Writing the Mythical Landscape: An Analysis of the Poetic Devices used in Tourism’s Promotional Literature

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Introduction
Across a wide body of academic literature, ‘place’ appears as a central aspect of culture(s), understood as a producer of meaning which situates and mediates the practices of everyday life. As Crang suggests: ‘Places provide an anchor of shared experiences between people and continuity … [place] enables people to define themselves and to share experiences with others.’ Over time, the centrality of place has been expressed in myriad ways, ranging from the painted pastoral vista to the photographed urban panorama, the in-depth travel documentary to the nostalgic folk song. Perhaps most prolific however, has been the written experience of place, expressed through fiction, historical accounts, travelogues, and most relevant to this research, poetry. As a genre, poetry provides a unique opportunity for creative expression of the geographic experience, as the figurative language used may allow for more diverse interpretations by the reader. According to Siverly and McDowell, poetry of place is:

... a poetry which values locales, which sees and lets the reader experience what makes a place unique among places … the term ‘place’ in poetry includes not only the geographical location and natural environment, but the history of human presence and before.

This suggests poetic accounts of place move beyond a simple recounting of facts to instead re-create the ‘story’ of the land, bringing to life the everyday histories and lived experiences of people in place, a geographic practice termed ‘writing the earth’.

Yet, how are such stories understood when created primarily for the purposes of commodification? According to Lefebvre, place (or social space) may be claimed through the linguistic practices of naming the land, its attributes and the cultures situated there. This article questions the power underlying such practices, critically examining tourism’s use of poetry, metaphor, and alliteration to inscribe particular cultural meanings onto landscapes for economic purposes. Examples are drawn from many different countries, each with disparate infrastructures, economic practices, and cultural traditions, to understand how poetic language may be used to manipulate understandings of place all over the world. According to Djafarova and Anderson, such research is significant as it is the study of language, rather than images alone.

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‘Writing the Mythical Landscape.’ Jodie George.
Transnational Literature Vol. 3 no. 1, November 2010.
which will facilitate the most meaningful understanding of what they termed ‘the intangible nature of tourism.’

Tourism

Tourism is now one of the world’s largest industries, accounting for more than one trillion of the ‘leisure’ dollars spent annually. Far-reaching, this phenomenon now touches even the most remote communities, transforming them into landscapes of consumption as tourists outnumber locals by as many as 8:1 in some locations. As such, tourism has a critical influence within contemporary society, generating not only important economic activity, but also significant cultural, political and environmental changes.

The nature of mass tourism is changing however, with the emergence of eco-tourism and a greater focus on themed and nostalgic sites, changes which seem to reflect shifting patterns of consumption. According to Crang consumption provides the most common context through which individuals may create meaning and understand their lives, thereby acting as a key structuring component in society. Within tourism, this consumption relates to leisure, which relies upon both traditional material goods and, more broadly, services and experiences available within a specific place. Most recently however, consumption practices have moved away from material goods to search for ‘experiences’ as the tourist becomes more concerned with the ‘spectacle’ provided by the site and the media promoting it. Thus, the focus has shifted from production to consumer preferences, resulting in greater differentiation and specialisation within and across various market segments.

Arguably, it is this market segmentation which has resulted in an increased intensity of place promotions, with the selective linguistic descriptions of tourism campaigns increasingly idealised to accommodate the desires of the target audience. As Shilling suggests, as an industry, tourism does not rely primarily upon factual accounts of place, but instead, acts strategically to reconstruct the cultural geography in an idealised manner:

[Tourism] increasingly is using the deep-rooted memories of your community’s narrative (neighborhoods, cultures, natural wonders) as products – commodifying them and, in the process, sometimes altering meaning, occasionally rewriting history, certainly modifying form and content.

8 J. Boissevain, ‘Preface,’ Tourism: Between Place and Performance, eds. S Coleman and M Crang (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002) x
10 Crang 138
13 Shaw and Williams 115

Such practices of construction rely on a dual process, in which the tourist attraction is first represented as a particular type of space through language and the tourist experience is then enacted within the material spaces being represented. In this way, tourism is able to reframe particular communities as poetic alternatives to ‘everyday’ life, attempting to draw in the tourist through notions of escape. Thus, tourist impressions and experiences are not left to chance, but are instead constructed, at least in part, based on what the tourism industry deems will best ‘sell the dream’ (i.e. attract the tourist).

