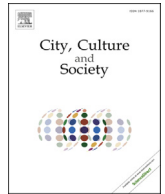




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Cultural heritage, sustainable development, and the impacts of craft breweries in Pennsylvania

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ABSTRACT

Craft breweries are growing in Pennsylvania, and they are impacting the cultural landscape. The reinvention of the urban landscape, and the cultural heritage that is being preserved, is presented in this study through examining the location of 156 breweries in Pennsylvania and their reuse of pre-existing buildings. Several are located in buildings listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and others have renovated unique buildings that create distinct characteristics in their establishments and local communities. One-third of the state's breweries are revitalizing "Main Street" and are supporting local downtowns, strengthening local economies and avoiding suburban, cookie-cutter development. In the larger cities such as Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, revival of old warehouses and industrial buildings, from the mid-1800s through early 1900s, is renovating and promoting new life in areas that would otherwise be in decline. In addition, breweries preserve intangible culture by reiterating local legends and pass stories along to consumers in a family-dining atmosphere through the names of their beer and food items.

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1. Introduction

Revitalizing neighborhoods by renovating historic buildings and developing new shopping districts, entertainment venues, and cultural attractions is a well-studied, vital part of urban geography. Many attempts, methods, and reasons for neighborhood revitalization have been documented, but none of these initiatives may be as pleasurable as simply enjoying a beer. Local, independent breweries strengthen local economies, reinvent declining neighborhoods, promote sustainable development, and strengthen social history. Craft breweries are on the rise in North America and many renovate, reuse, and reside in older buildings. Pennsylvania had only a few breweries in the 1980s, but now boasts over 150 throughout the state. Although the majority of these breweries have only been established in the past few years they portray historic images on their labels and overtly promote the heritage of their drinking establishments and reuse of pre-existing buildings. This deliberate advertisement of local history creates ties to the community and promotes traditional, authentic styles while rejecting mass-produced, homogenous beer. History and heritage differs greatly from place to place and many breweries promote

important political leaders, prominent community figures, and critical news worthy events but also present more obscure legends such as reports of unusual sightings by kids or wandering animals. A town's connection with aliens, monsters, and illegal activities may be as proudly promoted as another town's impact on political independence.

In the United States, an increasing number of people consume more craft beers with different styles and flavors, often in the cozy confines of a local brewpub. Many of these businesses start with the renovation of an older building that is decorated with local artifacts and photographs. Often the names of the beers come from local legends or historic accounts and the food served comes from local farmers. Many positive impacts spread from such businesses to their surrounding communities.

Pennsylvania has a long and rich beer-drinking culture that is closely embedded in its historic, social, and economic past. Craft breweries are thriving in Pennsylvania and continue to grow. According to the Brewers Association, craft beer sales by volume increased 17.6% in 2014, and on a national level, Pennsylvania ranks second behind California with a \$4.6 billion economic impact on the state (Brewers Association, 2015). Their geographic location of these breweries impact the cultural landscape. This study inventoried the 156 breweries in Pennsylvania to determine where these breweries were located throughout the state and assess their

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impacts on neighborhoods within larger urban areas and small, traditional rural towns. The study also inventoried how many of the total number of breweries reused buildings, along with the type of location, age, and characteristics of the building. The study also recorded the services provided to the public at the brewery to determine the extent to which the public interacts and learns about the local history. These characteristics were mapped in GIS to compare regional patterns of use across the state to determine the amount of reuse and preservation of buildings and overall impact on the landscape.

2. Consumption geography and historic landscapes

Many choices occur when someone drinks a beer at a pub. The selection of what type of beer and where someone goes to drink that beer, extends well beyond the basic requirement to fulfill the human need for thirst. People make many of these consumption choices often based on socially constructed ideals or constraints which is well documented in consumption geography (Jayne, 2006). Consumption is defined as the selection, use, reuse, and disposal of goods and services and includes activities such as, television, shopping, entertainment and restaurants. The location of consumption of these goods and services has been documented in numerous urban models, often with the central business district radiating outwards toward wholesale light manufacturing, to residential, to outlying business districts, and commuter zones. As our society has changed the geography of consumption within the urban model has evolved. In the 1990s, studies focused on the mega malls and large out-of-town retail shops (Williams, Hubbard, Clark, & Berkeley, 2001), but more recently, many urban models of consumption have argued that the focus has begun to move back to the urban centers. In many cities, the consumption of high-quality, unique services, and a wide variety of products coincided with social and demographic changes where immigrant, racial, ethnic, and alternative lifestyles visibly define the urban culture. Additionally, many mixed urban spaces are filled with young, single, high-wage earners who are increasingly more inclined to buy local and less willing to buy mass-produced, generic goods sold at chain stores (Zukin 1998) creating city blocks, neighborhoods, or even entire towns that provide a range of unique consumption services.

