

Pause and Reflect 4.1.2

What type of music do you like? Where does it fit in the popular music maps?



▲ FIGURE 4-9 VIETNAMESE FOLK MUSIC Singers perform Quan Ho folk songs as part of the annual Lim Festival, which is held annually on the 13th to the 15th day of the first lunar month. Quan Ho folk music dates back more than 500 years and is recognized by UNESCO as part of humanity's intangible heritage.

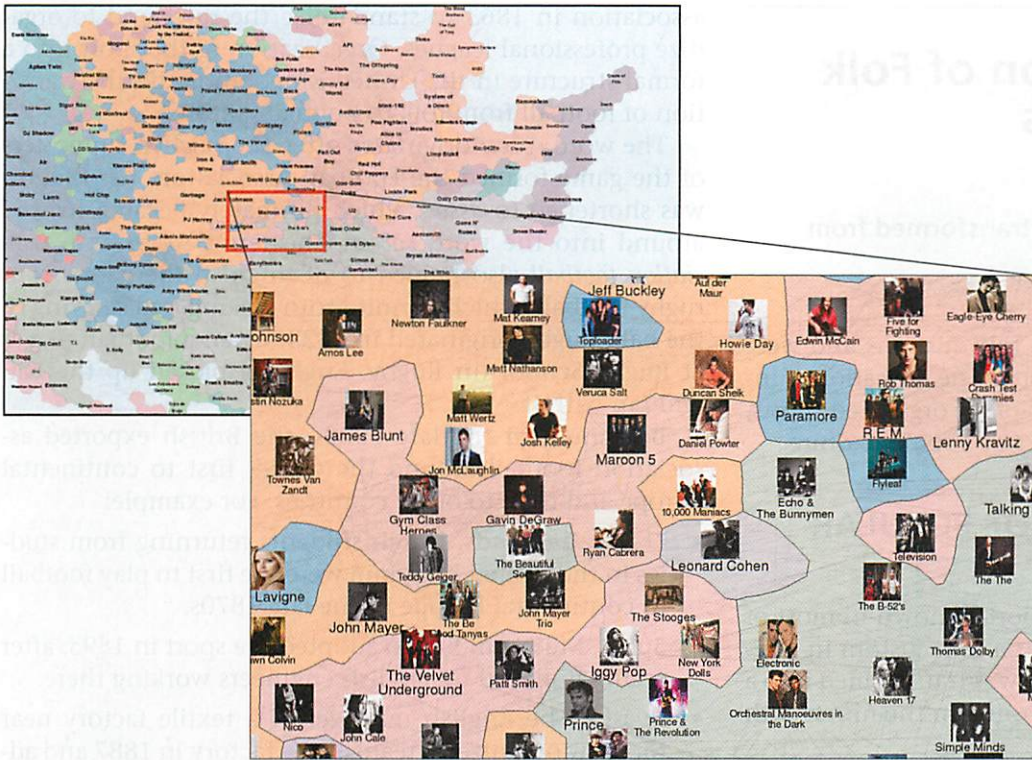
POPULAR MUSIC

In contrast to folk music, popular music is written by specific individuals for the purpose of being sold to or performed in front of a large number of people. It frequently displays a high degree of technical skill through manipulation of sophisticated electronic equipment.

As with other elements of popular culture, popular musicians have more connections with performers of similar styles, regardless of where in the world they happen to live, than they do with performers of different styles who happen to live in the same community. The Landscape of Music project illustrates this point by depicting popular music as a world map, with different types of popular music represented as countries and musicians as places within the countries (Figure 4-10). "Countries" that are closer to each other have relatively similar musical styles. The most important musicians in each style are represented on the "world" map; the larger the size of the type, the more important the musician. Zooming in on a portion of the map reveals less important musicians within individual "countries."

In the past, according to Richard Florida, Charlotta Mellander, and Kevin Stolarick, musicians clustered in particular communities according to shared interest in specific styles, such as Tin Pan Alley in New York, Dixieland jazz in New Orleans, country in Nashville, and Motown in Detroit. Now with the globalization of popular music, musicians are less tied to the culture of particular places and instead increasingly cluster in communities where other creative artists reside, regardless of the particular style. In the United States, New York and Los Angeles attract the largest number of musicians so they can be near sources of employment and cultural activities that attract a wide variety of artists, not just performers of a specific type of music. Nashville is also a leading center for musicians, especially those performing country and gospel; it has the largest concentrations of musicians, when the number of musicians there is compared to a much smaller population than in New York and Los Angeles.

¹From John Blacking and Joann W. Kealiinohomoku, eds., *The Performing Arts: Music and Dance* (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 144. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.



◀ **FIGURE 4-10 THE LANDSCAPE OF MUSIC** The map shows relations among musicians. Musicians whose styles are closely related are depicted as inhabiting the same region. Musicians whose styles are unrelated are shown as inhabiting regions that are not adjacent to each other. The map was created by Yifan Hu, a researcher at AT&T Labs.

Popular musicians are also increasingly attracted to a handful of large clusters in order to have better access to agencies that book live performances, which have become increasingly important compared to recordings. Nearly all of the music festivals that attract the highest attendance are in Europe and the United States.

Connections between popular musicians are depicted in a transit map. Subway “lines” represent styles of popular music, and “interchanges” represent individuals who cross over between two styles. For example, Kanye West is placed at the interchange between hip-hop and soul, and Jimi Hendrix at the interchange between rock and blues and country (Figure 4-11).



◀ **FIGURE 4-11 LONDON SUBWAY MAP OF POPULAR MUSIC** This map showing relationships among musical styles is designed to look like the map of the London Underground (subway) system.

Origin and Diffusion of Folk and Popular Sports

Learning Outcome 4.1.3

Describe how sports have been transformed from folk to popular culture.

Many sports originated as isolated folk customs and were diffused like other folk culture, through the migration of individuals. The contemporary diffusion of organized sports, however, displays the characteristics of popular culture.

ORIGIN AND DIFFUSION OF POPULAR SPORTS

Soccer, the world's most popular sport—known in most of the world as football—originated as a folk custom in England during the eleventh century. It was transformed into a part of global popular culture beginning in the nineteenth century.

ORIGIN OF SOCCER: FOLK CULTURE. As with other folk customs, soccer's origin is obscure. The earliest documented contest took place in England in the eleventh century. According to football historians, after the Danish invasion of England between 1018 and 1042, workers excavating a building site encountered a Danish soldier's head, which they began to kick. "Kick the Dane's head" was imitated by boys, one of whom got the idea of using an inflated cow bladder.

Early football games resembled mob scenes. A large number of people from two villages would gather to kick the ball. The winning side was the one that kicked the ball into the center of the rival village. In the twelfth century, the game—by then commonly called football—was confined to smaller vacant areas, and the rules became standardized. Because football disrupted village life, King Henry II banned the game from England in the late twelfth century. It was not legalized again until 1603, by King James I. At this point, football was an English folk custom rather than a global popular custom.

DIFFUSION OF SOCCER: POPULAR CULTURE. The transformation of football from an English folk custom to global popular culture began in the 1800s. Football and other recreation clubs were founded in the United Kingdom, frequently by churches, to provide factory workers with organized recreation during leisure hours. Sport became a subject that was taught in school.

Increasing leisure time permitted people not only to participate in sporting events but also to view them. With higher incomes, spectators paid to see first-class events. To meet public demand, football clubs began to hire professional players. Several British football clubs formed an

association in 1863 to standardize the rules and to organize professional leagues. Organization of the sport into a formal structure in the United Kingdom marks the transition of football from folk to popular culture.

The word *soccer* originated after 1863, when supporters of the game formed the Football Association. Association was shortened to *assoc*, which ultimately became twisted around into the word *soccer*. The terms *soccer* and *association football* also helped to distinguish the game from rugby football, which permits both kicking and carrying of the ball. Rugby originated in 1823, when a football player at Rugby School (in Rugby, England) picked up the ball and ran with it.

Beginning in the late 1800s, the British exported association football around the world, first to continental Europe and then to other countries. For example:

- **The Netherlands.** Dutch students returning from studies in the United Kingdom were the first to play football in continental Europe in the late 1870s.
- **Spain.** Miners in Bilbao adopted the sport in 1893, after seeing it played by English engineers working there.
- **Russia.** The English manager of a textile factory near Moscow organized a team at the factory in 1887 and advertised in London for workers who could play football. After the Russian Revolution in 1917, both the factory and its football team were absorbed into the Soviet Electric Trade Union. The team, renamed the Moscow Dynamo, became the country's most famous football team.

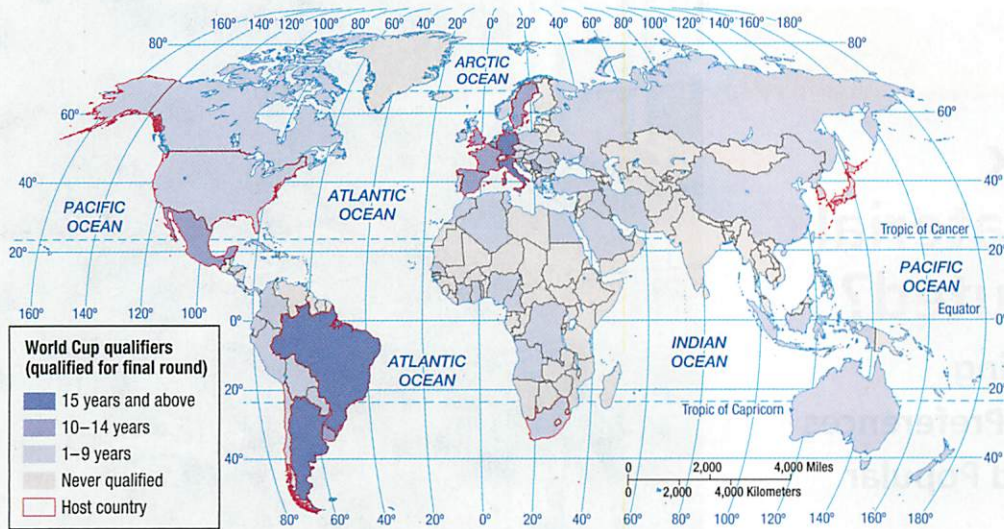
British citizens further diffused the game throughout the worldwide British Empire. In the twentieth century, soccer, like other sports, was further diffused by new communication systems, especially radio and TV.

The global popularity of soccer is seen in the World Cup, in which national soccer teams compete every four years, including in South Africa in 2010 and Brazil in 2014. Thanks to TV, each final breaks the record for the most spectators of any event in world history (Figure 4-12).

OLYMPIC SPORTS. To be included in the Summer Olympics, a sport must be widely practiced in at least 75 countries and on four continents (50 countries for women). The 2016 Summer Olympics features competition in 28 sports: archery, aquatics, athletics, badminton, basketball, boxing, canoeing/kayaking, cycling, equestrian, fencing, field hockey, football (soccer), golf, gymnastics, handball, judo, modern pentathlon, rowing, rugby, sailing, shooting, table tennis, taekwondo, tennis, triathlon, volleyball, weightlifting, and wrestling (Figure 4-13). The two leading team sports in the United States—American football and baseball—are not included.

Pause and Reflect 4.3.1

Are there any Olympic sports in which the United States does not even field a team?



▲ **FIGURE 4-12 GLOBAL SPORTS: WORLD CUP** Most countries in Europe and Latin America have qualified for the World Cup finals. As soccer diffuses worldwide, qualification has increased in other regions.

- Australia rules football is a sport distinct from soccer and the football played in North America. Distinctive forms of football developed in Australia, as well as the United States and Canada, as a result of lack of interaction among sporting nations during the nineteenth century.

Despite the diversity in distribution of sports across Earth's surface and the anonymous origin of some games, organized spectator sports today are part of popular culture. The common element in professional sports is the willingness of people throughout the world to pay for the privilege of viewing, in person or on TV, events played by professional athletes.



▲ **FIGURE 4-13 GLOBAL SPORTS: OLYMPICS** Athletes from Turkey (in blue gear) and the United States (in red gear) compete in women's taekwondo at the 2012 Summer Olympic Games in London, United Kingdom.

SURVIVING FOLK SPORTS

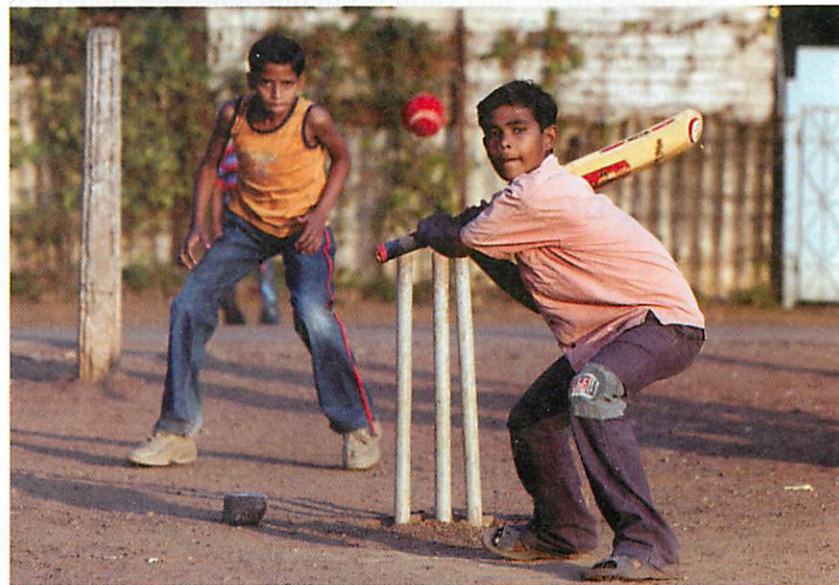
Most other sports have diffused less than soccer. Cultural groups still have their own preferred sports, which are often unintelligible to people elsewhere. Consider the following:

- Cricket is popular primarily in the United Kingdom and former British colonies, especially in South Asia, the South Pacific, and Caribbean islands (Figure 4-14).
- Wushu, martial arts that combine forms such as kicking and jumping with combat such as striking and wrestling, are China's most popular sports.
- Baseball, once confined to North America, became popular in Japan after it was introduced by American soldiers who occupied the country after World War II.

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Folk and Popular Leisure Activities Distributed?

- ✓ Folk culture and popular culture have distinctive patterns of origin, diffusion, and distribution.
- ✓ Folk leisure activities typically have anonymous origins, diffuse through relocation diffusion, and have limited distribution.
- ✓ Popular leisure activities typically originate with identifiable individuals or corporations, diffuse rapidly through hierarchical diffusion, and have widespread distribution.



▲ **FIGURE 4-14 CRICKET** Boys play cricket in Katni, India.

KEY ISSUE 2

Where Are Folk and Popular Material Culture Distributed?

- Folk and Popular Clothing
- Folk and Popular Food Preferences
- Distribution of Folk and Popular Housing
- U.S. Housing

Learning Outcome 4.2.1

Compare reasons for distribution of clothing styles in folk and popular culture.

Material culture includes the three most important necessities of life—clothing, food, and shelter. As is the case with leisure, material elements of folk culture typically have unknown or multiple origins among groups living in relative isolation, and they diffuse slowly to other locations through the process of relocation diffusion.

Popular clothing, food, and shelter vary more in time than in place. They originate through the invention of a particular person or corporation, and they diffuse rapidly across Earth to locations with a variety of physical conditions. Access depends on an individual having a sufficiently high level of income to acquire the material possessions associated with popular culture.

Some regional differences in food, clothing, and shelter persist in popular culture, but differences are much less than in the past. Go to any recently built neighborhood on the outskirts of an American city from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon: The houses look the same, the people wear jeans, and the same chains deliver pizza.

Folk and Popular Clothing

People living in folk cultures have traditionally worn clothing in part in response to distinctive agricultural practices and climatic conditions. In popular culture, clothing preferences generally reflect occupations rather than particular environments.

