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Exploring how Residential Communities in the Rural Southern Appalachian Mountains are Branded as 'Green:' A Qualitative Analysis

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EXPLORING HOW RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES IN THE RURAL SOUTHERN
APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS ARE BRANDED AS "GREEN:"
A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy
Environmental Design and Planning

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by
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ABSTRACT

As environmental issues have gained media prominence, a majority of Americans now consider themselves to be environmentalists. Producers of real estate development have responded with communities, branded to differentiate themselves from their competition through sagas, imagery, and symbols that communicate the values and identities that align with those of their targeted consumers. Host to a rapidly expanding population, the Southern Appalachians are home to a wealth of new communities, many of them branded as "green." Building on theoretical foundations in visual design, environmental rhetoric, and landscape interpretation, this research utilizes a collective case study analysis to illustrate how texts, images, and the built environment are used to appeal to consumers' green identities. Secondarily, challenges to implementation of sustainable development are identified, within the social, economic, and environmental context in which rural mountain development occurs. Data sources include documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, and physical artifacts.

Selected cases located in the Southern Appalachian Mountains include communities located in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Selected cases were chosen for detailed study based on their ability to provide interesting and meaningful variations of several dimensions, grouped into primary and secondary contrasts. Primary contrasts, include the following dimensions: inclusion of golf, adjacency to public or other protected lands, lot sizes, apparent partnership with conservation or other "green" organization, and inclusion of significant waterfront.

Secondary contrasts include: project size and number of units, diversity of housing types, and price.

Included in the systematic examination of printed promotional materials, are concurrent inventories and analyses of image and textual content and meanings. Additionally, textual analysis of environmental rhetoric related to deep, preservation, integrative, and ecological environmentalism is conducted. Supplementing data collected through examination of promotional materials, site visits to each case include documentation of the built environment and structured interviews with the producers of each community. In addition to illustrating how communities are branded as "green," challenges to implementation of sustainable development are identified, providing a foundation on which future research into the actual sustainability of "green" branded developments can be constructed.

DEDICATION

The Southern Appalachian Mountains were not always as they are today. The work of this dissertation is dedicated to those who came before.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Popular Appeal of Environmental Values

Since Rachel Carson's (1962) *Silent Spring*, a growing concern about the future condition of the earth and its inhabitants has prompted the question of the adequacy of resources to sustain the Western standard of living. "As more and more citizens answer 'no' to this question, they become 'green consumers" (Zinkhan and Carlson, 1995 p.2). International concern for the health of the environment was prompted by the Brundtland Commission's (1987) Report, *Our Common Future* which emphasized relationships and balance among social, environmental, and economic factors in global and local sustainability. Although these principles have been applied at various levels, the report's emphasis has been on achieving sustainability in urban settings rather than rural development (Smith, 2000).

As environmental issues have gained prominence in the media, heightened by concerns over global climate change and natural disasters, a majority of Americans now consider themselves to be environmentalists. Due to the accelerated process of globalization, perceptions of a shrinking world have become pronounced. As Zinkhan and Carlson (1995 p.1) stated, "One consequence is that we realize that we are traveling on space-ship earth with only limited resources. Given this chain of events, a concern with environmental issues is heightened." Responses by corporations to environmental concerns have resulted in increased "green advertising," which generates promotional

messages appealing to the desires of environmentally concerned consumers in hopes of establishing green brand reputations.

Figure 1.1 Popular appeal of environmental values as seen on the cover of Vanity Fair Magazine (source: VanityFair.com).

As early as the 19th century, British landscape architect Humphrey Repton recognized the power of the image in conveying a particular story about a designed place (Tufte, 1997). In recent years, developments have been actively branded with particular themes by those who produce these built environments. Developers have seized upon branding to create for profit, places where individuals can live out a particular ideal, a fantasy, a story with others who have the same ideal. Stories, particularly those with

environmentally-friendly messages, have been used extensively to differentiate contemporary developments from their competition through sagas, imagery, and symbols that communicate values and identities that align with those of their targeted consumers.

However potent the imagery of such symbols, Meinig (1979b p.179) alleges that much of the contemporary American built environment "suggests the emergence of a wide gap between the symbol and the substance." Analysis of how "green" communities are branded will provide a foundation on which to build future research judging the worthiness of the "green" label by which so many developments have been branded. The question of how developments are branded as "green" to attract consumers who are motivated to express their environmental values through the built environment in which they live needs to be explored.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Contemporary Real Estate Development as a Cultural Landscape

Lewis (1979) emphasizes that what is known as "cultural landscape" includes everything adjusted, modified, and transformed by human intervention. Consequently, agricultural fields, urban skylines, cathedrals, high-capacity highways, gas stations, and shopping malls are all reflections of the values of the culture, both past and present. In his explanation, Lewis states that "all human landscape has cultural meaning, no matter how ordinary that landscape may be" (Lewis, 1979, p.12). As residential development is an integral piece of this "cultural landscape," it also reflects the values of those who choose to consume a particular story in a particular piece of the built environment.

Figure 2.1: Architectural detailing and color palette help a newer home to blend into its surroundings (source: Author).

While the landscape can be interpreted as having meanings that are implicit and beyond the awareness of those who interact with it, deliberate branding of the built environment reflects the recognition that consumers desire not only to live out a vision created by someone else, but to imprint their environment with the values most important to their identity and concept of self. Lewis (1979 p.12) reflects this concept when he writes "Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form."

Roots of the Suburban Ideal

Although branding of the intensity currently experienced by consumers is relatively recent, the concept of an idealized suburban existence has roots that stem from the tastes of Andrew Jackson Downing, Calvert Vaux, and Catharine Beecher (Jackson, 1985). Many view Andrew Jackson Downing as not only influential during his own time, but continually through the contemporary suburban ideals and aesthetic choices found in America. His advocacy of private residences far from the pollution and corruption of the city was combined with an overall rejection of formal landscape aesthetics, in favor of the picturesque (Sokol, 1996). His two books, *Cottage Residences* and *The Architecture of Country Houses of 1850* not only defined the taste of an era, but advanced an enduring ideal that has continued, affecting American perceptions of the suburban aesthetic and coloring expectations of an idealized suburban lifestyle.

Figure 2.2: Building and landscape aesthetics espoused by Downing are still widely used in contemporary real estate development (source: Author).

In contrast to the wild landscape then yet uninhabited by European-Americans Downing wrote, "But, when smiling lawns and tasteful cottages begin to embellish a country, we know that order and culture are established" (Elliot, 1995 p.15). With polished descriptions of what could be done to improve country residences, Downing impressed the middle class, supplying them with a fantasy from which to build. The story of a romantic existence in a shady glen, surrounded by a tended landscape garden sold Americans in the middle 19th century on the lifestyle that was to be strived for. The streetcar suburbs that followed provided wealthy and upper-middle class residents a place where they could live out the story Downing had sold to them. Just as in Downing's

time, contemporary real estate branding is often couched in creating a unique sense of place that distinguishes a particular development from all others. Because it builds upon the emotions of consumers, branding of the built environment has the ability to affect individuals' sense of place, as well as enhancing the attachment they feel to a particular built environment.
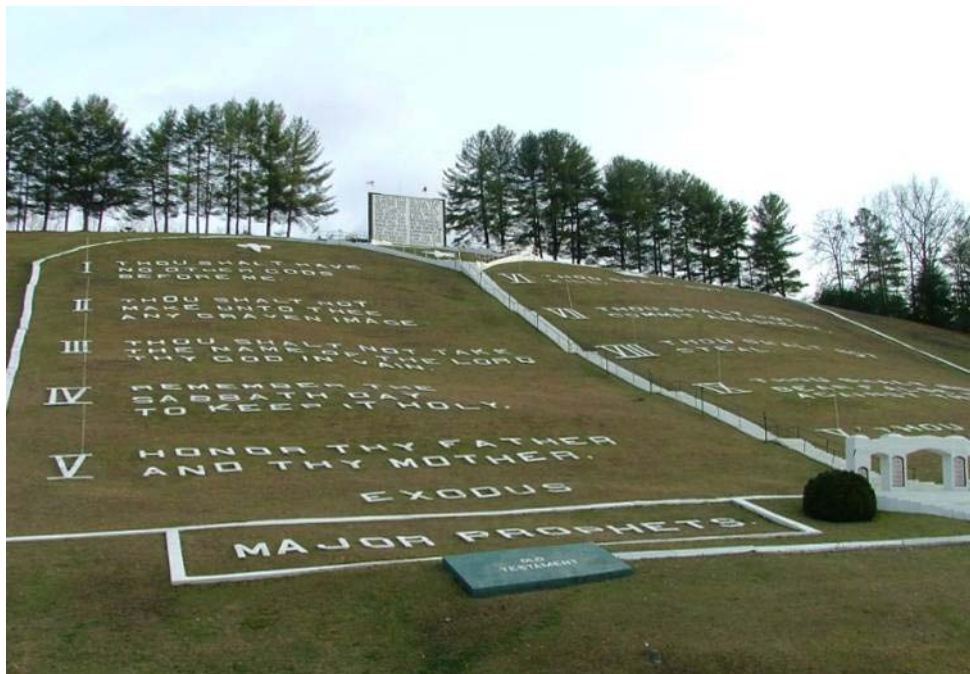
Figure 2.3: Religious branding of the Southern Appalachian landscape near Murphy, North Carolina (source: Author).

Sense of Place and Place Attachment: Enhanced Through Branding

Traditionally, sense of place is described as "the bonds that people develop with the land through long residence or frequent times spent in a defined place" (McAvoy, 2002 p.2) (Tuan, 1974). More recently, the interpretation of sense of place can be expanded to include "the attachment people have with the land as a result of cultural

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connections to the land through symbols, myths, and memories" as well as "intense experiences on the land" (McAvoy, 2002 p.2) (Schama, 1995) (Tuan, 1977). The expanded definition of sense of place suggests that branding enhances the likelihood of people developing an attachment with a particular place. Symbols, myths, and memories can all be cultivated through a good story which in turn benefits both producer and consumer.

Place attachment and place identity are often used to describe sense of place from a psychological perspective (Williams, 2002). In a broad and general approach, place attachment is used to characterize the emotional ties people form with places (Altman & Low, 1992). More specifically, place identity is used to characterize the role of places as "sources of identification and affiliation that add meaning and purpose to life" (Williams, 2002 p.353). "The two are related in that strong feelings for a place derive, in large measure, from the role that places have in forming and affirming a sense of personal identity" (Williams, 2002, p.353).

Figure 2.4: Detailing of architectural and landscape features is often used to convey a
particular sense of place (source: Author).

While sense of place can be argued as highly dependent on principles of timeless
design and evolution of built forms, it is also affected by the experiences, perceptions,
and values of individuals and groups. As different brands provide different people with a
variety of stories from which to select, the choice of which to purchase, consume, and
live in is both dependent upon and resultant in a unique sense of place, socially
constructed by individuals.

In evaluating the reasons for selection and implementation of a particular theme, a
polished and effective story teller has the ability to give people the impression that the
story is timeless, enduring, and real, often utilizing legitimate and tested urban design
principles. While some built environments are arguably more successful than others, the

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primary objective for selecting a brand is to sell an image, to connect with individuals'

values, and to craft a story in which individuals can participate through their own

idealized lives.

Williams writes, "ideas like place attachment (feelings of affiliation and

identification) and related notions such as sense of place (more inclusively, the meanings

people ascribe to a place), are necessarily political because (a) place meanings create and

structure social differences (serve to define us and them, locals and outsiders) and (b)

claims of what belongs to a place (what kinds of meaning and practices are deemed

authentic to the place) are often invoked to assert power and authority over place"

(Williams, 2002 p.353). The role of informal rules of ownership and social group

affiliation in defining environments has long been documented (Williams, 2002).

Symbolism in the Built Environment

To illustrate how symbolism is manifested in the built environment, Meinig

(1979b) discusses the symbolism of the New England village in the American psyche, as

representing stability, intimacy, cohesion, moral consciousness, industry, and family-

centered community. The imagery featuring tight-knit homes centered on a white church

with a tall steeple has been reproduced on greeting cards, advertising, and religious

literature. However, the built elements of the New England village are not only

representative of the functions that take place within their walls, but are also symbolic of

the values and ideas on which the community is based. Meinig (1979b) cites the

reproduction of particular elements of the New England village, specifically the white

church steeple, on churches geographically and theologically removed from the early Protestant congregations of New England. While representative of the architectural elements of New England, the white steeple is also representative of the greater community values housed in such communities.

Figure 2.5: The Steeple is visually symbolic of a Christian house of worship and its associated cultural values (source: Author).

Imagery of the American home as a refuge, a place of permanence, and representative of family life is evident in the built environment. Additionally, According to Sopher (1979), the intrinsic meaning of "home" is very closely represented in the imagery and symbolism constructed in built living environments. However, interpretation of home and the individual's response can scarcely be separated from the human relationships established and fostered there. Thus, "our experience of any landscape through the senses is inseparable from the social and psychological context of the experience" (Sopher, 1979 p.138).

Figure 2.6: Architectural details such as shutters, traditionally styled windows, and front porches for many symbolize home (source: Author).

Sopher (1979) asserts that geographers who document environments in a phenomenological mode fail to recognize this connection. "Social creation of the mythic home seeks consciously to play up the uniqueness of place by accenting small distinctions in the landscape, by modifying it idiosyncratically, or by instituting in it a code of local signatures" (Sopher, 1979 p.138). However, without context within a larger social group, the symbolic elements of the built environment have little communicative power.

Individual Values in Reading the Landscape

Many of the messages and meanings gleaned from interpreting the built environment are heavily dependent on the values and interpretations of the individual. Just as each individual carries a distinct set of values through which they view the world, Meinig (1979) asserts that the perceptions each person has of a given landscape will be informed by this lens. Meinig (1979) discusses the different perceptions of landscape that are held by individuals based on their values. For example, some view it as nature, others as habitat, others as an artifact, others as a system, others as a problem, as a source of wealth, as an ideology, as history, as a place, while still others view landscape as an aesthetic. While these multiple views of the same landscape are not exhaustive, they reveal the complex nature of landscape perception. As the landscape mirrors the values of individuals, as well as larger cultural values, the significance of the landscape as a record of values should be considered in discussions of shared landscapes (Meinig, 1979).

Guiding Principles in Interpreting Cultural Landscapes

To facilitate interpretation and reading of the built environment, Lewis (1979) proposes several guiding principles. The first is the "Axiom of Landscape as Clue to Culture" (p.15). According to Lewis (1979 p.15), the built environment "provides strong evidence of the kind of people we are, and were, and are in process of becoming." Consequently, the ordinary vernacular landscape unintentionally reflects the culture. While many would accept Lewis' assertion, the prevalence of "green" development may indicate the wish of some consumers to change the direction of the culture, particularly in light of past human interventions in the landscape. To clarify his general axiom, Lewis (1979) provides several qualifiers. First, the huge investment of resources in the vernacular landscape prohibits sweeping changes, unless they are accompanied by larger cultural changes. Secondly, the built environments in different regions appear to be different, because they reflect larger cultural differences between regions. Conversely, when two different regions begin to appear similar, Lewis (1979) attributes convergence of the landscape to a convergence of cultures. Landscapes are also often changed due to imitation. Governed by social diffusion, trends in architectural styles or development principles become diffused as they are imitated over a longer period of time. Lastly, the different tastes possessed by different cultures are reflected in the cultural landscape. Lewis (1979 p.17) claims "to understand the roots of taste, is to understand much of the culture itself." While many would claim their taste is driven primarily by issues of practicality, Lewis (1979) proposes that many of the behaviors driven by fashion, taste, and fads are driven primarily by culture, not practicality.

While Lewis (1979) emphasizes the cultural importance of all artifacts in the built environment, he also alleges that most of these artifacts are neither more nor less important than other artifacts. He uses the examples of lawn ornamentation, fast food restaurants, and high rise buildings as all equally indicative of cultural values. However, to stave off criticism, Lewis offers the following caveats. If an item is truly unique, such as an elephant shaped hotel, "it may not seem to mean much, except that its creator was rich and crazy" (1979, p.19). In spite of the kitschy nature of such unique artifacts, there still may be some cultural information that can be gleaned from them. Although Lewis alleges that nearly all artifacts of the built environment are equally important in explaining the culture, he also qualifies his position by stating that common pieces of the built environment are not necessarily easy to study.

As culturally important as common landscapes may be, Lewis states they "are by their nature hard to study by conventional academic means" (1979, p.19). Reflecting the emerging nature of the study of cultural landscapes during the 1970s and 1980s, Lewis (1979) bemoans the large volume of works on famous symbolic structures such as the Brooklyn Bridge and Monticello, and scant work on interpreting the more common elements of the landscapes in a non-polemical manner. He alleges the absence of academic literature on the common landscape reflects a greater lack of understanding of American culture, reflected in a striking and honest manner in most common artifacts found in the landscape.

Given the pioneering nature of his field, Lewis (1979), emphasizes that while other studies can draw upon a large body of academic literature, some of the most useful

sources on interpreting cultural landscapes are best drawn from other sources, including journalistic writings, trade journals, advertisements, promotional travel literature, and books. The perceptions of culturally savvy journalists and columnists may provide insight into larger cultural trends and characteristics. Lewis (1979) cites Tom Wolfe as an example of one such journalist. A contemporary to Wolfe with valuable insight into the cultural meanings of the built environment may be David Brooks (2000, 2004), who authored *Bobos in Paradise*, and later, *On Paradise Drive*.

Because trade journals are read by those who carve their livelihoods from the built environment, reflecting a wealth of market research on consumer preferences, the articles contained within trade journals are reflective of cultural tastes and values on which developers, sales people, and others hope to capitalize. Lewis (1979) claims that established trade journals can be relied upon for sound cultural judgment, because if their appraisals are incorrect, they tend not to stay in business.

Lewis (1979) also lists commercial advertisements and promotional travel literature as particularly indicative of cultural values. He cites cigarette advertisements, with Wild West imagery as especially relevant to America's collective landscape tastes. Additionally, comparison of older advertisements with contemporary versions can illuminate how cultural values may have evolved over time. Promotional travel literature, hoping to capitalize on the values, preferences, and expectations of consumers, tends to project an image that is in line with these values.

The greater context in which the studied built environment resides has to be considered in order to understand relevant interrelationships. If elements of a cultural

landscape are studied outside their locational contexts, Lewis (1979) alleges that they will make little cultural sense. Directly related to the importance of contextual consideration, Lewis (1979) also emphasizes the strong and intimate relationship built forms often share with the natural landscape. Thus, an accurate understanding of the built environment requires a solid understanding of the physical landscape in an on which these built forms reside. While Lewis (1979) concedes geography can be conquered to a certain degree, such interventions do not come without a price. With technological advances, the movement of large volumes of earth and large scale modification of the landscape have become more easily accomplished. However, when studying historical elements constructed before the advent of contemporary technology, an understanding of the natural landscape takes on an increasingly important role.

While cultural values are reflected in the built environment, often these messages are not explicitly reflected. Because the landscape does not reveal information as clearly as a written book, Lewis (1979) emphasizes the importance of knowing which questions to ask when studying a particular landscape. To answer questions of culture, Lewis (1979) justifies using the landscape because the huge investment of time and capital in the built environment provides a compelling source of data on the cultural tastes, interests, and values held by Americans.

Communication through Imagery

Images: Interpretive Lens and Advertised Reality

The way individuals see things is affected by what they know or believe (Berger, 1972). As recreated or reproduced sights, images are detached from the places and times in which they first made their appearance. According to Berger (1972 p.142), the purpose of advertising "is to make the spectator marginally dissatisfied with his present way of life. Not with the way of life of society, but with his own within it. It suggests that if he buys what it is offered, his life will become better. It offers him an improved alternative to what he is." Consequently, advertisements are designed to plant seeds of discontent in the consumer's mind, while offering suggestions for satisfaction. Ironically, the image painted by the advertisement of what the consumer could be, whether healthier, more attractive, or sexually appealing is also what spurns dissatisfaction with the consumer's current state of being.

Ewen (1976) asserts that the functional goal of large scale advertising was the creation of desires and habits. He claims advertisements not only ask that an individual buy its product, but that they experience a self-conscious perspective that prior to consuming the particular product, service— in the context of this research, real estate development— they had been socially and psychically denied. Dickinson (1930 p.130) commented that "advertising helps to keep the masses dissatisfied with their mode of life, discontented with ugly things around them. Satisfied customers are not as profitable as discontented ones." Many authors, including Ewen (1976), Kassiola (1990), and Winner (1986) interpret the industrial revolution as not only manufacturing goods to be

consumed, but consumers as well. Consequently, they see consumerism, the mass participation in the industrial market, as emerging during the 1920s to promote corporate survival rather than as a continuation of earlier and less developed patterns of consumption.

According to Berger (1972 p.130), advertisements never speak of the present. Instead, "often they refer to the past and always they speak of the future." By proposing to consumers that they transform themselves and their lives by buying more, many advertisements feature people who have apparently been transformed by purchasing the product, and as a result are more enviable for it. By using a natural human appetite for pleasure, advertising is rarely about objects, but about social relations and being judged well by others (Berger, 1972).

By propagating consumers' views of themselves through images, advertising can be interpreted as the culture of the consumer society (Berger, 1972). Highlighting similarities between historic oil paintings and contemporary advertising images, Berger (1972) asserts that contemporary advertising is essentially nostalgic in its reliance on traditional standards of quality and status. Using retrospective and traditional measures of quality enables contemporary advertising images to convey both confidence and credibility.

In spite of the interpretation of the world found in advertising, the contrast between this understanding and the world's actual condition is often striking. In addressing the question of how advertising retains the credibility necessary to exert its level of influence, Berger (1972 p.146) suggests its truthfulness is judged, "not be the real

fulfillment of its promises, but by the relevance of its fantasies to those of the spectator-buyer. Its essential application is not to reality but to day-dreams." Reinforcing the concept that branding reflects and reinforces consumers' idealized concepts of self are writings by Pollay (1985), Mick (1986), Smith (1991), Fournier (1998), Holt (2002), Moore (2000), and Cotte et. al (2005). According to Twitchell (1996), American culture has a propensity for manufacturing not only things, but also meanings. As advertising is one of many ways humans attempt to assign meaning to objects, for its meaning to be viewed as possessing any form of relevance to the consumer, it must appeal to the consumer's values and idealized concept of self. A large number of these appeals take visual form.

Individualism Reflected in Advertisements

A parallel characteristic to sustainability, rugged individualism has also been used to market real estate in rural mountain communities. A study by Hirschman (2003) examined the semiotics of this concept within the context of print advertising. Long alleged to be among the most highly individualized societies (Tocqueville, 1835), many acts of consumption by Americans are assumed to be aimed at establishing the core cultural value of individuality (Hirschman, 2003).

As advertisements may be viewed as harboring rhetorical, mythic, metaphoric, and symbolic content, the cultural values of the targeted audience are often "coded in the visual imagery, colors, movements, music, and other nonverbal elements of an advertisement" (Hirschman, 2003 p.9). Reflecting the emphasis of individualistic

cultures on self-sufficiency, personal efficacy, self-glorification, and the necessity of personal struggle and achievement (Hirschman, 2003), individualism places prominence on human dignity, right to selfhood, privacy, and the freedom to be uninhibited by societal barriers. Popularized by anthropologist Francis L.K. Hsu (1988), the term "rugged individualism" is a particularly potent form of individualism that he believed drove both the more admirable and challenging aspects of American society since its inception in the 18th century (Hirschman, 2003). Similarly to how this study examines how communities are branded as "green" through their promotional materials, imagery, and the landscape itself, Hirschman (2003) identified some of the verbal and visual semiotic structures found in advertisements that reflected rugged individualism to consumers.

Example of Textual Analysis using Concept of Rugged Individualism

Utilizing a textual analysis through close reading of magazines that reflect the ethos of rugged individualism (including *Hunting*, *Bow Hunting World*, *Rifleshooter*, *Guns and Ammo*, *Field & Stream*, *Stockcar Racing NASCAR Illustrated*, and *4-Wheel & Off Road*), Hirschman (2003) performed an initial mapping of the themes, icons, and rhetoric supporting rugged individualism. After all textual material of each issue was read and each page annotated, loose categories of meaning were perceived and noted. Following a second reading of the data set, the data was grouped into seven bipolar pairings representing the communicated ideology. The pairings Hirschman (2003) found were competition against oneself vs. competition against others, manual labor vs.

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purchased labor, make or buy, solo performance vs. teamwork, technology and machines vs. aesthetics and fashion, instrumentalism vs. anthropomorphism, nature vs. culture, and individual freedom vs. the rule of law. The text and images provided in the editorial content, advertisements, and articles of the magazines exhibited these dichotomous characteristics. Through a thorough analysis of some publications commonly associated with the construct of rugged individualism, this analysis shows how this ethos is expressed in a way that appeals to the ideology of the targeted consumer group. It also provides a valuable example of how environmental values may be reflected in the branding of real estate development.

Possibility of Visual Argumentation

According to Birdsell and Groarke (1996 p.1), "argumentation theorists do not pay enough attention to the visual components of argument and persuasion." At the time of their writing they asserted that while most theorists emphasize a verbal paradigm which views arguments as collections of words, the possibility of other forms of argument or even relationships between words and other symbolic forms had received little recognition (Birdsell and Groarke, 1996). Because of a disconnect between widespread use of imagery in media and dismissal in academic circles, they "committed to development of a theory of visual argument."

Countering the prejudice that visual images are intrinsically vague, arbitrary, and ambiguous, Birdsell and Groarke (1996 p.2) respond by conceding that while visual images can be ambiguous and vague, "this alone does not distinguish them from words

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and sentences, which can also be vague and ambiguous." Citing examples of written texts of which precise meaning is continually debated, such as the United States Constitution, local zoning ordinances, and other statutes, the assumption that visual imagery is inherently less precise than written or spoken words appears questionable. While specific points of image interpretation can be debated, issues of their interpretation "are comparable to the issues that arise in the attempt to interpret verbal claims" Birdsell and Groarke, 1996 p.4). While both can convey claims and arguments, both can also be ambiguous or cogent.

In order to craft a clear and compelling visual argument, advertisers must have a solid understanding of their target audience, their demographic characteristics, cultural values, and social constructs. Adequate and fitting reflections of these values using culturally appropriate graphic representations and conventions will likely affect and determine the relevancy ascribed by viewers to the argument, their receptivity to its message, and ultimately whether or not they accept or reject the central tenet of its visual argument. Conversely, visual arguments that employ graphic language that is culturally inappropriate or confusing, or appeal to a fantasy that is out of sync with the values of the consumer, will ultimately fail to connect and their messages will be rejected.