**Tourism and language**

To construct an idealised version of particular sites, tourism must rely on poetic language, to create evocative mental images, mythical understandings of culture and romantic notions of place through both poetry and poetic prose. According to Djafarova and Anderson, ‘Figurative language is seen as one of the ways to make advertising language attractive and persuasive, as it is able to communicate intangible features and characteristics of tourism products.’ It is perhaps not surprising that tourism and poetry may be linked in this way, as both provide the possibility of escape and engagement with the sacred. According to theorists MacCannell and Graburn, tourism acts as a form of religion, providing individuals with a deeper sense of meaning because of the ritualised nature of travel and the opportunity for encounter with the ‘other’. If so, perhaps the poetic lines of tourism promotion also act as a sacred text, directing the pilgrim traveller. However, because this poetry is utilised primarily as a marketing tool, it is important to critically analyse the impetus and context behind its inception. No longer a platform for the expression of ideas, thoughts and feelings, instead it is catalysed by product placement. As poet Rob Wilson explains in his book *Pacific Postmodern*:

> We don’t need the marketing of ‘local’ (or local-seeming) writers whose metaphors of exotic remoteness and aesthetic charm are all too close, in language codes and protocols, to the packaging patterns of the tourist industry and the marketplace of semiotic and cultural kitsch. We don’t need more writers of place and ethnicity who seek to ‘add a tinge of cultural authenticity for marketing purposes’.

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19. Djafarova and Anderson 293.
According to the conflict perspective, language in the context of tourism acts as what Dann termed ‘a language of appropriation’, where dominant discourses reduce complex cultures and places to easily recognisable stereotypes for the purposes of consumption. Through this, everything becomes geared towards the tourist’s enjoyment, rather than to those who live there, and as such may not provide an accurate reflection of the place. In this way, rather than the practice of ‘writing the earth’, sites themselves may be considered a ‘palimpsest’ of sorts, understood by tourism as blank states upon which identities may be written, erased, and written over, according to consumer demand. As Walcott explains in *The Antilles*:

> But in our tourist brochures the Caribbean is a blue pool into which the republic dangles the extended foot of Florida as inflated rubber islands bob and drinks with umbrellas float towards her on a raft. This is how the islands from the shame of necessity sell themselves; this is the seasonal erosion of their identity, that high-pitched repetition of the same images of service that cannot distinguish one island from the other, with a future of polluted marinas, land deals negotiated by the ministers, and all of this conducted to the music of Happy Hour and the rictus of a smile.

Thus, the poetic language used by tourism creates what Said termed an imagined geography, where only certain discourses and images are permissible, resulting in a singular way of ‘knowing’ a place. Yet most often, this way of ‘knowing’ involves focusing solely on the positive, creating what Dann termed a ‘euphoric’ language of tourism.

It is important then to recognise that the poetic language used to create the promotional materials of tourism is not neutral, that the landscapes, residents, and traditions being described have not existed prior to their naming. Instead, linguistic theorists suggest it is the *naming* itself that requires the performative act which in turn creates reality. According to Heidegger ‘only where the word for the thing has been found is the thing a thing … the word alone gives being to the thing’. Thus, rather than any essential nature, it is the linguistic designations of the site as a particular ‘place’ that actively construct the culture(s) situated there. Yet who has the power to designate sites in this way? Whose meanings may be inscribed in the space, why those meanings are chosen, and what is designated ‘authentic’ and by whom? By deciding the identity of a place, tourism also establishes who the place is for, and who has the right to be there. Cresswell refers to this process as ‘construct[ing] normative “moral geographies” that map particular kinds of people and practice to particular places’. Practical examples of tourism’s linguistic constructions of place are considered in the next section.

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Linguistic constructions of particular sites

In tourism, poetry may be used as an ‘off-sight marker’ to convey favourable representations of the destination and direct the tourist’s way of seeing to highlight only particular features of the site. To create these ‘off-sight markers’ tourism may utilise two different forms of poetry and/or poetic prose: appropriated existing poetry or new poetry created solely for the purposes of the campaign. Appropriating existing poetry may be useful as it often carries with it the credibility of the poet who wrote it, the perceived authenticity of the sentiment because it is not manufactured solely as an advertising device, and the familiarity of the poem which aids in easy recognition.