FOLK CLOTHING PREFERENCES

People wear distinctive folk clothing for a variety of environmental and cultural reasons. The folk custom in the Netherlands of wearing wooden shoes may appear quaint, but it still has practical uses in a wet climate (Figure 4-15).



▲ **FIGURE 4-15 DUTCH WOODEN SHOES** A man wearing wooden shoes bikes on a flooded street in Stellendam, Netherlands.

In arctic climates, fur-lined boots protect against the cold, and snowshoes permit walking on soft, deep snow without sinking in. People living in warm and humid climates may not need any footwear if heavy rainfall and time spent in water discourage such use. Cultural factors, such as religious beliefs, can also influence clothing preferences (Figure 4-16).

Increased travel and the diffusion of media have exposed North Americans and Europeans to other forms of dress, just as people in other parts of the world have come into contact with Western dress. The poncho from South America, the dashiki of the Yoruba people of Nigeria, and the Aleut parka have been adopted by people elsewhere in the world. The continued use of folk costumes in some parts of the globe may persist not because of distinctive environmental conditions or traditional cultural values but to preserve past memories or to attract tourists (Figure 4-17).

Wearing traditional clothing in countries dominated by popular culture can be controversial, and conversely so can wearing popular clothing in countries dominated by folk-style clothing. Especially difficult has been the coexistence of the loose-fitting combination body covering, head covering, and veil traditionally worn by women in Southwest Asia and North Africa with casual Western-style popular women's clothing, such as open-necked blouses, tight-fitting slacks, and revealing skirts.

The loose-fitting combination garment, known by a variety of names, including burqa and chador, is typically



▲ **FIGURE 4-16 TRADITIONAL CLOTHES, MUSLIMS AND JEWS** Devout Muslim women and Jewish men wear modest black clothes, including head coverings. (top) French women wear traditional Muslim burqa to protest the French government's ban on wearing the burqa in public. (bottom) Jewish boys in Israel.

▼ **FIGURE 4-17 POSING FOR TOURISTS, PERU** These women in Cuzco, Peru, dressed in traditional costumes, are posing for tourists as a way to make money.



worn by women following traditional folk customs in Southwest Asia and North Africa. Women in these countries are discouraged from adopting Western-style blouses, skirts, and slacks. Meanwhile, men in the region may prefer to wear Western-style suits, especially if they occupy positions of leadership in business or government.

On the other hand, European countries, including France and Belgium, prohibit women from wearing the burqa in public. Some leaders in these countries have argued that traditional clothing that completely hides the face and body represents unacceptable treatment of women as second-class citizens.

Pause and Reflect 4.2.1

Can you think of other restrictions on clothing styles in developed countries, perhaps in schools?

RAPID DIFFUSION OF POPULAR CLOTHING STYLES

Individual clothing habits reveal how popular culture can be distributed across the landscape with little regard for distinctive physical features. Instead, popular clothing habits reflect:

- **Occupation.** A lawyer or business executive, for example, tends to wear a dark suit, light shirt or blouse, and necktie or scarf, whereas a factory worker wears jeans and a work shirt. A lawyer in New York is more likely to dress like a lawyer in California than like a factory worker in New York.
- **Income.** Women's clothes, in particular, change in fashion from one year to the next. The color, shape, and design of dresses change to imitate pieces created by clothing designers. For social purposes, people with sufficient income may update their wardrobe frequently with the latest fashions.

Improved communications have permitted the rapid diffusion of clothing styles from one region of Earth to another. Original designs for women's dresses, created in Paris, Milan, London, or New York, are reproduced in large quantities at factories in Asia and sold for relatively low prices in North American and European chain stores. Speed is essential in manufacturing copies of designer dresses because fashion tastes change quickly.

In the past, years could elapse from the time an original dress was displayed to the time that inexpensive reproductions were available in the stores. Now the time lag is only a few weeks because of the diffusion of electronic communications. Buyers from the major retail chains can view fashions electronically and place orders. Sketches, patterns, and specifications can be sent instantly from European fashion centers to American corporate headquarters and then on to Asian factories.

Folk and Popular Food Preferences

Learning Outcome 4.2.2

Understand reasons for folk food preferences and taboos.

According to the nineteenth-century cultural geographer Vidal de la Blache, “Among the connections that tie [people] to a certain environment, one of the most tenacious is food supply; clothing and weapons are more subject to modification than the dietary regime, which experience has shown to be best suited to human needs in a given climate.”

Food preferences are inevitably affected by the availability of products, but people do not simply eat what is available in their particular environment. Food preferences are strongly influenced by cultural traditions. What is eaten establishes one’s social, religious, and ethnic memberships. The surest good way to identify a family’s ethnic origins is to look in its kitchen.

FOLK FOOD CUSTOMS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Folk food habits are embedded especially strongly in the environment. Humans eat mostly plants and animals—living things that spring from the soil and water of a region. Inhabitants of a region must consider the soil, climate, terrain, vegetation, and other characteristics of the environment in deciding to produce particular foods.

FOOD AND PLACE: THE CONCEPT OF TERROIR. The contribution of a location’s distinctive physical features to the way food tastes is known by the French term **terroir**. The word comes from the same root as *terre* (the French word for “land” or “earth”), but *terroir* does not translate precisely into English; it has a similar meaning to the English expressions “grounded” and “sense of place.” *Terroir* is the sum of the effects on a particular food item of soil, climate, and other features of the local environment.

FOODS TO CRAVE OR AVOID. In folk cultures, certain foods are eaten because their natural properties are perceived to enhance qualities considered desirable by the society. Here are some examples:

- The Abipone people in Paraguay eat jaguars, stags, and bulls to make them strong, brave, and swift. The Abipone believe that consuming hens or tortoises will make them cowardly.
- The Ainu people in Japan avoid eating otters because they are believed to be forgetful animals, and consuming them could cause loss of memory.
- The Mbum Kpau women in Chad do not eat chicken or goat before becoming pregnant. Abstaining from

consumption of these animals is thought to help escape pain in childbirth and to prevent birth of a child with abnormalities. During pregnancy, the Mbum Kpau avoid meat from antelopes with twisted horns, which could cause them to bear offspring with deformities.

FOODS FROM A GARDEN: THE BOSTANS OF ISTANBUL.

Bostans, which are small gardens inside Istanbul, Turkey, have been supplying the city with fresh produce for hundreds of years (Figure 4-18). According to geographer Paul Kaldjian, Istanbul has around 1,000 bostans, run primarily by immigrants from Cide, a rural village in Turkey’s Kastamonu province. Bostan farmers are able to maximize yields from their small plots of land (typically 1 hectare) through what Kaldjian calls clever and efficient manipulation of space, season, and resources. In a bostan, 15 to 20 different types of vegetables are planted at different times of the year, and the choice is varied from year to year, in order to reduce the risk of damage from poor weather. Most of the work is done by older men, who prepare beds for planting, sow, irrigate, and operate motorized equipment, according to Kaldjian. Women weed, and both men and women harvest.

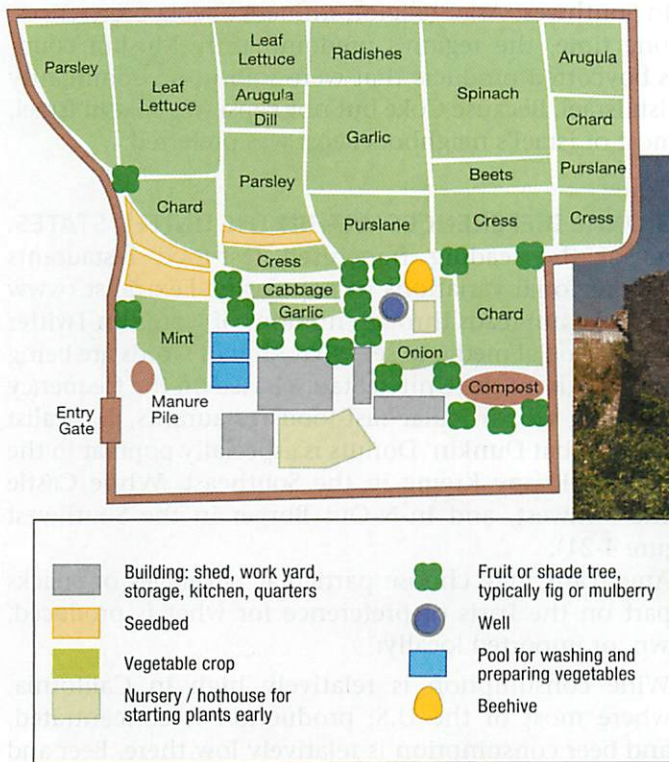
FOODS AND THE ENVIRONMENT. People adapt their food preferences to conditions in the environment. In Asia, rice is grown in milder, moister regions; wheat thrives in colder, drier regions. In Europe, traditional preferences for quick-frying foods in Italy resulted in part from fuel shortages. In Northern Europe, an abundant wood supply encouraged the slow stewing and roasting of foods over fires, which also provided home heat in the colder climate.

Soybeans, an excellent source of protein, are widely grown in Asia. In the raw state they are toxic and indigestible. Lengthy cooking renders them edible, but fuel is scarce in Asia. Asians have adapted to this environmental challenge by deriving from soybeans foods that do not require extensive cooking. These include bean sprouts (germinated seeds), soy sauce (fermented soybeans), and bean curd (steamed soybeans).

FOOD TABOOS

According to many folk customs, everything in nature carries a signature, or distinctive characteristic, based on its appearance and natural properties. Consequently, people may desire or avoid certain foods in response to perceived beneficial or harmful natural traits.

People refuse to eat particular plants or animals that are thought to embody negative forces in the environment. Such a restriction on behavior imposed by social custom is a **taboo**. Other social customs, such as sexual practices, carry prohibitions, but taboos are especially strong in the area of food. Some folk cultures may establish food taboos because of concern for the natural environment. These taboos may help to protect endangered animals or to conserve scarce natural resources. To preserve scarce animal species, only a



▲ **FIGURE 4-18 ISTANBUL VEGETABLE GARDEN** Geographer Paul Kaldjian sketched a typical bostan, a traditional vegetable garden in the center of Istanbul, Turkey. Bostans provide residents of the large city of Istanbul with a source of fresh vegetables.

few high-ranking people in some tropical regions are permitted to hunt, and the majority cultivate crops.

Relatively well-known taboos against consumption of certain foods can be found in the Bible. The ancient Hebrews were prohibited from eating a wide variety of foods, including animals that do not chew their cud or that have cloven feet and fish lacking fins or scales (Figure 4-19). These taboos arose partially from concern for the environment by the Hebrews, who lived as pastoral nomads in lands bordering the eastern Mediterranean. The pig, for example, is prohibited in part because it is more suited to sedentary farming than pastoral nomadism

▼ **FIGURE 4-19 KOSHER RESTAURANT, ROME**



and in part because its meat spoils relatively quickly in hot climates, such as the Mediterranean. These biblical taboos were developed through oral tradition and by rabbis into the kosher laws observed today by some Jews.

Similarly, Muslims embrace the taboo against pork because pigs are unsuited for the dry lands of the Arabian Peninsula. Pigs would compete with humans for food and water, without offering compensating benefits, such as being able to pull a plow, carry loads, or provide milk and wool. Widespread raising of pigs would be an ecological disaster in Islam's hearth.

Hindu taboos against consuming cattle can also be partly explained by environmental reasons. Cows are the source of oxen (castrated male bovine), the traditional choice for pulling plows as well as carts. A large supply of oxen must be maintained in India because every field has to be plowed at approximately the same time—when the monsoon rains arrive. Religious sanctions have kept India's cattle population large as a form of insurance against the loss of oxen and increasing population.

But the taboo against consumption of meat among many people, including Muslims, Hindus, and Jews, cannot be explained primarily by environmental factors. Social values must influence the choice of diet because people in similar climates and with similar levels of income consume different foods. The biblical food taboos were established in part to set the Hebrew people apart from others. That Christians ignore the biblical food injunctions reflects their desire to distinguish themselves from Jews. Furthermore, as a universalizing religion, Christianity was less tied to taboos that originated in the Middle East (see Chapter 6).

Pause and Reflect 4.2.2

What foods do you avoid? Do you avoid foods because of taboos or for other reasons?

POPULAR FOOD CULTURE

Learning Outcome 4.2.3

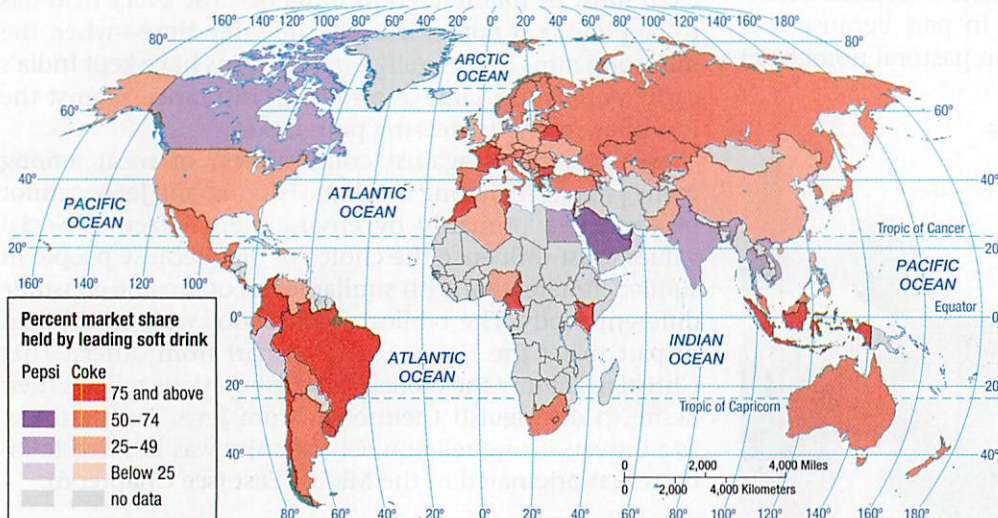
Describe regional variations in popular food preferences.

In the popular culture of twenty-first century America, food preferences seem far removed from folk traditions. Popular food preferences are influenced more by cultural values than by environmental features. Still, some regional variations can be observed, and environmental influences remain important in selected items.

DIFFERENCES AMONG COUNTRIES. Why do Coca-Cola and Pepsi have different sales patterns (Figure 4-20)? The two beverages are similar, and many people are unable to taste the difference. Yet consumers prefer Coke in some countries and Pepsi in others.

Coca-Cola accounts for more than one-half of the world's cola shares, and Pepsi for another one-fourth. Coca-Cola is the sales leader in most of the Western Hemisphere. The principal exception is Canada's French-speaking province of Québec, where Pepsi is preferred. Pepsi won over the Québécois with advertising that tied Pepsi to elements of uniquely French Canadian culture. The major indoor arena in Québec City is named the Colisée Pepsi (Pepsi Coliseum).

Cola preferences are influenced by politics in Russia. Under communism, government officials made a deal with Pepsi to allow that cola to be sold in the Soviet Union. With the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of communism, Coke entered the Russian market. Russians quickly switched their preference to Coke because Pepsi was associated with the discredited Communist government.



▲ FIGURE 4-20 COKE VERSUS PEPSI Coca-Cola leads in sales in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and Russia. Pepsi leads in Canada and South and Southwest Asia.

In Southwest Asia, religion influences cola preferences. At one time, the region's predominantly Muslim countries boycotted products that were sold in predominantly Jewish Israel. Because Coke but not Pepsi was sold in Israel, in most of Israel's neighbors Pepsi was preferred.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES.