While magazine advertisements often use a combination of both words and pictures to make arguments, Blair (1996) discusses examples in which advertisements convincingly make arguments using images alone. A richly evocative advertisement by the Benetton clothing company in *The New Yorker* uses imagery referencing issues of racism. However, nothing distinctive, and virtually no clothing, is shown. Blair (1996

p.31) argues that what the ad does is identify Benetton with the self-image of the readership of *The New Yorker*, who he asserts are "predominantly upper middle class and wealthy, mostly white, liberals, judging by the advertisements found in its pages and its standard editorial content."

The series of advertisements featured primarily images. One featured three human hearts, almost identical in appearance except for the words, "WHITE," "BLACK," and "YELLOW" printed over each heart. On the side of the page was a small green box, with the words, "United Colors of Benetton" in small letters. Another advertisement featured the same discrete green-boxed corporate identification, but with an image of a close up view of the hands of an African-American and Caucasian man, identically dressed in denim, handcuffed together. Using powerful symbols and images, Benetton conveys the message, "'We share your color-blind ideals, your opposition to racism, and your recognition of the problems facing the ideal of blacks and whites living in harmony and your desire to see them overcome.'"
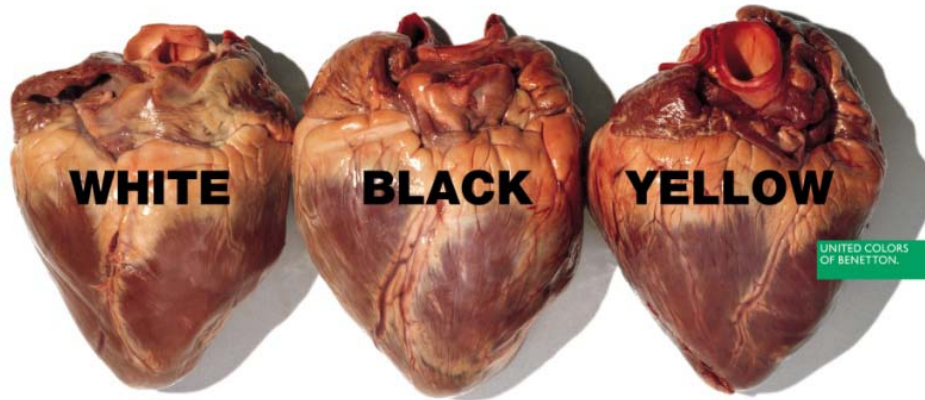
Figure 2.7: An advertisement for the Benetton Clothing Company emphasizing the commonality among people (Source: Benetton).
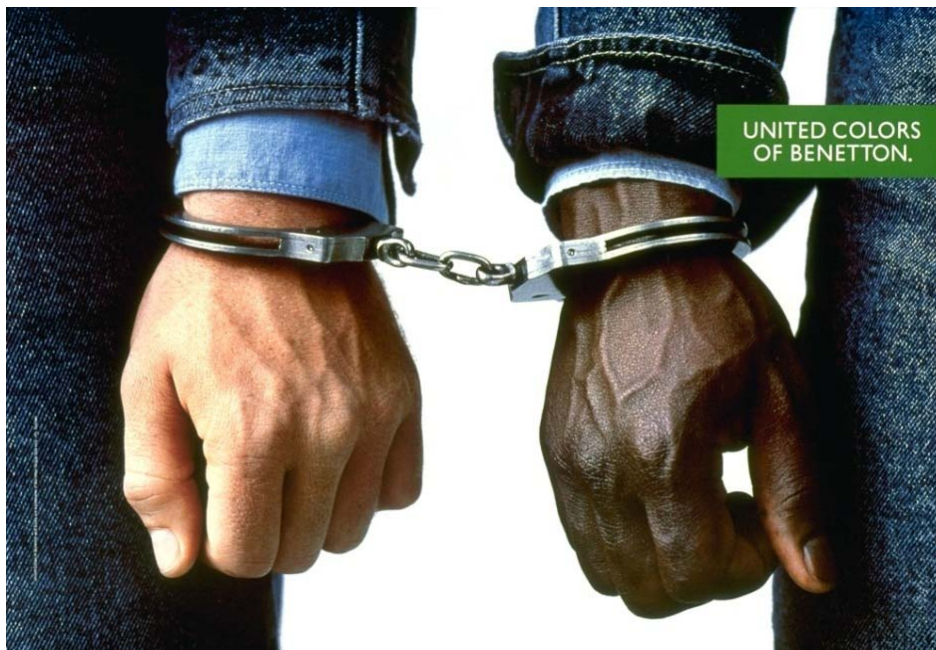
Figure 2.8: Another advertisement illustrating ideals of racial solidarity (Source: Benetton).

According to Blair (1996 p32), companies such as Benetton use advertisements, not with arguments designed to persuade or convince us to buy the product or patronize the company," but with the goal of creating an unconscious, unexamined identification with the target audience. While the advertisement makes a visual argument against racism, it presents no arguments for purchasing Benetton clothing. Instead, it relies on the identification of the audience with the values expressed, and transfers that identification to the company and its products (Blair, 1996). Consequently, the advertisements appeal to the idealized self-image of the readers of *The New Yorker* as enlightened, progressive, egalitarian, and without a trace of racism, bigotry, or prejudice. While the advertisements appeal to the collective fantasy of the publication's readership, the integrity of the story is called into question both in reference to the readership of *The New Yorker*, as well as the egalitarian nature of Benetton. The 2008 Democratic presidential primary, wrought with inter-party exchanges may invite discussion on whether those who describe themselves as "liberal" have indeed progressed beyond past constraints of gender and race. Conversely, in questioning whether the advertisements are reflective of the company's fantasy or reality, a parody advertisement created by the Canadian anti-advertising group, Adbusters, depicts an advertisement of the same format as Benetton's, showing a Caucasian man wearing a dress shirt and tie, with a large wad of cash stuffed in his mouth. As in the original advertisement, a small green box is on the side of the page, this time with the words, "the true colors of Benetton." Though questioned by the jammed advertisement and current news headlines, the larger fantasy

projected through the original advertisement and received by the viewers is one of fairness, egalitarianism, and tolerance.

Figure 2.9: In spite of its advertising, not everyone agrees with the company's purported motivations (source: Adbusters).

According to Blair (1996 p.34), what causes visual messages to be influential, "is not any argumentative function they may perform, but the unconscious identifications they invoke." While many advertisements make no argument for preferring one brand to an alternative, they achieve success by manipulation of the unconscious and ego-

identification. Blair (1996 p.38) warns that achieving success through getting an audience to feel, rather than getting them to think "can be used to distort or misrepresent, and thus to argue falsely." The advantages of visual argument, particularly its power and suggestiveness, are achieved through loss of clarity and precision (Blair, 1996).

Foundations of an Argument

Blair (1996) asserts that while the study of argument since Aristotle has been assumed to be largely verbal, this is no longer the case. Cultural developments, enabled by technological advancements, have enhanced visual communication to the point that "there is no doubt that images can be influential in affecting attitudes and beliefs" (Blair, 1996 p.23). The enormously powerful influence of paintings, sculptures, movies, television, commercials, and political advertisements highlights the truth that there are "any number of other ways of influencing attitudes and beliefs besides arguing."

To address the debate on whether visual arguments can in fact exist, Blair (1996) clarifies the explicit properties of an argument. First, there must be a claim or assertion. Second, there must be a reason or reasons supporting the claim. Third, these reasons must be linguistically explicable and apparently expressed. Fourth, the claim itself must be linguistically explicable. Fifth, an attempt must be made to communicate the claim and accompanying reasons. For these explicit properties to be expressed, someone has to address the claim to an intended recipient audience with the intention of bringing the recipient audience to accept the claim based on the reasons offered.

Blair (1996) further clarifies that while claims and reasons have to be linguistically explicable and overtly expressed, they do not have to be initially expressed in a written or verbal language. Thus, the given concept of argument does not negate visual argument. Visual communication, in the strict sense of the term, occurs without the aid of literal words or language (Blair, 1996). Though visual communication may be dependent on the use of graphic conventions and symbolism, Blair (1996) rejects the counter that these conventions are literally a language. While images are conventionalized to the point of being recognizable, he claims that the signs and symbols of visual design do not involve the depth of grammar found in the English language. However, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) reject this belief, as evidenced in the title of their seminal text, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. A detailed discussion of their grammatical rules pertaining to composition follows in this text.

Visual Rhetoric

In Plato's *Dialogues*, Gorgias "recognized the power of the word to conjure images, a power to make things present in the mind, and thus sway the will," the potential for such power to be used for good or ill purposes has been recognized for centuries (Brookes and Blakely, 2001 p.2). As technological advances have made possible new forms of media in the late twentieth century, contemporary American culture has seen an unprecedented conflation of words and images. In discussing broad misunderstandings of what visual rhetoric entails, Brooke and Blakely (2001, p.2) assert that as rhetoric itself involves more than simply positioning of words and phrases in a particular order,

visual rhetoric is equally more involved than simply an effective employment of spatial page arrangement, headers, font faces, or visual evidence. Rather, fostering identification or enabling persuasion requires meaning to be communicated within a context.

Using the example of the painting by Rene Magritte (1898-1967), *The Treachery of Images* ("Ceci n'est pas une pipe"), which features a large pipe in front of a beige background, above the declaration "This is not a pipe" in French, Brooke and Blakely (2001) assert that the significance of the painting is incomplete when the text and image are considered in isolation of each other. A compulsion to call the image of a pipe "a pipe" reveals a predisposition to confuse images with the things they represent (Brooke and Blakely, 2001). Although much like Kenneth Burke's naïve verbal realism, seeing the sign (the image of the pipe) uncovers the tendency to see the word "pipe" as an unambiguous sign of the thing, Brooke and Blakely (2001) challenge such straightforward one-to-one correspondence of words representing items. Just as the image of the pipe could be interpreted multiple ways, the word "pipe," divorced from its context, could have multiple connotations as well. Instead, the relationship between a word and its referent must be fixed by its context if it is to overcome ambiguity. Depending on the individual's interpretation, multiple meanings of a given word are available, particularly when ambiguously phrased. The phrase "This is not a pipe" is one such example. Rather than say what the item is, by negatively phrasing the message, the writer makes no claim about what the item positively is. Instead, the statement already contains some truth value (or cannot be proven wrong) (Brooke and Blakely, 2001). Such negative phrasing of messages could be potently used in advertisements for real

estate developments. A statement such as, "This is not your average development" make possible the implicit conveyance of a message, without explicitly stating what specifically distinguishes the development from its competition.

Figure 2.10: Rene Magritte's *The Treachery of Images* (Source: Shimon Yanowitz, http://www.shimon-yanowitz.com/art/Magritte/index.html).

McQuarrie and Mick (1996) argue that rhetorical figures invite elaboration from consumers due to a style that is based on a clever deviation from consumer expectations. Presumed to create multiple cognitive pathways to the originating message, the heightened elaboration is assumed to increase the probability of ad recall, foster a pleasurable aesthetic experience, and improve the consumer's attitude toward the ad (McQuarrie and Mick, 2003). In this manner, rhetorical figures have the capability of motivating additional processing of advertisements from consumers.

Rise of Indirect Persuasion

McQuarrie and Phillips (2005) found that in magazine advertisements, attempts at indirect persuasion using words and especially pictures have become increasingly prevalent. Rather than using direct claims that a brand possesses a particular set of attributes or benefits, consumers are presented with metaphorical images or headlines. While advertising has trended away from making direct claims for decades, Leigh (1994) found that by the 1990s, 74 percent of magazine advertisements used rhetorical figures in their headlines. Additionally, Phillips and McQuarrie (2003 p7), found that the propensity for advertisements to include figurative pictures doubled from 1954 to 1999, indicating that advertisers have come to believe that "making indirect claims can confer some advantage over making direct claims."

According to McQuarrie and Phillips (2005 p.7), "when consumers are presented with an indirect metaphorical claim, they become more receptive to multiple positive inferences about the advertised brand" than when direct claims are made. "In addition, when the indirect metaphorical claim takes the form of a picture, consumers are more likely to spontaneously generate such positive inferences at the time of ad exposure." The potency of indirect visual claims lies in their ambiguity. Because individual consumers will interpret images differently, they may craft a positive argument in their own mind that is more persuasive than any direct claim. As the adage claims "a picture is worth a thousand words," the likelihood of the consumer making a connection or identifying with at least one of the multiple interpretations that can be gleaned from an image is greater than if a single direct claim were crafted using only a sentence or two.

However, many of the inferences examined by McQuarrie and Phillips (2005 p.7) "could be considered misleading if claimed directly." Consequently, while the potency of indirect claims is recognized, their power has the potential to be used for good or ill.

Indirect claims are used to elicit beliefs for which no explicit assertions have been stated (Smith, 1991). Instead, they go beyond what is explicitly stated by relying on consumers' own inferences. Rather than making claims in a literal way, metaphors figuratively make claims in an indirect manner (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005). Just as the Benetton ad makes a visual argument, it does so indirectly, relying on viewers to draw from their own values to fill in the missing information. Thus, the values of the consumer heavily impact the message gleaned from the image. For example, *The New Yorker* reflects the dominant self-image and values of its readership, which Blair (1996) identified as affluent, white, and liberal. However, the meanings derived from the advertisement featuring the African-American and Caucasian men handcuffed together by the current readership of *The New Yorker* may be completely different than the meanings derived from readerships of the *Birmingham News* in 1963, or current viewers in South Africa, Japan, or Mexico. The cultural experiences, values, and idealized self-concepts of one group of viewers may not be similar to those of another group. Thus, the messages gleaned from an image will also be different.

Indirect Claims through Text and Images:

Both verbal and visual metaphors have been recognized and extensively discussed in academic discourse (Phillips, 2003). "The rhetorical figure of metaphor, specifically,

invites a comparison of two objects by suggesting: that one object is like another, even though they come from different domains" (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005 p.8). In order to resolve advertising metaphors, consumers must draw inferences that find commonalities between the two different domains. During the 20th century, pictures came to occupy an increasing portion of magazine advertisements, while the number of words steadily dwindled (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2003). In addition to shortened attention spans, one possible explanation is the ability of pictures to be more memorable than words (Childers and Houston, 1984).

Figure 2.11: The power of indirect persuasion as illustrated by the discrepancy between the covers of Newsweek and Time
(Source: Chicago Tribune, http://www.chicagotribune.com/features/photostore/chi-080710-photo-fakes-photogallery,0,2972551.photogallery?index=chi-fake-oj-photo).

Illustrating the power of images to persuade, research by Miniard et al. (1991) demonstrates the ability of pictures to convey specific beliefs, while small alterations to that picture affect how favorably consumers view the image subject (Peracchio and Meyer-Levy, 1994). A particularly well known example of this phenomenon is the June 27, 1994 cover of *Time* magazine, featuring an image of O.J. Simpson, dubbed a "photo illustration" by its creator, Matt Mahurin (Barry, 1997). The cover of *Time*, featuring a doctored version of the mug shot taken by the Los Angeles police, was run the same day that *Newsweek* featured an unedited version of the mug shot on its cover. A controversy ensued, largely due to the differences between the two covers. The image on the cover of *Time* is slightly out of focus, and darker in hue than that of *Newsweek*.

While the image on the cover of Newsweek depicts Simpson's skin as golden brown, his skin appears much darker on the cover of Time. In contrast to the plain mug shot on the cover of Newsweek, through surrounding Simpson with dark shadows, intense darkening of shadows on his face, darkening of his eyes, and blurring his silhouette, the image on the cover of *Time* appears much more sinister. By placing Simpson's face behind the letters, TIME, his face appears much more distant from the reader than on the cover of *Newsweek*, where his head is superimposed over the title of the magazine. While the photograph on the cover of *Time* was defended as having only been altered for dramatic effect, critics alleged the dramatization was racially motivated. While the headline on the cover of *Newsweek*, "Trail of BLOOD" is much more inflammatory than its *Time* counterpart, "An American Tragedy," Newsweek did not

receive nearly the criticism leveled against *Time*. Likely, this is due to the impact of images compared to words.

According to Barry (1997 p.78), "The perceptual power of the image may also be seen in its ability to dominate the written or spoken word when they appear together." While written and spoken words must be cognitively processed to be understood, images are perceptually processed on the same alternating pathways as direct experience. Because it is processed as direct experience, an image is capable of reaching a viewer's emotions before it can be cognitively processed. As the image presents itself as reality, its message is highly associative, speaking directly to emotions, and may bypass logic by appealing to illogical reasoning. As the language of the image becomes primary, words become secondary. Thus, when images and words are used in conjunction with each other, the visual has much more impact than what is written or said. In many cases, the visual can even override the verbal (Barry, 1997).

Some semioticians assert that because visual messages are entirely implicit, those messages presented as images are more susceptible to multiple interpretations than comparable messages presented in words (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005). However, others in the semiotic tradition counter this view. Peirce identified three classes of signs; iconic, indexical, and symbolic (Barry, 1997). In contrast to iconic and indexical signs, which rely on experiential connections, symbols possess abstract associations. Because their meaning is derived from convention established in a given cultural context, the potency of a particular symbol will vary from one cultural situation to another.

In discussing what they call "the semiotic landscape," Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) assert that the role of visual communication in a given society cannot be understood outside of the context of the range of public communication forms available in that society, their uses, and cultural value. Balancing between cultural forces and biological predispositions, semiotic modes are shaped by the history, culture, and values of society.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), what are understood in spoken and written language as "action verbs" are described in images as "vectors." While recognizing that not all relationships expressed in language can be realized in images, or vice versa, individual cultures have a range of broad, possible relations that are independent from any particular semiotic code. Consequently, some relations can only be realized in images; others only in words. Similarly, some are more easily expressed through images, while others are more easily realized through words.

Visual Literacy

Visual Grammatical Structure

Following a progression of learning symbols, combinations, and common syntax, visual literacy is found to parallel verbal communication in its biological structure. Drawing from Gestalt psychology, Dondis (1973) identifies the basic elements of visual communication as dot, line, shape, direction, tone, color, texture, scale, dimension, and movement. As the simplest unit of visual communication, a single dot represents a point in space, while multiple dots infer lines, by prompting the mind to visually connect the

distance between. Lines, connoting movement, conveys variant meanings depending on their character, whether straight, curving, smooth, or rough. Consequently, it can communicate a variety of moods. Shapes, described by lines, can be reduced to three general forms: circles, squares, and triangles. Through physiological and psychological bases, each of the basic shapes conveys meaning. Combinations of the three basic shapes are used to construct more complex shapes.

Movement, is represented through single and multiple lines, shapes, and combinations. The visual directions of horizontal-vertical, diagonal, and curve are respectively represented by the square, triangle, and circle. Because of strong associative meanings, each is a powerful tool in visual communication. Tone, expressed by intensity of darkness and lightness, expresses dimension. While tone is related to biological needs of survival, color is often used to express and achieve emotional responses. While some may view color as unnecessary for crafting visual messages, color is loaded with information and has the potential to powerfully convey meaning.

Texture, often substituting for the sense of touch, is often expressed in view of its tactile qualities. Scale is the process by which visual elements have the capacity to define and modify each other. The sizes of objects, when considered in the context of their relationships with others, powerfully convey dominance, submission, and importance. Dimension, also known as perspective, can create and accentuate a sense of depth and distance. The last element of visual communication Dondis (1973) discusses is movement. Like dimension, it is often visually implied rather than overtly expressed. Comprising the basic ingredients drawn upon to develop visual thinking and

communication, the elements can dramatically and universally carry information with an ease on par with language (Dondis, 1973). However, while language can be cumbersome and time consuming, multiple ideas can be expressed simultaneously and instantaneously through visual means (Arnheim, 1969).

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) contend pictorial structures do not simply reproduce the structures of reality. Instead, by drawing upon the interests of social institutions in which the images are produced, circulated, and read, pictures of reality are produced. Rather than being purely formal, pictorial structures are ideological in the sense of possessing a strong semantic dimension. According the Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), two types of participants are involved in a given semiotic act, interactive and represented. Interactive participants participate in the act of communication. They are the image producers and viewers. In contrast, represented participants are the subject of the communication, including the people, things, and places represented in and by the speech, image, or writing. They identify six types of narrative processes which are distinguished based on the type of vectors and number and type of participants involved. They are action processes, reactional processes, speech and mental processes, conversion processes, geometric symbolism, and circumstances.

Action processes involve an actor from whom the vector emanates. This is expressed through placement in the composition, size, contrast against background, saturation of color, sharpness of focus, and conspicuousness. Through these techniques, the actor becomes the most prominent participant. When there is only one participant, they are considered the actor. In contrast, when a visual scene has two participants, one

is identified as the actor, while the other is regarded as the goal, at whom the vector is directed. Thus, the actor aims the action at the goal. Reactional processes are reflected in images that involve a prominent participant who reacts toward the actions of another participant. For example, an image of a husband and wife sitting in a café, while an attractive young woman walks by on the sidewalk would illustrate this process. The wife's disapproving look at her husband, as he gazes at the woman outside reflects the reaction of one participant towards the actions of another.

Speech processes are typically represented through captions: thought and speech balloons as found in comics. However, this technique is also utilized in other media as well. Conversion processes reflect a transformation of information from one participant to another. By receiving information, altering its form, and relaying it on, human and natural processes can be reflected. Geometrical symbolism, while excluding any participants, only represents a vector. For example, arrows, whether straight or embellished with curves symbolize different actions. Lastly, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) explain circumstances as secondary participants that are related to the primary participants in ways other than vectors. Omission of these participants, while resulting in loss of information, would not greatly affect the basic proposition realized by the narrative pattern. In addition to narrative processes, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) emphasize the role that technical aspects such as size of frame, social distance, perspective, and angle have in impacting viewers.

Frame size and social distance are of particular relevance when portraying how important a figure is within a frame. Though social distance can be considered on a

continuum, there are distinct cutoffs, particularly as illustrated in television and film. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) liken these cutoff points to those imposed by spoken language on length of vowels. Close up shots feature the head and shoulders of the subject, while extreme close up shots show anything less than that. Medium close shots cut the subject at the waist, while medium shots would do so at the knees. Medium long shots show a tall figure. While long shots allow the figure to occupy half the height of the frame, very long shots are in excess of this. While stylistic variants exist, frame sizes are always discussed in reference to this system. The distances kept in interactions, as well as those portrayed in frames are dictated by social conventions. The locations of invisible boundaries, determined by sensory potentialities, have a biological foundation as well as apparent cultural differences. When evaluating frame size and social distances found in promotional literature for real estate development, consideration for the age, culture, and values of the targeted consumers is imperative if accurate and relevant conclusions are to be reached.

Similarly, how landscapes and buildings are portrayed in images are subject to the same principles. Appleton's prospect-refuge theories, as well as photographic techniques of cropping and placement of objects impact how viewers will perceive a given image of a landscape or building (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Particularly, these techniques will influence whether viewers perceive that they are viewing the scene from within the landscape, as an active participant, or as a passive outside viewer. Additionally, perspective, which gives images a sense of depth, allows for viewers to feel either very

close or very far from a given object within an image. For example, through perspective, an image can give its viewer the sense that subjects are either very close or far from view.

Perspective is accentuated through the use of horizontal and vertical lines. Placement of the viewer in relation to the dominant perspective lines can also influence the extent to which the viewer feels directly involved in the image, as opposed to acting as an outside observer of the scene. Additionally, the vertical angle at which the scene is depicted can give the viewer a sense of power or subjugation (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). For example, if a represented subject is seen from above, the subject will appear small and insignificant in relationship to the viewer. Subsequently, the viewer will also feel as though they are out of the picture. Conversely, if the viewer looks up at the subject, they will be seen as being in a position of power over the viewer. As vertical angle can be conceptualized as a continuum, when the picture is at eye level, the point of view represents equality and no disparity of power is present.

Composition: Information Value, Salience, and Framing

While often ambiguously explained as representing "a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts," Gestalt theory, established in the beginning of the 20th century, is more clearly defined as possessing "a configuration that is so inherently unified that its properties cannot be derived from the individual properties of its parts" (Barry, 1997 p.42). Just as music provides an effective metaphor for how the gestalt works in the context of neurological brain functions, visual composition is also highly dependent on the unification of several different parts.

The third element, the composition of the whole, allows for representational and interactive elements to be integrated into a meaningful whole. Composition involves framing, which connects or disconnects parts of the picture. Without framing, viewers would see parts as continuous and complementary. However, framing provides a visual directive by connecting and disconnecting different parts. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, (1996), composition within a picture relates representational and interactive meanings through three interrelated systems; information value, salience, and framing.

Information value concerns the placement of elements or figures within the image. Images can be divided into the following zones: left and right, top and bottom, center, and margin. Conventions of reading left to right, top to bottom, and focusing on the center of an image all influence where elements are placed, particularly when the intent is to emphasize the relative value of one element, as it relates to others. Because various zones of an image possess specific informational values, the placement of elements or figures within these zones will gives them varying degrees of importance.

Salience involves other techniques used to attract the attention of viewers to certain elements and figures. They include placing elements in the foreground or background, relative sizing, color and value contrasts, and manipulation of sharpness. As a direct parallel to both written and spoken language, as well as music, salience shares relationships between strong and weak elements, their loudness, clarity of pronunciation, emphasis, and rhythm. Just as these elements create auditory contrast, through a complex interaction they also create contrast among various visual elements. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), salience is judged using visual clues. The greater the weight of

a visual element, the greater its salience.   Borders between black and white, color contrasts between strongly saturated and soft colors, contrasts between red and blue, placement further toward the top, placement further toward the left, placement in the foreground as opposed to the background, elements that overlap other elements, and use of potent cultural symbols are all examples of how the relative weight, and subsequently the salience of elements can be increased.

Lastly, framing involves the presence or absence of framing devices. Examples of such devices include actual frame lines, and other elements that visually separate or connect elements in the image. Such framing techniques indicate to the viewer which elements belong, or to not belong together. The stronger the framing of an element, the more it is presented as a distinct unit of information (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). The context in which an element is displayed provides the more precise nature of this distinction. Just as images of students posing in a group portrait emphasizes group identity, the same group of students displayed on the same page, but in individual portraits emphasizes individuality and differentiation.

Just as reading of text is linear and strictly coded, texts must be read in the manner in which they are designed to be interpreted; from left to right, top to bottom, and line by line. However, the reading path of images is less strictly coded. While they can be read in the same manner as text, they can also be read in more than one way. Magazine pages featuring headlines, text, images, and advertisements can be scanned, or read, glanced at, or examined with scrutiny. Just as different readers are inclined to take individualized paths in reading pages that prominently feature images, salience is also

culturally determined (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Consequently, different cultural groups are likely to possess different hierarchies of salience. Drawing upon both biological foundations on which visual distinctions rest, as well as cultural conventions for decoding information, both must be considered when interpreting the meaning of images. Similarly, familiarity of the culture of the consumers of green branded development is important in understanding their worldview, driving motivations, and means in which they are most receptive to messages.