In the late nineteenth century, guidebook authors Charles G.D. Roberts and Jeannette A. Grant used this practice to better market eastern Canada to the American tourist, including excerpts of Longfellow’s tragic love poem Evangeline in each of their texts to increase the romantic appeal of the Nova Scotia landscape:

> In the Acadian land, on the shores of the Basin of Minas,
> Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand Pré
> Lay in the fruitful valley. Vast meadows stretched to the eastward,
> Giving the village its name, and pasture to flocks without number.

Here the narrative focuses on the picturesque nature of the landscape, creating a romantic vision of tranquillity and unspoilt nature with which the tourist may still engage. Roberts then takes this use of the poetic one step further, suggesting that the reader would explicitly draw comparisons upon visiting the destination: ‘It is to be presumed that the tourist will go through this region with an open volume of “Evangeline” is his hand.’ Thus, even in the nineteenth century, commodification of situated cultures began with the promotional materials created by tourism bodies, rather than with the tourist’s interaction with the site itself.

More recently, in England, the Cumbria Tourism Board has re-presented Wordsworth’s famous poem, I Wandered Lonely As A Cloud (or The Daffodils) as a hip-hop video by the area’s mascot, a large red squirrel named MC Nuts, in an effort to draw the younger tourist to the famous Lake District. In the ad, the squirrel dances on the banks of Lake Ullswater, quoting an altered version of the poem to suit the rhythmic structure provided by the beat. Some phrases were altered only slightly, such as Wordsworth’s ‘A host, of golden daffodils’, which changed to ‘And in my path there was a host, of golden daffodils, so check it!’ Other modifications were more

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30 MacCannell 111.
31 Dann, The Language of Tourism 9
34 Roberts, The Canadian Guide-Book. 254
35 Shaw and Williams 166

significant, turning Wordsworth’s ‘Ten thousand saw I at a glance’ to ‘Musta been no more than ten thousand I saw in my retina, no more than a glance then I registra the beautiful etcetera’ and ‘For oft when on my couch I lie, In vacant or in pensive mood’ to ‘So often when I’m on my couch just sitting, In a vacant mood or idle position, With nothing to do my face screwed – time ticking’.

These changes are said to represent the ‘modernising’ of the poem, including contemporary phrases and visual imagery to make the content more accessible. According to a spokesman:

Wordsworth’s *Daffodils* poem has remained unchanged for 200 years and to keep it alive for another two centuries we wanted to engage the YouTube generation who want modern music and amusing video footage on the web … Hopefully this will give them a reason to connect with a poem … and the stunning landscape of the Lake District.\(^{36}\)

This strategy suggests an attempt to respect the poetry rather than simply appropriate it for the purposes of tourism. Yet for the scholar, it is important to consider how the quality of this contemporary version compares not only to the original but to contemporary works of the modern era, as Wordsworth’s early poetry was significant in its own time, helping to establish the Romantic Age of English Literature. Reading the various news articles and website entries written following the release of the MC Nuts video,\(^{37}\) it would seem this reworking has not met with the same critical acclaim. Instead, the tourism board has been criticised for its appropriation of a well known poem solely for the purposes of commodification.

Beyond such problematic reworkings of existing poetry, issues of copyright and other author permissions may render it impossible for the tourism industry to appropriate particular poems that they feel would best suit their purposes. If so, they must instead create new ‘poetry’ to promote the celebration of particular destinations. This form of poetry may be beneficial as the greater specificity of the product acts as a persuasive tool to draw in the tourist, transforming the mundane to the magical and convincing individuals that this particular destination is somehow qualitatively different to their own place. However, because this poetry is created primarily to generate profit, it may also be understood as contributing to the greater commercialisation of poetry in general.