Some of the leading franchised fast-food restaurants display regional variations in popularity. Lexicalist (www.lexicalist.com) reads through millions of words on Twitter and other social media to see what kind of words are being used throughout the United States. Based on the frequency of referring to particular fast-food restaurants, Lexicalist concludes that Dunkin' Donuts is especially popular in the Northeast, Krispy Kreme in the Southeast, White Castle in the Midwest, and In-N-Out Burger in the Southwest (Figure 4-21).

Americans may choose particular beverages or snacks in part on the basis of preference for what is produced, grown, or imported locally:

- Wine consumption is relatively high in California, where most of the U.S. production is concentrated, and beer consumption is relatively low there. Beer and spirits consumption are relatively high in the upper Midwest, where much of the grain is grown. Consumption of wine is low in that part of the country, where few grapes are grown.
- Southerners may prefer pork rinds because more hogs are raised there, and northerners may prefer popcorn and potato chips because more corn and potatoes are grown there.

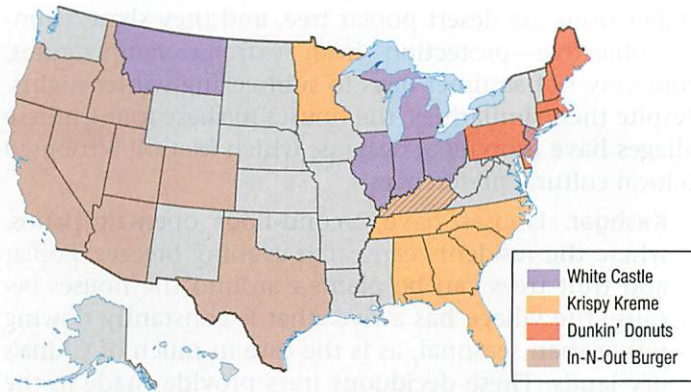
Cultural backgrounds affect the amount and types of alcohol and snack foods consumed:

- Utah has a low rate of consumption of all types of alcohol because of a concentration there of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who abstain from all alcohol consumption. The adjacent state of Nevada has a

high rate of consumption of all types of alcohol because of the heavy concentration of gambling and other resort activities there. Alcohol consumption relates partially to religious backgrounds and partially to income and advertising.

- Texans may prefer tortilla chips because of the large number of Hispanic Americans there. Westerners may prefer multigrain chips because of greater concern for the nutritional content of snack foods.

Geographers cannot explain most of the regional variations in food preferences. Variations



▲ **FIGURE 4-21 FAST-FOOD RESTAURANT PREFERENCES** Dunkin' Donuts is especially popular in the Northeast, Krispy Kreme in the Southeast, White Castle in the Midwest, and In-N-Out Burger in the Southwest.

within the United States are much less significant than differences between the United States and developing countries in Africa and Asia.

Pause and Reflect 4.2.3

Do your food preferences match the predominant ones in your region?

WINE PRODUCTION: ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS. The spatial distribution of wine production demonstrates that environmental factors can be of some influence in the distribution of popular food customs. The distinctive character of a wine derives from a vineyard's terroir—the unique combination of soil, climate, and other physical characteristics at the place where the grapes are grown:

- **Climate.** Vineyards are best cultivated in temperate climates of moderately cold, rainy winters and fairly long, hot summers. Hot, sunny weather is necessary in the summer for the fruit to mature properly, whereas winter is the preferred season for rain because plant diseases

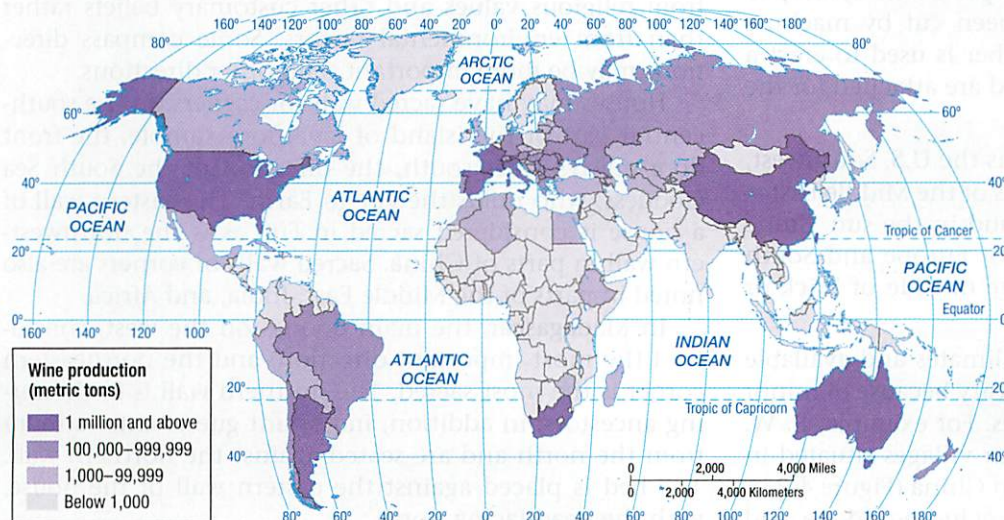
that cause the fruit to rot are more active in hot, humid weather.

- **Topography.** Vineyards are planted on hillsides, if possible, to maximize exposure to sunlight and to facilitate drainage. A site near a lake or river is also desirable because water can temper extremes of temperature.
- **Soil.** Grapes can be grown in a variety of soils, but the best wine tends to be produced from grapes grown in soil that is coarse and well drained—a soil that is not necessarily fertile for other crops.

WINE PRODUCTION: CULTURAL FACTORS. Although grapes can be grown in a wide variety of locations, the production of wine is based principally on cultural values, both historical and contemporary. The distribution of wine production shows that the diffusion of popular customs depends less on the distinctive environment of a location than on the presence of beliefs, institutions, and material traits conducive to accepting those customs (Figure 4-22). Wine is made today primarily in locations that have a tradition of excellence in making it and people who like to drink it and can afford to purchase it.

The social custom of wine production in much of France and Italy extends back at least to the Roman Empire. Wine consumption declined after the fall of Rome, and many vineyards were destroyed. Monasteries preserved the wine-making tradition in medieval Europe for both sustenance and ritual. Wine consumption has become extremely popular again in Europe in recent centuries, as well as in the Western Hemisphere, which was colonized by Europeans. Vineyards are now typically owned by private individuals and corporations rather than religious organizations.

Wine production is discouraged in regions of the world dominated by religions other than Christianity. Hindus and Muslims in particular avoid alcoholic beverages. Thus wine production is limited in the Middle East (other than Israel) and southern Asia primarily because of cultural values, especially religion.



◀ **FIGURE 4-22 WINE PRODUCTION** The distribution of wine production is influenced in part by the physical environment and in part by social customs. Most grapes used for wine are grown near the Mediterranean Sea or in areas of similar climate. Income, preferences, and other social customs also influence the distribution of wine consumption, as seen in the lower production levels of predominantly Muslim countries south of the Mediterranean.

Distribution of Folk and Popular Housing

Learning Outcome 4.2.4

Understand factors that influence patterns of folk housing.

French geographer Jean Brunhes, a major contributor to the cultural landscape tradition, viewed the house as being among the essential facts of human geography. It is a product of both cultural tradition and natural conditions. American cultural geographer Fred Kniffen considered the house to be a good reflection of cultural heritage, current fashion, functional needs, and the impact of environment.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES ON FOLK HOUSING

A group's unique folk customs develop through centuries of relative isolation from customs practiced by other cultural groups. As a result, folk customs observed at a point in time vary widely from one place to another, even among nearby places.

The construction of a pitched roof is important in wet or snowy climates to facilitate runoff and to reduce the weight of accumulated snow. Windows may face south in temperate climates to take advantage of the Sun's heat and light. In hot climates, on the other hand, window openings may be smaller to protect the interior from the full heat of the Sun.

The type of building materials used to construct folk houses is influenced partly by the resources available in the environment. Stone, grass, sod, and skins may be used, but the two most common building materials in the world are wood and brick:

- **Wood.** If available, wood is generally preferred for house construction because it is easy to build with it. In the past, pioneers who settled in forested regions built log cabins for themselves. Today, people in developed countries buy lumber that has been cut by machine into the needed shapes. Cut lumber is used to erect a frame, and sheets or strips of wood are attached for the floors, ceilings, and roof.
- **Brick.** In hot, dry climates—such as the U.S. Southwest, Mexico, northern China, and parts of the Middle East—bricks are made by baking wet mud in the sun. Stone is used to build houses in parts of Europe and South America and as decoration on the outside of brick or wood houses in other countries.

Even in areas that share similar climates and available building materials, folk housing can vary because of minor differences in environmental features. For example, R. W. McColl compared house types in four villages situated in the dry lands of northern and western China (Figure 4-23). All use similar building materials, including adobe and

timber from the desert poplar tree, and they share a similar objective—protection from extreme temperatures, from very hot summer days to subfreezing winter nights. Despite their similarities, the houses in these four Chinese villages have individual designs, which McColl attributed to local cultural preferences:

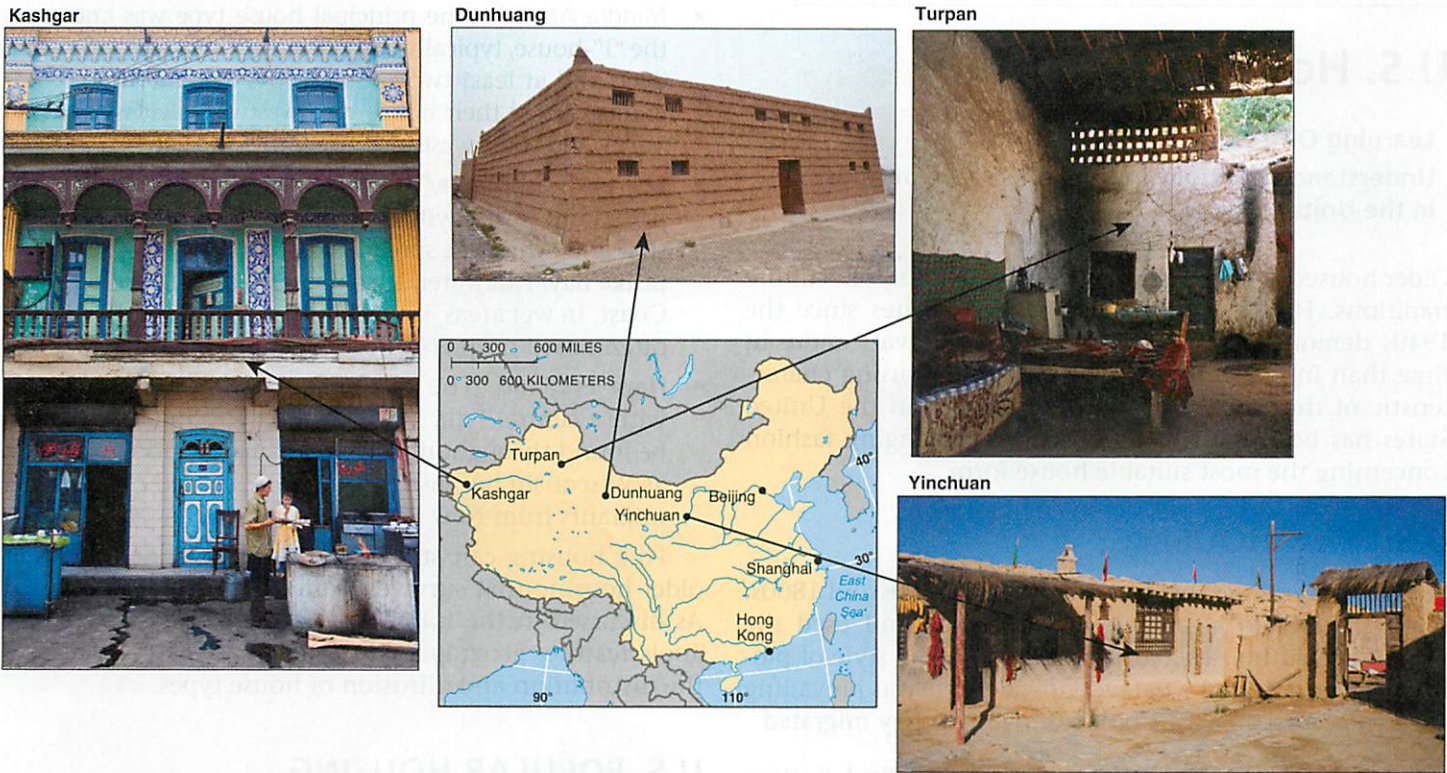
- **Kashgar.** Houses have second-floor open-air patios, where the residents can catch evening breezes. Poplar and fruit trees can be planted around the houses because the village has a river that is constantly flowing rather than seasonal, as is the case in much of China's dry lands. These deciduous trees provide shade in the summer and openings for sunlight in the winter.
- **Turpan.** Houses have small, open courtyards for social gatherings. Turpan is situated in a deep valley with relatively little open land because much of the space is allocated to drying raisins. Second-story patios, which would use even less land, are avoided because the village is subject to strong winds.
- **Yinchuan.** Houses are built around large, open-air courtyards, which contain tall trees to provide shade. Most residents are Muslims, who regard courtyards as private spaces to be screened from outsiders. The adobe bricks are square or cubic rather than rectangular, as is the case in the other villages, though R. W. McColl found no reason for this distinctive custom.
- **Dunhuang.** Houses are characterized by walled central courtyards, covered by an open-lattice grape arbor. The cover allows for the free movement of air but provides shade from the especially intense direct summer heat and light. Rather than the flat roofs characteristic of dry lands, houses in Dunhuang have sloped roofs, typical of wetter climates, so that rainfall can run off. The practice is apparently influenced by Dunhuang's relative proximity to the population centers of eastern China, where sloped roofs predominate.

SACRED SPACES IN HOUSES

The distinctive form of folk houses may derive primarily from religious values and other customary beliefs rather than from environmental factors. Some compass directions may be more important than other directions.

Houses may have sacred walls or corners. In the south-central part of the island of Java, for example, the front door always faces south, the direction of the South Sea Goddess, who holds the key to Earth. The eastern wall of a house is considered sacred in Fiji, as is the northwestern wall in parts of China. Sacred walls or corners are also noted in parts of the Middle East, India, and Africa.

In Madagascar, the main door is on the west, considered the most important direction, and the northeastern corner is the most sacred. The northern wall is for honoring ancestors; in addition, important guests enter a room from the north and are seated against the northern wall. The bed is placed against the eastern wall of the house, with the head facing north.

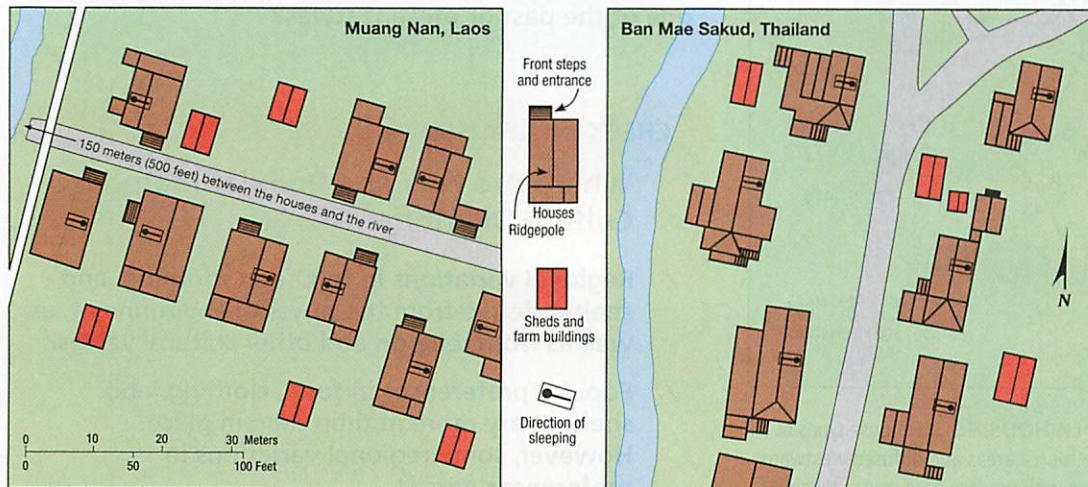


▲ FIGURE 4-23 HOUSE TYPES IN FOUR WESTERN CHINA COMMUNITIES House types in four communities of western China. Houses have second-floor open-air patios in Kashgar, small open courtyards in Turpan, large private courtyards in Yinchuan, and sloped roofs in Dunhuang.