Open to Interpretation…

The ambiguity of pictures can actually enhance their persuasiveness. Associating two seemingly unrelated objects through pictures, such as attractive and healthy young adults with cigarettes or automobiles with beautiful scenery and clear, blue skies can cause viewers to take for granted the association, without questioning the inherent conflicts (Messaris, 1997). Tanaka (1994) asserts that advertisers often rely on pictures as a means of avoiding responsibility for the clandestine content of their advertising messages, particularly when the messages implied through images may not be accurate enough to be verbalized legally. "In light of these perspectives, it appears that indirect claims presented through pictures may differ in important ways from those presented through words, especially in their ability to mislead consumers" (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005 p.11). Gaeth and Heath (1987 p.43) define misleading advertising as "discrepancy between the factual performance of a product and the consumer's beliefs generated by the advertisement." It is precisely because consumers must self-generate the implicitly stated

claim that indirect persuasion through images is so effective (Kardes, 1993). However, for consumers to self-generate these inferences, they must be more involved with the advertising message. While the advertisements evaluated in this research are not automatically assumed to be misleading, the potential for indirect claims, particularly those primarily employing images to mislead should be considered.

Strong vs. Weak Implicatures

According to Sperber and Wilson (1986), messages can result in two basic types of inferences by viewers, strong implicatures and weak implicatures. Analogous to a strong signal, strong implicatures tend to vary little across viewers. Because of language conventions and strong symbolism, the inferences made by viewers will dominantly reflect a single message. In contrast, weak implicatures represent viewer attempts to guess the message of the advertiser. In this case, few constraints are placed on the inference process, enabling a wide and varied range of interpretations. By increasing the number of weak implicatures, an advertisement's persuasiveness may be enhanced due to consumers' limited ability to counter argue multiple inferred claims simultaneously (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005). Particularly capable of generating a wide array of weak implicatures are advertisements that feature pictures unanchored by words (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005). Because many interpretive aids inherent in the structure of verbal language are lacking, interpretation of these pictures will be especially unconstrained.

Metaphors We Live By

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the conceptual system of humans, both in the way they think an act is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980 p.5). They argue that metaphors are not simply matters of language or words, but of human thought processes. Only because metaphors exist in human conceptual systems are they possible as linguistic expressions. Illustrating the systematicity of metaphorical concepts, Lakoff and Johnson (1980 p.8) illuminate how the metaphor of "time is money" is reflected in contemporary English in the statements: "You're *wasting* my time." "This gadget will *save* you hours." And "Is that *worth your while*?" Illustrating how contemporary Western culture conceptualizes "time is money" using different measures, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) assert that the specific metaphorical concept characterizes an entire system of metaphorical concepts that are represented by other metaphorical expressions.

While metaphorical concepts can be structured in terms of others, they can also be organized within a system known as orientational metaphors. Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980 p.15). For example, "happy is up; sad is down" is reflected by the statements, "You're in *high* spirits." "I *fell* into a depression." And "Thinking of her gives me a *lift*."

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) contend that most fundamental concepts are organized in terms of spatial metaphors, grounded in physical and cultural experience. Subsequently, physical and cultural experiences provide many possible options for spatial

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metaphors. As the physical and cultural bases of a given metaphor are difficult to distinguish, which metaphors are chosen are often subject to cultural variation.

Within the context of branding of real estate development, metaphors of spatialization are particularly applicable, particularly because of the physical nature of the product branded and marketed: real estate development. As humans are physical beings, bounded and distinguished from the rest of the world by their skin, individuals can be conceived as containers. As each person has a bounding surface and in-out orientation, the same orientation is projected onto other physical objects and environments that are bounded. While a clearing in a forest is seen as possessing a bounding surface, someone is said to be *in* the woods, or *out* of the woods. Reflective of the basic human instinct of territoriality, container metaphors typically involve placing a boundary around an area, which can then be quantified. As the state of Montana is a bounded area, the concept of the container is what allows one to say "There is a lot of land in Montana." Similarly, one's field of vision can also be perceived as a container, conceptualizing what is seen as being inside. Thus, "The skyline is *coming into* view" and "I can't see the mountain because the neighbor's tree is *in* the way." seem like natural statements. Such spatial metaphors that involve views, boundaries, in, and out will likely be illustrated in development promotional literature.

Verbal vs. Visual Metaphors

McQuarrie and Phillips (2005 p.23) found "the use of metaphorical claims in ads appears to make consumers receptive to multiple, distinct, positive inferences about the

advertised brand (i.e., weak implicatures), while still conveying the main message of the ad (i.e., the strong implicature)." Metaphors presented through images have the capability of eliciting multiple inferences spontaneously, while McQuarrie and Phillips (2005) found that inferences from other forms of metaphor, such as those expressed verbally or through verbally-anchored images, were only generated by viewers after being prompted to reflection. Alleging that verbal rhetorical figures may not be as effective as visual figures, McQuarrie and Phillips (2005) propose the possibility that other rhetorical figures, such as pun, can also be used to generate weak implicatures inherent in images.

A recent controversial advertising campaign by condom manufacturer, Trojan, employs visual metaphors to appeal to potential consumers. The advertisements, produced in both television and print form, show a bar filled with pigs sipping drinks, texting, and talking among themselves and to several attractive but irritated, annoyed, and turned off women. The only man portrayed in the ad is shown standing with an attractive woman, both smiling with the appearance that they are getting ready to leave the bar. The ads aimed at men have the word, "evolve," followed by the statement, "Be a man. Use a condom every time" in small letters at the bottom of the page. The counterpart directed toward women feature the same small letters, this time saying "choose the one who uses a condom every time." The Trojan ads visually draw the metaphor between men who do not use condoms and pigs.

Figure 2.12: The Trojan advertisement is a strong example of visual metaphor (Source: PR Newswire, http://www.prnewswire.com/mnr/trojan/28672/).

In discussing their findings on the use of metaphorical images to make indirect claims in advertising, McQuarrie and Phillips (2005) warn that it can be an effective tool used to mislead consumers. In contrast to arguments that often result in counterarguments, and declarations that invite skepticism, people who may not be accustomed to arguing with images may be inspired to believe indirect claims. Because pictures can be compellingly persuasive, "this potency could readily be turned to

deceptive purposes," particularly by "advertisers who wish consumers to draw certain conclusions, but who dare not make such claims flat out" (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005 p.26). Because metaphors presented via images can cause consumers to spontaneously make multiple positive inferences about a particular brand or product, including "misleading claims that could not legally be stated outright in the absence of substantiation," their use should be considered when interpreting promotional literature offered by real estate development companies.

Representation through Symbols

However, certain visual properties are causal in their ability to affect viewers in predictable ways. For example, certain colors can express certain emotions depending on their warmth or coolness, images of young animals are used to evoke warm feelings, images of adults in different attire evoke responses that are related to standard stereotypes, and use of expansive landscape images have been used to provoke feelings of escape from viewers. However, Blair (1996 p.26) claims "the effectiveness of visual communication does not reduce it to verbal communication." Blair (1996 p.27) also addresses the misconception that arguments and statements are fundamentally the same. He writes, "Many works of art that convey a message, that communicate points of view, emotions or attitudes, do not provide or constitute arguments." While he concedes that art can and does sometimes contain arguments, they should not be conflated with visual assertions.

Interpretation: Nature vs. Nurture

Biological Influence on Image Processing

As a precursor for cultural meanings associated with certain colors, biological factors influencing the processing of images must be identified. According to Barry (1997), color perception is core to our entire being. While color is a construction of the visual cortex, the process begins when distinct wavelengths of radiant energy are absorbed by chemicals in the retina's visual receptors. Human adults with normal color visual can distinguish between 120 to 150 colors across the visible spectrum. This number jumps into the millions when differences of saturation and brilliance are included.

Figure 2.13: The color wheel, depicted on a Prismacolor pencil box
(Source: http://store.vesterheim.org/index.php?cPath=179).

Although some scholars have believed colors are separated only based on learning language, research has shown that preverbal infants discriminate among colors before learning language, remember some colors better than others, and utilize color to identify and remember objects (Barry, 1997). Of particular importance related to gestalt grouping, young children tend to group objects first, by color. Color preferences tend to change predictably over the course of human development, in addition to differences in color preferences by gender. Emotional qualities associated with color, derived partly from personal associations and partly from biological and primitive experiences, have been documented. Though temperature dimensions of color may be thought of as purely cultural, research has shown the distinctions between warm and cool hues have both physiological as well as psychological underpinnings (Barry, 1997). Red, orange, and yellow as all perceived as warm; green, blue, and violet are thought of as cool. Experiments measuring body temperatures have shown people not only feel, but are also physically warmer in red rooms than blue rooms. "Baker-Miller Pink," closely related to Pepto-Bismol, has been used in prisons due to its effect on lowering heart rate, pulse, and respiration, and subsequent reductions in anxiety and violent outbursts. Blue also has a calming effect. In addition to its use in prisoners' day rooms, tall bridges have also been painted blue, to deter suicides (Barry, 1997). In classroom environments, red is generally avoided due to its negative effects on concentration and aggressive behavior.

Cultural meanings associated with color have built upon biological distinctions. Related to dominant cultural and religious beliefs, different colors are commonly laden with associations, meanings, and symbolism. In the sixth century, the color blue replaced

gold as the color of heaven. Yellow has often represented jealousy, cowardice, and betrayal. For example, paintings by Giotto in the 14th century and Van Dyck in the 17th century show Judas clothed in a yellow cloak, representative of his betrayal of Christ. In some instances, the physiological foundations of different colors are usurped by cultural meanings. Because yellow is the color that the human eye registers most quickly, research has shown that red fire engines, which are much more difficult to see at dusk, are twice as likely to be involved in intersection accidents than yellow engines. Consequently, many red fire engines were replaced with yellow ones. However, due to citizen outrage over the new color, the practicality in reducing the number of accidents has been usurped by cultural preference for red engines (Barry, 1997). Therefore, while colors and their use in images has a foundation in human biological development, cultural associations, meanings, and symbolism also play an irrefutable role in the interpretation of color and image.

Role of Interpreter's Lens in Interpreting Images

Clearly, the meaning of a visual claim or argument is dependent on the relationships between a particular image and text and who is interpreting them. To establish a theory of visual argumentation, Birdsell and Groarke (1996) assert that recognizing visual meaning is not necessarily arbitrary. Secondly, the role of context should be recognized. Context can include a broad range of cultural assumptions, time-sensitive information, situational cues, or knowledge. As words are interpreted within the context of companion phrases, sentences, and paragraphs in order to ascertain

meanings, visual images must not be interpreted in perfect isolation. A recent controversial advertisement by Absolut Vodka featured a map of North America, but with the boundaries of Mexico drawn to show the country possessing what is currently much of the western United States. Other than map labels, written in Spanish, the only caption reads, "IN AN ABSOLUT WORLD" across the center of the image.

Figure 2.14: Absolut vodka advertisement
(Source: Absolut Mexico, http://www.absolute-mexico.com/absolute-vodka-ad/absolute-vodka-ad-restores-mexicos-historical-borders/).

The advertisement, created for Hispanic markets, only makes sense within the context of current resentments concerning the current Mexico-U.S.A. border. Similarly, the controversy which caused the advertisement to be canceled only makes sense within current political conflicts related to illegal immigration and immigration reform.

According to Birdsell and Groarke (1996), evaluation of visual arguments requires consideration for three different types of context: immediate visual context, immediate verbal context, and visual culture.

Importance of Image Context

Both Barry (1997) and Birdsell and Groarke (1996) explain the concept of immediate visual context by discussing film. A given frame of film is best discerned within the progression of images of which it is a part, and the sequence in which the frames are shown. As video moves at 30 frames per second, consideration of the sequence, in addition to elements of the ambient visual environment, allows a single frame to be evaluated as a part of a larger argument (Barry, 1997).

The 1991 film, *Thelma and Louise*, draws a sharp contrast between the expansive open space of the American West and the confinement the two women experience due to limiting gender roles (Barry, 1997). The 1991 film, *Grand Canyon* uses the physical place to illustrate the possibility of transcending embittered and racist forces. Just as these films use the physical landscape as context in which to set the cultural interactions and meanings of their characters, the landscape provides context for the human interactions of consumers of green branded development in rural mountain communities. As "words can establish a context of meaning into which images can enter with a high degree of specificity while achieving a meaning different from the words alone" (Birdsell and Groarke, 1996 p.6), the cultural symbolism of the landscape in which social interactions occur is not without significance. For example, references to the height of

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the mountains, ascending a windy, twisted road to one's house, and the expansive view from the top may be referencing both the upwardly mobile economic condition of those targeted consumers, as well as the satisfaction of having arrived.

Holistic Approach to Interpretation

While others routinely dissect visual and textual media apart from each other, Blakesley and Brooke (2001) emphasize the need to interpret textual and visual media as a whole. They agree with an article by Mitchell (1994), in which he criticized the notion of visual literacy as too simplistic in its understanding of text interpretation as simply a process of encoding and decoding words, interpreted regardless of context, and without problem (Blakesley and Brooke (2001). According to Blakesley and Brooke (2001), the isolation of textuality and indiscriminate application of its model of interpretation to other media has created a problem of validity. Wysocki (1998) discusses this problem within the context of web page design. Acknowledging that page design is socially and historically bound, she advocates the need to question the effects of frequently encountered design structures.

Because most media are mixed in the sense of containing both textual and visual elements, text and imagery should be interpreted together before they are dissected apart from their contexts as isolated phenomena (Mitchell, 1994). Brooke and Blakely (2001 p.2) propose the possible need to develop a new model "in which words and images are inseparably bound in an act of symbolic interpretation and action." One of the most common examples in which words and images are inseparably bound through symbolic

interpretation and action is in the way goods, services, and objects are branded to reflect the desired and idealized image of consumers.

Branded People Living in a Branded World

Branding Defined

The American Marketing Association (2005) defines a brand as a "name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that identifies one seller's good or service as distinct from those of other sellers." Seetharaman et al. (2001 p.244) offers a working definition of the term, branding, as "the creation and maintenance of brands." One reason goods and services often are marketed through branding, rather than through technical descriptions and arguments, is that the average attention span of most consumers has become shorter (Nandan, 2005).

While it may be alleged that the growing number of definitions are derived from academics' desire to add their own spin to the literature, Kerr (2005) insists the expanding range of definitions reflects the expanding application of branding itself. While branding has been applied to products, services, organizations, and destinations, it has more recently been applied to locations (Kerr, 2005) and specific developments within these locations.

Other Interpretations of Branding

Other interpretations of the concept of branding emphasize the role of storytelling in advertising and consumer culture. According to Twitchell (2004 p.4), branding "is the

application of a story to a product or service" and "is utilized whenever there is a surplus of interchangeable goods."   Although the term 'brand' was originally applied to the specific name of whatever was identified, such as in cattle branding and corporate identification, it is now understood to "encapsulate the reasons and emotions that cause us to buy one thing rather than something else," adding an emotional pull to rational choices (Schmidt and Ludlow, 2002 p.1). Twitchell (2004 p.4) also argues that "in the modern world, almost all consumer goods are marketed via stories" and "often the only thing that separates this ratty rug from that priceless tapestry is a story."

Branding rose in prominence after World War II as surpluses piled up. "Plenitude leads willy-nilly to consumerism" (Twitchell, 2004 p.6). The possibility of escaping the branded nature of society is nearly impossible, as branding has permeated nearly all aspects of American culture, particularly real estate development (Twitchell, 2004) (Kozinets, 2002).

Branding as Identification

Several generations ago, people possessed their identity by bloodline, ancestry, religious affiliation, marriage, profession, club, or accent. However, "today we know where we are by what saga we are consuming" (Twitchell, 2004b p.489). Consumption of a common saga often unites people. As emotional triggers and social markers, "brand fictions have been able to generate a deep and almost instantaneous bond between consumers" (Twitchell, 2004b p.490).   This phenomenon is especially evident from examples ranging from alumni of schools seeming to bond even though they did not

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graduate in the same class, dog owners who will cross the street to converse with someone who has the same breed, and drivers of the same make of automobiles waving to each other as they pass. In this fashion, people move through choices of automobiles, clothing, accessories, vacation locations, and ultimately place of residence.

Foundations of Identification

Views of branding as identification directly link to the central place of Kenneth Burke's rhetoric of identification in contemporary rhetorical theory and criticism (Cheney, 1983). Burke's view that participation in a collective, social role is obtained through explicit strategies by which those who produce messages link their interests to those of audience members (Burke, 1937) has influenced communication strategies employed by organizations when attempting to foster a strong sense of identification among their members (Cheney, 1983). While Cheney (1983) discusses identification primarily within the context of corporations, his discussion has relevance for how individuals identify with other corporate units such as churches, lodges, political parties, teams, colleges, city, political and social movements, as well as green branded private communities.

According to Cheney (1983), identifications not only serve to enhance the strength of the organization, but also serve to enhance the individual's sense of self, status, and sometimes even prestige. One "identifies himself with some corporate unit (church, guild, company, lodge, party, team, college, city, nation, etc.)—and by profuse praise of this unit he praises himself. For he 'owns shares' in the corporate unit—and by

'rigging the market' for the value of the stock as a whole, he runs up the value of his personal holdings" (Burke, 1974 p.27). With an emphasis on the individual act of identifying, Burke's theory of identification is primarily receiver oriented. Olson (1980) asserts that cases of identification lie on a continuum of associational and dissociational symbolic processes. A pure form at either extreme is never found, as the implied congregation and segregation is always implicit in identification of "we" and "they." While Burke (1962 p.547) contends that the urge to identify stems from a human ability to respond to symbols and from an intrinsic biological need for humans to overcome divisions, identification also is somewhat contradictory in nature. "One need not scrutinize the concept of identification very sharply to see, implied in it in every turn, its ironic counterpart: division." Building upon the foundations of Burke (1972) and Olson (1980), Cheney (1983) offers three interpretations of the concept of identification. They are the common ground technique, identification through antithesis, and the assumed or transcendent "we."

The first kind of identification relies on the rhetors equating or linking themselves with their audience in an overt manner. Examples include politicians who, though successful, tell humble constituents of their own humble origins, or reassure others that they share their values. Creators of developments often employ this technique, both by asserting their shared values with prospective buyers, as well as paralleling their corporate success story with the personal success stories of their consumers. Identification through antithesis involves uniting against a common enemy by allies who would otherwise fight between themselves. Particularly effective in deflecting criticism,

this strategy is employed in the development of green branded communities, when developers partner with conservation organizations to bolster their claims of sustainable development. Preliminary review of promotional materials reveals that the enemy may be common tract housing, and the "green" development somehow preserves what is currently undeveloped and wild land. However, according to Burke (1972), the most powerful identification strategy stems from situations in which it is not explicit, but goes unnoticed. Examples of the assumed or transcendent "we" are found in the statements, "we are at war," "we are building communities that are green," and so forth. Just as the transcendent "we" implies a relationship between the two linked together in common values, brands also often represent relationships.

Brands as Relationships

Schultz & Schultz (2004, p.64) claim that "simply put: brands are relationships." They are what define the relationship between the buyer and the seller as "the supplier provides something that customers like and that gives them some value beyond simply another chocolate cookie with a white icing center." Customers select the brands with which they want to be associated. Because of the unique values of different people, marketers "must be clear about for whom a brand is intended and why they might like it" (Schultz & Schultz, 2004 p.64). Twitchell (2004b) builds on this concept by writing that the success of branding is maintained by humanizing the material world in a way similar to how the Impressionists humanized the natural world, allowing consumers to select the brand identity with which they would like to be associated, with the hopes of building a

relationship with the object. Twitchell (2004b p.488) contends that although humans desperately crave meaning, "things cannot supply it, and so we install it" to them in the form of a story. While branding is idealistic, is a means of living an individualized fantasy of the American dream. As "humans yearn to become sociable, to tell stories, and share feelings, brands facilitate this process" (Twitchell, 2004 p.21). Consequently, consumers often feel strong bonds to others who are consuming the same story via a particular tangible object. As a result, objects are branded, brand stories in a sense becoming modern sagas.

In contrast to calling on people to change behavior, branding enables consumers to choose their desired lifestyle, fulfill it with an attractive story, without challenging existing values or behavior. Western consumer-driven culture, dominated by buying and selling, embodies the notion of storytelling as individuals consume the sagas they feel best personify their values. Of the values that individuals increasingly strive to project through the stories and ultimately products they consume, environmental values have risen in prominence. Environmental values commonly manifest themselves in "being green," "environmentally friendly," "eco-friendly," "sustainable," and "in harmony with nature."

Anatomy of a Story

Twitchell (2004b) contends one of the traits of a good story is that it can be easily concentrated into only one or two sentences. As lousy stories are unfocused, rambling, and incoherent, powerful stories often possess kernels that are easily expressed. The

ability to express stories succinctly is called a holophrasm (Twitchell, 2004b). Just as

works of art can be holophrastic, successful brands also borrow from this concept.

According to Twitchell (2004b), brands gather power from concentrating ownership by

utilizing a story, often occurring in the absence of words, instead using only visual

communication. Other times, the kernel of the story may be contained in a song or jingle.

Colors, as seen in the branding of Coca-Cola red, Marlboro red, Pepsi blue, Tiffany blue,

Caterpillar yellow, Sunoco yellow, and Hertz yellow, Heineken green, and John Deere

green are all readily recognizable and distinguished from each other. Twitchell (2004b

p.487) asserts that "the reason why we have been so slow to appreciate a culture based on

commercial storytelling is obvious. It happened so quickly!"

Theming vs. Branding

In various works, branding and theming are often used interchangeably. Thus,

in this exploration, they are considered synonymous. According to Gottdiener (2001),

themed environments are the product of two social processes. They are first of all

"socially constructed" built environments designed to facilitate human interaction.

Secondly, themed environments are products of a cultural process aimed at conveying

symbolic meaning through the use of motifs. The motifs take on a variety of meanings,

due to the diversity of those who experience the environment. The meanings they convey

may provoke a range of responses, from no response (failure of the symbolic content to

inspire) to positive and negative responses (Gottdiener, 2001).

Production and Consumption

The concepts of production and consumption are also integral to understanding the notion of branded environments. Production involves "a social process of creation that often involves a group of individuals brought together within an organized, institutional context, such as real estate development" (Gottdiener, 2001 p.5). "Consumption involves the way individuals or groups use or interpret the constructed space by imputing some meaning or meanings to it" (Gottdiener, 2001 p.5). Users of the space include customers, visitors, inhabitants, and clients. In slight variation, Kozinets (2002, p.23) very broadly defines "consumers" as "human beings", and "consumption" as "the many human acts that people perform as they interact with the material world around them."

Attacks on Branding

While branding and advertising are highly visible in contemporary American society, many are uncomfortable with the degree of its prevalence, as well as the messages and identifications made through branding. Some of the exceptions to the dominant trend of branding in American culture include intentional communities, centered around anti-consumerism, as well as "subvertising." Beginning in the late 1960s, a proliferation of social movements had launched opposition to the dominant consumer culture. However, as resistance has escalated, advertisers have adapted to the vocabulary and styles of the New Left. Reflecting the focus on feminism, counterculture, agrarianism, and drug

vision, advertisements have diluted the spirit of these movements in hopes of gaining new markets of consumers (Ewen, 1976).

One of the most well-known themed environments that shun the use of commercial branding is that of the Black Rock Desert in Nevada, home of "Burning Man" (Kozinets, 2002). Burning Man's participants materially construct a temporary community in which "The Man" is the physical and psychological center, "a gigantic piece of art shaped as a man" (Kozinets, 2002 p.20).

On the $110 ticket for the event, is written,

"You voluntarily assume the risk of serious injury or death by attending this event. You must bring enough food, water, shelter and first aid to survive one week in a harsh desert environment. Commercial vending, firearms, fireworks, rockets and all other explosives prohibited.... This is not a consumer event. Leave nothing behind when you leave the site. Participants only. No spectators." (Kozinets, 2002 p.20).

In the center of the giant campsite is "the Man, a 45-foot-tall effigy built of neon and wood" (Kozinets, 2002 p.20). "The burning of the Man is the central and uniting metaphor of the festival, one based on purification through fire. Participants are encouraged to consider an act of transference onto the Burning Man by concentrating, while the effigy is burning, on what they would like to eliminate in their lives, what they came to burn" (Kozinets, 2002 p.20). Lasting one week, the festival reaches its climax when the Man is set ablaze on Saturday night, loaded with pyrotechnics. Thousands of people drum and dance around its burning form, celebrating wildly, often until dawn (Kozinets, 2002).

The event began in 1985, when Jerry James and Larry Harvey, took a small group of bohemian friends to San Francisco's Baker Beach to burn an eight foot tall figure of a

man they had made out of wood (Kozinets, 2002). People on the beach began to perform spontaneously, playing guitar, singing and dancing. After several years of holding the event in the original location, it eventually was moved to the Black Rock Desert in Nevada, where there was adequate space. By 2000, the event attracted 26,000 people, up from between 60 and 80 in 1990 (Kozinets, 2002). Burning Man 1999's attendees were, on average, 30.5 years old. Sixty-four percent were male, 61 percent lived in the state of California, and 37 percent lived in the Bay Area (Kozinets, 2002 p.21).

Figure 2.15: Burning Man (Source: http://www.spaceelevatorblog.com/?cat=8).

Participants exhibit a strong sense of identity as Burning Man participants (often representing themselves as "Burners" and referring often to their "community"), sharing traditions such as self-expressive participation, rituals such as burning the Man, and creating a strong civic engagement in their temporary city of tents and recreational vehicles, Burning Man easily qualifies as a community (Kozinets, 2002 p.21).

As of 2000, one of the most mentioned rules is "the No Vending rule, which forbids any type of selling by participants at the event. In the opening edition of the Black Rock City Gazette for Burning Man 1999, the rules against vending were extended to include suggestions to 'mask, hide or disguise the eye-sore logos that get in our faces constantly and without our consent when we are in the normal world' Kozinets, 2002 p.26). Injunctions against commerce and displaying brand names are ubiquitous at Burning Man, posted on public signs, exposed in documents, and mentioned frequently Kozinets, 2002). People shun branding, to the point that they adopt pseudonyms for themselves, rather than using their given names (Kozinets, 2002). In addition, those who attended the event as spectators were judged as inauthentic.

"The peer pressure to remind and shame people into participating in a way that would be recognized by others as acceptable--this was mainly limited to dressing in a wild costume, going naked, wearing body paint, riding a strange vehicle, or working on or displaying art--was at a near fever pitch throughout the entire event"(Kozinets, 2002. p.27). "Like the restaurant that labels its soup homemade, Burning Man's not-for-profit and anti-commercial elements become signals of authenticity and messages about the value of participation, a communal ethos, self-expression, and self-reliance. These

messages are a type of ideological service that Burning Man provides to its participants" (Kozinets, 2002 p.29). While the event is viewed by its participants as an alternative to consuming through a branded lifestyle, a valid question persists whether this negative response to branding is simply another type of branding itself.