Historically, this practice has been used in many countries, such as Canada, where J.L. Alexander wrote *Wonders of the West, or, A Day at the Falls of Niagara in 1825, a Poem by A Canadian* and Charles Sangster wrote *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay*, both extolling the sentimental romance of central and eastern Canada in an attempt to draw in more tourists. In *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay*, Sangster

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focuses specifically on the natural beauty of the landscape, utilising personification to create a connection between the reader and the environment:

The bark leaps love-fraught from the land; the sea
Lies calm before us. Many an isle is there,
Clad with soft verdure...
White cloudlets speck the golden atmosphere,
Through which the passionate sun looks down, and graves
His image on the pearls that boil from the deep caves,
And bathe the vessel's prow...
Here nature, lavish of her wealth, did strew
Her flocks of panting islets on the breast
Of the admiring River, where they grew,
Like shapes of Beauty, formed to give a zest
To the charmed mind, like waking Visions of the Blest.38

Later, Sangster altered this poem, doubling its length and adding illustrations, specifically to increase its appeal to the American tourist. Interestingly, Charles G.D. Roberts, who had written poetry specifically for the late nineteenth century tourism guide – *Picturesque Canada: the Country as It Was and Is* – deemed Sangster’s actions unbecoming, stating that he ‘hardly regard[ed] Sangster and [him]self as in the same boat’ as writers.39

The practice of creating poetry solely for the purposes of site endorsement has continued in contemporary tourism. Using a poetic approach, the mundane practicalities of tourist information may be transformed into lyrical verse in order to keep the traveller suspended in a realm of enchantment. One such ‘do-it-yourself’ guide from Tourisk Inc offers a ‘poetic translation’ service, providing elaborated and often extravagant alternatives to the Plain English descriptions commonly seen in tourism literature. For example, the tourist’s need to ‘realistically avoid personal injury or risk to health’ becomes ‘go safely upon your travels and rejoice in discovering new lands’, whilst the desire for ‘access to clean accommodation and access to acceptable toilet facilities’ is framed as ‘fear not for a place to rest when weary or to wash away the dust of your journey for you will find safe havens to refresh your body and your spirit and give you calm of mind in foreign lands.’ Finally, a tourist who wants ‘a functional currency which is accepted locally and a fair exchange rate and fair pricing for goods and services’, should instead ‘part gladly with your worldly goods for true value and exchanges in new lands; and give generously for you will grow in richness of the spirit.’40

Although this approach may be understood as somewhat tongue-in-cheek, its existence does highlight the problematic nature of promotional materials which utilise particular language styles to enliven pragmatic details in unrealistic ways in order to better support the mythical world being constructed.

39 Roberts, cited in Bentley 17
Similarly problematic may be the use of metaphor. Perhaps one of the most effective tools in influencing how individuals make sense of the world, metaphors are useful within tourism advertising because they help ameliorate unfamiliarity by drawing comparisons between that which is well-known and the more foreign qualities of a location. As Djafarova and Andersen argue:

Metaphor is an essential figure of speech which... influences a reader’s opinions and directs his/her attention to particular qualities of the advertised product. ... In this way, metaphors direct the reader to create the desired perceptions and view of the product’s nature (294).

Such direction may be seen in one Canadian tourism campaign which portrays an image of a large expanse of leaves changing colour, with the tagline ‘We repaint once a year’, comparing the vast untamed wilderness to the more known quantity of ‘home’, and drawing on the excitement and freshness associated with redecorating.

More strategic however, is the use of metaphor in the promotional materials of developing countries which focus on the beneficial qualities of the destination through a comparison with somewhere known to be desirable. Examples of this include the popular description of the Côte d’Ivoire as the ‘African Rivera’. Through this comparison, the West African country is imbued with those qualities usually associated with the French coast of the Mediterranean Sea, such as glamour, wealth, and luxury. Similarly, the Southeast Asian country of Laos is often referred to as the ‘Jewel of the Mekong’, suggesting it is magnificent in its splendour, precious and valuable. The problematic nature of this is not to suggest that such descriptors are incorrect, but it is important to note that the realities of poverty, significantly shorter life expectancy rates, and high levels of illiteracy prevalent in both these countries are not discussed.

Given the promotional nature of tourism materials, it is perhaps not surprising that guidebooks and other informational sources select only the positive aspects of the place to help inform the tourist. However, such practices are problematic as they work to romanticise anything controversial within the location, implying that there are no negative issues to consider. As Djafarova and Andersen suggest, ‘advertisers can use metaphors to avoid the responsibility of presenting real images of tourism.’