The Lao people in northern Laos arrange beds perpendicular to the center ridgepole of the house (Figure 4-24, top). Because the head is considered high and noble and the feet low and vulgar, people sleep so that their heads will be opposite their neighbor's heads and their feet opposite their neighbor's feet. There is one principal exception to this arrangement: A child who builds a house next door to his or her parents sleeps with his or her head toward the parents' feet as a sign of obeying the customary hierarchy.

Although they speak similar Southeast Asian languages and adhere to Buddhism, the Lao do not orient their houses in the same manner as the Yuan and Shan peoples in nearby northern Thailand (Figure 4-24, bottom). The Yuan and Shan ignore the position of neighbors and all sleep with their heads toward the east, which Buddhists consider the most auspicious direction. Staircases must not face west, the least auspicious direction and the direction of death and evil spirits.

Pause and Reflect 4.2.4
 What factors were considered in the arrangement of the bed in your bedroom?



◀ FIGURE 4-24 SACRED HOUSING SPACE (top) Houses of Lao people in northern Laos. The fronts of Lao houses, such as those in the village of Muang Nan, Laos, face one another across a path, and the backs face each other at the rear. Their ridgepoles (the centerline of the roof) are set perpendicular to the path but parallel to a stream, if one is nearby. Inside adjacent houses, people sleep in the orientation shown, so neighbors are head-to-head or feet-to-feet. (bottom) Houses of Yuan and Shan peoples in northern Thailand. In the village of Ban Mae Sakud, Thailand, the houses are not set in a straight line because of a belief that evil spirits move in straight lines. Ridgepoles parallel the path, and the heads of all sleeping persons point eastward.

U.S. Housing

Learning Outcome 4.2.5

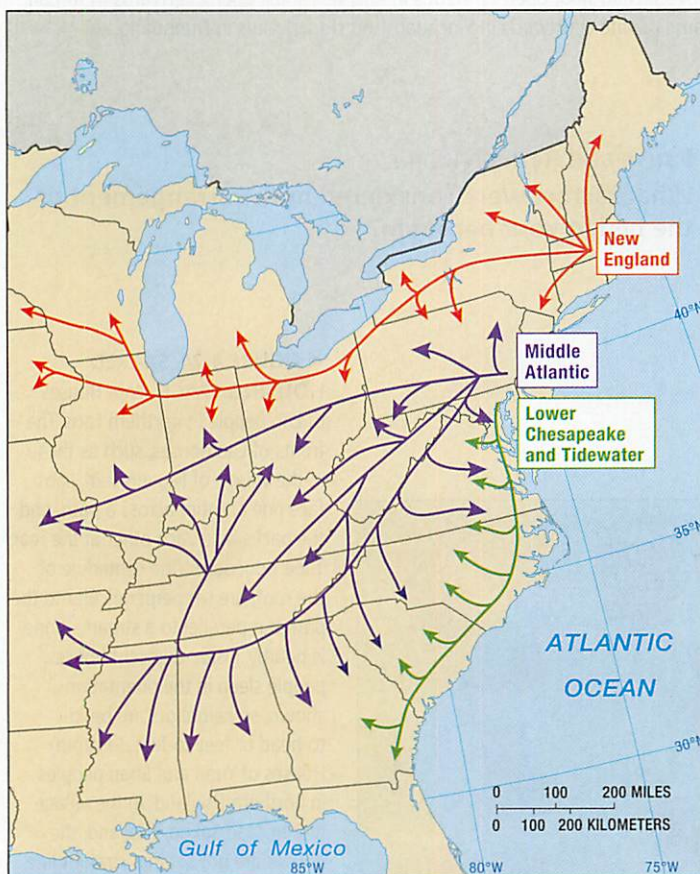
Understand variations in time and space of housing in the United States.

Older houses in the United States display local folk-culture traditions. Housing built in the United States since the 1940s demonstrates how popular customs vary more in time than in place. In contrast with folk housing characteristic of the early 1800s, newer housing in the United States has been built to reflect rapidly changing fashion concerning the most suitable house form.

U.S. FOLK HOUSING

When families migrated westward in the 1700s and 1800s, they cut trees to clear fields for planting and used the wood to build houses, barns, and fences. The style of pioneer homes reflected whatever upscale style was prevailing at the place on the East Coast from which they migrated.

HEARTHS OF HOUSE TYPES. Geographer Fred Kniffen identified three major hearths, or nodes, of folk house forms in the United States (Figure 4-25):



▲ **FIGURE 4-25 HEARTHS OF U.S. FOLK HOUSING** U.S. house types in the United States originated in three main source areas and diffused westward along different paths. These paths coincided with predominant routes taken by migrants from the East Coast toward the interior of the country.

- **Middle Atlantic.** The principal house type was known as the “I”-house, typically two full stories in height, one room deep and at least two rooms wide. Middle Atlantic migrants carried their house type westward across the Ohio Valley and southwestward along the Appalachian trails.
- **Lower Chesapeake/Tidewater.** The style typically comprised one story, with a steep roof and chimneys at either end. Migrants spread these houses from the Chesapeake Bay/Tidewater, Virginia, area along the Southeast Coast. In wet areas, houses in the coastal southeast were often raised on piers or on brick foundations.
- **New England.** The distinctive style was box shaped with a central hall. The New England house types can be found throughout the Great Lakes region as far west as Wisconsin because this area was settled primarily by migrants from New England.

Folk housing can still be seen in the United States in older housing that survives from the nineteenth century. As discussed in the following Contemporary Geographic Tools feature, geographers use field studies to document the distribution and diffusion of house types.

U.S. POPULAR HOUSING

Houses built in the United States since the mid-twentieth century display popular culture influences. The degree of regional distinctiveness in housing style has diminished because rapid communication and transportation systems provide people throughout the country with knowledge of alternative styles. Furthermore, most people do not build the houses in which they live. Instead, houses are usually mass-produced by construction companies.

Houses show the influence of shapes, materials, detailing, and other features of architectural style in vogue at any one point in time. In the years immediately after World War II, which ended in 1945, most U.S. houses were built in a modern style. Since the 1960s, styles that architects call neo-eclectic have predominated (Figure 4-26).

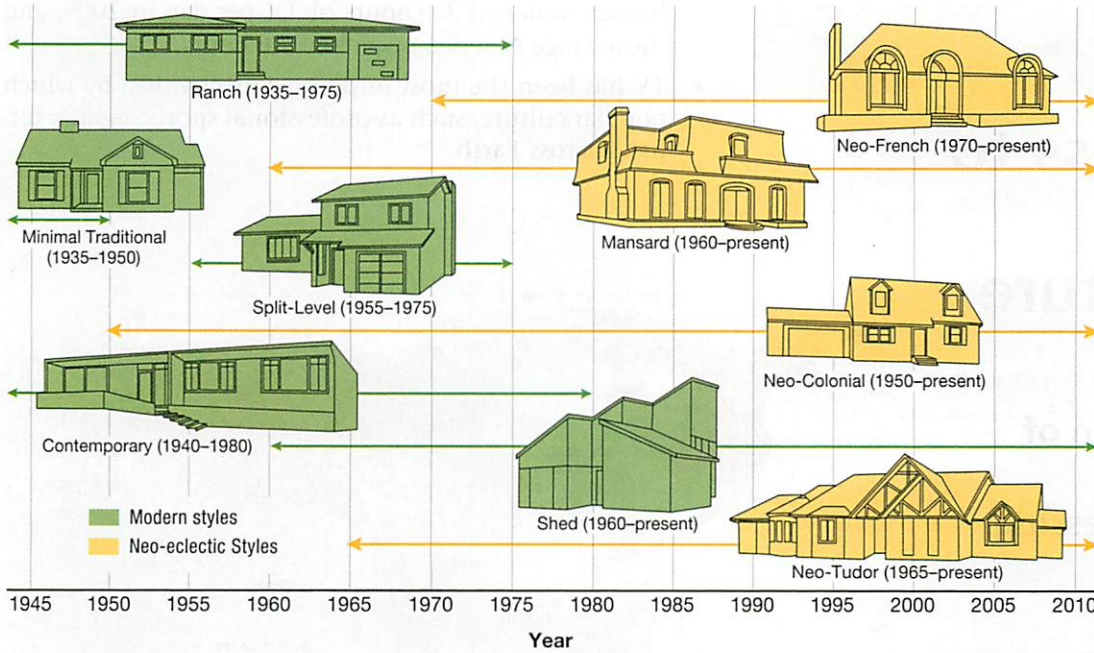
Pause and Reflect 4.2.5

Can you describe your house through reference to one of the past or present styles?

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 2

Where Are Folk and Popular Material Culture Distributed?

- ✓ Regional variations in folk food, clothing, and shelter derive from the physical environment, as well as from religion and other cultural values.
- ✓ Popular preferences in food, clothing, and shelter vary more in time than in place. However, some regional variations in preferences persist.



◀ **FIGURE 4-26 U.S. HOUSE TYPES, 1945 TO PRESENT** The dominant type of house construction in the United States was minimal traditional during the late 1940s and early 1950s, followed by ranch houses during the late 1950s and 1960s. The split-level was a popular variant of the ranch between the 1950s and 1970s, and the contemporary style was popular for architect-designed houses during the same period. The shed style was widely built in the late 1960s. Neo-eclectic styles, beginning with the mansard, were in vogue during the late 1960s. The neo-Tudor was popular in the 1970s and the neo-French in the 1980s. The neo-colonial style has been widely built since the 1950s but has never dominated popular architecture.

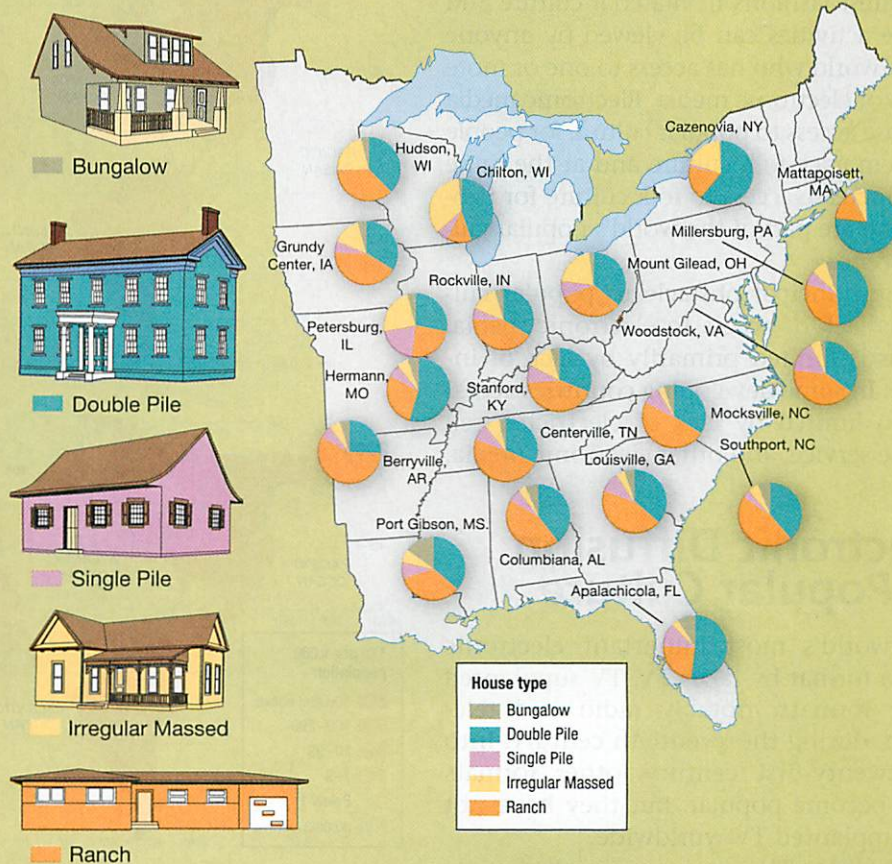
CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIC TOOLS

Documenting House Types through Fieldwork

Fieldwork has been regarded as an important geographic method since the development of geography as a modern science two centuries ago. Given their concern with regularities in space, geographers need to get out of their classrooms and laboratories to observe the visible elements of other places with their own eyes.

Especially well suited to field studies have been visible everyday elements of folk and popular culture, such as house styles. Field material can be collected by delineating one or more areas on a map and visiting the sites. Armed with a chart or a spreadsheet, a geographer counts the number of times that something appears in the area, such as a particular type of house.

According to fieldwork by geographers John Jakle, Robert Bastian, and Douglas Meyer, regional differences in the predominant type of house persist to some extent in the United States (Figure 4-27). Differences in housing among U.S. communities derive largely from differences in the time period in which the houses were built.



▲ **FIGURE 4-27 REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN HOUSE TYPES** Jakle, Bastian, and Meyer allocated the single-family housing in 20 small towns in the eastern United States into five groups: bungalow, double pile, irregularly massed, ranch, and single pile. Ranch houses were more common in the southeastern towns; double-pile houses predominated in northeastern areas.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Is Access to Folk and Popular Culture Unequal?

- **Electronic Diffusion of Popular Culture**
- **Challenges in Accessing Electronic Media**

Learning Outcome 4.3.1

Describe the origin, diffusion, and distribution of TV around the world.

Popular culture diffuses rapidly around the world, primarily through electronic media. The latest fashions in material culture and leisure activities can be viewed by anyone in the world who has access to one or more forms of electronic media. Electronic media increase access to popular culture for people who embrace folk culture and at the same time increase access to folk culture for people who are part of the world's popular culture scene.

The principal obstacle to popular culture is lack of access to electronic media. Access is limited primarily by lack of income. In some developing countries access is also limited by lack of electricity, cell phone service, and other electronic media.