While the industrial revolution is often blamed for mass production and consumption, Twitchell (1996 p11) asserts that "human beings did not suddenly become materialistic." Instead, he argues humans have always been desirous of things, alleging "our love of things is the cause of the industrial revolution, not the consequence." He further contends that it is not materialism that results in advertising, but a lack thereof, claiming that if humans wanted material objects alone, there would be no need to load them with meaning through advertising and branding. Claiming the force of advertising culture is in individuals' shared myths, concepts of self, stories, and mirrors, Twitchell reiterates his view of advertising as "not a one-sided process" but a system in which it is difficult to tell the advertiser from the audience.

"Subvertising"

While advertisements deemed offensive have commonly elicited complaints, boycotts, and sometimes even vandalism, a new offense has gained in popularity. "Culture jamming," also known as "subvertising" attempts to subvert the influence of advertising by commandeering the advertisements themselves. A Canadian group, Adbusters, is simply one organization that has engaged in increasingly popular culture jamming. While advertisements, because they are intended to be consumed in the public

domain, are not accorded the same copyright protections assigned to works of art, Adbusters and other culture jamming groups are in regular contact with the parodied agencies (Twitchell, 1996).

Figure 2.16: A subvertisement parodying Tommy Hilfiger (Source: Adbusters).

Typically, the subvertisements feature commentaries on advertisements viewed by critics as attempting to sell harmful products such as tobacco and alcohol, or deemed to contain inaccurate messages. However, subvertisements poking fun at the perceived hagiography of "green" brands have also been created, as illustrated in the subvertisement featuring a Toyota Prius parked next to a lake, its headlights shining into the darkness. A man, dressed in a suit, drags a body from the rear of the car toward the lake. The caption reads, "Well, at least he drives a Prius."

Figure 2.17: A subvertisement mocking the perceived hagiography of hybrid automobile owners (Source: http://www.trendhunter.com/trends/toyota-prius-campaign).

Attacks on Branded Environments

Just as advertising has been vehemently criticized by many, branded environments are similarly attacked. Terminology used by many writers implies that themed transformations of the built environment are fabrications, divorced from actual culture (Schnell, 2003). Although the author was originally referring to theming of tourist destinations, the same criticisms have been leveled against themed residential development. "The tendency to brand modern (or postmodern) landscapes with the dreaded D-word (Disneyfication) is widespread and longstanding" (Schnell, 2003 p.44). Such scholars argue that authenticity "stems from long-term, unselfconscious development", thus deliberately branded developments do not qualify (Schnell, 2003

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p.44). Similarly, any large-scale real estate development would be disqualified from being considered authentic due to its purposeful beginning. Consequently, the notion that a sense of place cannot exist without a longstanding use through history is common. Although place attachment is heightened when there is a continuity associated with a rich past, Schnell (2003 p.44) raises a valid question, "What commercial or civic center was not, at its inception, an extraordinarily self-conscious creation?" Every commercial building found in downtowns lauded for their authenticity, were designed with the same purpose as contemporary themed buildings— to appeal to the spending public (Schnell, 2003). Additionally, numerous 18th and 19th century planned towns and neighborhoods, now hailed for their timeless charm, were initially criticized as contrived (Jackson, 1985). As a result, some scholars are beginning to question the usefulness of the terms authentic and inauthentic as analytical categories, particularly when they are not strictly defined. Directly related to consumers' attachment to places, widespread branding and consumption are the ideals that have historically shaped North American development patterns for centuries.

Three Kinds of Consumer Needs

Park et al. (1986) identify three types of consumer needs related to branding and its visual representation. They are: functional, symbolic, and experiential. Functional concepts are typically designed to address externally generated consumer needs that are largely utilitarian. As simple utility is most important, the visual characteristics are least important, unless they contribute in some manner to function. In contrast, brands with a

symbolic concept are designed to associate the consumer with a desired self-image, role, or group. They visually facilitate communication of symbolic meaning to the consumer and others. With the aim of enhancing one's self-concept through the consumption of goods and symbols, the purpose of symbolism is for the consumers to express themselves through consumption. Brands with experiential concepts are designed to address internal needs for stimulation, fun, or variety. Aimed at satisfying the consumer's desire for personal enjoyment, experiential brands may simultaneously exhibit symbolic qualities. For example, Timex employs a largely functional brand concept for their watches, emphasizing such utilitarian needs such as durability, reliability, and accuracy. However, Rolex employs a symbolic brand concept and their watches are chosen for reasons beyond function. Motivations may include status seeking and ego gratification (Nandan, 2005).

Brand Identity vs. Brand Image

While the terms brand identity and brand image are often used interchangeably in the literature, Nandan (2005) clarifies some distinctions between the two. According to Nandan (2005), brand identity originates from the company and reflects how the organization seeks to identify itself. Using a branding strategy, organizations use brand identity to communicate their identity, individuality, distinctiveness, and value to consumers and other stakeholders.

In contrast, brand image refers to the consumer's perception of the brand (Nandan, 2005). Characterized by the set of beliefs consumers hold about a particular

brand, brand image transcends the technical aspects of what consumers are purchasing. The seminal article by Gardner and Levy (1955) proposes that the overall character or personality of a brand may be more important to the consumer than the technical aspects of the product. Calling for "a greater awareness of the social and psychological nature" of consumption, Gardner and Levey (1955 p.34) illustrate that the role of social motivations in purchases is no new concept. It may be alleged that for many consumers of green products, the image of greenness may in fact be more important than greenness itself. Implicit in all understandings of the brand image, is that it is a consumer-constructed notion of the brand (Nandan, 2005). According to Nandan (2005), consumer loyalty toward a particular brand can be enhanced by reducing dissonance and strengthening the link between brand identity and brand image.

According to Nandan (2005), brands can also provide resistance to competitive attacks, either from competitors or detractors. In the context of real estate development, a strong brand can allay attacks not only from competing developments, but also from environmentalists who may be opposed to the project.

Hermeneutics of Branding

According to Hatch and Rubin (2006), understanding the roles of past and present brand meanings plays a pivotal role in developing the potential of a brand. In the context of rapidly shifting media and cultural environments, brands present a powerful way to convey meaning to consumers and other stakeholders. Hatch and Rubin (2006 p.42) propose that brands are expressions of the management strategies of corporations and

other organizations, but are also symbolic of popular cultural values. Additionally, they assert that "brands are read and interpreted as texts."

Hatch and Rubin (2006) contend that semiotics and structuralism are often utilized by marketing scholars because of the perception that they directly address brands as symbolic artifacts or cultural codifications of meaning. However, hermeneutics is less overtly addressed in marketing. While some may view the propensity of hermeneutical theory for fixing the meaning of texts and defining large bodies as canonical, interpretive approaches to branding can include hermeneutics, as well as semiotics and ethnography. In advocating for viewing advertising as "literature of consumption," Scott (1994) claims that advertising inherently represents a mixed genre that includes text, images, music, and other elements. Therefore, interpretations of advertising require a gestalt approach, as meaning may especially be contained within certain juxtapositions of these elements (Hatch and Rubin, 2006).

In Brands We Trust

According to Elliot and Yannopoulou (2007), a main ingredient involved in generating a bond between consumer and brand is trust. Luhmann (1979) offers a sociological theory of trust that factors in three facets of expectations of the future, based on personal experiences and cultural meanings. They are: familiarity, confidence, and trust. With history as a reliable background, trust requires cues of familiarity (Elliot and Yannopoulou, 2007). When purchases involve higher levels of perceived risk, as in real estate, a higher level of confidence is required, containing a combination of cognitive and

emotional perceptions, based largely on experience. Consumers tend to form relationships with brands, based not on the perception of the brand as a passive object, but rather on the assumption the brand is a contributing relationship partner in a larger goal (Elliot and Yannopoulou, 2007). Reflecting consumers' idealized view of themselves, consumers may also anthropomorphize inanimate objects, assigning personality qualities to brands as if they were human characters (Levy, 1985). Brand personality can be defined as set of human characteristics that are associated with a brand (Aaker, 1997). Brands that reflect consumers' actual or self-perceived personality characteristics will be given preference over other brands (Malhotra, 1988), because the brand enables the consumer to express numerous possible dimensions of their idealized self. In contrast to functional brands that involve low levels of risk and price, such as desk lamps, trust becomes more significant to consumer behavior when risk and symbolism play a larger role. In addition to reducing consumers' perception of risk, a trusted brand can also reduce post-purchase cognitive dissonance, or buyer's remorse (Nandan, 2005). Examples of symbolic brands that reflect high levels of risk include automobiles and real estate.

Development of Trust

In paralleling the process by which humans come to trust other people, trust in relationships between consumers and brands develops in stages "moving from predictability, to dependability, to trust and eventually sometimes to faith" (Elliot and Yannopoulou, 2007 p.990). Reflecting a hierarchy of emotional involvement, trust

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"requires a move from reliance on rational cognitions to reliance on emotion and sentiment and a developing intimacy, which leads to an investment of emotion" (Elliot and Yannopoulou, 2007 p.991). Likewise, trust in a particular brand requires reliance on emotional pulls rather than rational analysis. Conversely, when consumers become dissatisfied in their interactions with a particular brand in which they have placed trust, they often become uncomfortable, bewildered, angry, and feel betrayed. In this manner, green branding of real estate development is used to secure the trust of consumers and stakeholders who have been "betrayed" by the general brand of real estate development.

Elliot and Yannopoulou (2007) contend it is possible for trust to be transferred to a brand not from consumers' own experience, but rather through recommendations of people who are associated with their close social environment. Likewise, trust in the environmental virtues of a particular brand may be garnered through the use of individuals or organizations perceived to possess environmental credibility. Examples of individuals and organizations that may be used to obtain trust and bolster the green reputation of real estate development may include conservation organizations, leading environmentalists, or politicians.

While symbolic brands have high consumer involvement due to perceptions of risk, functional brands with the highest levels of familiarity and lowest perceived risks do not require large amounts of trust or emotional involvement (Elliot and Yannopoulou, 2007). However, "symbolic brands in markets with high perceived risk need to provide trust which is achieved through developing perceptions of consumer-brand intimacy and emotional investment" (Elliot and Yannopoulou, 2007 p.995-996). As the level of risk

increases, consumer choices become less easily made. Elliot and Yannopoulou (2007) advocate for marketing communications that emphasize reassurance by helping consumers to develop relationships of confidence with a brand. To increase consumers' perceptions of intimacy with a given brand, Escalas (2004) mirrors the assertions of Twitchell (2004) in advocating the use of stories that consumers can use to interpret their own lives.

According to Norman (2004), the emotional aspect of design is often more critical to a product's success than its practical features. He discusses three different considerations in designing and marketing products. Visceral design pertains to the appearance of the product. Increasingly, aesthetics plays a large role in consumer selection of one product over another (Postrel, 2003). Behavioral design concerns itself with the pleasure derived from effectiveness of use. Lastly, reflective design considers the rationalization and intellectual aspects of the product including self image, personal satisfaction, and memories. According to Norman (2004), it is not possible for any product to be created without these distinct dimensions interwoven through its design. Therefore, every product contains visceral, behavioral, and reflective dimensions, particularly as objects cognitively and emotionally symbolize individuals' view of themselves. Consequently, successful designs must not only contain all three dimensions. They must excel at all levels.

Norman (2004) contends that cognitive scientists recognize the role of emotions in enabling cognitive decision-making. He distinguishes between affect and emotion in decision-making. Affect is the general term used to describe the system for making

judgments, whether conscious or subconscious. Emotion is how affect is consciously experienced, complete with attribution of its source and identification of its object. By enabling individuals to make rapid selections between good and bad by reducing the number of objects to be considered, the affective system critically assists decision making. Because cognition interprets and understands the world, emotions allow rapid decisions to be made. Consequently, the fact that people generally react emotionally to a situation prior to making cognitive assessments is attributed to the biological reality of survival preceding understanding (Norman, 2004).

To effectively appeal to the emotions of consumers, producers must be cognizant of the product's intended audience. With the broad range of individual, cultural, and physical differences among consumers, it is impossible for a single product to satisfy everyone. Norman (2004) claims the only means of satisfying a wide variety of needs and preferences is to offer a wide variety of options from which to choose. In the context of real estate development, particularly the niche of green branded development, this may be shown in appealing to a range of incomes, lifestyles, and motivations for purchasing a home that is "green." Norman (2004) also distinguishes between needs and wants in designing products. While needs are determined by tasks, wants are heavily affected by culture, advertising, self image, and the way one views themself. Similarly, Ewen (1976) cites the creation of the "fancied need" as crucial to the modern advertiser. While product designers and marketing executives know that the success of a product is more heavily dependent on wants than needs, producers of real estate development are

similarly familiar with the power of consumer desire in the success or failure of their projects.

In Search of Pleasure

Similarly to the discussions of Elliot and Yannopoulou (2007) and Park (1986), Jordan (2000) identifies three levels of consumer needs that parallel Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Ranked from lowest to highest, they are: functionality, usability, and pleasure. Of particular importance, the increasing role of pleasure in conceiving, creating, and designing products stems from a framework of four different types of pleasure. They are: physio-pleasure, socio-pleasure, psycho-pleasure, and ideo-pleasure.

Physio-pleasure pertains to the body, and is derived from the sensory organs. Including touch, taste, smell, and sexual pleasure, physio-pleasure manifests itself in the context of products including tactile and olfactory properties. Pleasures from such products may include the feel of a familiar phone, or the smell of a new automobile.

Socio-pleasure is the enjoyment derived from relationships with other people, including friends, family, colleagues, like-minded people, and society as a whole (Jordan, 2000). Because socio-pleasure involves interactions among different people, issues such as status and image play important roles in determining products' roles in fostering social interaction. A coffee maker that acts as the focal point of a social gathering, a particularly beautiful piece of jewelry that reliably attracts compliments, and a shiny automobile that provokes affirming looks all facilitate socio-pleasure. Other products can foster social interaction by indicating that one belongs to a particular group.

Stereotypically, Toyota Priuses and Subaru Outbacks indicate environmentalists, Chevrolet Tahoes and Silverados indicate fraternity boys, and Volkswagen Jettas and Apple computers indicate those who perceive themselves as hip, socially conscious individuals who don't buy into the consumer culture. In these cases, the individual's relationship with the product factors into their social identity.

Psycho-pleasure relates to the cognitive and emotional reactions of individuals. The emotional satisfaction derived from using the product often relates to issues that may arise from the cognitive and emotional demands of the task. For example, the ease with which one computer program can format and produce complicated documents may elicit a greater sense of satisfaction and relief from its user than would a more cumbersome and error-prone program (Jordan, 2000).

Lastly, ideo-pleasure pertains to individuals' values. For example, an automobile that has components that are more easily reclaimed and recycled may embody the value of environmental responsibility. The automobile would then be a potential source of pleasure for one who is environmentally conscious. Likewise, ideo-pleasure is derived from objects that are deemed aesthetically pleasing. The visual pleasure derived from an attractive lamp, rug, or stereo are all examples of aesthetically derived ideo-pleasure.

Within the context of green branded real estate development, ideo-pleasure and socio-pleasure are anticipated to be prominently showcased in the advertising, promotional materials, and built environment. While the physio-pleasures of hearing birds chirping, breathing clean air, and enjoying a quiet walk on a nature trail may also be present in the promotion of green branded developments, the social interactions,

consistency with environmental values, and sense of belonging to a group will likely be stronger in their representations. How these values are represented will be influenced by how the message is framed.

Figure 2.18: Positive message framing; Figure 2.19: Negative message framing
(Sources: WhatWouldJesusDrive.org, Jnf.org, respectively).

Message Framing

 "Message framing, widely used for brand communication, is meant to manipulate the advertising message into positive or negative frames in the hope that the audiences respond more favorably at these dimensions" (Tsai, 2007 p.365). While some brand communicators present their advertising message positively to improve persuasiveness,

others contend that negatively framed messages elicit more cognitive elaboration, and thus are more effective at leading consumers to deeply process the message (Tsai, 2007). In spite of differences of opinion, others insist that the impact of positive versus negative framing is minimal (Menon, et. al, 2002). However, much of the effectiveness of positive vs. negative framing is dependent on what message is communicated, to whom, and under what circumstances (Shiv, et. al, 2004). As message framing is only an executing technique, without accompanying a substantive message, it has little power to persuade. Three consumer characteristics that moderate consumer responses to message framing are self-construal, consumer involvement, and product knowledge.

Self-construal

According to social psychologists, two types of self construal factor into consumer receptiveness to messages, independent and interdependent. Independent self-construal distinguishes the self from others, viewing the self by attributes and characteristics that are uniquely personal to the individual. In contrast, interdependent self-construal emphasizes assimilation within social contexts, defining the self by characteristics and attributes that are not personally unique. Instead, the self is discouraged from separating and distinguishing from others (Tsai, 2007). The two types of self-construal are found to be influential in affecting consumer behavior, particularly in terms of choosing products in light of brand communication.

According to Tsai (2007), independent self-construal favors positive message framing, in large part because it encourages individuals to choose a strategy that results in

positive consequences of actions. Tsai (2007) contends that a behavioral propensity toward prevention encourages individuals who are independent self-construal to reject strategies that avoid negative consequences of actions, which are typically representative of negatively framed messages. Thus, while consumers with independent self-construal can be more receptive to messages that are positively framed to seek positive purchase consequences, those who are interdependent self-construal can be expected to be more receptive to messages that are more negatively framed (Tsai, 2007).

Consumer Involvement

The personal relevance and risk consumers perceive toward product categories is known as consumer involvement (Tsai, 2007). Consumers are also influenced by psychological schemas, which include specific beliefs, attitudes, lifestyles, and knowledge that are developed and solidified in their valuation system (Tsai, 2007). Individual consumer schemas provide criteria for consumer evaluation of personal relevance for a given product or service. These criteria are then applied to judge potential risks selecting or rejecting these products or services. Martin and Marshall (1999) and Levin and Gaeth (1998) found consumers who were of high involvement, which includes high levels of personal relevance and perceived risk, are more receptive toward negatively framed messages that place emphasis on potential losses if the product is not chosen. However, consumers of low involvement, which includes low personal relevance and perceived risk, were more easily persuaded by positively framed messages that highlighted potential gains (Tsai, 2007).

Product Knowledge

Particularly interesting is research by Chatterjee et. al (2000) and Chebat et. al (1998) that found that "high product knowledge reduces or even cancels the effect of message framing" (Tsai, 2007 p.368). Consumers who are less familiar with a given product category differ from those who have extensive knowledge in terms of decision making and acquisition of knowledge. High product knowledge dilutes the effects of self-construal and consumer involvement on the framing of messages. Thus, message framing is most useful when targeting consumers who have limited familiarity or technical knowledge of what they are purchasing.

In determining whether branding communication should be positively or negatively framed, Tsai (2007) maintains that the true determinants are what messages are being communicated, who the targeted consumers are, and under what conditions. According to Tsai (2007 p.372-373), "the best scenario for positive framing is independent self-construal x low consumer involvement x low product knowledge." However, concerning negative framing, success is most likely in cases of "interdependent-construal x high consumer involvement x low product knowledge."

The Rhetorical Situation

If advertising is viewed as a form of rhetoric involving a message aimed at achieving a particular action, one might ask, what situation invites the discourse into existence? According to Bitzer (1968), a work of rhetoric is pragmatic, coming into existence for the sake of something other than itself, ultimately aiming to produce an

action or change. By facilitating a discourse that is so engaging that the audience

engages change through thought and actions, rhetoric is always persuasive (Bitzer, 1968).

Bitzer (1968 p.6) defines the rhetorical situation as "a complex of persons, events,

objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely

or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human

decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence." Thus,

there must be three constituents of any rhetorical situation. They are: the exigence,

audience, and constraints.

The exigence can be described as an imperfection that is marked by urgency. As

an obstacle, defect, or thing which is other than what it should be, the exigence poses a

problem that cannot be left unaddressed. Bitzer (1968) clarifies that only exigences that

can be altered can be considered rhetorical. Consequently, death, the seasons, and some

natural disasters, while problems, are not rhetorical. Rather, when the exigence is

capable of being positively modified through the aid of discourse, it is rhetorical.

As rhetorical discourse produces change by influencing the attitudes and actions

of people, a rhetorical situation requires an audience. In contrast to scientific and poetic

discourses, which require no audience in the same sense, Bitzer (1968) asserts that a

rhetorical audience can only consist of people who are capable of being influenced by

discourse and exacting change. In some cases, an audience is found when one engages

themselves or their ideal mind as an audience.

Lastly, rhetorical situations include a set of constraints comprised of people,

events, objects, and relationships that have the power to constrain decisions and actions

necessary to modify the exigence. Wide ranging in scope, constraints may include beliefs, attitudes, facts, traditions, documents, images, motives, and interests. Constraints are further complicated when the orator brings their character, style, and arguments.

According to Bitzer (1968), the situation, which dictates and constrains the words used, has five necessary characteristics. First, rhetorical discourse is mandated by a situation. Second, while a rhetorical situation invites a response, not just any response will suffice. Rather, the response must fit the situation. Third, in light of the necessity of a fitting response, the situation prescribes which response will fit most appropriately. Fourth, the exigence, objects, people, and events that generate rhetorical discourse must be grounded in reality. Fifth, rhetorical situations are found on continuums of simplicity to complexity, and greater to lesser organization. Likewise, the situation may be highly or loosely structured. According to Bitzer (1968), every rhetorical situation has a shelf life, developing to a moment in which the fitting response is necessitated. He contends that after this moment, most situations decay. Consequently, the fitting response must be made within the time frame of opportunity. The context in which discourse occurs will impact the message, the appropriate response, and how the message is communicated. How people will respond to a given rhetorical situation often is affected by how the message is framed.

For appropriate framing of brand communication, Tsai (2007) advocates first identifying the primary characteristics, values, and motivations of the targeted consumers. Consumers seeking to impress others with their consumption tend to be more interested in brands that are symbolic. Conversely, those seeking personal satisfaction

instead of impressing others will be more interested in brand that are functional or experiential. Framing of the messages of these different products and services will likely be dependent on their purpose in light of these concepts.

Consumers may, however, evaluate the organization's message through the lens of their own subjectivity, relying on their own interpretations to formulate their own brand image (Nandan, 2005). Due to variation of consumer experience and interpretation, clear brand message conveyance is crucial. While the branding organization encodes and sends a message to the consumer, the message is received and decoded within the consumers' frame of reference.

Characteristics of Green Advertisements

While designers, developers, and manufacturers may not agree on the specifics of greenness, the movement to create green products is revolutionizing industry (Burnett 2002). One result of this revolution is an abundance of work in designing, building, and marketing green products, resulting in job security for those who supply the green story. Marketing professionals have become increasingly interested in not only capturing the growing market share of green consumers, but also growing this very constituency. Just as those in marketing have derived ways to make SUV driving and cigarette smoking sexy, marketing also has the potential to make "green" glamorous, by "giving it a voice and a face, and [convincing] your clients it's not only the right choice, but maybe the only one" (McCall, 2004 p.48). In order to effectively accomplish this goal, McCall (2004) emphasizes the importance of humanizing the benefits of sustainable design.

Figure 2.20: An advertisement for the Chevrolet Tahoe hybrid SUV
(Source: http://www.texasmonthly.com/promotions/mychevy/tahoehybrid/).

Stressing that "save the planet" messaging carries some weight, alone it is inadequate in selling a product. Instead, more traditional reasons for product selection are more effective at convincing consumers to select a given product. Some of these reasons include: safety, effectiveness, price, compliance with codes and standards, longevity, performance characteristics, and satisfaction of all criteria as well as or more effectively than its non-green counterpart. While the monikers "environmentally friendly," "green," and "sustainable" are not necessarily interchangeable with traditional marketing claims, green claims can be effective brand differentiators (McCall, 2004).

Interestingly, contemporary marketing professionals are discouraged from leading with the environmental virtues of a product, in particular so that the priorities of the buyer are not altered. Instead, McCall (2004 p.49) states it is "better to promote the beauty and the functionality of the design first, and attach the environmental good that it does as icing on the cake." Whether the same rings true in the marketing of green development remains to be examined.

As "marketers are targeting the green segment of the population" (Karna et al., 2001 p.59), they strive to inform their customers about their green attributes, using green advertising. While most consumers obtain information about environmental issues from the mass media, marketers face an uphill battle due to the fact that consumers distrust of green marketing is fairly high (Kilbourne 1995). Many consumers doubt the greenness of the companies and products marketed to them. According to Karna et al. (2001), using green advertising to represent processes and products that are not truly green is known as "greenwashing."

Research on environmentally active timber companies in Finland by Karna et al. (2001) found that environmentally active companies were more likely to advertise their greenness than inactive companies. To communicate their environmental commitments, advertisements included green coloring, images of nature, eco-labels, statements of greenness, emphasis of renewable resources, and recyclability. They also found that the more green activity a company engaged in, the more green color they used in advertisements. Roberts (1996) observes that creating green products, as with other socially responsibly-marketed products, often requires changes in advertising strategies,

product design, and packaging in order to make it palatable to the consumer. Among other factors, the study found that the greater the company's environmental activity, the more likely it is to use environmentally emotional, rational, and moral arguments in its advertising (Karna et al., 2001).

Essentially, green branding and marketing is encouraged by a general concern for the environment, fueled by a general tone of fear of what will happen if the consumer fails to be green. In conventional marketing strategies, green marketing is no different in that its advertisements create in the consumer the sense that there is a need that can be satisfied with the purchase of the product.

While some consumers are genuinely informed and concerned with environmental issues, others "eagerly adopt green attitudes and beliefs because it is socially acceptable and chic to be green" (Zinkhan and Carlson, 1995 p.6). While attitudes on environmental issues are not necessarily related to specific environmental behaviors (Shrum et al., 1994), "marketers have attempted to exploit consumers' environmental concern by using environmental claims in their advertising" (Shrum et al., 1995 p.71) often through the use of branding. While monikers "environmentally friendly," green," and "sustainable" are necessarily interchangeable with traditional marketing claims, emphasis is typically placed on humanizing the benefits of sustainable design.

Branding of the Built Environment

Branded Places

As competition increases among places for resources, capital, and skills, locations must now compete globally not only to attract new industries, but also to retain existing ones (Mommas, 2003). Consequently, both geographic winners and losers are created. Application of branding to places in hopes of promoting economic, political, social, and cultural development has resulted in the creation of distinct geographic brand identities (Kerr, 2005).