The buildings where consumption occurs, along with their location within the urban landscape, often change and evolve over time. Buildings are torn down or abandoned, often leaving streets or even entire neighborhoods vacant. Delony (2004) argued that America lacks the great architectural heritage found in European countries, and thus it is even more important to preserve historic structures. He recognized that people appreciate older buildings and argued that attitudes are changing, with individuals and organizations working hard to preserve representative samples from the past that will instill a deeper appreciation for people's surroundings.

Architecture is an important part of the landscape that tells the story of past cultures and peoples and how the environment shaped how they lived, worked, and played (Drake, 2009), yet it is not static or passive. Phillips and Stein (2013) argued that the cultural resources and the built environment can develop a sense of community that reflects the past but also serves the future and promotes sustainable development. New construction of buildings consumes an enormous amount of natural resources. If breweries reuse existing structures and their materials, they contribute to historic preservation and sustainable development. Additionally, the cultural landscape reflects historical forces as well as current political and economic functions (Cosgove & Jackson, 1987), and a renewed interest in preserving historic buildings, vernacular structures, and iconic symbols is growing. Although certain

programs such as The National Historic Preservation Act and The National Register of Historic Places were established to protect unique buildings that have historic characteristics, individuals and local communities can also be enriched by preserving older, ordinary buildings. Buildings can help us appreciate our past for they are manmade artifacts with immense cultural, historical, and economic value. Throughout history, building reuse has been common, often reusing materials or adding layers over existing structures, creating rich textures of the past.

History is a powerful tool in community relations and can guide future growth and development. A city's diversity and uniqueness should be embraced by small businesses. This resurgence in vernacular traditions preserves cultural history and creates a sense of place. Carr and Servon (2009) described the long line of urban theorists that believe what makes a city an attractive place to live is its diversity. They argued that while many places are building cookie-cutter strip malls occupied by chain stores, local vernacular buildings preserve and depict the layers of use and culture over time have an enormous potential for economic development and in turn create attractive places to live. In addition to architectural importance and cultural heritage, buildings have been recognized for their environmental value, and the reuse of existing buildings is a topic within the growing movement of sustainable development. Merlino and Rogers (2014) stated that of the 275 billion square feet of buildings in the United States, nearly 2 billion square feet are demolished annually, with 40% of volume ending up in landfills. While the pervasive topic of sustainable development usually focuses on technical issues such as carbon emissions and energy consumption, there is a growing recognition that the reduction of waste to landfills is a valuable recycling effort. Overall, many positive advantages can be ascertained from preserving the built heritage, preserving historic architectural treasures, and adding important components to the cultural landscape.

The geographic location of these reused buildings is significant in sustainable development for they are often located in walkable downtown areas that utilize public infrastructure. In some large urban areas, and particularly in many smaller towns, boroughs, and local communities, the typical "Main Street" is often in economically declining areas with many vacant buildings since the larger chain stores have located in suburban strip malls. Small, independent, local businesses can fill these vacancies and contribute to vibrant downtowns. Small businesses in local communities often support other neighboring small businesses and develop a sense of community pride. Phillips and Stein (2013) demonstrated that local businesses and local ownership generally provide numerous advantages, including higher labor and environmental standards, and higher economic multipliers.

Craft breweries exemplify a type of an independent business that contributes to both tangible and intangible heritage. They occupy many older buildings, restore cultural heritage, and often emphasize and even enhance local lore. The preservation of buildings are important in maintaining tangible objects as part of the local cultural heritage of a community that can be passed down to future generations. Additionally, intangible culture such as folklore and traditions can be easily lost in today's modern society. However, breweries promote the past and redefine consumption spaces from a place of a simple commodity exchange to a symbolic, cultural experience by the reuse of buildings and their connections to the community's historic past.

3. Growth of craft beer

Over the past 30 years more than 2300 craft breweries have opened in the United States (Schnell & Reese, 2014), representing a fundamental shift in beer consumption. Craft beers promote

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