Electronic Diffusion of Popular Culture

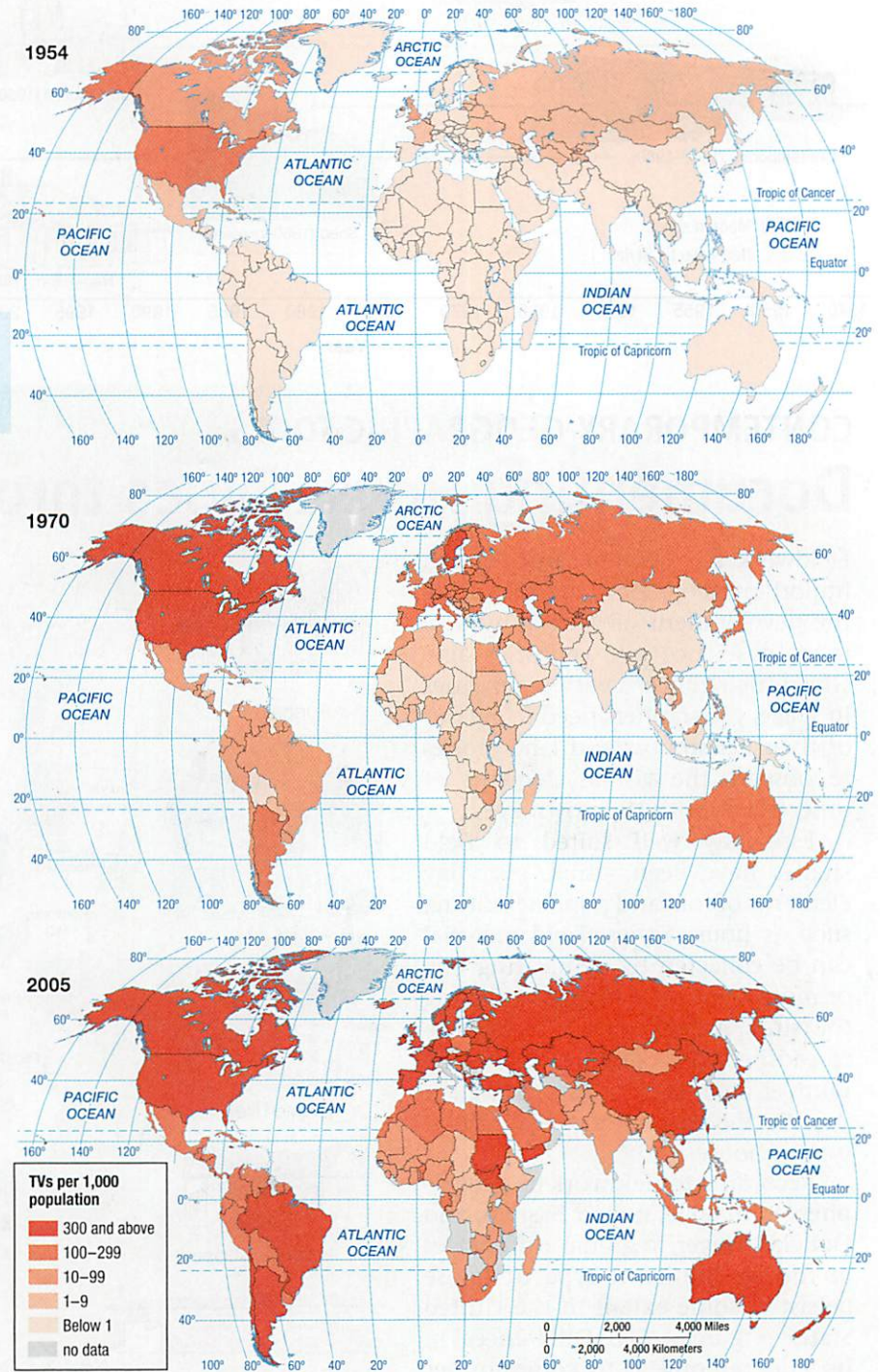
The world's most important electronic media format by far is TV. TV supplanted other formats, notably radio and telegraph, during the twentieth century. Into the twenty-first century, other formats have become popular, but they have not yet supplanted TV worldwide.

Watching TV remains especially important for popular culture for two reasons:

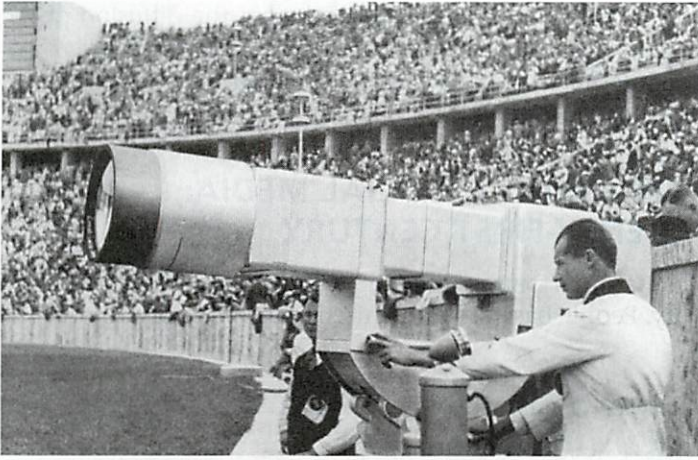
- Watching TV is the most popular leisure activity in the world. The average

human watched 3.1 hours of TV per day in 2009, and the average American watched 4.6 hours.

- TV has been the most important mechanism by which popular culture, such as professional sports, rapidly diffuses across Earth.



▲ **FIGURE 4-28 DIFFUSION OF TV** Televisions per 1,000 inhabitants in (top) 1954, (middle) 1970, and (bottom) 2005. Television has diffused from North America and Europe to other regions of the world. The United States and Canada had far more TV sets per capita than any other country as recently as the 1970s, but several European countries now have higher rates of ownership.



▲ **FIGURE 4-29 TV HEARTH** One of the first experimental TV broadcasts was by German engineers at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin.

DIFFUSION OF TV: MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

Through the second half of the twentieth century, television diffused from the United States to Europe and other developed countries and then to developing countries (Figure 4-28):

- **Early twentieth century: Multiple hearths.** Television technology was developed simultaneously in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union, as well as in the United States, though in the early years of broadcasting the United States held a near monopoly (Figure 4-29).
- **Mid-twentieth century: United States dominates.** In 1954, the first year that the United Nations published data on the subject, the United States had 86 percent of the world's 37 million TV sets.
- **Late twentieth century: Diffusion to Europe.** Rapid growth of ownership in Europe meant that the share of the world's sets in the United States declined to one-fourth. Still, in 1970, half of the countries in the world, including most of those in Africa and Asia, had little if any TV broadcasting.
- **Early twenty-first century: Near-universal access.** By 2005, ownership rates climbed sharply in many developing countries, diminishing international differences (Figure 4-30).

Despite diffusion of TV sets around the world, the United States remains the country where people are most likely to watch it. According to the U.S. Time Use Survey, the average American male spent around 7 hours on leisure and recreation in a typical weekend in 2010, and TV watching took up 51 percent of the time. Women spent around 6 hours on leisure in a typical weekend and watched TV for 49 percent of the time (Figure 4-31).

Although people around the world spend a lot of time watching TV, they don't all watch the same programs. Sports are the most popular programs in North America, entertainment programs such as reality shows in most of



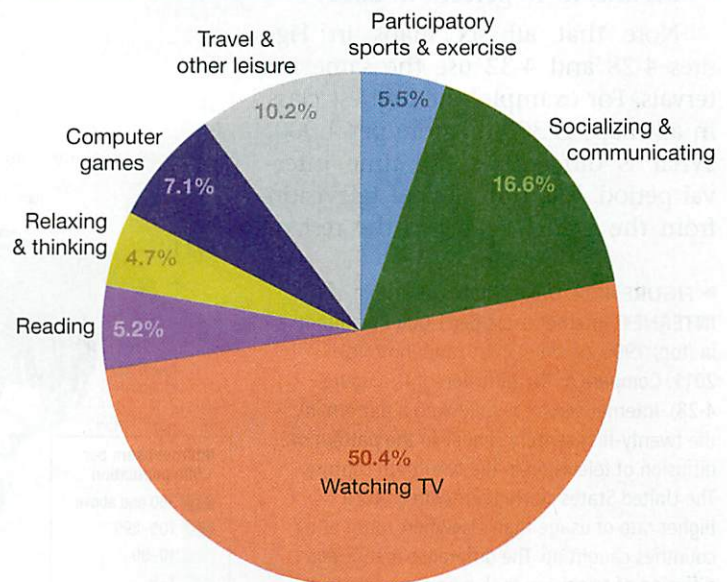
▲ **FIGURE 4-30 TV DIFFUSES WORLDWIDE** Uruguayan fans watch Uruguay play South Korea in 2010 World Cup.

Europe and China, fictional programs in South Asia, and news programs in Russia.

The technology by which TV is delivered to viewers has changed. Between 2006 and 2013, the share of viewers around the world receiving programs over the air declined from 44 percent to 33 percent, and the share using cable increased modestly, from 35 percent to 37 percent. On the other hand, the share receiving programs through a satellite dish increased from 20 percent to 26 percent, and the share receiving TV programs through the Internet increased from less than 1 percent to 5 percent.

Pause and Reflect 4.3.1

How much TV do you watch? Which types of programs do you watch? Do you watch on a traditional TV set, or do you watch on a computer, tablet, or smartphone?



▲ **FIGURE 4-31 HOW AMERICANS SPEND THEIR WEEKENDS** Watching TV is by far the most common leisure activity for Americans.

DIFFUSION OF THE INTERNET: LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Learning Outcome 4.3.2

Compare the diffusion of the Internet and social media with the diffusion of TV.

The diffusion of Internet service follows the pattern established by television a generation earlier, but at a more rapid pace (Figure 4-32):

- In 1995, there were 40 million Internet users worldwide, including 25 million in the United States, and Internet service had not yet reached most countries.
- Between 1995 and 2000, Internet usage increased rapidly in the United States, from 9 percent to 44 percent of the population. But the worldwide increase was much greater, from 40 million Internet users in 1995 to 361 million in 2000. As Internet usage diffused rapidly, the U.S. percentage share declined rapidly in five years, from 62 to 31 percent.
- Between 2000 and 2011, Internet usage continued to increase rapidly in the United States, to 77 percent of the population. Again, the increase was more modest than in the rest of the world, and the share of the world's Internet users found in the United States continued to decline, to 10 percent in 2011.

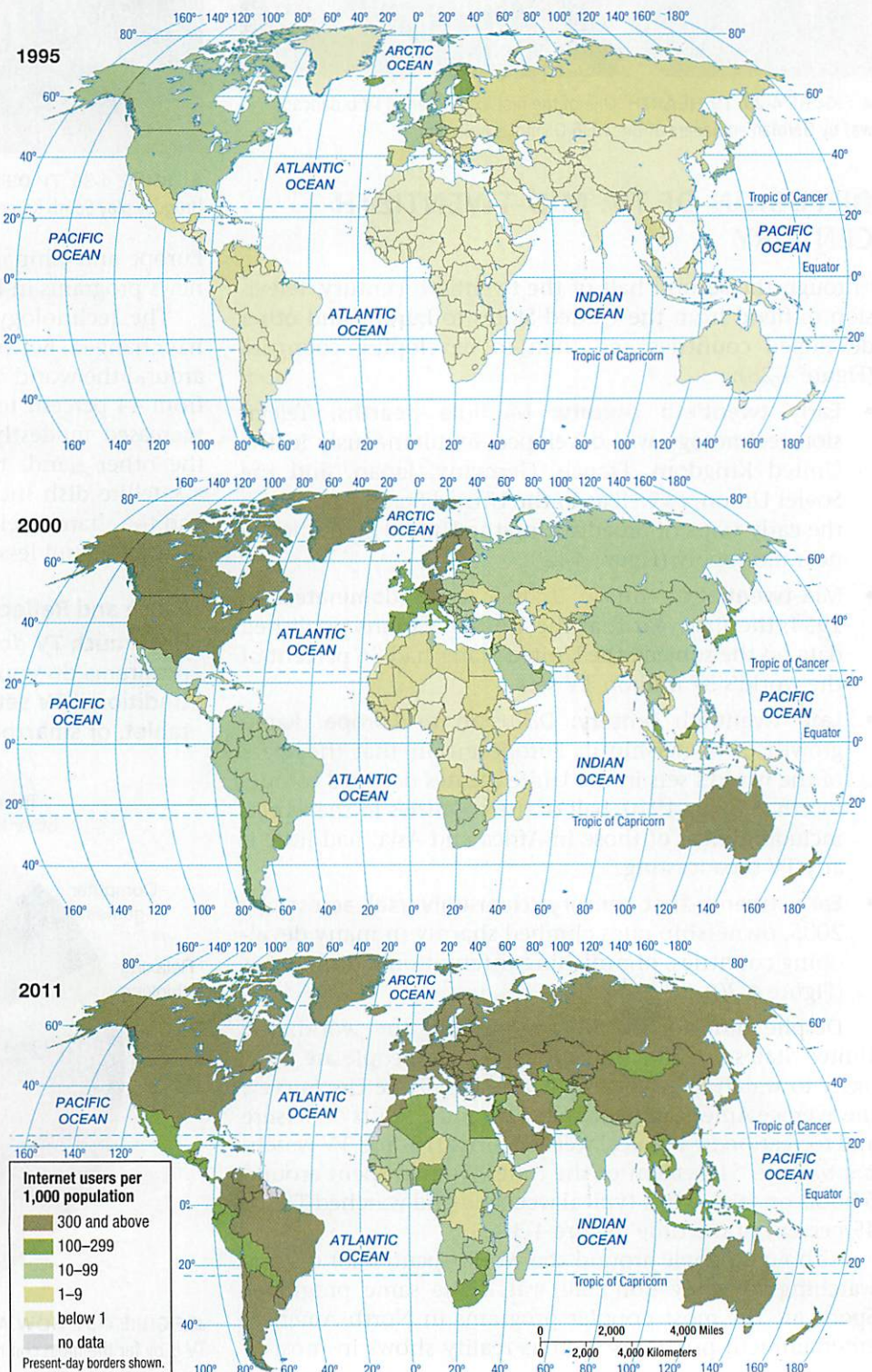
Note that all six maps in Figures 4-28 and 4-32 use the same intervals. For example, the highest class in all maps is 300 or more per 1,000. What is different is the time interval period. The diffusion of television from the United States to the rest of

► **FIGURE 4-32 DIFFUSION OF THE INTERNET** Internet users per 1,000 inhabitants in (top) 1995, (middle) 2000, and (bottom) 2011. Compare to the diffusion of TV (Figure 4-28). Internet service is following a pattern in the twenty-first century similar to the pattern of diffusion of television in the twentieth century. The United States started out with a much higher rate of usage than elsewhere, until other countries caught up. The difference is that the diffusion of television took a half-century and the diffusion of the Internet only a decade.

the world took a half-century, whereas the diffusion of the Internet took only a decade. Given the history of television, the Internet is likely to diffuse further in the years ahead at a rapid rate (Figure 4-33).

DIFFUSION OF SOCIAL MEDIA: TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The familiar pattern has repeated in the twenty-first century. People based in the United States have dominated the

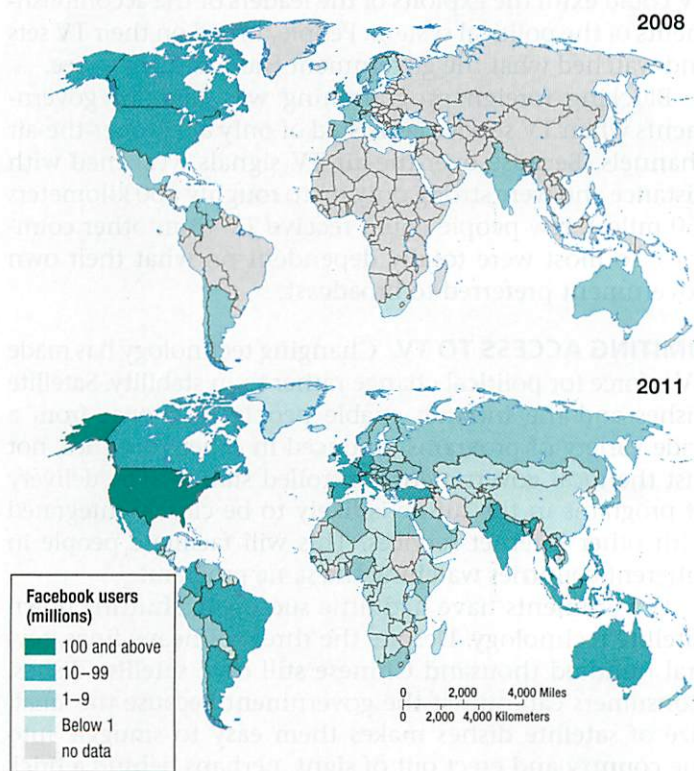




▲ **FIGURE 4-33 DIFFUSION OF THE INTERNET TO INDIA** Access to the Internet is available even in many rural areas of many LDCs.

use of social media during the early years. In the future, will U.S. dominance be reduced and perhaps disappear altogether, as occurred in the twentieth century with TV?