To clarify the processes that are employed in branding locations, Kerr (2005) offers three concepts he claims are important when applying branding conventions to a location. They are: brand architecture, brand portfolio, and corporate brand. Brand architecture is the manner in which organizations organize, manage, and market their brands. Serving as the external face of the business strategy, the brand architecture must align with and serve the organization's general business goals and objectives. Variations can include a "branded house" which employs a master brand to span an array of offerings, or may allow for the variation of a "house of brands" under the larger organization (Kerr, 2005). The brand portfolio includes the tactics that are used to promote the brand, such as placement, sponsorship, and special events. The concept of the corporate brand emphasizes the distinction between a product brand, and the corporate brand. An example of this concept within the context of real estate development would be the brand identity of a particular real estate developer vs. the brand identity of one of the developers' individual development projects.

Figure 2.21: Advertising for a green branded development (Source: Author).

Green Branding of Development

Hoping to satisfy consumers' longing for more sustainable communities, real estate developers have borrowed their own solution from the advertising and marketing disciplines: branding. Encapsulating the reasons and emotions that cause consumers to select one product over another (Schmidt and Ludlow, 2002), "often the only thing that separates this ratty rug from that priceless tapestry is a story," (Twitchell, 2004 p.4). The question has been raised concerning what features separate "green" development from those that are conventionally designed and constructed, and particularly whether the differences lie primarily in the stories by which they are marketed.

Certification as Brand

Due to the longevity of buildings (often 50-100 years or more), many are concerned that "today's poor designs will persist for generations" (Miara, 2007 p.126). While an increasing number of consumers seek sustainable development, many lack the information, knowledge, and expertise necessary to distinguish projects that are truly sustainable from those that are simply "green-washed." Due to this fact, many consumers have turned to experts. In particular, certification systems have been established by a variety of different organizations, representing an array of interests to put *their* stamp of approval of individual projects. Examples include LEED, which has expanded its brand identity to include a broad range of projects, most recently LEED for Neighborhood Design, as well as Earth-craft, Green Globes, and other independent certifications systems. Many of these certification systems reflect the values and interests of the groups they represent, which can affect which materials, construction practices, and features they prefer as they compete for prominence in a burgeoning field.

In the residential development setting, a challenge not of LEED itself, but of the marketing strategies of developers, is that if a project contains one certified flagship building, such as a clubhouse, they can emphasize this one achievement to the point that unwary consumers may have the impression that the entire development is certified, when only the iconic structure is. Essentially, the developer can extend the brand identity (unofficially and often casually) from a certified structure to other non-certified ones. Thus it is entirely possible for a development that has a few green elements and many environmentally degrading amenities (such as golf courses) to be effectively marketed as

green to those unconcerned with the details. Reinforcing the democratic attitude of informing the discretion of individuals through education, many green developments have taken on an educational component as part of the package of amenities they offer.

Four Categories of Environmentalism

Nadenicek and Hastings (2000) identify four distinct categories of environmentalism in the arena of landscape architecture. They are deep environmentalism, preservation environmentalism, integrative environmentalism, and ecological environmentalism.

Table 2.1: Four categories of environmentalism (source: Nadenicek and Hastings, 2000).

Deep Environmentalism	Preservation Environmentalism	Integrative Environmentalism	Ecological Environmentalism
Healing Holistic Spiritual Earth Native Nature	Preservation/preserve Responsibility Wilderness Wildness Indigenous Pre-existing Native	Sustainable development Equity Garden Cooperative Interdependence Diversity Balance Harmony	Renewable Recycled Long-range Mitigation Endangered species Invasive species Biodiversity Environmental impact Environmentally sensitive Ecosystems Habitat

Deep Environmentalism

Sometimes referred to as "radical environmentalists" or "ecofundamentalists," deep environmentalists hold the belief that nature possesses intrinsic rights, stemming

from a spiritual base. Though a uniform spiritual origin of nature is not uniformly accepted, many deep environmentalists draw spiritual experiences from Eastern religion, New Age persuasions, and pagan Gaia worship. Included in deep environmentalism's proponents are Arne Naess, Aldo Leopold, and Dave Foreman (Nadenicek and Hastings, 2000). According to Nadenicek and Hastings (2000), terms of deep environmental connotation include *healing*, *holistic*, *spiritual*, *earth*, and *native*. An additional term aligning with deep environmentalism identified by Sleipness (2008) is *nature*.

Preservation Environmentalism

According to Nadenicek and Hastings (2000), preservationist environmentalists view nature as vulnerable to negative human intervention. Consequently, pristine nature requires protection and maintenance, while degraded nature is in need of restoration. While some preservation environmentalists derive their drive to protect nature from a deep spiritual connection with the land, not all are necessarily deep environmentalists. In fact, preservation environmentalism is deeply anthropocentric to the effect that they view protection and maintenance of unsullied nature as the responsibility of humankind. With its roots in the closing of the American West in the 1890s, preservation environmentalism is well represented by the Gifford Pinchot-Theodore Roosevelt brand of conservation of natural resources that has left its imprint on the American West. Key words aligning with preservation environmentalism are *responsibility*, *wilderness*, *wildness*, *indigenous*, *pre-existing*, and *native* (Nadenicek and Hastings, 2000). Additional words identified by

Sleipness (2008) that align with this perspective include *preservation*, *stewardship*, *natural*, *organic*, and *pristine*.

Integrative Environmentalism

Most of Western culture understands the human relationship with nature through the prism of a Judeo-Christian worldview, particularly as a post-Fall relationship with the Garden of Eden (Nadenicek and Hastings, 2000). As stewards of a world they did not create, humankind has a two-fold right to use nature for its purposes, but also a responsibility to use nature wisely and protect it. Humans are part of creation, but creation also exists for human use. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) held the view that nature existed for humankind for not only physical nourishment, but was also essential for spiritual development. The application of his advocacy of harmonious integration of human culture with nature was attempted by his friend, Henry David Thoreau's (1817-1862) meditations at Walden Pond. Together, Emerson and Thoreau are viewed as the fathers of integrative environmentalism, a perspective that dominates as the most common view in contemporary environmentalism (Nadenicek and Hastings, 2000). Terminology associated with integrative environmentalism includes *sustainable development*, *equity*, *garden*, *cooperative*, *interdependence*, *diversity*, *balance*, and *harmony* (Nadenicek and Hastings, 2000).

Ecological Environmentalism

Ecological environmentalism is an alternative to the sentimental and moral understandings of nature. Rooted in science, ecological environmentalism understands nature as process, with the reality that humans are both participants and observers in the processes of evolution and change. Viewing individual species as equally important for the protection of whole ecosystems, ecological environmentalists emphasize the necessity of maintaining delicate balances. Ecological Environmentalism is rooted in the work of Aldo Leopold (1887-1948) and Rachel Carson (1907-1964). The modern environmental movement of the 1960s and its resulting policy directives reflect this perspective. Ecological environmental rhetoric includes *renewable*, *recycled*, *long-range*, *mitigation*, *endangered species*, *invasive species*, *biodiversity*, *environmental impact*, *environmentally sensitive*, *ecosystems*, and *habitat* (Nadenicek and Hastings, 2000).

Consumers of Green Development:

Considering that a majority of Americans consider themselves to be environmentalists, "it is therefore not surprising that marketers have attempted to exploit consumers' environmental concern by using environmental claims in their advertising" (Shrum et al., 1995 p71). However important consumers claim environmental concerns to be, importance often fails to translate into a change in behavior (Shrum, et al., 1995). Additionally, earlier literature indicates that general attitudes on environmental issues are not necessarily related to specific environmental behaviors (Shrum et al., 1994). Developers of residential communities, along with many in other sectors of the economy

such as automobile manufacturers, clothing companies, and even oil companies, have chosen to market their products to those seeking to live a green lifestyle, or at least to the consumer's idea of how a green lifestyle should appear.

Even during the middle of the 1990s, researchers recognized that as the number of green consumers increases, organizations would recognize the potential of these consumers to constitute a considerable market segment (Zinkhan and Carlson, 1995). Roberts (1996) cites the role of increased media coverage of environmental disasters in reviving public interest in environmental issues. He predicted: "The spread of cause-related marketing hints that socially conscious consumer behavior may become more popular in the last half of the 1990s" (Roberts, 1996 p.79). The author evidently did not anticipate how popular green branding would become in the early 21st century. According to Kannan (2007 p108), "the environment itself is a difficult sales proposition in the residential market. Without significant attitudinal adjustments, appealing to environmental sensibilities alone will probably not create a critical mass of demand for green homes." While consumers will describe themselves as environmentally concerned in surveys, their behaviors do not always match attitudes, particularly when the behaviors are self reported.

While green marketing was a relatively new phenomenon in the early 1990s, Shrum et al. (1995) found that green consumers have the following characteristics: they consider themselves to be opinion leaders, are interested in new and innovative products, are active in exchanging information on products, and tend to be price sensitive in their shopping habits. More specifically, female consumers of green products tended to be

more skeptical of advertising than women who buy conventionally branded products. In fact, women were strongly agreed they would not purchase a product whose advertising they disliked. However, men's skepticism toward advertising was not related to the products they purchased (Shrum at al. (1995). This research supports the importance of packaging in how a product will be received by potential consumers, particularly the choice of whether to buy a residence in a particular green development— a decision in which women typically play an active role. Thus, the advertising strategies of green developments must be carefully executed so that they are not insulting. Better yet, the challenge of how to advertise without it seeming like an advertisement is an even more desirable goal. Shrum et al. (1995) identified the propensity of green consumers' hostility toward corporations and distrust of advertising.

A good deal of the work of "selling" the idea of environmental responsibility has already been accomplished by environmental activist organizations, public service campaigns, the media, educational institutions, and even school children. As a result of this shift, environmentalism has popular appeal- though consumers were once blind, now they see. While Chevy Suburbans are considered dumb, Toyota Priuses are thought to be *very* smart, recycling is marketed as sexy, and many consumers are not content to express their newfound salvation from lifestyles of over-consumption simply by what they buy, wear, eat, drive, and where they purchase their gasoline. Many consumers want their most personal and meaningful expression—*their home*—to reflect their newfound environmental values.

In attempting to characterize "green consumers," Kannan (2007) has identified three different types of consumers; Forest Greens, Greenback Greens, and Healthy Greens. While they all are receptive to green development, their motivations and focuses differ from each other. Knowledge of each consumer type will enable designers and developers to identify which consumer group they would like to target, and how to satisfy their expectations.

Forest Greens:

Forest Greens believe investing in the environment is the right thing to do, and are more often driven by moral imperative than financial considerations or actual knowledge of sustainable building. While highly educated, "only 6.1 percent of potential home buyers consider the environment to be a motivating factor in their next home purchase" and "only 17 percent of home buyers are willing to spend money to protect the environment for the environment's sake alone" (Kannan, 2007 p108). Because of their small share of consumers, the effectiveness of marketing green building based singularly on its environmental benefits is questionable.

Greenback Greens:

Greenback Greens are motivated by the concept of paying higher initial costs in return for energy and maintenance savings later. These consumers tend to be older, typically retirees and those over 65 years old. While this demographic is three times more likely to demand energy saving features and appliances, those who make less than

$150,000 are more likely to demand this type of home than those who make more than $150,000. As a result, Greenback Greens tend to also be less wealthy, older, and require smaller homes. An additional challenge is the timeframe in which consumers expect to recoup their higher initial costs. Over 70 percent indicate a need to recoup costs within 5 years of purchase, with an average expected recoup time of 3.82 years, well short of common estimates of 6-8 years necessary to recoup costs. The fact that many home owners change residences every 3 to 7 years further challenges the financial benefits of green construction (Kannan, 2007).

Healthy Greens:

As part of a powerful spending block, health-conscious Americans are a considerable constituent group with an interest in green development. According to Kannan (2007 p108), "Healthy Green buyers represent perhaps the most interesting and potentially promising market for the green development industry, which already delivers a product with health benefits built in." In order to capitalize on this market, the industry needs to effectively communicate the health benefits of green development. Like the other groups of green consumers, Healthy Greens tend to be well educated. Additionally, they are wealthy, with 37 percent having incomes over $100,000 per year (Kannan, 2007). Unlike Greenback Greens, Healthy Greens already pay a premium for health benefits of a wide array of consumer products including food, personal items, and household goods. Due to this fact, they are likely less concerned with recouping the higher financial commitment necessary to purchase a green home. According to Kannan

(2007 p109), "This is a deeper market that spans age groups, a wealthier market with higher incomes than any of the other shades of green, a better educated market that is receptive to sophisticated and fact-based marketing, and a market that does not necessarily see the upfront investment as something that has to be recovered in cost savings."

Reflections of Consumer Values

As consumers' understanding of sustainable development is largely infused with their own values, marketers and producers of the built environment have researched, identified, and represented values most appealing to consumers through idealistic imagery, packaging, and green flavored amenities. Developments have utilized environmentally-sensitive stories featuring carefully planned developments where the wetlands, wildlife corridors, and critical habitat are preserved. And people are willing to pay to participate in such a noble story. Twitchell (2004b) maintains that high-end brands impersonate the promises of religious metaphors and sacred analogies. The symbolic, nearly religious significance associated with these brands exceeds their worth as products. Often, religious adjectives associated with luxury brands are also assigned to philosophic and political causes as well, particularly environmentalism. Green branding is a prime example with its use of words that would be equally suited for a religious sermon: Restorative, wholeness, respectful, stewardship, spiritual, fulfillment, etc. Instead of representing paradigmatic shifts in values, green branded developments

more often feature technological modifications, aesthetic considerations, and repackaging of the amenities found in conventional developments.

Examples of this are evident in Balsam Mountain Preserve, a 4,400 acre community in the mountains near Sylva, North Carolina which has been conceived with the green consumer in mind. The high-end residential golf community packages itself as green using a variety of imagery, language, and amenities. An examination of the development's promotional materials and website reveals some of the key strategies utilized in branding the development "sustainable." Following a listing of amenities including 3,000 acres of open space, 38 miles of streams, 50 miles of trails, a nature center, club house, 18 hole Arnold Palmer signature golf course, equestrian, tennis, and fitness facilities, and low density (354 homes on 4,400 acres) the developer, Chaffin Light Associates brands itself as sustainable while offering their own definition of the term:

"Chaffin/Light Associates, the internationally-recognized development firm behind Balsam Mountain Preserve, is widely hailed as *the leader in sustainable development, which calls for planning low-density communities* focused on preserving nature and open spaces" (Balsam Mountain Preserve, *The Developer*, emphasis added).

While Chaffin/Light Associates' definition of sustainable development has little in common with that of the Brundtland Report, it is quite an agreeable definition for its target consumers, who value low density development, with an array of upscale amenities such as golf, trails, equestrian, and fitness facilities. While thousands of acres are left in open space, review of the site map reveals that the 334 home sites (1-2 acres each) are

spread evenly throughout the total acreage, leaving virtually no large cores of land undisturbed by development, which indicates a greater consideration for consumer preferences than integrity of wildlife habitat. With its use of natural imagery such as wildlife and vegetation, rustic materials, and an emphasis on seclusion, the development's promotional materials reflect the values of its target consumers who prefer a leafy, low-density, world-class golf community definition of sustainable development. To address the inconsistencies in "green" development, a number of systems have been developed that use objective criteria to rate the sustainability of development projects.

In marketing their product, real estate developers seek to set themselves apart from their competition, striving to market themselves in such a way that they appear to present a different option and stand out from the rest of the crowd vying for business. Real estate developers also want to appeal to their desired crowd, to be relevant, and to sell a product that consumers want, ultimately seeking to make money. As Kozinets (2002) and Twitchell (2004) articulate the impossibility of escaping the branded nature of society as it has permeated nearly all aspects of American culture, real estate development provides a wealth of excellent case studies of this phenomenon. Themes of residential communities include those with traditional, conservation, recreational, historic, and regional flavors. Different brands feature a variety of stories seemingly custom tailored for those who buy them. By enabling a housing development to stand for something, branding allows residents to express themselves socially, politically, and personally through the place in which they live. As a result, branding enables the individualistic American ideal to continue. One geographic region in the United States

that has experienced a large amount of development is the Southern Appalachian region of the Southeast. Much of the real estate development in this region reflects the values of Americans seeking to live out a green version of the American dream.

Growth and Change in the Southern Appalachian Mountains

Growth Pressures

In recent years, rural mountain communities in the Southern Appalachian Ecoregion (SAE) have experienced an increasing level of development pressure, as new residents seek primary and secondary homes with seclusion, solitude, and connections to the natural environment not typically found in urban areas. Drawn by unique natural, cultural, and recreational amenities, many consumers seek residential developments that are environmentally sustainable. Responding to the desires of their consumers, real estate developers have employed "green" branding to differentiate their residential developments from those of their competition. While some projects employ "green" certification programs for individual buildings, the applicability of certification systems such as the U.S. Green Building Council's LEED for Neighborhood Design (LEED-ND) in rural settings has been challenged. Considerations unique to rural conditions such as low density, long distance from existing utilities, lack of availability of public transportation, and other requirements of LEED-ND make LEED certification of certain rural projects unattainable.

Figure 2.22: An example of the landscape of the Southern Appalachian
Mountains, near Brevard, North Carolina (Source: Author).

Environmental Values in the Southern Appalachian Eco-region

In a study focused on the Southern Appalachian Ecoregion (SAE), an area
consisting of 135 counties and 37 million acres including parts of Virginia, West
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama (Jones et al.,
1999), rapid transformation has taken place in recent decades as socioeconomic,
demographic, and technological changes have spurred development. The sense of place
is highly related to a unique environmental and cultural heritage that is closely
intertwined. Drawn by the region's expanding economy, natural amenities, and

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recreational opportunities, the population has increased rapidly as in-migrants move into the area.

Figure 2.23: Lake Fairfield, near Cashiers, North Carolina (Source: Author).

An Urban-Rural Divide?

Although past research on the social bases of environmentalism in the U.S. has generally come to the conclusion that urban residents are more environmentally concerned than rural residents, more recent survey research has cast doubt on this theory (Jones et al., 1999). Theories used to explain the belief that urban residents are more

environmentally concerned than rural residents include "differential exposure" and "extractive commodity" (Jones et al., 1999).

The "differential exposure" theory assumes that urban residents are more likely to be exposed to environmental degradation, and thus more likely to be concerned about environmental quality. Although early research supported this theory with regard to air pollution, relationships were weak. The "extractive commodity" theory assumes that rural residents have stronger utilitarian values because of their dependence on natural resource extraction. However, as logging, mining, and other natural resource extraction-based economic activities decline in rural areas, this theory is no longer as reliable as it once was. Moreover, some studies even suggest that those working in natural resource-extraction occupations and industry have become more environmentally concerned (Jones et al., 1999) as their livelihoods depend on the sustainability of natural resources. As new in-migrants move into rural areas, environmental values often receive bolstered support. "There is also evidence to suggest that public support for environmental values has generally increased in rural areas relative to urban areas, especially over the last decade or so" (Jones et al., 1999 p483). Combined, these trends suggest the inaccuracy of the idea that urban residents are more environmentally concerned than their rural counterparts.

Measuring several cognitive and behavioral dimensions of environmentalism, rural residents of the SAE were found to be more knowledgeable about environmental issues than urban residents (Jones et al., 1999). In particular, those affiliated with natural resource based industries were more knowledgeable than their respective counterparts.

However, "no significant relationships were found between rural/urban residence and environmental concern or personal environmental behavior" (Jones et al., 1999 p494). Rather, urban and rural residents were similar in both cognitive and behavioral dimensions. Although similarly concerned about the environment, both urban and rural residents shared a relatively low level of knowledge of the environmental issues facing Appalachia (Jones et al., 1999).

Figure 2.24: Shining Rock Wilderness in North Carolina (Source: Author).

One possible explanation for the reason why the study's findings do not conform to common assumptions of urban/rural attitudes is that the rapidly changing nature of the

Southern Appalachians has resulted in many new migrants who bring strongly environmentally oriented attitudes. As long term rural residents sense that population growth and its accompanying residential and commercial development threaten their way of life and environmental quality, rural support for environmental values has become especially strong in communities adjacent to public lands (Howe et al., 1997).

Figure 2.25: Rural lakefront development near Cashiers, North Carolina
(Source: Author).

While differences between rural and urban residents cannot be ruled out on specific environmental issues and proposals, these differences are most likely because loggers, ranchers, and miners are less supportive of specific "solutions" to environmental problems than less environmentally concerned (Jones et al., 1999). Often these

"solutions" threaten the livelihoods, sense of identity, and way of life of rural residents more than those who live in urban areas. However, as a majority of both urban and rural residents in the SAE value the conservation of cultural and natural resources, green branding, particularly of mountain residential development is likely to be an ongoing activity in the Southern Appalachians.

Ripe for Opportunity

A ripe opportunity exists for identification of the physical characteristics of green branded developments, and preliminary exploration of how those characteristics compare with the branded image which consumers have been sold. Identifying how green branded developments are branded as such, and what qualities they possess, will enable future research on whether communities marketed as "green" truly possess the sustainable qualities lacking in conventional suburban development, or whether the only thing separating one development from another is simply a good story. To ensure the long-term sustainability of the ecosystems of the rapidly developing Southern Appalachian Mountains, "green" development must be evaluated.

Value of determining what characteristics "green" development possesses

Green branding of residential development in the Southern Appalachian mountains is ripe for investigation. The project, titled *Evaluating Green Branded Residential Development in the Rural Southern Appalachian Mountains* illustrates how these developments are branded as "green," through promotional materials and the built

environment. As a secondary research agenda, resources including the U.S. Green Building Council's LEED for Neighborhood Design (2007), Balmouri and Benoit (2007), The Sustainable Sites Initiative, locally available best management practices, and Thompson and Sorvig (2000), a preliminary evaluation of the physical characteristics will identify key challenges to implementing actual green development in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. This will build groundwork for future research in determining whether the branded image is more representative of substance or symbolism. Through a collective case study analysis, this study will answer the overarching research question:

Research Questions

- *How do producers of "green" branded residential developments in the rural Southern Appalachian mountains brand their projects as green?*
- *How is a green image conveyed to consumers through:*
    - *Words and imagery of promotional materials*
    - *Physical characteristics of the developments themselves*
- *Secondarily, what are the challenges to implementing sustainable development in the rural Southern Appalachian mountains?*

Research Objectives

- Through an interpretive case study analysis, illustrate how green branded residential developments in the rural Southern Appalachian mountains are branded as "green" through:
    - Promotional materials
    - Physical site characteristics of the built environment
- Identify environmental, cultural, and economic challenges to implementing sustainable development in the context of the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Methodological Justification

Due to the exploratory nature of the research question, and the complexity and interrelatedness of the research topic with adjacent topics of growth, sustainability, planning, design, and marketing, a collective case study method was deemed the most fitting research approach. Under the guiding philosophy of the case study method, this particular research project includes examination of printed promotional materials, physical site examinations of built projects, and interviews with both project developers, as well as representatives of area conservation groups.

A juxtaposing interpretation of texts, images, built environment, and personal narratives will provide a detailed analysis of how real estate developments are branded as "green," within the social, economic, and environmental context of the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains.

Overview of Case Study Method

According to Yin (1994 p.23), "a case study is an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used." Case studies are the preferred strategy when the investigator has little control over the events studied, when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, and when the topic of focus is a contemporary phenomenon within a real-

life context. Consequently, both the research topic and questions provide justification for selection of the research method. While alternate research approaches could address the research question, none would address the question to the degree and depth of case studies. For example, while the historical method deals with context and phenomenon, it does not typically with contemporary issues (Yin, 1994). Alternately, while an experiment would yield data that could be quantitatively analyzed to produce a definitive and clear cut answer, it also "deliberately divorces a phenomenon from its context, so that attention can be focused on a few variables" (Yin, 1994 p.23). Consequently, in addressing the question of *how* developments are branded, focus on a contemporary phenomenon and dependence on context makes the case study method the most appropriate tool by which to execute this research.

In addressing the question of *what* physical characteristics are found in green branded developments, and providing a preliminary analysis of *how* these characteristics differ from those illustrated in the promotional materials, the case study method is most evidently appropriate because of its use in analyzing individual events, activities, episodes, or in this case, a specific phenomenon known as green branding (Schram 2003). Allowing investigations to retain the holistic and significant contexts that give events meaning, case studies, while long respected as a research methodology, have also experienced criticism, much of it due to misconceptions.

Common Misconceptions of Case Study Methodology

At the forefront of misconceptions of research methodologies, is a belief that various research strategies should be arranged hierarchically (Yin, 1994). The assumption is that while case studies are suitable for exploratory stages of research and surveys and histories are appropriate for descriptive undertakings, experiments are the only valid means of conducting explanatory research. According to Yin (1994), this view is incorrect. Instead, he contends that each strategy, including case studies, can be used for all three purposes: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory.

Collective Case Studies

Schram (2003) identifies three different types of case studies: intrinsic, in which the specific case itself is of paramount interest; instrumental, in which the case assists the researcher's insight into an issue or external interest; and collective, in which the instrumental case study is extended to a number of cases. The collective case study has been identified as the most appropriate for this research project because of its potential to provide insights and draw comparisons across multiple cases that can be used to explore the broad question of how projects are branded as "green" through words, images, and the built environment, what physical characteristics are most often found in green branded developments, and to an exploratory level, whether these characteristics indicate substantive or symbolic sustainability. An intrinsic case study would fail to capture the multiple facets of green branding of development while an instrumental case study would not provide the breadth of data necessary for analysis.

Only a collective case study would provide the richness and breadth of data necessary for a contextual interpretation. The broad nature of the research question necessitates multiple cases be studied to ensure an adequate range of development are examined, which will illustrate how built environments within the context of the rural Southern Appalachian mountains are branded as "green." A series of cases remotely researched, followed by a smaller subsample of cases in which site visits will be conducted ensures larger trends and characteristics are identified, followed by more detailed interpretation.

Inclusion of Different Perspectives

During early discussion of the pilot study with external parties, concern was voiced that the methodology did not adequately take into account the possibility of different ways of interpreting the same set of texts and images. The question was raised, why the research did not incorporate critical discourse analysis (CDA). However, after contemplation of this concern, the conclusion was reached that the intentions and aims of CDA that are most relevant to this study are reflected in the interdisciplinary makeup of the dissertation committee, as well as the consultation of multidisciplinary sources in examination of the pertinent literature, design and refinement of the pilot study instrument, and final execution of the research.

According to Fiske (1994), words are never neutral. Rather, they have meaning that varies and is dependent on historical, social, and political contexts (McGregor, 2003). Consequently, different understandings and perspectives are possible, particularly

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when considering whose interest is being served by the text and images. Van Dijk (1988) asserts that CDA is the analysis and study of written texts and spoken words to reveal sources of power, dominance, bias, and inequality, and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific contexts. The three central tenets of CDA are that discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure, culture, and that the resulting discourse in turn affects systems of belief, knowledge, relationships, and identities (Fairclough, 2000). Consequently, CDA attempts to illuminate the relationships among the text, discursive practices, and greater social context. Van Dijk (n.d.) acknowledges that CDA is not represented by a single theoretical framework or methodology. Instead, it is best viewed as an encompassing perspective that reflects a broad range of approaches.