This is not a new phenomenon: travel writer Lara Dunston points out that Wordsworth’s poem Tintern Abbey, written during a walk through the Wye Valley, speaks of ‘steep and lofty cliffs, the wild green landscape, and the fair river’. Yet such descriptions stand in sharp contrast to those found in the guidebook Wordsworth carried on the day, Observations on the River Wye which instead describes a place of extreme poverty, disease, beggars, and an ugly iron-smelting factory on the riverbank.
punning the river.\footnote{W. Gilpin, Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, Etc. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty: Made in the Summer of the Year 1770 (London: T. Cadell Jr and W. Davies, 1800).} Accounting for the discrepancies in these two descriptions, Dunston suggests Wordsworth may have wanted to avoid acknowledging the difficult ‘social realities of the time’, choosing instead to focus upon any and all evidence of beauty to better reflect his experience of the day.\footnote{Dunston. n.p.} In doing so, Wordsworth was thus able to overlook issues of poverty, homelessness, and environmental degradation to create poetry which spoke only of natural beauty. From a distance of more than 200 years, however, this work may not be read as a selective account of the time, but instead as a realistic portrayal of the everyday experience, thereby contributing to further ignorance of the social injustices of the era. Studying land conservation in the Chesapeake Bay fishing villages of Virginia and Maryland, Womersley suggests that although efforts to celebrate particular sites are positive in many ways, they tend to gloss over certain aspects of history:

> past places and sense of place were shaped by elements which can never, and in some cases should never, be recovered. Hardship, whether from the demands of outdoor work or from racism, provides one particularly poignant example. While we may be able to preserve and protect the county’s land … we may never restore, nor would we even want to restore, those hardships that made some of our respondents’ place memories so vivid.\footnote{Mick Womersley, Ecological Restoration and Sense of Place, 2002, Maryland Sea Grant, Available: www.mds.g.umd.edu/EB/sop, 23 March 2006.}

In the modern context, poetic devices like metaphor may continue to romanticise the tragic in this way, making distant any unpleasantness to avoid adversely impacting on the tourist.

Looking beyond such complex comparisons, it may also be simply the sounds of the words chosen by tourism which reflect their poetic nature, with most campaigns utilising some form of alliteration, consonance and/or assonance. Defined as the repetition of a leading consonant sound,\footnote{J. McAuley, A Primer of English Versification (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1966). 55} alliteration is often used in tourism as a tool of emphasis to arrest the reader’s attention and aid their subsequent recall of the product. Because of the repetition of sounds, remembering just one word in the alliterative phrase increases the likelihood that entire phrase will be recalled, thereby increasing the tourist’s engagement with the product.\footnote{Djafarova and Andersen 295} Some examples of this include Tourism Tasmania description of the ‘wilderness and wildlife, heritage and history’ of Tasmania,\footnote{Tourism Tasmania, Tasmania: Island of Inspiration, 2008, Available: http://travelmedia.tourismtasmaonica.au/, 08 April 2008.} whilst New Brunswick tourism suggests that ‘a land long lived in sings with many voices’.\footnote{New Brunswick Department of Tourism and Parks, New Brunswick Experiences: The Official Travel Guide 2006 (Campbellton: New Brunswick Department of Tourism and Parks, 2006).}

> Interestingly, the use of alliteration in tourism appears to be increasing significantly, according to a recent comparative study by Djafarova and Andersen.\footnote{Djafarova and Andersen 295}

Using statistical analysis of the incidence of alliteration in tourism advertisements between the 1970s and 2005, the authors found that whilst the use of other figurative linguistic devices decreased, alliteration increased by 5%. They account for this increase as a reflection of the ease of interpretation of the alliterative message. Unlike the metaphor, alliteration does not rely on connotative meanings, but instead works only to promote a singular predetermined message clearly to the reader.\(^{54}\)

Also prominent are consonance and assonance, which involve the repetition of particular consonants or vowel sounds respectively to create internal rhyming. An example of consonance through extensive use of the letter ‘r’ can be seen in the About-Australia website’s description of Broome, Western Australia as ‘fiery red ochre cliffs; bright turquoise waters, pearl diving sagas and dinosaur footprints’.\(^{55}\) Similarly, Scotland’s only south facing city, Dundee, uses assonance to convey an image of excitement and opportunity with the slogan: *Dundee City of Discovery*,\(^{56}\) each of the three nouns ending in a repeating ‘ee’ sound.