DIFFUSION OF FACEBOOK. Facebook, founded in 2004 by Harvard University students, has begun to diffuse rapidly. As with the first few years of TV and the Internet, once again the United States started out with far more Facebook users than any other country. In 2008, four years after Facebook's founding, the United States had one-third of all users worldwide. As Facebook has diffused to other countries, the share of users in the United States has declined, to one-fifth of the worldwide total in 2011 (Figure 4-34). In the years ahead, Facebook is likely to either



▲ **FIGURE 4-34 DIFFUSION OF FACEBOOK** Facebook users in (top) 2008 and (bottom) 2011.

diffuse to other parts of the world or be overtaken by other forms of electronic social networking and be relegated to a footnote in the continuous repeating pattern of diffusing electronic communications.

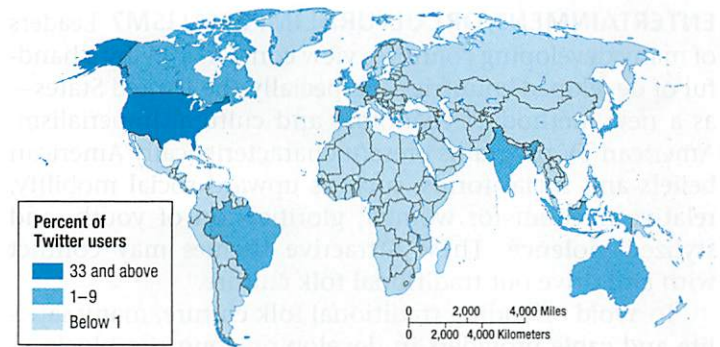
DIFFUSION OF TWITTER. The United States was the source of one-third of all Twitter messages in 2011. Another one-third originated in six other countries—India, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, Brazil, and Canada (Figure 4-35). In the case of Twitter, the second leading Twitter country is one of the world's poorest, India. This may be a preview of future trends, in which electronic communications advances diffuse rapidly to developing countries, not just to other developed countries.

Americans or U.S.-based sources dominate the most popular Twitter postings. Nineteen of the 20 Twitter posters with the largest followings in 2010 were American, led by Ashton Kutcher, Britney Spears, Ellen DeGeneres, Barack Obama, and Lady Gaga. The only exception in the top 20 in 2010 was the UK band Coldplay.

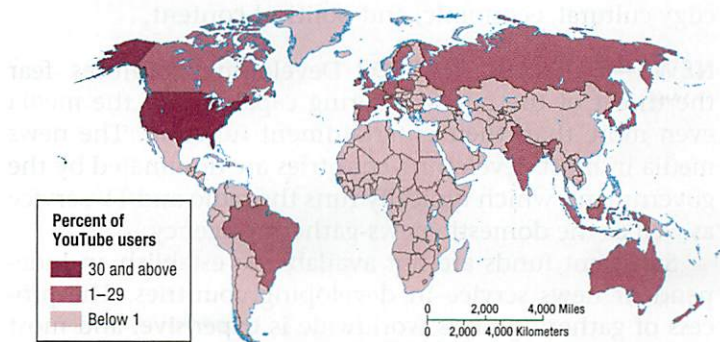
DIFFUSION OF YOUTUBE. Again, the United States accounted for 30 percent of worldwide users in the early years of YouTube. Seventeen other countries, mostly in Europe, accounted for the remainder in 2011. Most countries of the world did not have YouTube users as of 2011 (Figure 4-36).

Pause and Reflect 4.3.2

Which social media do you prefer to use? Why?



▲ **FIGURE 4-35 DISTRIBUTION OF TWITTER USERS** More than one-third of the world's Twitter users were in the United States in 2011.



▲ **FIGURE 4-36 DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTUBE USERS** Nearly one-third of the world's YouTube users were in the United States in 2011.

Challenges in Accessing Electronic Media

Learning Outcome 4.3.3

Understand external and internal threats to folk culture posed by electronic media.

People in developing countries who embrace folk culture are challenged by the diffusion of popular culture through electronic media. On the one hand, they welcome the opportunity to view the Olympics or the latest fashions. On the other hand, increased availability of electronic media poses threats to the future of folk culture.

The threat to folk culture can be either external or internal. The external threat is that most of the content diffused through electronic media originates in a handful of developed countries. The internal threat is that the latest forms of social media enable people in developing countries to originate the content themselves—as long as they can afford the cost of access.

EXTERNAL THREAT: DEVELOPED COUNTRIES CONTROL THE MEDIA

Three developed countries dominate the television industry in developing countries—Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These three countries are also the major exporters of programs.

ENTERTAINMENT, OR CULTURAL IMPERIALISM? Leaders of many developing countries view control of TV by a handful of developed countries—especially the United States—as a new method of economic and cultural imperialism. American TV programs present characteristically American beliefs and social forms, such as upward social mobility, relative freedom for women, glorification of youth, and stylized violence. These attractive themes may conflict with and drive out traditional folk culture.

To avoid offending traditional folk culture, many satellite and cable providers in developing countries block offending networks such as MTV and censor unacceptable programs. The entertainment programs that are substituted emphasize family values and avoid controversial or edgy cultural, economic, and political content.

NEWS—FAIR OR BIASED? Developing countries fear the threat of the news-gathering capability of the media even more than their entertainment function. The news media in most developing countries are dominated by the government, which typically runs the radio and TV service as well as the domestic news-gathering agency.

Sufficient funds are not available to establish an independent news service in developing countries. The process of gathering news worldwide is expensive, and most broadcasters and newspapers are unable to afford their own correspondents. Instead, they buy the right to use the dispatches of one or more of the main news organizations.

The diffusion of information to newspapers around the world is dominated by the Associated Press (AP) and Reuters, which are owned by American and British companies, respectively. The AP and Reuters also supply most of the world's television news video. The world's 25 largest media companies are all based in developed countries: including 15 in the United States, 4 in the United Kingdom (including the parent company of the publisher of this book), and 2 each in France, Germany, and Japan.

NEWS COVERAGE AND PRESS FREEDOM. Many African and Asian government officials criticize the Western concept of freedom of the press. They argue that the American news organizations reflect American values and do not provide a balanced, accurate view of other countries. U.S. news-gathering organizations are more interested in covering earthquakes, hurricanes, and other sensational disasters than more meaningful but less visual and dramatic domestic stories, such as birth-control programs, health-care innovations, and construction of new roads.

Pause and Reflect 4.3.3

What would be a specific example of a distinctively American perspective on a U.S. TV show?

INTERNAL THREAT: SOCIAL MEDIA

George Orwell's novel *1984*, published in 1949, anticipated that TV—then in its infancy—would play a major role in the ability of undemocratic governments to control people's daily lives. In fact, many governments viewed TV as an important tool for fostering cultural integration. TV could extol the exploits of the leaders or the accomplishments of the political system. People turned on their TV sets and watched what the government wanted them to see.

Blocking foreign programming was easy for governments when TV service consisted of only a few over-the-air channels. Because over-the-air TV signals weakened with distance and were strong only up to roughly 100 kilometers (60 miles), few people could receive TV from other countries, so most were totally dependent on what their own government preferred to broadcast.

LIMITING ACCESS TO TV. Changing technology has made TV a force for political change rather than stability. Satellite dishes and the Internet enable people to choose from a wide variety of programs produced in other countries, not just the local government-controlled station. The delivery of programs in the future is likely to be closely integrated with other Internet services. This will facilitate people in different countries watching the same program.

Governments have had little success in shutting down satellite technology. Despite the threat of heavy fines, several hundred thousand Chinese still own satellite dishes. Consumers can outwit the government because the small size of satellite dishes makes them easy to smuggle into the country and erect out of sight, perhaps behind a brick wall or under a canvas tarpaulin. A dish may be expensive by local standards—twice the annual salary of a typical

Chinese worker, for example—but several neighbors can share the cost and hook up all of their TV sets to it.

LIMITING ACCESS TO THE INTERNET. As with television, governments try to limit Internet content. According to OpenNet Initiative, countries limit access to four types of Internet content (Figure 4-37):

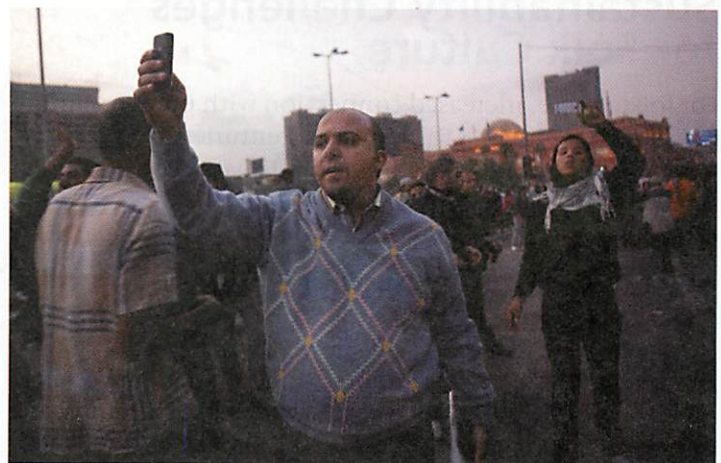
1. Political content that expresses views in opposition to those of the current government or that is related to human rights, freedom of expression, minority rights, and religious movements.
2. Social content related to sexuality, gambling, and illegal drugs and alcohol, as well as other topics that may be socially sensitive or perceived as offensive.
3. Security content related to armed conflicts, border disputes, separatist movements, and militant groups.
4. Internet tools, such as e-mail, Internet hosting, and searching.

ELUDING CONTROL: NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND SOCIAL MEDIA. Social media have started to play a significant role in breaking the monopoly of government control over diffusion of information. As difficult as it is for governments to block satellite and Internet communications, it is even harder to block individual social media. Popular uprisings against undemocratic governments in Egypt, Libya, and other countries in Southwest Asia and North Africa in 2011 relied on individuals sending information through cell phones, Twitter, blogs, and other social media (Figure 4-38).

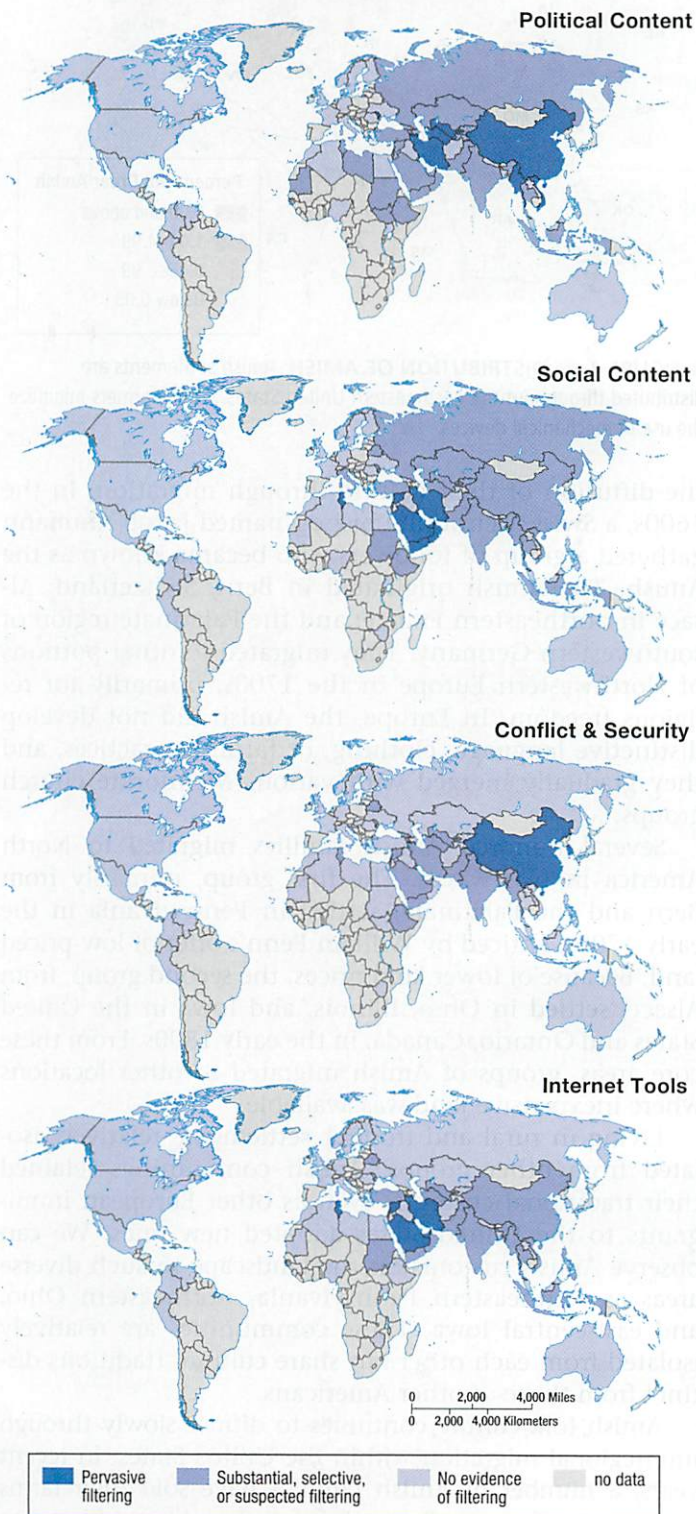
CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 3

Why Is Access to Folk and Popular Culture Unequal?

- ✓ Popular culture diffuses primarily through electronic media, especially TV, as well as increasingly through other formats.
- ✓ Electronic media can pose a combination of external and internal threats to developing countries.



▲ **FIGURE 4-38** PROTESTORS SHARING INFORMATION DURING ARAB SPRING Two Egyptian protesters took photographs with their mobile phones when Egyptian riot police fired tear gas during an Arab Spring protest in 2011.



▲ **FIGURE 4-37** LIMITING FREEDOM ON THE INTERNET Countries limit access to four types of Internet content: (top) political content, (second) social content, (third) security content, (bottom) Internet tools.

KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Folk and Popular Culture Face Sustainability Challenges?

- Sustainability Challenges for Folk Culture
- Sustainability Challenges for Popular Culture

Learning Outcome 4.4.1

Summarize challenges for folk culture from diffusion of popular culture.

Elements of folk and popular culture face challenges in maintaining identities that are sustainable into the future. For folk culture, the challenges are to maintain unique local landscapes in an age of globalization. For popular culture, the challenges derive from the sustainability of practices designed to promote uniform landscapes.

Many fear the loss of folk culture, especially because rising incomes can fuel demand for the possessions typical of popular culture. When people turn from folk to popular culture, they may also turn away from the society's traditional values. And the diffusion of popular culture from developed countries can lead to dominance of Western perspectives.

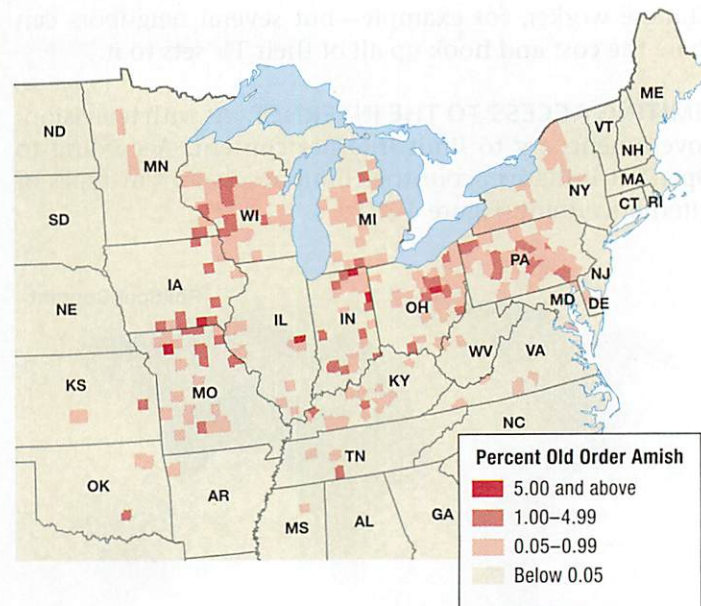
Sustainability Challenges for Folk Culture

For folk culture, increased connection with popular culture can make it difficult to maintain centuries-old practices. The Amish in the United States and marriage customs in India are two examples.