While the systematic examination and analysis of each development's promotional materials will be executed primarily by a single investigator, this research reflects the imperative of CDA to incorporate different perspectives through the composition of the dissertation committee and consultation of exterior experts. The interdisciplinary committee reflects backgrounds in city and regional planning, real estate development, image and textual interpretation, landscape architecture, and history. Consultations with those possessing unique experience in marketing, advertising, interviewing and real estate development further bolster the depth and completeness of the analysis. While representatives of different levels of power that are often indicative of CDA may be of interest in other studies, inclusion of the unique perspectives provided

by these different *disciplines* was deemed most important when preparing and executing the research.

Case Study Protocol

According to Yin (1994), a strict protocol should be followed, particularly when multiple cases are analyzed. The protocol increases reliability by providing a framework that can be followed when replicating the study. Yin (1994) emphasizes the importance of consistent field procedures for data collection. Aspects of data collection that require special consideration include: gaining access to key organizations or interviewees, making sure sufficient resources are available during field visits, developing a procedure for requesting guidance or assistance from colleagues, establishing a clear schedule for data collection activities that are expected to be completed within specified time periods, and provisions for adapting to unanticipated events, including changes in the availability of interviewees, weather, and interruption to access of case study sites.

Data Sources

Yin (1994) lists six sources from which data can be collected. They are documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts. This research project utilizes documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, and physical artifacts.

Documentation

Central to addressing the question of how developments are branded, is an examination of the printed promotional materials used to appeal to targeted consumers. Forms of documentation that are of particular relevance for this study will be advertisements, marketing, and promotional materials. While Yin (1994) asserts the usefulness of documentation is not necessarily based on their accuracy or lack of bias, they should also not be used as literal recordings. While printed brochures, illustrative site maps, descriptions of amenities and features, and solicitation letters are all biased in their designed intent to promote a favorable impression of the project, they are a crucial source of data in demonstrating how communities are branded.

Archival Records

Yin (1994) lists several forms of archival records, including service records, organizational records, census data, and personal records including diaries, calendars, and telephone listings. While these data sources are not central to addressing the research question, of particular relevance for this study are maps, charts, and diagrams of the geographical characteristics of particular places, including development projects. When available, these records will provide valuable information about the physical context in which projects are situated. A consistent framework by which documentation and archival records are evaluated will increase reliability in interpreting their content, meaning, and significance. Included in this framework is an inventory of image content, environmental rhetoric employed, and textual analysis.

Interviews

According to Yin (1994), most often, case study interviews favor open ended questions over close ended questions that can be easily coded and quantitatively analyzed. Questions concerning facts, respondents' personal opinions, and their insights into certain occurrences and propositions are foundational for case study inquiries. According to Yin (1994), respondents provide in depth information, particularly their own insights, they begin to be an "informant." Informants not only provide responses to questions, but also insights, suggestions for other sources of data, and can help initiate access to such sources.

In order to solicit different perspectives on individual projects, interviews are conducted with representatives of development projects, as well as those representing conservation groups and media outlets in the area in which projects are located. Interviews are conducted with the intent of not only obtaining factual data from respondents, but also to promote interaction so that respondents might also suggest other sources for corroborating evidence, as well as help initiate access to other sources. In addition to facts pertaining to the project, respondents' opinions and insights into propositions that are the basis for inquiry are solicited. While protocol allows for additional questions to be improvised on site, interviews follow pre-constructed questions that address larger issues of project brand, context, and achievements.

Direct Observation and Physical Artifacts

According to Yin (1994), direct observation can range from formal to casual data collection activities. Of particular relevance in establishing the context in which the cases are studied, this research study will include direct observations of elements of the built environment and physical context. Observation and documentation of forms, materials, construction techniques, and features will provide a solid context in which to interpret data from interviews, documents, and archives. Directly related to direct observation will be documentation and analysis of physical artifacts. In the context of this research study, physical artifacts will be observed during site visits. A site visit instrument provides a structured means of analyzing sites so that project image is consistently analyzed in various physical zones of a given project, as well as across different projects.

Principles of Data Collection

Yin (1994) outlines three principles to follow when collecting data. The first is to use multiple sources of evidence. The primary strength of case study research is its allowance for different kinds of evidence to be considered in the analysis. This principle will be followed in this research project in that printed promotional materials used to market the developments, websites, as well as the physical built environment itself will be examined and interpreted in relationship to each other. Second, a case study data base will be created in order to efficiently organize data as it becomes available. Included in the data base will be case study notes, tabular materials, and narratives from site visits.

Using tabular shells created prior to data collection, information will be categorized for detailed analysis. Third, a chain of evidence will be maintained to increase the reliability of the information collected on all cases.

Data Analysis

Yin (1994) identifies two general strategies for data analysis. They are reliance on theoretical propositions, and development of a descriptive framework. This research will employ the theoretical foundations identified in the literature review as broad categories of consideration in each individual case. Principles of visual communication, visual rhetoric, framing, semiotics, branding, and landscape reading and interpretation will provide the theoretical framework on which interpretation of promotional materials and the built environment will rest.

Case Selection

Initial Identification of Cases

The first step in the process of case selection was to define the study area. The Southern Appalachian mountains were selected due to the high level of development pressure facing the region, reported abundance of "green" branded developments in the area, and accessibility of sites within the region. The Southern Appalachian mountains are part of a region that includes portions of the following states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama. As one of the most rapidly expanding populations in the United States, the Southern

Appalachians are also home to a wealth of new communities, many of them branded as "green." A preliminary web search revealed 26 developments that possessed some initial identification with greenness.
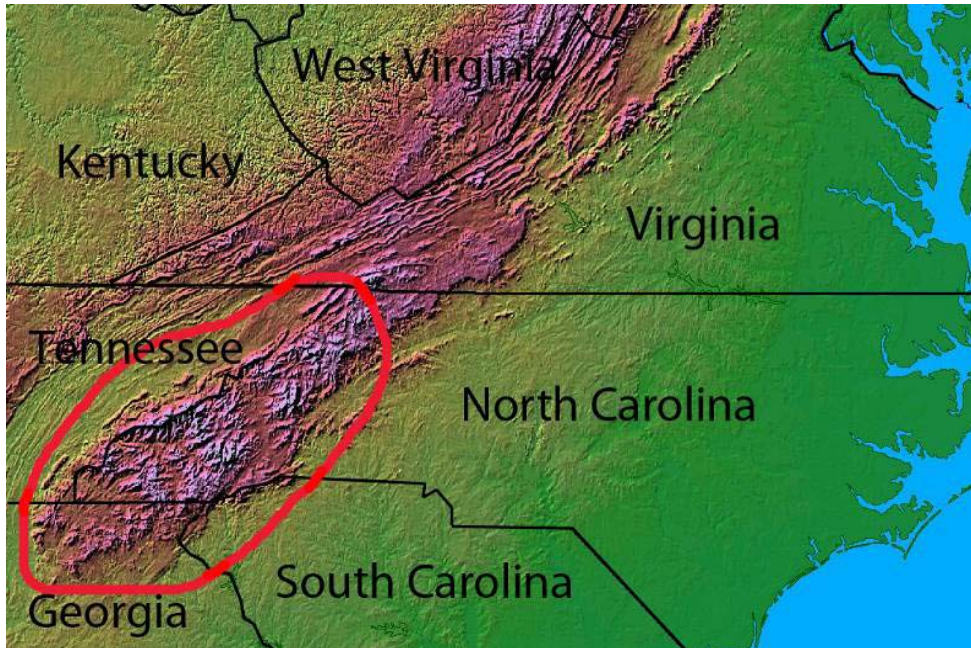
Figure 3.1: Geographic area of cases (Source: Author).

Such initial identifications include variations of the words: "sustainable," "green," "stewardship," "environmental," "protect," "preserve," "reserve," "habitat," "nature," and "conservation" in their names, taglines, and introductory text of their profile pages on the website, www.PrivateCommunities.com. Developments branding themselves as at least minimally "green" were identified in South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, with a high concentration in North Carolina. Reducing the number of cases studied to a manageable sample required the establishment of criteria for inclusion.

Table 3.1: Potential Cases by State (Source: Author).

	Georgia	Tennessee	South Carolina	North Carolina	
Frequency	2	3	2	19	
Names of Developments	Canyon Ridge	The Homestead	The Cliffs at Mountain Park	Balsam Mountain Preserve	The Preserve at Little Pine
	The Preserve at Sharp Mountain	Rarity Mountain	Jocassee Club	Bear Lake Preserve	The Preserve at Wolf Laurel
		The Village on Sewanee Creek		The Boulders at Chimney Rock	Queen's Gap
				Catawba Falls Preserve	The Ramble
				Chinquapin	River Rock
				Cold Mountain	Round Mountain Falls
				Creston	Santeetlah Lakeside
				French Broad Crossing	Southcliff
				Lake James	Sunalei Preserve
					Whisper Mountain

Inclusion Criteria

To determine which cases are most suitable for exploring how communities are branded as "green," two sets of inclusion criteria were determined. They are general community profile and green characteristics. The development's general profile was used to guide the selection process so that the selected cases adequately represent the broad range of price points, sizes, and ownership of open space.

Table 3.2: Mapping of development characteristics (Source: Author).

Development Name				
	Dimension	Low	Medium	High
General Characteristics	Access	Open	Open with Security	Gated
	Diversity of Development Types	Only Single Family	Single Family and Multi Family	Single Family, Multi Family, and Other
	Size	<100 acres	100-500 acres	>500 acres
	Price point	<$300K	$300-600K	>600K
	Proximity to Protected Public Lands	Not near	In general vicinity	Directly Adjacent
	Residency	Seasonal	Mixed	Year Round
	Amount of Dedicated Open Space	None	<20% of project	>20% of project
	Green Space Ownership	Private	Shared community	Shared with public access
	Waterfront	None, streams	Streams, ponds	Lakefront
	Lot Sizes	< 2 acres	2-10 acres	> 10 acres
	Variation of Price points	One price point	Two price points	Three or more price points
Environmental Characteristics	Partnership with Conservation/Green Organizations	Energy Star	Earth Craft Green Globes	LEED, Sustainable Sites Initiative, Nature Conservancy
	Environmental Impact of Amenities	Trails, Community Gardens	Riding Trails, Fitness Center, Clubhouse, Pool	Walking Trails, Fitness Center, Clubhouse, Pool, Golf Course
	Environmental Education	None	Some Environmental Education	Environmental Education through Nature Center
	Landscape Management	None	Preservation of Key Features	Preservation and Management of Key Features, Land Manager on staff.
	Pervious Surfaces	Pervious	Mixed	Impervious
	Emphasis on Native Vegetation	None	Maximum Building Envelope	Maximum building envelope, revegetation with natives required
	Energy Conservation Requirements	None, Min. Square Footage Req	Energy Efficient Appliances, Passive Heating and Cooling	Energy Efficient Appliances, Passive Heating and Cooling, Max Square Footage Req.
	Water Conservation	None	Efficient Fixtures	Recycling of Gray water, Catchment of Rainwater
	Apparence of Green Branding	Secondary to other	In conjunction with other	Primary

Inclusion and proximity to substantial natural features such as lakes, as well as large holdings of already protected public lands was also considered, as they are suspected to play a role in how the communities are branded. Additionally, as access to cases is a consideration for site visits, open vs. controlled access was considered.

Environmental Characteristics were identified so that cases exhibiting only minimal green features and efforts toward sustainability could be excluded from detailed analysis. Dimensions of greenness include partnership with a reputable conservation organization, continued management of natural features, energy conservation, and exclusion of environmentally compromised features. For both general community profiles and environmental characteristics, low, medium, and high categories were used to represent and organize each development's characteristics. A table was completed for each development, each cell highlighted with the characteristics that pertain to that development.

Initial Web Recognizance

To increase validity of the cases examined, the researcher mirrored the likely approach taken by prospective real estate buyers. First, the researcher performed an initial web recognizance for green, sustainable, and ecologically-branded real estate developments in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains using a simple internet search through the Google search engine. A website that repeatedly surfaced in this search was privatecommunities.com. The website was a listing page for developments, featuring recently initiated private real estate developments throughout North America.

An exploration of listings revealed a heavy concentration of real estate developments in the Southeast, particularly in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. While the site contained a total of 309 real estate developments in 29 different states, four provinces and territories, 170 of these developments were located in North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. Because significant portions of the Southern Appalachian Mountains are contained within these four states, the web site judged to be an appropriate place to search for green branded developments within the geographic area of interest.

An initial screening of the 170 developments listed in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee was conducted. Each development on the listing page featured a promotional paragraph that highlighted the project's key features or projected identity, in hopes of attracting consumers with specific interests. For example, developments built to attract consumers seeking golf described the featured course, those constructed with families in mind advertised how their amenities featured activities for the whole family, and those built to attract status-oriented consumers promoted their exclusivity. The researcher assumed those catering to environmentally-conscious consumers would similarly create identifications within their leading statements. Consequently, the identifying words, "sustainable," "green," "stewardship," "environmental," "protect," "preserve," "reserve," "habitat," "nature," "conservation," as well of variations of these terms were searched within those of the 170 communities that were located in the Southern Appalachians. Of the initial 170 developments, a total of 26 projects contained these terms, or derivatives of them in their promotional paragraph or

project name. Of the 26 developments, two were located in Georgia, two were in South Carolina, three were in Tennessee, and 19 were in North Carolina.

Initial Characterization and Screening

To identify which of the 26 projects were most suitable for detailed investigation, an analysis of general, environmental, and brand characteristics was performed through examination of the websites of each of the 26 developments. Information collected during this phase was driven by three primary considerations. First, general characteristics of the projects were to be identified so that a smaller number of cases could be selected based on exhibition of a broad range of general conditions such as project size, lot size, housing types, price, presence vs. absence of waterfront and golf, and proximity to large holdings of public or protected public lands. Second, the environmental features of the projects were identified. Amenities of a high environmental impact were classified, as was partnership with conservation organizations, presence of environmental education programs, and conservation requirements. Third, the research team sought to identify which projects were branded primarily as "green," as opposed to those for which the "green" brand was secondary to another brand identity such as golf, recreation, or exclusivity. Only projects with a primarily green brand identity were deemed as appropriate for further exploration. Projects in which the green brand identity was in conjunction or secondary to a different identity such as golf were judged as less exemplar of "green" branding.

For exploration of developments' general and environmental characteristics, a matrix was created. For each dimension, a range from low, medium, to high was available, with examples of each supplied. In conjunction with exploration of each development's website, the developments general and environmental characteristics were mapped, along with whether the green brand was primary, in conjunction, or secondary to another brand identity. To ascertain the primacy of green branding, the level of detail paid to the green brand was considered. For example, while some developments featured the word "preserve" in their name, no further mention of environmental features or sustainability were discussed on the website. However, if the website went into great detail about the golfing opportunities available to those who own real estate in the community, the "green" brand displayed in the development name was determined to be secondary to the golf brand identity. Others provided a great level of detail in explaining their environmental ethic, what features were protected, and habitat within the project. Developments possessing websites that focused more attention on, and provided detail of the green brand, were determined to be branded primarily as "green." Those that focused attention on the green features of the development equally with other brand identities, such as golf or recreation were classified as being branded "green" in conjunction with another brand identity. Those that provided little focus or detail in discussing the green brand identity were characterized as possessing a brand identity in which the "green" brand was secondary to another identity.

Of the 26 developments that possessed at least a superficial level of green branding, 15 were branded primarily as green, five were branded in conjunction with

another brand identity, and the "green" brand was secondary to another brand in six of the developments. Of the 15 developments exhibiting a primary green brand identity, one development was located in Georgia, one development in Tennessee, one in South Carolina, and the majority, 12, were concentrated in North Carolina.

Selection Criteria

Of the 15 cases exhibiting a primarily "green" brand, a select few were chosen for further detailed study, based on their ability to provide interesting and meaningful variations of several dimensions. These dimensions are grouped into two categories of dimensions: primary contrasts, and secondary contrasts. Primary contrasts, include the following dimensions: inclusion of golf, adjacency to public or other protected lands, lot sizes, apparent partnership with conservation or other "green" organization, and inclusion of significant waterfront. Secondary contrasts include: project size and number of units, diversity of housing types, and price.

Primary Contrasts

Inclusion of Golf

Inclusion of a golf course was selected as an important dimension due to the detrimental affects often alleged against golf courses. In particular, the role of pesticides, chemical fertilizers, increased storm water runoff, and replacement of native wildlife habitats with an intensively maintained landscape that offers little biodiversity are among the concerns commonly leveled against golf courses. Consequently, an examination of

"green" branded projects that include golf courses vs. those that purposefully exclude them from their design programs offers the potential to reveal substantial contrasts in both approaches to designing and marketing green development.

Adjacency to Public or Protected Lands

In preliminary exploration of the cases, public and other protected lands have repeatedly been offered as surrogates of the development in promoting greenness. Much like the concept of borrowed scenery is utilized to enhance the features of a particular site, public lands are often mentioned as an amenity for residential projects. The extent of variation to which public and other protected lands play in the brand identity of "green" projects is an important dimension, particularly as many "green" branded projects in rural settings are located near public lands. The contrast between projects that are directly adjacent, in the general vicinity, as well as those that are not near, or not advertised as being near public lands has the potential to offer meaningful contrasts in branding strategies.

Lot Size

Much debate is often given to the role of lot size in the conservation and destruction of rural character, sense of place, and wildlife habitat. Some purport that if smaller lots were encouraged, rural landscapes would not experience as much development pressure, because development would be concentrated into smaller areas of land. However, others claim larger lots allow for larger natural flows and processes to

remain intact, while smaller lots result in more intensive development. Furthermore, the line between defining large lots with the pejorative term "sprawl" vs. the more benign term of "rural" is increasingly blurred. While projects that limit the sizes of individual lots often set aside a greater amount of shared open space, projects that possess larger lots could potentially preserve equal amounts of open space. Particularly when larger lots are under restrictions regarding clearing, development, construction of barriers, and protection of flora and fauna, large lots can in some instances result in protection of equally significant amounts of open space, albeit bisected by invisible lines through the forest floor and privately owned by multiple landowners. Lot size has the potential to illuminate differences in philosophy toward sustainability, particularly whether open space is owned communally or individually.

Apparent Partnership with Conservation Organization

Reliance on a credible surrogate third party is discussed in the literature as a common means of branding. Athletes often are contracted to endorse sports drinks, Race car drivers are enlisted to give support for motor oil, and conservation groups are often tapped for partnership in real estate development. Not only does their support allay some of the concerns of environmentalists who might otherwise resist the development, but they also provide an additional layer of credibility in the project's brand identity—credibility that appeals to environmentally-minded consumers. Whether the project is overtly identified with a partnering conservation group is relevant to providing meaningful variation in how branding is applied across projects.

Inclusion of Significant Waterfront

Similarly to golf, the sustainability of development fronting on significant bodies of water including coastal areas, lakes, and rivers is often challenged. Increased runoff, sedimentation, pollution, and loss of habitat are common criticisms of waterfront development. Consequently, discussion of how developments address these concerns, as well as the role of waterfront in the brand identities of several projects will enabled through an examination of projects that both include and exclude significant waterfront.

Secondary Contrasts

Project Size and Number of Units

A broad range in project size and number of units was identified in the initial recognizance of projects. From less than 100 acres containing only 27 units to over 5,000 acres and several hundred units, a variation of size and scope was found. Due to the impact of project size on potential environmental impacts and marketing budgets, cases selected for detailed examination should reflect a variation in project size.

Diversity of Housing Types

While the majority of identified projects contain only single family, owner-occupied residences, others offer additional options. These range from condominiums, townhouses, rental cabins, as well as lodging intended for fractional ownership. The targeted consumers of single family homes will likely be different from those opting for a condominium or fractional ownership in a rustic cabin. While not a primary dimension

of contrast in the study, a diversity of housing types has the potential to provide interesting contrasts regarding targeted consumer groups, and how the project brand is communicated to them.

Price

A common thread in the conversation of sustainable development, is that while green building is attainable for the wealthy, green building is often cost prohibitive for the majority of home buyers. While the majority of developments examined can be characterized as at the higher end of the price spectrum, a variation among these is desirable for contrast.

Selected Cases

The following cases were selected based on their potential to provide relevant and interesting contrasts among the aforementioned contrasts. The Cliffs at Mountain Park was selected due to its inclusion of golf, reported partnership with Clemson University on "organic green golf research," large size of 5,000 acres, location in the vicinity of but lack of adjacency to large public land holdings, significant waterfront of the North Saluda River, large number of units, broad range of price-points, and single offerings of only family residences. The number of units to be constructed on the 5,000 acre tract has not been disclosed by the developer. Similarly to The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Balsam Mountain Preserve was selected due to its inclusion of a golf course, large size of 4,400 acres, and apparent partnership with the North American Land Trust. However, in

contrast to Mountain Park, Balsam Mountain Preserve also is directly adjacent to the Nantahala National Forest, does not contain significant waterfront, but does include fractional ownership options, in addition to single-family homes. Lot sizes at Balsam Mountain Preserve are two acres and less, with approximately 330 units planned. A third community, Chinquapin, was selected because it includes a smaller nine-hole golf course, is not directly adjacent to but is in close proximity to Panthertown National Forest, and inclusion of real estate options in addition to single-family homes. Chinquapin offers lots from smaller than 2 acres, to nearly 10 acres, anticipating a total of home sites.

Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve and Whisper Mountain were selected partly due to their exclusion of golf. Additionally, Whisper Mountain, at 450 acres, is much smaller in size than the previously mentioned three developments, offers home-sites ranging from one to six acres, and is relatively affordable, with prices beginning at less than $100,000. The project does not possess significant waterfront, and is in the general vicinity of, but is not directly adjacent to public lands, and is has partnerships with the U.S. Green Building Council and Southern Living Magazine. With 32 units on only ten acres, Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve is the smallest project examined. However, in contrast to Whisper Mountain, the project is not only adjacent to, but is completely surrounded by the Nantahala National Forest. Formerly occupied by a motel, the project the ten acre site on Lake Santeetlah offers significant lakefront, and is the only project involving redevelopment of a previously built site.

Table 3.3: Primary and secondary contrasts for selected cases (Source: Author).

| Cases | Primary Contrasts | | | | | | | | | | | | | Secondary Contrasts | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Inclusion of Golf | | Public and Protected Lands | | | Lot Sizes\ in Acres | | | | Conservation Org. Partnership | | Inclusion of Significant Waterfront | | Project Size in Acres | | | Projected Number of Units | | | Single Family Only | | Advertised Lot Prices in Thousands | | | |
	Yes	No	Adjacent	In Vicinity	Not Near/Unknown	<2	2 to 10	>10	Unknown	Yes	No	Yes	No	<100	100-500	>500	<100	100-400	>400	Yes	No	<300	300-600	>600	Unknown
Balsam Mountain Preserve, NC	■		■			■				■			■			■		■			■		■		
Chinquapin, NC	■		■				■																		
The Cliffs at Mountain Park, SC	■			■					■		■	■				■			■	■			■		
Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve, NC		■	■			■					■	■		■			■				■	■			
Whisper Mountain, NC		■		■		■				■				■			■				■		■		

An additional consideration for project inclusion was willingness of the developer to participate in interviews, grant of physical access to the built project, and availability of printed promotional materials. Considered together, the five cases, The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Balsam Mountain Preserve, Chinquapin, Whisper Mountain, and

Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve offer contrasts among both primary and secondary contrasts.

Research Process for Selected Cases

In order to maintain reliably consistent evaluation during the research process, a regimented case study protocol and companion evaluative instruments were developed for each case. For the selected cases, evaluation instruments were utilized during examination of printed promotional materials, interviews with developers and conservation group representatives, and evaluation and documentation of the physical built environment.

Table 3.4: Research questions and corresponding research tasks (Source: Author).

Research Task	Research Question Addressed	
	How is green image conveyed to consumers?	What are the challenges to implementing sustainable developments in the context?
Inventory and Analysis of Imagery and Text in Printed Promotional Materials		
Interviews with Conservation Groups		
Interviews with Developers		
Examination of the Built Environment		

Printed Promotional Materials

The researcher requested printed promotional materials from the development team for each of the potential cases. After cases were selected due to their ability to provide relevant and interesting contrasts including golf course inclusion, adjacency to public lands, lot sizes, development size, and price, their promotional materials were analyzed according to the protocol outlined in the following discussion. Key areas of analysis include the content of imagery, text, environmental rhetoric, and social marketing strategies.

Imagery

An inventory and analysis of image content was conducted, utilizing the following categories: recognizable green features, third party credibility, aesthetics, human subjects, and activities. Promotional materials were analyzed for their inclusion of images containing these categories. Consistent with the principle that viewers' attention tends to gravitate toward and emphasize imagery over the accompanying text (Tufte, 1997; Berger, 1972; Cress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Arnheim, 1969; and Dondis, 1973), images were analyzed prior to text.

Included in the larger category of recognizable green features were several extrinsically derived dimensions, emphasizing retention of existing ecological functions, mitigation of development, and self sufficiency. Sources for dimensions of sustainability appropriate to the context of the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains included the U.S. Green Building Council, Sustainable Sites Initiative, Green Globes, Earthcraft, L.A.N.D.

Code, and other best management practices common to land planning, site planning, and landscape architecture. Specific dimensions of recognizable green features relating to hydrology included protection and restoration of existing hydrology, reduction of storm water runoff, water conservation and reuse. Dimensions dealing with soil include protection of steep slopes and erosion protection. Dimensions addressing self sufficiency include energy conservation, production, and pollution reduction, as well as on site food production. Additional dimensions of analysis include protection of native vegetation, management of wildlife and habitat, and environmental education, research, and interpretation. Images were analyzed based on their inclusion of these dimensions of recognizable green features.

Secondly, images were analyzed according to whether they contained claims of third party credibility. The four types of third party credibility identified included celebrities, environmental groups, other groups, and peers. Subcategories of third party credibility were intrinsically derived, aggregated from the promotional materials themselves. Images containing third parties employed to bolster the credentials of the project were noted.

Next, images were analyzed according to their employment of aesthetic qualities. Aesthetic qualities were also intrinsically derived, reflected in the promotional images found in the brochures. Categories of analysis include the aesthetic qualities of both the landscape, as well as built elements. For analysis, landscapes were classified into two broad categories, wild and cultivated. Images containing wild landscapes include those depicting forests, rivers and streams, hiking trails, mountain vistas, as well as threatening

and non-threatening wildlife. Cultivated landscapes include domesticated animals, horticultural scenes, golf courses, rolling, smooth ground and tree canopy indicative of the English landscape aesthetic, symmetry and geometry representing a more formal landscape aesthetic, and the informal plantings, curving borders, and unkempt appearance of a more naturalistic, albeit cultivated landscape aesthetic.