Although efficient in terms of marketing a memorable quality, reliance on linguistic devices like alliteration, consonance and assonance may be problematic as their use may reduce the complexities and multiplicities of place to simple clichés and catchphrases. Through the use of clichés such as ‘bright turquoise waters’, Dann suggests that tourism’s promotional language may move beyond innocuous stereotypical expressions to a form of ‘irresponsible abuse’, proscribing identity and everyday practice through the simplistic descriptions that must then be enacted.\(^{57}\) This is not to suggest that the tourist will not recognise such linguistic oversimplifications. However, because of the attractive nature of the prose and the absence of any required processing effort like that of metaphors, such recognition does not ensure that the individual will not engage with the problematic assumptions contained therein.

**Poetry as a voice of resistance**

Using both existing poetry and the selective figurative devices of poetic phrasing, metaphor, alliteration, consonance and assonance, poetry may be used to promote tourism in three distinct ways: by introducing the place in an engaging manner, providing a unique brand identity, and by persuading individuals to visit. As Dann explains, ‘the language of tourism attempts to persuade, lure, woo and seduce millions of human beings, and, in so doing, convert them from potential into actual clients…it hopes to push them out of the armchair and on to the plane’.\(^{58}\)

Although Dann’s view may be considered cynical, such commercialisation of both place and language offers some important benefits, creating a higher profile for the poetry genre and establishing greater economic viability for tourist destinations. Yet, as suggested above, tourism’s creation of such a saleable dream is not

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\(^{54}\) Djafarova and Andersen 301.
\(^{58}\) Dann, *The Language of Tourism* 2.
unproblematic. Issues of oversimplification, proscription and commodification are evident.

Interestingly, poetry has not been limited only to promotion, but may also serve as a voice of resistance to articulate the problems caused by tourism. For example, in the anti-poetry of Walcott’s verse novel *Omeros*, the author confronts the tourism industry in the Caribbean, providing an important postcolonial analysis of the problematic influences of globalisation and commercialisation. As the text progresses, several characters display a noticeable shift away from the traditional practices of St Lucia towards a more ‘Westernised’ lifestyle (i.e. trading a canoe for an automobile), eroding the connection individuals have with ‘place’:

… another

kind of life that was changing him with his brand-new stereo, its endless garages, where he could not whip off his shirt, hearing the conch's summoning note.\(^{59}\)

Eventually, the growing influence of Western culture culminates in the death of the character Hector, signifying too the death of the island’s individuality due to the homogenising forces of mass tourism. It is here the narrator returns to comment on the changes he recognises on the island due to tourism:

…the gold sea
flat as a credit-card, extending its line
to a beach that now looked just like everywhere else, Greece or Hawai. Now the goddamn souvenir felt absurd, excessive. The painted gourds, the shells. Their own faces brown as gourds. Mine felt as strange as those at the counter feeling their bodies change.\(^{60}\)

Thus, the individualistic nature of the culture-in-place is eroded by the practices of tourism which frame St Lucia as simply another beachside holiday destination, providing particular material goods which reflect consumer expectations rather than the situated artefacts of culture. Through this and similar other works, poetry may be used to vividly describe and actively resist the negative impact of tourism, asking individuals and organisations to reconsider their positions and inspire change. In so doing, writers may comment critically on questions of representation: Who represents? For whom? How? Under what social, political and historical circumstances? By raising these issues, poetry shifts from a promotional tool of tourism to instead stand against the commodification of place and everyday practice, confronting the assumptions of the tourist.

**Conclusion**

Tourism is a complex industry, characterised by strategic linguistic constructions of particular sites based on commodification practices and resultant consumer


\(^{60}\) Walcott 229
preferences. To create these mythical landscapes tourism makes use of figurative language, appropriating existing poetry and creating new poetic texts utilising metaphor, alliteration, consonance and assonance. Although these constructions may provide important opportunities for economic viability, the culture and social complexities of the communities involved are often ignored in order to meet consumer demands for an easily accessible ‘product’. Such oversimplification of the situated culture(s) has serious implications for residents, who are expected to adhere to the constructions of identity created through figurative language. Therefore, it is important that these discursive practices are considered within the context of particular sites, to highlight the need for alternative linguistic constructions which recognise the complexities of situated culture. Sustainable practices must instead involve greater consultation with the community, in order to create a collaborative partnership which responds to the needs of residents as well as those of the wider population.