THE AMISH: PRESERVING CULTURAL IDENTITY

Although the Amish number only about one-quarter million, their folk culture remains visible on the landscape in at least 19 U.S. states (Figure 4-39). Shunning mechanical and electrical power, the Amish still travel by horse and buggy and continue to use hand tools for farming. The Amish have distinctive clothing, farming, religious practices, and other customs.

The distribution of Amish folk culture across a major portion of the U.S. landscape is explained by examining



▲ FIGURE 4-39 DISTRIBUTION OF AMISH Amish settlements are distributed throughout the northeastern United States. Amish farmers minimize the use of mechanical devices.

the diffusion of their culture through migration. In the 1600s, a Swiss Mennonite bishop named Jakob Ammann gathered a group of followers who became known as the Amish. The Amish originated in Bern, Switzerland; Alsace in northeastern France; and the Palatinate region of southwestern Germany. They migrated to other portions of Northwestern Europe in the 1700s, primarily for religious freedom. In Europe, the Amish did not develop distinctive language, clothing, or farming practices, and they gradually merged with various Mennonite church groups.

Several hundred Amish families migrated to North America in two waves. The first group, primarily from Bern and the Palatinate, settled in Pennsylvania in the early 1700s, enticed by William Penn's offer of low-priced land. Because of lower land prices, the second group, from Alsace, settled in Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa in the United States and Ontario, Canada, in the early 1800s. From these core areas, groups of Amish migrated to other locations where inexpensive land was available.

Living in rural and frontier settlements relatively isolated from other groups, Amish communities retained their traditional customs, even as other European immigrants to the United States adopted new ones. We can observe Amish customs on the landscape in such diverse areas as southeastern Pennsylvania, northeastern Ohio, and east-central Iowa. These communities are relatively isolated from each other but share cultural traditions distinct from those of other Americans.

Amish folk culture continues to diffuse slowly through interregional migration within the United States. In recent years, a number of Amish families have sold their farms in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania—the oldest and at one time largest Amish community in the United States—and migrated to Christian and Todd counties in southwestern



▲ **FIGURE 4-40 AMISH AND TOURISTS** An Amish man demonstrates a cow milking machine to tourists in Shipshewana, Indiana.

Kentucky. According to Amish tradition, every son is given a farm when he is an adult, but land suitable for farming is expensive and hard to find in Lancaster County because of its proximity to growing metropolitan areas. With the average price of farmland in southwestern Kentucky less than one-fifth that in Lancaster County, an Amish family can sell its farm in Pennsylvania and acquire enough land in Kentucky to provide adequate farmland for all the sons. Amish families are also migrating from Lancaster County to escape the influx of tourists who come from the nearby metropolitan areas to gawk at the distinctive folk culture (Figure 4-40).

Pause and Reflect 4.4.1

In what ways might Amish people need to interact with popular culture?

MARRIAGE IN INDIA: CHALLENGING CULTURAL VALUES

Rapid changes in long-established cultural values can lead to instability, and even violence, in a society. This threatens not just the institutions of folk culture but the sustainability of the society as a whole.

The global diffusion of popular culture has challenged the subservience of women to men that is embedded in some folk customs. Women may have been traditionally relegated to performing household chores, such as cooking and cleaning, and to bearing and raising large numbers of children. Those women who worked outside the home were likely to be obtaining food for the family, either through agricultural work or by trading handicrafts.

At the same time, contact with popular culture has also had negative impacts for women in developing countries. Prostitution has increased in some developing countries to serve men from developed countries traveling on “sex tours.” These tours, primarily from Japan and Northern Europe (especially Norway,

Germany, and the Netherlands), include airfare, hotels, and the use of a predetermined number of women. Leading destinations include the Philippines, Thailand, and South Korea. International prostitution is encouraged in these countries as a major source of foreign currency. Through this form of global interaction, popular culture may regard women as essentially equal at home but as objects that money can buy in foreign folk societies.

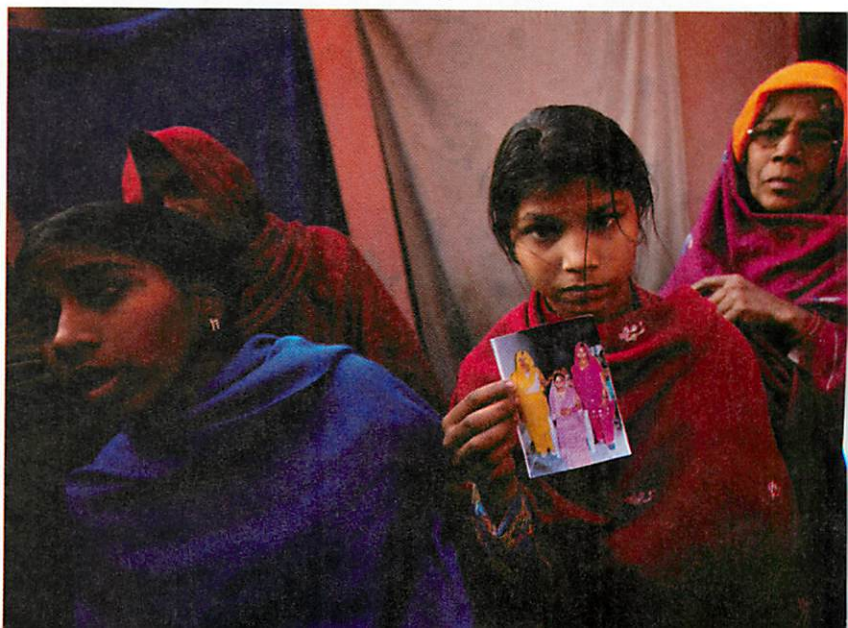
Global diffusion of popular social customs has had an unintended negative impact for women in India: an increase in demand for dowries. Traditionally, a dowry was a “gift” from one family to another, as a sign of respect. In the past, the local custom in much of India was for the groom to provide a small dowry to the bride’s family. In the twentieth century, the custom reversed, and the family of a bride was expected to provide a substantial dowry to the husband’s family (Figure 4-41).

The government of India enacted anti-dowry laws in 1961, but the ban is widely ignored. In fact, dowries have become much larger in modern India and an important source of income for the groom’s family. A dowry can take the form of either cash or expensive consumer goods, such as cars, electronics, and household appliances.

The government has tried to ban dowries because of the adverse impact on women. If the bride’s family is unable to pay a promised dowry or installments, the groom’s family may cast the bride out on the street, and her family may refuse to take her back. Husbands and in-laws angry over the small size of dowry payments killed 8,391 women in India in 2010, and disputes over dowries led to 90,000 cases of torture and cruelty toward women by men.

To raise awareness of dowry abuses, Shaadi.com, an Indian matrimonial web site with 2 million members, created an online game called Angry Brides. Each groom has a price tag, starting at 1.5 million rupees (\$29,165). Every time the player hits a groom, his value decreases, and money is added to the player’s Anti-Dowry Fund, which is shown on her Facebook page.

▼ **FIGURE 4-41 INDIA DOWRY** The photograph is held by the sister of a woman murdered by her husband for not meeting his dowry demands.



Sustainability Challenges for Popular Culture

Learning Outcome 4.4.2

Summarize the two principal ways that popular culture can adversely affect the environment.

Popular culture can significantly modify or control the environment. It may be imposed on the environment rather than spring forth from it, as with many folk customs. For many popular customs the environment is something to be modified to enhance participation in a leisure activity or to promote the sale of a product. Even if the resulting built environment looks “natural,” it is actually the deliberate creation of people in pursuit of popular social customs.

The diffusion of some popular customs can adversely impact environmental quality in two ways:

- Pollution of the landscape
- Depletion of scarce natural resources

LANDSCAPE POLLUTION

Popular culture can pollute the landscape by modifying it with little regard for local environmental conditions, such as climate and soil. To create a uniform landscape, hills may be flattened and valleys filled in. The same building and landscaping materials may be employed regardless of location. Features such as golf courses consume large quantities of land and water; nonnative grass species are planted, and fertilizers and pesticides are laid on the grass to ensure an appearance considered suitable for the game.

UNIFORM LANDSCAPES. The distribution of popular culture around the world tends to produce more uniform landscapes. The spatial expression of a popular custom in one location will be similar to another. In fact, promoters of popular culture want a uniform appearance to generate “product recognition” and greater consumption (Figure 4-42).

▼ FIGURE 4-42 UNIFORM LANDSCAPE Route 66 in Springfield, Illinois.



The diffusion of fast-food restaurants is a good example of such uniformity. Such restaurants are usually organized as franchises. A franchise is a company's agreement with businesspeople in a local area to market that company's product. The franchise agreement lets the local outlet use the company's name, symbols, trademarks, methods, and architectural styles. To both local residents and travelers, the buildings are immediately recognizable as part of a national or multinational company. A uniform sign is prominently displayed.

Much of the attraction of fast-food restaurants comes from the convenience of the product and the use of the building as a low-cost socializing location for teenagers or families with young children. At the same time, the success of fast-food restaurants depends on large-scale mobility: People who travel or move to another city immediately recognize a familiar place. Newcomers to a particular place know what to expect in the restaurant because the establishment does not reflect strange and unfamiliar local customs that could be uncomfortable.

Fast-food restaurants were originally developed to attract people who arrived by car. The buildings generally were brightly colored, even gaudy, to attract motorists. Recently built fast-food restaurants are more subdued, with brick facades, pseudo-antique fixtures, and other stylistic details. To facilitate reuse of the structure in case the restaurant fails, company signs are often free-standing rather than integrated into the building design.

Uniformity in the appearance of the landscape is promoted by a wide variety of other popular structures in North America, such as gas stations, supermarkets, and motels. These structures are designed so that both local residents and visitors immediately recognize the purpose of the building, even if not the name of the company.

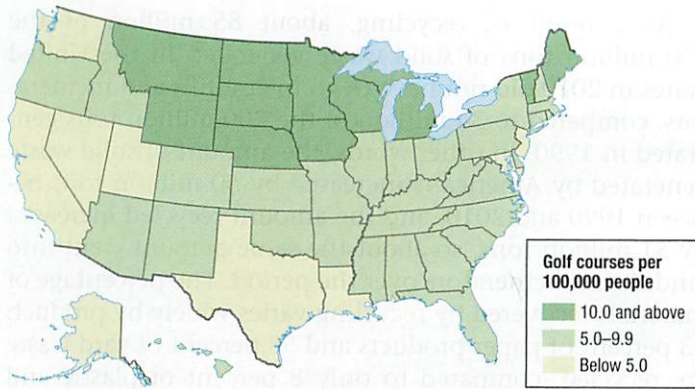
Physical expression of uniformity in popular culture has diffused from North America to other parts of the world. American motels and fast-food chains have opened in other countries. These establishments appeal to North American travelers, yet most customers are local residents who wish to sample American customs they have seen on television.

Pause and Reflect 4.4.2

How might fast-food restaurants reduce adverse impacts on the environment?

GOLF COURSES. Golf courses, because of their large size (80 hectares, or 200 acres), provide a prominent example of imposing popular culture on the environment. A surge in U.S. golf popularity spawned construction of several hundred courses during the late twentieth century. Geographer John Rooney attributed this to increased income and leisure time, especially among recently retired older people and younger people with flexible working hours. This trend slowed into the twenty-first century because of the severe recession.

The distribution of golf courses is not uniform across the United States. Although golf is perceived as a warm-weather sport, the number of golf courses per person is actually greatest in north-central states (Figure 4-43). People



▲ **FIGURE 4-43 GOLF COURSES** The highest concentration of golf courses is in the upper Midwest.

in these regions have a long tradition of playing golf, and social clubs with golf courses are important institutions in the fabric of the regions' popular customs.

In contrast, access to golf courses is more limited in the South, in California, and in the heavily urbanized Middle Atlantic region between New York City and Washington, D.C. Rapid population growth in the South and West and lack of land on which to build in the Middle Atlantic region have reduced the number of courses per capita in those regions. Selected southern and western areas, such as coastal South Carolina, southern Florida, and central Arizona, have high concentrations of golf courses as a result of the arrival of large numbers of golf-playing northerners, either as vacationers or as permanent residents.

Golf courses are designed partially in response to local physical conditions. Grass species are selected to thrive

in the local climate and still be suitable for the needs of greens, fairways, and roughs. Existing trees and native vegetation are retained if possible. (Few fairways in Michigan are lined by palms.) Yet, as with other popular customs, golf courses remake the environment—creating or flattening hills, cutting grass or letting it grow tall, carting in or digging up sand for traps, and draining or expanding bodies of water to create hazards. Ironically, golf originated as part of folk culture, as you can read in the following Sustainability and Inequality in Our Global Village feature.

ENVIRONMENTAL CAPACITY. The environment can accept and assimilate some level of waste from human activities. But popular culture generates a high volume of waste—solids, liquids, and gases—that must be absorbed into the environment. Although waste is discharged in all three forms, the most visible is solid waste—cans, bottles, old cars, paper, and plastics. These products are often discarded rather than recycled. With more people adopting popular customs worldwide, this problem grows.

Folk culture, like popular culture, can also cause environmental damage, especially when natural processes are ignored. A widespread belief exists that indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere practiced more “natural,” ecologically sensitive agriculture before the arrival of Columbus and other Europeans. Geographers increasingly question this idea. In reality, pre-Columbian folk customs included burning grasslands for planting and hunting, cutting extensive forests, and overhunting some species. Very high rates of soil erosion have been documented in Central America from the practices of folk cultures.

SUSTAINABILITY AND INEQUALITY IN OUR GLOBAL VILLAGE

Golf: Folk or Popular Culture?

The modern game of golf originated as a folk custom in Scotland in the fifteenth century or earlier and diffused to other countries during the nineteenth century. In this respect, the history of golf is not unlike that of soccer, described earlier in this chapter. Early Scottish golf courses were primarily laid out on sand dunes adjacent to bodies of water (Figure 4-44). Largely because of golf's origin as a local folk custom, golf courses in Scotland do not modify the environment to the same extent as those constructed in more recent years in the United States and other countries, where hills, sand, and grass are imported,



often with little regard for local environmental conditions. Modern golf also departs from its folk culture roots by being a relatively expensive sport to play in most places.

▲ **FIGURE 4-44 SCOTLAND AND U.S. GOLF COURSES** The Congressional Country Club golf course in Bethesda, Maryland (left), made substantial alterations to the landscape. Scotland's Royal Troon Golf Club was built into a seaside dune with little alteration of the landscape.

RESOURCE DEPLETION

Learning Outcome 4.4.3

Summarize major sources of waste and the extent to which each is recycled.

Increased demand for the products of popular culture can strain the capacity of the environment. Diffusion of some popular customs increases demand for animal products, ranging from rare wildlife to common domesticated animals, and for raw materials, such as minerals and other substances found beneath Earth's surface. The depletion of resources used to produce energy, especially petroleum, is discussed in Chapter 9.

DEMAND FOR ANIMAL PRODUCTS. Popular culture may demand a large supply of certain animals, resulting in depletion or even extinction of some species. For example, some animals are killed for their skins, which can be shaped into fashionable clothing and sold to people living thousands of kilometers from the animals' habitat. The skins of the mink, lynx, jaguar, kangaroo, and whale have been heavily consumed for various articles of clothing, to the point that the survival of these species is endangered. This unbalances ecological systems of which the animals are members. Folk culture may also encourage the use of animal skins, but the demand is usually smaller than for popular culture.