Analysis of the aesthetics of built features included whether views of structures showed interior versus exterior views, as well as the dominant materials, style, and size of structures. Dominant materials included wood, stone, metal, and synthetics. Styles were grouped into three broad categories: modern/contemporary, traditional, and rustic. Examples of contemporary style include sweeping expanses of glass, flat roofs, and clean lines. Traditionally styled buildings include paned glass, dormers, shutters, and pitched roof lines. Rustic buildings may feature stone and wood, and may include Rhododendron detailing, rough hewn timbers, and rusted corrugated metal roofing. Sizes were also categorized into three broad size ranges: small, medium, and large. Small structures include foot bridges, fences, and single room cabins. Medium sized structures include typically-sized homes, garages, or shelters. Large sized structures include lodges, club houses, and expansive homes. In many cases, visual framing of structures contained within images determined its scale. For example, if an image was cropped to reveal only a covered porch, the structure was judged to be of small scale, even though it may be, in fact, an appendage of a much larger structure that was cropped out of the picture.

The human subjects depicted in imagery were analyzed according to their age, relationship to those around, ethnic background, and attire. Categories of age included

children, young adults, middle aged, and elderly people. People were analyzed for whether they were shown solitary, or in groups of other people. In addition to whether featured subjects were white or non-white, whether their attire was casual, dressy casual, or formal was noted.

Both active and passive recreational activities showcased in the promotional materials were also analyzed. Subcategories of active recreation include tennis and swimming, golf, power boating, hunting, fishing, hiking, camping, climbing, equestrian, and rafting and canoeing. Passive recreation included leisure and relaxation, music and the arts, and food and drink.

Within the framework provided by these image content categories, the imagery of printed promotional materials were examined, their content inventoried on each page, and corresponding cells were filled in, establishing patterns of image content. However, in order to holistically interpret the meaning of the imagery, a similar process was first undertaken for the accompanying text contained within the same promotional materials.

Text

Similarly to the process of inventory and analysis of image content, the accompanying textual content was analyzed according to the same extrinsically derived categories of recognizable green features, as well as the extrinsically derived categories of third party credibility, aesthetics of the landscape and built structures, human subjects, and recreational activities discussed. While analyzing image content, cells corresponding to the category and page in which that category was visually represented were filled in.

A similar process was followed in order to reflect textual content. For example, if equestrian activities were mentioned on page 7 of a brochure, the cell corresponding to that category and page number was filled. Consequently, the same effect of establishing patterns of image content was performed for textual content. However, the inventory and analysis of text included two additional layers of analysis, environmental rhetoric and social marketing strategies.

Environmental Rhetoric

The additional layer of analysis of promotional materials aims to account for the use of environmental rhetoric. Different perspectives of environmentalism, reflected in the rhetorical categories established by Nadenicek and Hastings (2000), are indicated through the use of key words. The categories are as follows: deep environmentalism, preservation environmentalism, integrative environmentalism, ecological environmentalism. Nadenicek and Hastings (2000) identified key words associated with each perspective of environmentalism. For this analysis, the previously identified words were included, as well as additional words added to each category by Sleipness (2009). Through a process similar to that executed in the inventory and analysis of imagery and text, words associated with each environmental perspective was noted by page, corresponding spreadsheet cells were filled, and patterns of environmental rhetoric were established. Additionally, frequency of key words was tabulated for each item included in the printed promotional materials associated with each development.

Table 3.5: Revised Categories of environmental rhetoric
(Source: Nadenicek and Hastings, additions by Sleipness, 2009).

Categories of Environmental Rhetoric			
Deep	Preservation	Integrative	Ecological
Healing	Preservation	Sustainable Dev't	Renewable
Holistic	Responsibility	Equity	Recycled
Spiritual, Soul	Wilderness	Garden	Long-range
Earth	Wildness	Cooperative	Mitigation
Native	Indigenous	Interdependence	Endangered Species
Nature	Pre-existing	Diversity	Biodiversity
Rejuvenate	Stewardship	Balance	Environmental Impact
Pure	Native	Health, Wellness	Environmentally-Sensitive
	Natural	Harmony	Ecosystems
	Organic		Habitat
	Pristine		
	Protected		

Social Marketing Strategies

In addition to an inventory and analysis of environmental rhetoric, the analysis of text content accounted for the social marketing strategies employed in the promotional materials. Categories, temporal in nature were intrinsically derived from the promotional materials themselves, but aggregated with the aid of perspectives of heritage offered by Lowenthal (1985), Lowenthal (1996), and Twitchell (2004). Social marketing strategies, those strategies aimed at identifying and connecting with consumer desires are reflected in the three temporally based categories of past oriented, present oriented, and future oriented social marketing strategies.

Past oriented social marketing strategies include appeals to nostalgia, heritage, and history. Nostalgia includes textual references to childhood, freedom, lack of worry,

and simpler times. The concept of heritage is reflected in textual references to wholesomeness, traditional values, as well as family heritage and bloodline. Connection to consumers through history includes quotations by historical figures, references to indigenous tribes, early settlers, and references to the developer as "Founder."

Present oriented social marketing strategies are focused on personal enrichment, with an emphasis on short term consumer gain. Personal enrichment is reflected in direct and indirect compliments of the consumer's values, characteristics, and good taste. Additionally, textual references to exclusivity, privilege, and use of Calvinistic language describing how membership is limited to a fortunate few, or carefully selected individuals all are employed to bolster the exclusive identity of the community. Aesthetic appeals, references to the strong sense of place, peace and serenity, as well as descriptions of pleasure and carnal appeals all attempt to connect with the consumer's desire for immediate gratification.

Future oriented social marketing strategies are encapsulated in the concept of legacy. While all future oriented, the text was analyzed for differing types of legacy including personal and family legacy, longevity, legacy of environmental protection, a legacy of values and principles, and a legacy of exclusivity and privilege. For each of the three social marketing strategies, text on each page was examined for references to each, and cells corresponding to the specific aspects of nostalgia, heritage, history, personal enrichment, and legacy were filled. Additionally, particularly exemplar quotations from the promotional materials were recorded for future analysis.

Interviews

Interviews were utilized to triangulate data obtained from inventory and analysis of the printed promotional materials. For each case, interviews were conducted with two separate entities, producers of the development, and representatives of conservation organizations active in the area in which the development is constructed. The purpose of interviewing both groups was to maintain of balance between collecting data from those who likely have a favorable view of the project in question, as well as those who may also have criticisms concerning the development project's effects on the local environmental, economic, and social conditions. While interviews with both groups used a pre-written structure, the nature of questions was open ended, to encourage expanded explanatory answers and dialog between the interviewer and interviewees. Where permission was granted, interviews were recorded to increase accuracy of documentation.

Interviews with conservation groups were focused on the environmental and economic context in which the project is situated, project specific questions, and accomplishments and future lessons provided by the development. Interviews with the developer are focused on questions concerning why a green identity was selected for the project, the design and marketing process, implementation of the green brand identity, and achievements and future lessons provided by the project development experience.

Examination of the Built Environment

Concurrent with interviews with developers of the project, visits to the projects were arranged, through which the researcher examined physical site features of the built

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environment. The purpose of the site visits was to determine whether the physical site features were consistent with the characteristics displayed through imagery and text in the promotional materials. The process by which the built environment was examined followed the sequence in which a prospective buyer might experience the site. A spreadsheet was developed, which separated each built project into six physical zones: the entryway, sales office, developed amenity areas, shared open space, private residences, and vehicular routes. Similarly to how features were recorded by page in the inventory and analysis of image content, the features visible in each physical zone were noted. Similarly to the process by which imagery contained in the promotional materials was evaluated, categories of analysis of the built environment included recognizable green features, use of third party credibility, the aesthetic qualities of wild and cultivated landscapes, as well as of built structures. Additionally, the recreational amenities found on site were noted.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CLIFFS AT MOUNTAIN PARK

Project Overview

The Cliffs at Mountain Park is one of several developments planned by South

Carolina Upstate developer, The Cliffs Communities. While focused on rural settings in

Upstate South Carolina, The Cliffs Communities has expanded its operations to include

properties in western North Carolina, British Columbia, South America, and other

international locales.

The case was initially selected due to its ability to provide contrasts over several

key dimensions. In addition to the project's inclusion of golf, its apparent partnership

with Clemson University in sustainable golf research, and presumed accessibility to the

researcher contributed to the project's research appeal. At 5,000 acres, the development

represents one of the largest communities discussed in this dissertation. When The Cliffs

Communities was contacted for interviews, representatives were initially favorable

toward discussing the project. However, once supplied with details of the research

study's goals, they declined to participate in interviews or grant access to the physical

project site. As it was expected that access to the project would be attainable, the

developer's decision not to participate resulted in a review of the protocol used in

requesting developers' participation.

Through review of the protocol and discussions with individuals familiar with the

organization, it was discovered that The Cliffs Communities had become embroiled in

conflict over the Mountain Park development, and had received substantial public

opposition from a broad range of constituents over issues including water quality, the riparian corridor along the North Saluda River, and public access related to the 5,000 acre site in Greenville County. Because interviews with the developer and visits to the physical site were declined, data collected on The Cliffs at Mountain Park does not mirror that of the other cases, and may be regarded as incomplete, due to the lack of interviews with the developer and examination of the physical site. In spite of these shortcomings, the case was deemed to be of considerable significance due to the prominent public opposition campaign mounted against it by an array of local conservation groups. Consequently, while a full array of data would have been preferred, The Cliffs at Mountain Park was included due to its unique potential for illumination of some of the potential challenges facing green branded development in the region.

Review of Promotional Materials

Review of The Cliffs at Mountain Park's promotional materials included an inventory and analysis of page coverage, imagery, text, environmental rhetoric, and temporal marketing strategies. Promotional materials received from The Cliffs included a hard-bound cover containing a primary brochure, supplemental map indicating locations of all Cliffs communities in the region, and a DVD. Conspicuously absent from the printed materials was a site plan indicating lot sizes, locations of amenity areas, and areas set aside for conservation, as is customarily included in promotional materials for developments. All materials featured an abundance of outdoor images, use of earth tones, and prominent display of The Cliffs Communities logo. The majority of pages in

the brochure contained high coverage of images, with relatively scant accompanying text coverage. Where present, the accompanying text supports the story and messages of the imagery.
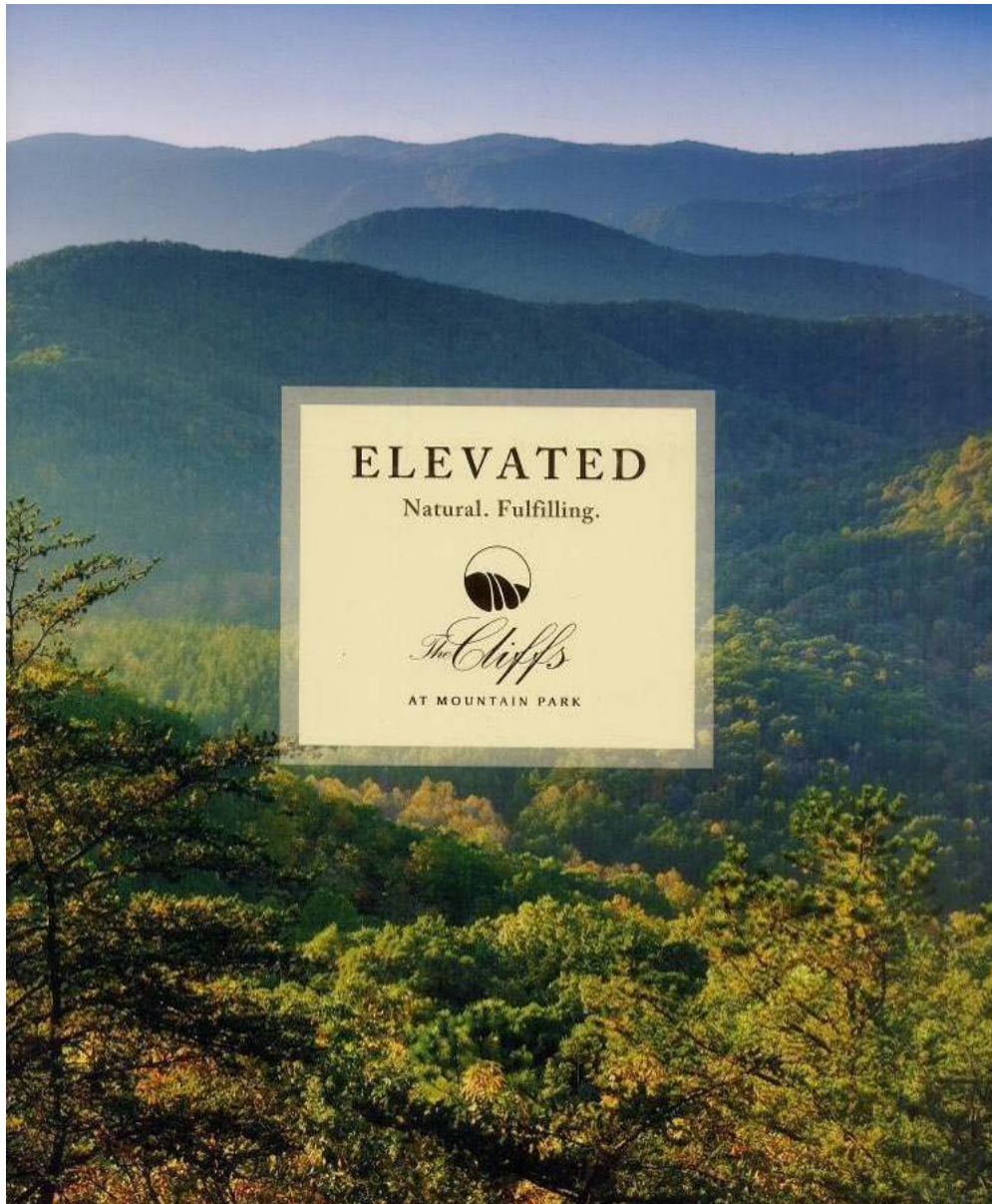
Figure 4.1: Brochure cover for The Cliffs at Mountain Park
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Recognizable Green Characteristics

The majority of pages within the main brochure are heavily covered with images that focus on the landscape, social interaction, and golf. Although outdoor activity and wellness are emphasized, very little is shown of recognizable green characteristics. Recognizable green features for which the promotional materials were scanned included protection and restoration of hydrology, protection of steep slopes, energy conservation and production, conservation and management of native species, on-site production of food, and environmental interpretation, education, and research. While two pages contained images reflecting vegetable production and environmental education, the other categories of recognizable green features were not explicitly evident.
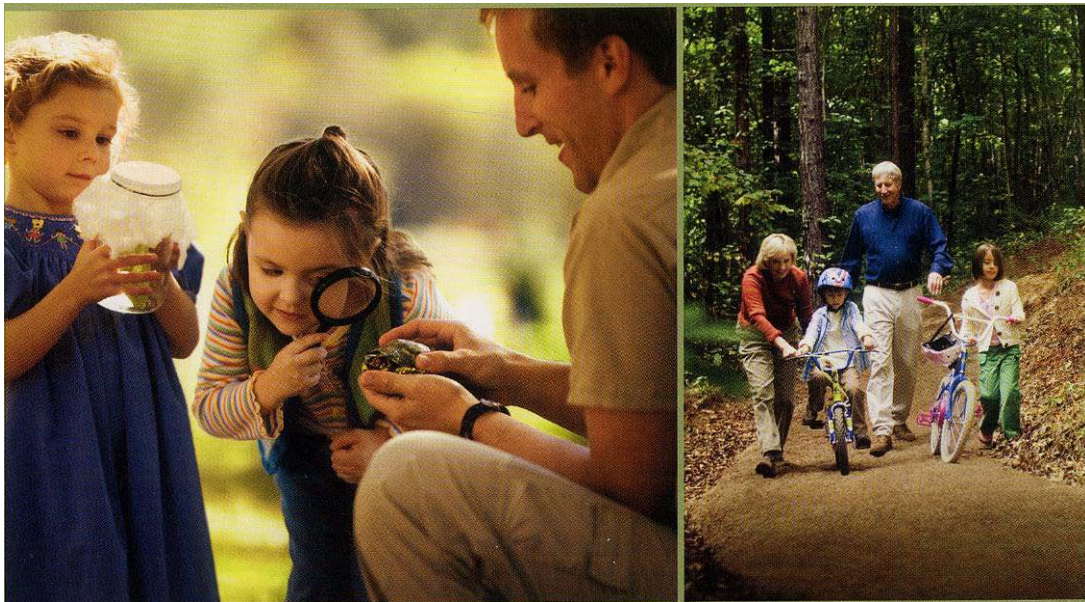
Figure 4.2: Images containing concepts of environmental education, health, and wellness
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Recognizable green characteristics were only slightly more evident in the text than the images. Although hints of sustainability are included in the text, as with the imagery, these themes are secondary to discussions of human activities, interactions, and social relationships. In fact, when green features are mentioned, they are typically done discussed within the context of their human benefits. For example, "wellness" is mentioned throughout, as well as the "organic farm," the "nature center," and "environmental golf research" (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*). While these features relate to the cultural aspects of sustainability, they center on potential benefits to humans, rather than concern for wildlife, ecological processes, or environmental sustainability.

Figure 4.3: A brochure spread reflecting the concept wellness
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Together, these textual references, combined with images of children examining critters under a magnifying glass, women jogging along a path, and other imagery of active outdoor recreation give the viewer a glimpse of the presence of wellness, on site food production, and environmental education and research, but without specific details. Text pertaining to specific energy conserving features, what makes the community's golf course greener than that of the competition, the indigenous wildlife most likely to be discussed by naturalists, or how their community's purported organic golf research may drive the industry toward a greener future receives scant detailed discussion. Consequently, while one may speculate on how deeply these characteristics are ingrained in the project's identity, on closer examination their role in branding the project appears to be secondary to other features.

Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure									
Page	Protection-restoration of existing hydrology	Stormwater runoff reduction, infiltration	Water conserv. and reuse	Steep slope protection	Soil conservation and erosion protection	Energy conservation, production, pollution reduc.	Native vegetation protection	Land and Wildlife mgmt.	On Site food prod.	Env'tal education, research, interp.
Cover										
1 Sprd								▓	▓	
2										
3 no text										
4 no text										
5										
6									▓	
7 no text										
8 Sprd									▓	▓
9	▓									█
10 no text										
11 no text										
12									█	▓
13 Sprd									▓	
14										
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure									
Cover										
1										
2										
3 Sprd									▓	▓
4 Map										
Rear Cov										
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Sales Letter									

LEGEND
Images	░
Text	▓
Image and Text	█

Figure 4.4: Recognizable green characteristics for the Cliffs at Mountain Park.

Third Party Credibility

Third party credibility of Mountain Park is communicated through both imagery and text. Credibility is most strongly garnered through imagery of peers, as well as through celebrity golfer Gary Player, who is prominently pictured and heavily quoted throughout the brochure. As designer of the project's proposed Gary Player Signature golf course, Player is shown vigorously swinging his club, intently gazing into the distance, victoriously holding a trophy, and addressing an audience. Accompanied by

quotes from the famous golfer, Player's image depicting him both in his contemporary retirement age and as a younger man is used not only to lend third party credibility to the project's golf amenities, but also to resonate with the project's likely consumers who are also of early retirement age. By showcasing an accomplished celebrity, renowned and respected by the community's likely buyers, images reflecting accomplishments spanning across a lifetime likely are used to resonate with the upper class ethos of the community's prospective residents.

Secondarily to Player, images of peers are used to bolster the project's credibility. Throughout the brochure, middle aged people in their 50s and 60s are depicted, running with friends, contentedly visiting with their grandchildren, and relaxing together. Other entities used to lend credibility include the development's Nature Center and "accredited [health] professionals," "site location among protected forests, parklands, National Forests, and The Carolina Preserve" (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*). All are employed to bolster the project's credibility. However, with the exception of the organization's own "Cliff's Center for Environmental Golf Research," "Nature Center," and "Organic Farm," there is no mention of third party environmental or conservation groups. And, when the development's own green entities are mentioned, details of their specific activities receive minimal discussion.

Figure 4.5: Third party credibility is lent to the project by Gary Player (Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Item: The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure			
Celebrities	**Environmental Groups**	**Other Groups**	**Peers**
Cover			
1 Sprd — Text		Text	Images
2 — Text		Text	Images
3 no text — Images			
4 no text — Images			
5 — Text		Text	
6 — Image and Text			
7 no text			Images
8 Sprd — Text	Text	Text	Images
9 — Text			Images
10 no text			
11 no text			
12 — Text	Text		
13 Sprd — Text			Images
14 — Text			
Item: The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities			
Cover — Images			Images
1			Images
2			
3 Sprd — Text			
4 Map			
Rear Cov			
Item: The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Sales Letter			

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 4.6: Third party credibility for the Cliffs at Mountain Park.

Representations of the Built Environment

When present, built structures are downplayed in images. Buildings are cropped to such a scale that the viewer's attention is focused not on the structures themselves, but the human activity and interaction taking place within. Even in many of the images showing seemingly wild landscape views, human activity is emphasized. Focus is on groups of people relaxing, middle aged couples gazing at inspiring mountain vistas or walking across rustic bridges in shady rhododendron thickets, groups of middle-aged women jogging together, smiling young service workers attending to the needs of residents, and images showcasing interaction among different generations.

Figure 4.7: Enjoyment of human company in the outdoors is reflected throughout the brochure (Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

The majority of images of the built environment are focused on the landscape. Forests, hiking trails, mountain vistas, the English landscape aesthetic, and golf courses are used extensively to create an impression of a lush, verdant backdrop for human

activity. While structures are infrequently shown, they are usually depicted from an exterior perspective, and are of traditional or rustic styles. However, the subjects of the majority of the brochure's images are not architectural, but human.

Figure 4.8: Landscape imagery from the Mountain Park brochure
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Page	Forests	Rivers and streams	Hiking Trails	Mountain Vistas	Wildlife-threatening	Wildlife-non-threatening	Domest. animals	Hort.	Golf Courses	English Lanscape Aesthetic	Formal Landsape Aesthetic	Naturalistic Landscape Aesthetic
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure											
	Landscape: Wild						**Landscape: Cultivated**					
Cover	Images			Image and Text								
1 Sprd	Image and Text	Text	Text	Image and Text				Text	Text			
2				Text						Image and Text		
3 no text	Images			Images								
4 no text									Images			
5				Text								
6									Image and Text			
7 no text									Images			
8 Sprd	Images		Image and Text									
9						Images						
10 no text	Images		Images									
11 no text								Images				
12									Image and Text	Text	Image and Text	Text
13 Sprd									Text	Text		
14				Text				Images	Text			
15												
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities											
Cover	Images	Images										
1				Text								
2												
3 Sprd	Text	Text	Text	Text				Text	Text	Text	Text	Text
4 Map	Images									Images		
Rear Cov												
Item:	Letter											

LEGEND

Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 4.9: Wild vs. cultivated landscape reflected in The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

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The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure						
	Structures Depicted (1/2)					
	View		**Dominant Materials**			
Page	**Interior**	**Exterior**	**Wood**	**Stone**	**Metal**	**Synthetic**
Cover						
1 Sprd						
2		▓				
3 no text		▓				
4 no text						
5						
6		▓		▓		
7 no text						
8 Sprd						
9						
10 no text		▓	▓			
11 no text	▓		▓	▓		▓
12	▓			▓		
13 Sprd		▓				
14		▓		▓		
The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities						
Cover			▓			
1						
2		▓				
3 Sprd		▓▓				
4 Map						
Rear Cov						
The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Sales Letter						
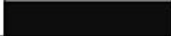
LEGEND	
Images	░
Text	▓
Image and Text	█

Figure 4.10: Views and materials of structures in The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure

Structures Depicted (2/2)

Page	Style			Size		
	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover						
1 Sprd		Text		Text		
2						
3 no text						
4 no text						
5						
6			Images	Images		
7 no text						
8 Sprd						
9						
10 no text			Images	Images		
11 no text	Images			Images		
12	Image and Text			Image and Text		
13 Sprd						
14	Images			Images		

The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities

IV. E. Aesthetic Considerations: Built Elements

Page	Style			Size		
	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover		Images		Images		
1						
2						
3 Sprd		Text		Text		Text
4 Map						
Rear Cov						
Rear	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Sales Letter					
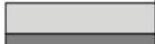
LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 4.11: Style and size of structures in The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

People and Activities

The Cliffs has chosen to connect with their targeted consumers through an intergenerational focus. Depicting a variety of people, both solitary and in groups, children, young adults, middle aged, and entering into retirement age, The Cliffs at Mountain Park is heavily marketed toward those seeking intergenerational relationships with their grown children, grandchildren, and peers. Subjects, most of whom are

Caucasian, are shown wearing attire ranging from casual, dressy casual, and formal, although those shown to be most formally dressed are the attending staff.

Along with text describing a wide array of recreational opportunities, and the discretely intergenerational identifier, "families," The Cliffs at Mountain Park is aimed to satisfy a wide range of consumer desires, from golfing, boating, hunting, fishing, hiking, equestrian, canoeing, and passive recreation activities. However, most of the text contained within the printed promotional materials emphasizes the social aspects of the community.

Figure 4.12: Human interaction and intergenerational activities
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

While the active recreation activities of golf and hiking are also shown, emphasis is placed on passive recreation, particularly that which favors leisure and relaxation. In fact, the images of the brochure can be interpreted to present the day's experience of a resident, likely one in their late 50s or early 60s. Residents can gaze upon a splendid mountain view, watch their grandchildren play on the swing, enjoy wine with friends and

family, play a round of golf, go jogging with their friends, teach their grandchildren how to ride bicycles on the trail, take a walk through the woods with their spouse, pick flowers and buy specialty goods at the village, enjoy dinner with their children and grandchildren, and unwind from the day's activities by lounging in a rocking chair with a gin and tonic in hand.