Increased meat consumption in popular culture has not caused extinction of cattle and poultry—we simply raise more. But animal consumption is an inefficient way for people to acquire calories—90 percent less efficient than if people simply ate grain directly. To produce 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of beef sold in the supermarket, nearly 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of grain are consumed by the animal. For every kilogram of chicken, nearly 3 kilograms (6.6 pounds) of grain are consumed by the fowl. This grain could be fed to people directly, bypassing the inefficient meat step. With a large percentage of the world's population undernourished, some question this inefficient use of grain to feed animals for eventual human consumption.

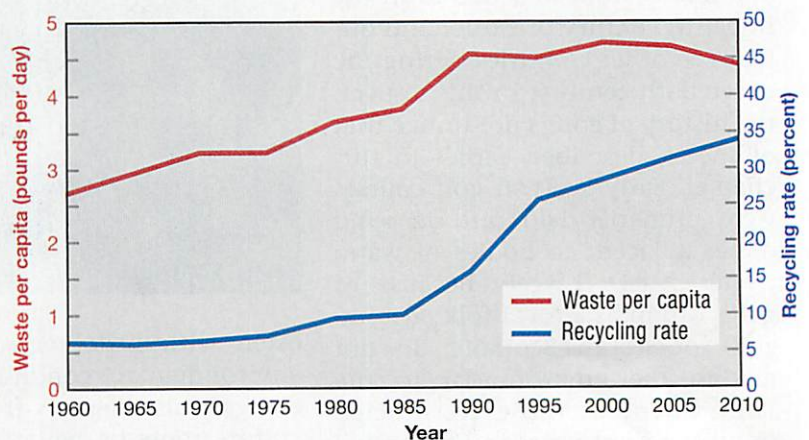
RECYCLING OF RESOURCES. The developed countries that produce endless supplies of consumer products for popular culture have created the technological capacity both to create large-scale environmental damage and to control it. However, a commitment of time and money must be made to control the damage.

Unwanted by-products are usually “thrown away,” perhaps in a “trash can.” Recycling is the separation, collection, processing, marketing, and reuse of the unwanted material. Recycling increased in the United States from 7 percent of all solid waste in 1970 to 10 percent in 1980, 17 percent in 1990, and 34 percent in 2010 (Figure 4-45).

As a result of recycling, about 85 million of the 250 million tons of solid waste generated in the United States in 2010 did not have to go to landfills and incinerators, compared to 34 million of the 200 million tons generated in 1990. In other words, the amount of solid waste generated by Americans increased by 50 million tons between 1990 and 2010, and the amount recycled increased by 51 million tons, so about the same amount went into landfills or incinerators over the period. The percentage of materials recovered by recycling varies widely by product: 63 percent of paper products and 58 percent of yard waste are recycled, compared to only 8 percent of plastic and 3 percent of food scraps (Figure 4-46).

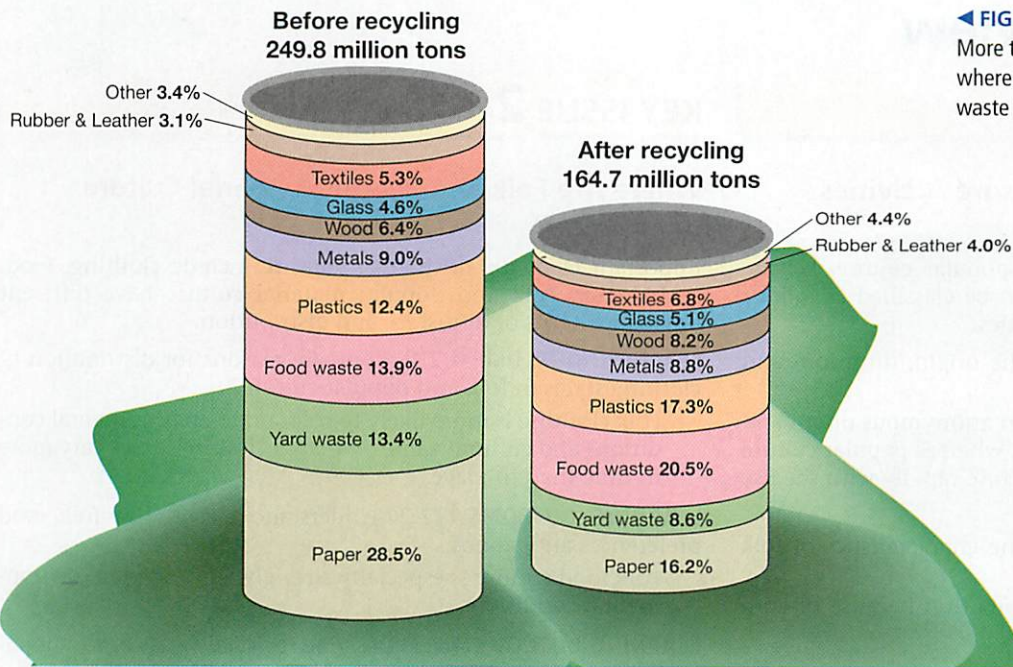
RECYCLING COLLECTION. Recycling involves two main series of activities:

1. **Pick-up and processing.** Materials that would otherwise be “thrown away” are collected and sorted, in four principal ways:
 - **Curbside programs.** Recyclables can often be placed at the curb in a container separate from the nonrecyclable trash at a specified time each week, either at the same or different time as the other trash. The trash collector usually supplies homes with specially marked containers for the recyclable items.
 - **Drop-off centers.** Drop-off centers are sites, typically with several large containers placed at a central location, for individuals to leave recyclable materials. A separate container is designated for each type of recyclable material, and the containers are periodically emptied by a processor or recycler but are otherwise left unattended.
 - **Buy-back centers.** Commercial operations sometimes pay consumers for recyclable materials, especially aluminum cans, but also sometimes plastic containers and glass bottles. These materials are usually not processed at the buy-back center.
 - **Deposit programs.** Glass and aluminum containers can sometimes be returned to retailers. The price a



▲ FIGURE 4-45 RECYCLING IN THE UNITED STATES

Recycling has increased substantially in the United States. As a result, the amount of waste generated per person has not changed much.



◀ **FIGURE 4-46 SOURCES OF SOLID WASTE**

More than one-half of paper and yard waste is recycled, whereas only a small percentage of plastic and food waste is recycled.

consumer pays for a beverage may include a deposit fee of 5¢ or 10¢ that the retailer refunds when the container is returned.

Regardless of the collection method, recyclables are sent to a materials recovery facility to be sorted and prepared as marketable commodities for manufacturing. Recyclables are bought and sold just like any other commodity; typical prices in recent years have been 30¢ per pound for plastic, \$30 per ton for clear glass, and \$90 per ton for corrugated paper. Prices for the materials change and fluctuate with the market.

Pause and Reflect 4.4.3

Which, if any, recycling systems operate in your community?

2. **Manufacturing.** Materials are manufactured into new products for which a market exists. Important inputs into manufacturing include recycled paper, plastic, glass, and aluminum:

- **Paper.** Most types of paper can be recycled. Newspapers have been recycled profitably for decades, and recycling of other paper, especially computer paper, is growing. Rapid increases in virgin paper pulp prices have stimulated construction of more plants capable of using waste paper. The key to recycling is collecting large quantities of clean, well-sorted, uncontaminated, and dry paper.
- **Plastic.** Different plastic types must not be mixed, as even a small amount of the wrong type of plastic can ruin the melt. Because it is impossible to tell one type from another by sight or touch, the plastic industry has developed a system of numbers marked inside triangles on the bottom of containers. Types 1 and 2 are commonly recycled, and the others generally are not.

- **Glass.** Glass can be used repeatedly with no loss in quality and is 100 percent recyclable. The process of creating new glass from old is extremely efficient, producing virtually no waste or unwanted by-products. Though unbroken clear glass is valuable, mixed-color glass is nearly worthless, and broken glass is hard to sort.
- **Aluminum.** The principal source of recycled aluminum is beverage containers. Aluminum cans began to replace glass bottles for beer during the 1950s and for soft drinks during the 1960s. Aluminum scrap is readily accepted for recycling, although other metals are rarely accepted.

Four major manufacturing sectors accounted for more than half of the recycling activity—paper mills, steel mills, plastic converters, and iron and steel foundries. Common household items that contain recycled materials include newspapers and paper towels; aluminum, plastic, and glass soft-drink containers; steel cans; and plastic laundry detergent bottles. Recycled materials are also used in such industrial applications as recovered glass in roadway asphalt (“glassphalt”) and recovered plastic in carpet, park benches, and pedestrian bridges.

CHECK-IN: KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Folk and Popular Culture Face Sustainability Challenges?

- ✓ Folk culture faces loss of traditional values in the face of rapid diffusion of popular culture.
- ✓ Popular culture can cause two environmental concerns—pollution of the landscape and depletion of scarce resources.

Summary and Review

KEY ISSUE 1

Where Are Folk and Popular Leisure Activities Distributed?

Culture can be divided into folk and popular culture. Leisure activities, such as music and sports, can be classified as folk or popular, depending on their characteristics.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.1.1: Compare the origin, diffusion, and distribution of folk and popular culture.

- Folk culture is more likely to have an anonymous origin and to diffuse slowly through migration, whereas popular culture is more likely to be invented and diffuse rapidly with the use of modern communications.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.1.2: Compare the characteristics of folk and popular music.

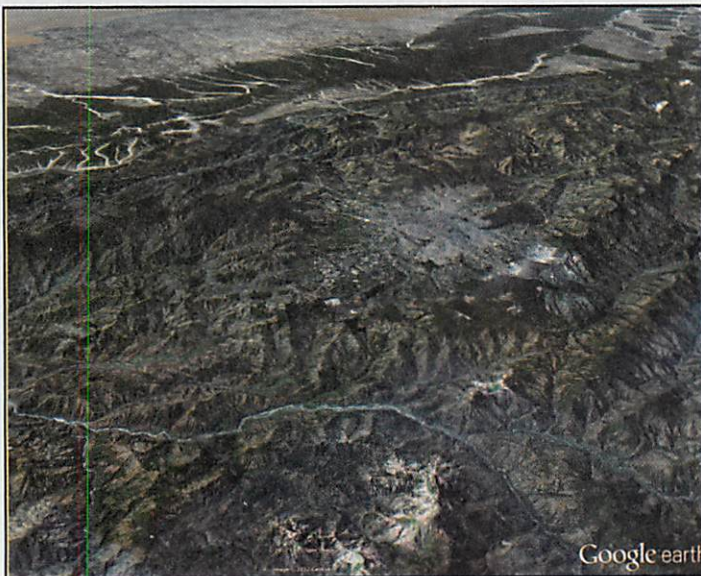
- Popular music has wide global distribution because of connections among artists and styles.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.1.3: Describe how sports have been transformed from folk to popular culture.

- Sports that originated as isolated folk customs have been organized into popular culture with global distribution.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 4.1: In what ways might gender affect the distribution of leisure activities in folk or popular culture?

GOOGLE EARTH 4.1: Connections among Nepal's diverse folk culture groups are hindered by what feature of the physical environment? What does the white represent in the image of Nepal?



KEY ISSUE 2

Where Are Folk and Popular Material Culture Distributed?

Important elements of material culture include clothing, food, and shelter. Folk and popular material culture have different origins, patterns of diffusion, and distribution.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.2.1: Compare reasons for distribution of clothing styles in folk and popular culture.

- Folk clothing is more likely to respond to environmental conditions and cultural values, whereas clothing styles vary more in time than in place.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.2.2: Understand reasons for folk food preferences and taboos.

- Folk food culture is especially strongly embedded in environmental conditions.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.2.3: Describe regional variations in popular food preferences.

- Popular food culture can display some regional variations.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.2.4: Understand factors that influence patterns of folk housing.

- Folk housing styles, like other folk material culture, respond to environmental and cultural factors.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.2.5: Understand variations in time and space of housing in the United States.

- U.S. housing has roots in folk culture, but newer housing displays features of popular culture.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 4.2: Which elements of material culture do countries depict in campaigns to promote tourism?

GOOGLE EARTH 4.2: Rudesheim, Germany, a wine-producing community, is surrounded by hillside vineyards. Towards which direction (east, west, north, or south) do most of these vineyards slope, and how does this orientation maximize exposure to sunlight?



Key Terms

Custom (p. 109) The frequent repetition of an act, to the extent that it becomes characteristic of the group of people performing the act.

Folk culture (p. 108) Culture traditionally practiced by a small, homogeneous, rural group living in relative isolation from other groups.

Habit (p. 109) A repetitive act performed by a particular individual.

Popular culture (p. 108) Culture found in a large, heterogeneous society that shares certain habits despite differences in other personal characteristics.

Taboo (p. 118) A restriction on behavior imposed by social custom.

Terroir (p. 118) The contribution of a location's distinctive physical features to the way food tastes.

KEY ISSUE 3

Why Is Access to Folk and Popular Culture Unequal?

Popular culture is diffused around the world through electronic media. TV was the dominant format in the twentieth century. Social media formats are expanding in the twenty-first century.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.3.1: Describe the origin, diffusion, and distribution of TV around the world.

- TV diffused during the twentieth century from the United States to Europe and then to developing countries.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.3.2: Compare the diffusion of the Internet and social media with the diffusion of TV.

- Diffusion of the Internet and of social media has followed the pattern of TV, but at a much faster rate.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.3.3: Understand external and internal threats to folk culture posed by electronic media.

- Folk culture may be threatened by the dominance of popular culture in the media and by decreasing ability to control people's access to the media.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 4.3: Which elements of the physical environment are emphasized in the portrayal of places on TV?

GOOGLE EARTH 4.3: Kathmandu, Nepal, situated at the foot of rugged mountains, is one of the world's most physically isolated capitals. TripAdvisor considers BoudhaNath Stupa to be the top attraction in Kathmandu. Using the Find Business and ruler features of Google Earth, how far is it from the stupa to the nearest Internet café?



KEY ISSUE 4

Why Do Folk and Popular Culture Face Sustainability Challenges?

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.4.1: Summarize challenges for folk culture from diffusion of popular culture.

- Popular culture threatens traditional elements of cultural identity in folk culture.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.4.2: Summarize the two principal ways that popular culture can adversely affect the environment.

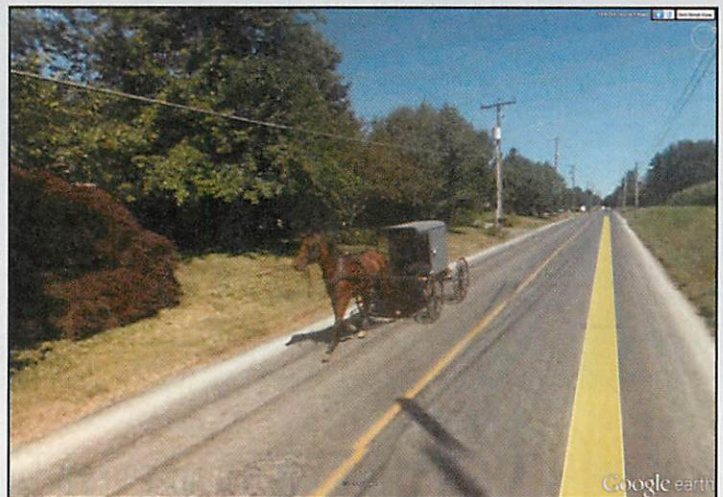
- Popular culture can deplete scarce resources and pollute the landscape.

LEARNING OUTCOME 4.4.3: Summarize major sources of waste and the extent to which each is recycled.

- Paper is the principal source of solid waste before recycling, but plastics and food waste are the leading sources after recycling.

THINKING GEOGRAPHICALLY 4.4: Are there examples of groups in North America besides the Amish that have successfully resisted the diffusion of popular culture?

GOOGLE EARTH 4.4: Paradise, Pennsylvania, is in the heart of Amish country. If you fly to 269 Old Leacock Road in Paradise and drag to street view, what distinctive feature of Amish culture is visible?



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