Figure 4.13: Passive recreation is emphasized
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure										
	Family				**People**		**Race**		**Attire**		
Page	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
Cover											
1 Sprd	█	█	█	█							
2	▓					▓	▓			▓	
3			▓			▓	▓			▓	
4			▓		▓					▓	
5		▓	▓		▓	▓	▓			▓	
6											
7			▓		▓	▓				▓	
8 Sprd			▓			▓	▓			▓	
9	▓					▓	▓			▓	
10			▓			▓	▓			▓	
11		▓	▓		▓		▓			▓	
12	▓	▓				▓				▓	
13 Sprd	▓		▓			▓	▓			▓	▓
14			▓			▓	▓	▓		▓	▓
Item:	Overview Brochure for the Cliff's Communities										
Cover						▓				▓	
1											
2	▓		▓			▓				▓	
3 Sprd											
4 Map											
Rear Cov											
Item:	**Letter**										

LEGEND	
Images	▓ (light gray)
Text	█ (dark gray)
Image and Text	■ (black)

Figure 4.14: People depicted at The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

	Active									Passive		
	Tennis, swimming pools	Golf	Power Boating	Hunting	Fishing	Hiking and Camping	Climbing	Equestrian	Rafting and Canoeing	Leisure-Relaxation	Music and arts	Food and Drink
Cover												
1 Sprd		Text				Text						
2										Images		Images
3 no text										Images		
4 no text												
5		Image and Text										
6		Images								Images		
7 no text		Images										
8 Sprd	Text					Image and Text						
9						Images				Images		
10 no text												
11 no text												
12		Text			Text				Text	Image and Text		Image and Text
13 Sprd	Text	Text						Text	Text	Images		Images
14		Text								Images		Images
Renc	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities											

IV. G. Recreational Activities

	Active									Passive		
	Tennis, swimming pools	Golf	Power Boating	Hunting	Fishing	Hiking and Camping	Climbing	Equestrian	Rafting and Canoeing	Leisure-Relaxation	Music and arts	Food and Drink
Cover												
1	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text		Images
2												
3 Sprd	Text	Text	Text		Text	Text		Text	Text	Text	Text	Text
4 Map												
Rear Cov												
Renc	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Sales Letter											

LEGEND	
Images	Images
Text	Text
Image and Text	Image and Text

Figure 4.15: Active and passive recreation depicted in The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

Environmental Rhetoric

Of the four categories of environmentalism, The Cliffs at Mountain Park reflects in order from greatest to least, Integrative Environmentalism, Preservation Environmentalism, and Deep Environmentalism. Words associated with Ecological Environmentalism were not present in the community's promotional materials. The majority of words associated with Integrative Environmentalism were due to the

community's emphasis on health and wellness. Of the 26 times words associated with this environmental perspective were used, 20 of them were related to health and wellness. The concept of the "garden" received five references, while "harmony" was mentioned once. In addition to the word inventory, Integrative Environmentalism is also reflected in the community design's emphasis on trails to encourage community connectivity, physical activity, and health.

Preservation Environmentalism received 18 references, reflected in the words "natural," mentioned nine times, "organic," mentioned five times, "protection" and "preservation," both which were mentioned twice. Deep Environmentalism received 14 references, represented by the words "nature," mentioned eight times, "spiritual," mentioned four times, and "rejuvenate" and "pure," which were both mentioned once. Cumulatively, Preservation and Deep Environmentalism are also reflected by the promotional materials' emphasis on sense of place, the spiritual connection to nature, and organic, natural quality of the setting. However, in all aspects of environmentalism reflected in The Cliffs at Mountain Park's promotional materials, the project is decidedly anthropocentric, with emphasis placed on the human benefits of preserving, protecting, and maintaining the natural qualities of the landscape. Never in the promotional materials are wildlife or sustainability mentioned, apart from its human benefits of wellness, beauty, and health.

Table 4.1: Environmental rhetoric in The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

	Deep Environmentalism	**Preservation Environmentalism**	**Integrative Environmentalism**	**Ecological Environmentalism**
Words Used (Frequency)	Spiritual/Soul (4) Rejuvenate (1) Nature (8) Pure (1)	Preservation (2) Natural (9) Organic (5) Protected (2)	Garden (5) Health/ Wellness (20) Harmony (1)	
Total of Category's References	14	18	26	0
Percentage of Total References	24%	31%	45%	0%

Temporal Marketing Strategies

The temporal marketing strategies employed by The Cliffs at Mountain Park were analyzed based on three categories: orientation toward the past, present, and future. A past orientation is reflected in the use of nostalgia, heritage, and history to connect with targeted consumers. The quote from Gary Player, such as "throw a pebble in the water. Watch the sunsets. It's a very special place," as well as references to "an old world European-style village setting" reflect this approach (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*). However, in comparison to other communities, the text of The Cliffs at Mountain Park uses very little from the past to sell itself.

The future, encapsulated by the concept of legacy, is reflected in the text slightly more than nostalgia. The statement, "we're creating a lifestyle," refers to how prospective buyers have "the chance to be a part of a mountain classic from the very beginning," and descriptions of "natural preserved corridors that follow rivers and streams," connectivity, and the project's location "surrounded by hundreds of thousands

of acres of protected parklands," are all oriented in some manner toward the future, reflecting legacies of personal, environmental, and social values (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*). However, as with references to the past, they are minor in comparison to textual appeals that focus on the present, particularly those focused on personal enrichment.

The promotional materials for The Cliffs at Mountain Park are heavily weighted with appeals aimed at personal enrichment. Under the umbrella of personal enrichment are statements which are complimentary of the targeted consumer's values and good taste, and emphases on exclusivity, aesthetic qualities, and pleasure. Of these four areas, particular emphasis is placed on exclusivity, direct and indirect compliments of the consumer's values and good taste, and aesthetic appeals.

Exclusivity is demonstrated through descriptions of how the community is preferable to others, the reported limited availability of home sites, and high standards of quality. Descriptions such as "elevated" and "blessed," along with statements of how the community offers "one of the most comprehensive and impressive club memberships in the world," assurances that "your membership at The Cliffs entitles you to more. More options. More possibilities. And more memorable experiences," and that "ownership will be offered exclusively through a Priority Reservation Program" all support an image of a community based on exclusivity (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*). In addition to the proclamation that "Throughout Europe, grand estates were often built upon mountainsides overlooking the village below," the brochure states, "we're creating a lifestyle that celebrates that spirit at the private club community" (The Cliffs

Communities, *Elevated*). Descriptions of Gary Player include "The Black Knight. The Global Ambassador of Golf. The World's Most Traveled Athlete ™. Winner of 18 Major Titles. He is Gary Player, and he is quite simply, a legend," and quotes by the famous golfer enhance the project's exclusive identity. His testimonial, "'This Wellness Program is one of the most advanced in the entire universe. It's so exciting,'" and admonishment, "'One has to travel first class when one has the opportunity. Take this advantage,'" employ celebrity status to lend credibility toward the community's exclusive nature (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

MEET YOU AT THE VILLAGE.

Throughout Europe, grand estates were often built upon mountainsides
overlooking the village below. This idyllic setting is the inspiration for
The Village at Mountain Park - an old world European-style village setting
that will also serve as the location of the Gary Player Group headquarters
and a grand gateway for those who call The Cliffs at Mountain Park home.
Fountains, statues and squares will invite you to explore bakeries, sidewalk
cafés and shops on foot. A complete outfitter's store will help homeowners
take full advantage of the many mountain streams that cross the natural
terrain that defines this community. Perhaps the premier attraction at
The Village will be the world-class home design and selection center.
Additional amenities at Mountain Park will include a Nature Center,
Botanical Gardens, Organic Farm, Private Parks and a quaint Village Inn.

*"I can sit in my office in this European Village, with a bakery next door,
and look out and see those magnificent mountains and this beautiful
golf course we are going to build. It's a treat."*

— Gary Player

Figure 4.16: Nostalgia and Exclusivity reflected in the brochure
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Figure 4.17: Exclusivity and leisure are paired (Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Compliments of the consumer's values are reflected through positive descriptors of character and taste. "Committed," "uncompromising," "acclaimed," "spectacular," and "gracious living" (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*), while used to describe the community's features, attributes, and values, all reflect indirect appeals toward consumers' identities of self, as committed, uncompromising, and gracious individuals.

As with exclusivity, Gary Player, presented as a "world-renowned fitness proponent," is employed to resonate with consumers' values. His testimony, "'One of the most critical parts of my life is Wellness, because I take such an interest in keeping fit,'" appeals to consumers' own desires to maintain physical fitness while "his passion for golf is matched only by his passion for health and wellness- a philosophy and lifestyle in perfect harmony," resonates with those who strive to bring their lifestyles in sync with their values (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Figure 4.18: Intergenerational interaction is prominently showcased
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Additional present-oriented strategies use aesthetic appeals and sense of place. The promotional materials rely heavily on descriptions of the "idyllic setting," "magnificent contours," "virtues of the natural landscape," "mild weather, towering peaks, lush valleys, clear streams, and majestic waterfalls" to craft an image of a "pure" and "very special place" (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*). Additionally, Gary Player

lends third party credibility to these claims. "He has routinely referred to The Cliffs and the surrounding area as 'The Switzerland of America'" (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*). Descriptions of the "Nature Center, Botanical Gardens, Organic Farm, Private Parks, and a quaint Village Inn," coupled with references to the "magnificent mountains and this beautiful golf course we are going to build," create an image of a community design, complete with "natural preserved corridors that follow rivers and streams." The present-oriented concept of personal enrichment is reflected in statements, testimonials, and descriptions aimed to compliment consumers' values and taste, and cement Mountain Park's identity as an exclusive haven for those seeking fulfillment in a "superb natural setting" (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*).

Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure		
	Nostalgia/Heritage/History		
Page	Childhood, Freedom, Lack of Worry, Simpler Times	Wholesomeness, Traditional Values, Family Heritage	Quotations, Indigenous People, Early Settlers, Developer as "Founder"
Cover			
1 Sprd	████████		
2			
3 no text			
4 no text			
5			
6			
7 no text			
8 Sprd			
9			
10 no text			
11 no text			
12		████████	
13 Sprd	████████		
14			
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities		
Cover			
1			
2			
3 Sprd			
4 Map			
Rear Cov			
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Letter		
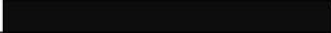
LEGEND	
Images	░░░░░░
Text	▒▒▒▒▒▒
Image and Text	██████

Figure 4.19: Past oriented temporal marketing of The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park Main Brochure			
	Personal Enrichment			
	Direct or indirect compliment of consumer's values, characteristics, good taste	Exclusivity, Calvinistic Language, fortunate few, carefully chosen, privileged	Aesthetic Appeals, Sense of Place, Peace and Serenity	Sex Appeal/Pleasure
Cover		■	■	
1 Sprd	■	■	■	
2	■	■	■	
3 no text				
4 no text			■	
5		■	■	
6	■	■	■	
7 no text				
8 Sprd	■	■	■	
9	■		■	
10 no text				
11 no text				
12	■	■	■	
13 Sprd	■	■		■
14	■	■	■	■
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities			
Cover				
1	■	■	■	
2				
3 Sprd				
4 Map				
Rear Cov				
Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Sales Letter			

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 4.20: Present oriented temporal marketing of The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

Item:	The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Main Brochure			
	Legacy			
Page	Personal and Family Legacy, Longevity	Legacy of Environmmental Protection	Legacy of Values and Principles	Legacy of Exclusivity Privilege
Cover				
1 Sprd			▓	
2		▓		▓
3 no text				
4 no text				
5	▓			
6				
7 no text				
8 Sprd				
9		▓	▓	
10 no text				
11 no text				
12				
13 Sprd				
14	▓			
15				
Item:	Overview Brochure for the Cliffs Communities			
Cover				
1				
2				
3 Sprd				
4 Map				
Rear Cov				
Item:	Letter			

	LEGEND
Images	(light grey)
Text	(grey)
Image and Text	(black)
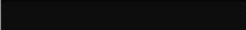
Figure 4.21: Future oriented social marketing strategies of The Cliffs at Mountain Park.

Analysis of the Built Environment

Physical observation and analysis of the built environment are integral to understanding how the project's physical characteristics contribute to its green identity. However, representatives of The Cliffs at Mountain Park declined to grant access to the physical development site. Consequently, analysis of the built environment is not included in discussion of the project.

Interviews

In order to gain a tempered perspective, interviews with representatives of both the development organization and a local conservation group were requested. While representatives of the development organization were initially favorable toward discussing the Mountain Park project, they eventually declined to participate in interviews. However, Upstate Forever, a local conservation group that publicly opposed the development project, agreed to be interviewed. The executive director of Upstate Forever, Brad Wyche, discussed at length the issues that caused the conservation organization to oppose the project as it was proposed.

According to Wyche, development in general is often incompatible with the geographic features of the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. Wyche cited danger of severe damage to the environment due to several factors, including an abundance of narrow, easily silted streams, steep slopes, soil erosion threats, and risks to wildlife habitat. Citing its rich diversity of species, Wyche stated the Southern Appalachian Mountains possess global significance. Consequently, Wyche asserted that due to these challenges, land development needs to be conducted very cautiously in the context of the regional scale (personal communication, February 24, 2009).

When asked whether he thought local developers have adequately addressed pressing environmental concerns, Wyche responded, "No. Not at all" (personal communication, February 24, 2009). In particular, Upstate Forever disapproved of how The Cliffs Communities has approached the Mountain Park project. Wyche claims The Cliffs at Mountain Park fell short of achieving sustainability in two categories: the

handling of waste water and design and placement of the development's golf course. Because of these issues of contention, Upstate Forever does not consider Mountain Park to be green or sustainable. In addition to spurring an organized opposition campaign, contention concerning the project has resulted in legal conflict involving Upstate Forever, The Cliffs Communities, South Carolina Department of Health and Environmental Control (DHEC), and several other groups.

According to Wyche, in their original proposal for Mountain Park, The Cliffs Communities proposed to dispose of treated waste water directly into the North Saluda River. Then, they modified their plans to spray the treated waste water directly onto their golf course, as a means of irrigation, which Wyche contends Upstate Forever advocated early in the design process. However, The Cliffs Communities again modified this plan, proposing to spray the treated waste water on land, but far from the golf course. When questioned by Upstate Forever about how the proposed golf course would be irrigated, The Cliffs Communities has declined to comment. Consequently, Wyche and Upstate Forever suspect water for golf course irrigation will be drawn directly from the North Saluda River, a practice he views as irresponsible, considering the region's ongoing drought issues.

Upstate Forever also raised issues related to the relationship to the North Saluda River. According to Wyche, in their original proposal, The Cliffs Communities proposed realigning the stream channel of the North Saluda River, relocating it so that it would complement the design of the golf course. However, in response to mounting opposition, The Cliffs modified their proposal, removing channel relocation from their plan.

Reportedly, this design adjustment saved the developer $2 million in costs. The second issue of contention is that The Cliffs Communities original plan called for 16 bridges and 9 play-overs in a distance of two miles. Additionally, riparian buffers along the North Saluda River were considered to be inadequate by Upstate Forever and other groups. In spite of an alleged lack of complete and accurate information on ultimate project build out, resource protection, and specific details of design Upstate Forever reports DHEC approved the golf course plan.

Due to the North Saluda River's status as a navigable trout stream and reported lack of specific project information, opposition to the project was mounted. In addition to Upstate Forever, the groups Trout Unlimited, the Sierra Club, South Carolina Native Plant Society, South Carolina Wildlife Federation, and a group founded in response to the proposed development, Save Our Saluda, filed an appeal with DHEC, challenging the golf course design. Among major issues raised in the appeal is an alleged failure of The Cliffs Communities to consider and evaluate all feasible alternatives, a requirement that Upstate Forever alleges DHEC did not adequately enforce.

Wyche contends that Upstate Forever has never intended to halt development of a golf course or residential development on the 5,000 acre tract. However, they take issue with the placement and design of the golf course, and lack of specificity of intended build-out for the project. According to Wyche, a redesigned concept completed by Upstate Forever indicates that a championship 18 hole golf course could still be accommodated on site, even with the addition of 50' forested buffers on both sides of the

N. Saluda River and only 3 bridge crossings. In contrast, Wyche contends the project's 16 bridges and 9 play-overs treat the river as a giant water hazard, with minimal buffers.

However, Wyche maintains public opposition to The Cliffs at Mountain Park did impact the project's sustainability. According to Wyche, The Cliffs Communities did take steps to minimize impacts of the project, particularly the discharge of treated waste water into the North Saluda River, and they abandoned the plan to realign the river's channel (personal communication, February 24, 2009).

Wyche stated he does not know enough about the project to endorse any of its characteristics. "Right now, I can't really say there are any green features," explained Wyche. While he is encouraged by news of The Cliffs reported partnership with Clemson University on sustainable turf research, Wyche (personal communication, February 24, 2009) stated he does not have familiarity of the initiative to comment on it, adding that "outside the gates," The Cliffs Communities has done admirable work, particularly in its donation of land for an educational center, a $100,000 donation toward Upstate Forever's efforts to preserve Oconee County landmark, Stumphouse Tunnel, from development, and its Cliffs Cottage, located at Furman University, which showcases green features.

However, Wyche contends that inside the gates, The Cliffs has created tension, particularly with regard to access. According to Wyche, the process by which a private developer can get South Carolina State approval for closing of public roads is relatively easy. Consequently, The Cliffs has reportedly utilized this process on occasion, angering many who have enjoyed access and recreation. In the particular case of its Mountain

Park project, The Cliffs angered one of its higher-profile neighbors, U.S. Representative Bob Inglis, by using the process to close a formerly public roadway on which the Republican Representative routinely had ridden his bicycle.

Wyche was asked what he considered to be the greatest assets and challenges of The Cliffs at Mountain Park. According to Upstate Forever, Mountain Park's greatest potential assets are its size and the North Saluda River. Because the tract is 5,000 acres, The Cliffs Communities could cluster development, concentrating buildings in a smaller land area, preserving the difference as open space. Due to clustering, the same number of units could be accommodated while consuming a smaller amount of land. Also, the river could be buffered, enhanced, restored as habitat, and used to promote recreation. From the perspective of Upstate Forever, how the North Saluda River and the proposed golf course were addressed in the design posed the greatest challenges to the project's sustainability.

Wyche claims the actions of the Cliffs do not match their words. He asserts that while The Cliffs has employed rhetoric and images in high profile advertisements proclaiming their sensitivity toward the natural environment, these claims have not been reinforced by the organization's actions. However, Wyche conceded that many other development companies do not even bother to make green claims.

Discussion

Juxtaposed, the imagery, text, and environmental rhetoric create a compelling image of what The Cliffs Communities perceive to be the values and desires of their

targeted consumers. While the project's promotional materials contain references to some green identity, a great deal more emphasis is placed on the social facets of the community. Consequently, the natural beauty of the site and region is shown primarily for its role in providing a stage set for the social interaction and exclusivity of members. Activities showcased against this backdrop emphasize leisure and exclusivity. While the imagery and text slightly graze the past and future, the temporal marketing strategy emphasizes the present day benefits of membership. However, the benefits suggested in imagery and environmental rhetoric are decidedly anthropocentric in nature. In the absence of discussions of potential benefits to wildlife and ecological function, the human benefits of preserving, protecting, and maintaining the natural qualities of the landscape are emphasized. Particularly, cultivation of personal health and wellness, preservation of aesthetic qualities, enjoyment of beautiful surroundings, and pleasant social interaction are benefits not only unique to humans, but within the confines of The Cliffs at Mountain Park, benefits to be enjoyed by members and guests.

Situated in its current political and social context, The Cliffs Communities decline to participate in this study is understandable. While third parties can boost a project's credibility, a broad coalition of allied opposition can also damage a project's credibility, cast doubts in the minds of its potential consumers, and compromise its "green" brand identity. Because The Cliffs at Mountain Park has been vigorously challenged by so many stakeholders on such substantive alleged shortcomings, it provides a compelling contrast to projects that have not received such opposition. The case illustrates that however carefully an image and identity may be crafted, if substantial issues are raised by

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vocal opposition, the resulting negative publicity has the potential to challenge not only

the "green" brand identity of the project, but also a larger development company brand.
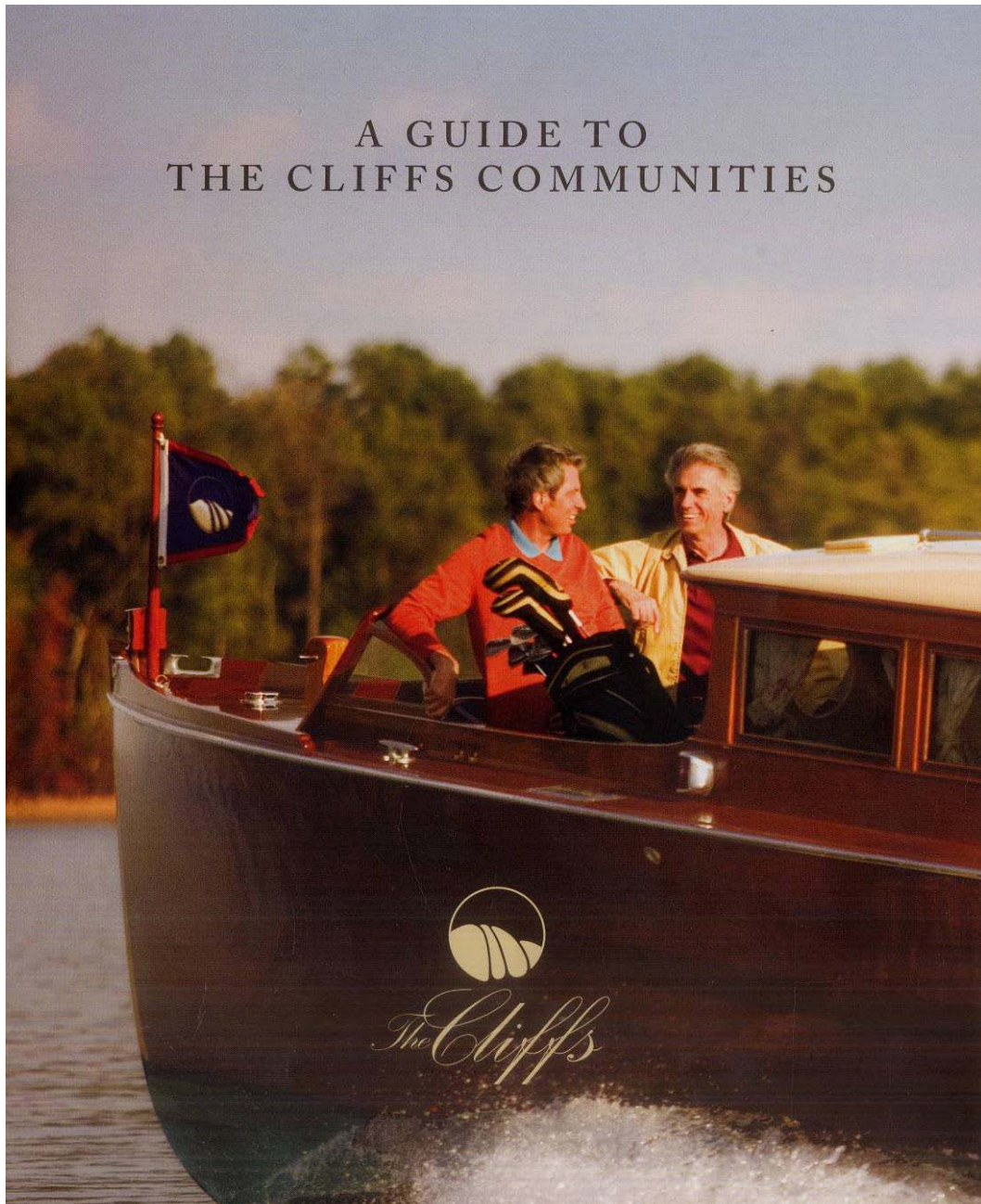
Figure 4.22: Symbols of exclusivity and leisure
(Source: The Cliffs Communities, *Guide*).

CHAPTER FIVE

BALSAM MOUNTAIN PRESERVE

Project Overview

Balsam Mountain Preserve, located near Sylva, North Carolina, is one of several high-end recreation and resort development projects created by Chaffin/Light Associates. Other projects by Chaffin/Light are located in the low country of South Carolina, Rocky Mountains of Colorado, and Puget Sound in Washington state. According to its promotional materials, a projected 354 homes will be constructed on the 4,400 acre tract, which is situated adjacent to the Nantahala National Forest. Of the project's total 4,400 acres, 3,000 are preserved under a conservation easement, while the remaining 1,400 acres support the homes, golf course, amenity areas, and infrastructure.

Balsam Mountain Preserve was initially selected as a project due to its inclusion of golf, direct adjacency to the Nantahala National Forest, relatively small number of modest lot sizes spread over a large tract, and absence of significant waterfront. The project contains not only single family residences, but also fractional ownership opportunities. Additionally, the developer's strong identification of the project as exemplar of "sustainable development, which calls for planning low-density communities focused on preserving nature and open spaces" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*) illustrate a clear green brand identity.

Review of Promotional Materials

Review of Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials included an inventory and analysis of page coverage, imagery, and text content. Materials received from Balsam Mountain Preserve included a sturdy brochure, expandable site map, calendar of events, letter, and a DVD. Of these, the brochure, site map, calendar of events, and letter were analyzed. The content of the DVD was checked for consistency with other promotional materials. All promotional materials were presented in earth tones, featuring images of the outdoors, and prominent display of the Balsam Mountain Preserve logo, which features silhouettes of a trout, bear, and hawk rotating around a centrally placed Balsam Fir.

Recognizable Green Characteristics

As with those of other cases, Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials were scanned for recognizable green characteristics, represented both visually and textually. The accompanying text found in the promotional materials largely supports the story and messages reflected in the imagery. While some recognizable green characteristics were reflected, they were presented secondarily to the aesthetic qualities of the place. Consistent with promotional materials of other examined cases, recognizable green features such as conservation of energy, soils, and hydrology were not prominently featured in the images. While some references to protection of existing hydrology, production of energy, and management of landscape and wildlife are present; most textual references to sustainability center on the educational, interpretive, management,

and research activities of the Balsam Mountain Trust. Thus, the text content pertaining to sustainability mirrors the image content. In two instances, a waterwheel, dubbed with the sign, "Balsam Mountain Preserve Power" was shown, reflective of energy conservation and production. However, this was presented as a backdrop for the recreational and educational activities taking place in the image. The majority of image and textual content reflective of recognizable green characteristics pertained primarily to the land and wildlife management, environmental interpretation, education, and research activities of the development's Balsam Mountain Trust.

Image content of green characteristics was found to be consistent with the goals of the Balsam Mountain Trust, identified by the brochure as; management of preserved conservation lands, development and presentation of educational programs, and implementation of land management plans and landscaping practices. While educational outreach programming for members, guests, educational institutions, and the surrounding community are reflected in both imagery and text; the Trust's other two goals; management of conservation lands and implementation of sound land management plans and landscaping practices, were not overtly reflected in imagery.

Where environmental education is reflected in both imagery and text, the larger concept of responsible land management and stewardship are only found predominantly in text. The concept is alluded to on the first page of Balsam's brochure, which states that Chaffin/Light Associates "builds low-density luxury communities with an ethic of environmental stewardship" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). Additionally, the mission statement of Balsam Mountain Preserve also reflects this sentiment, through

references to stewardship, natural systems, and regional environmental leadership: The mission statement pronounces:

"The mission of Balsam Mountain Preserve is to create a human settlement within a park, whose members share traditional values, a strong sense of place and an ethos of human stewardship of the natural systems that support all life. We seek a legacy of happy, enriching daily life, sustainable harmony within our surroundings and regional environmental leadership. Moreover, we seek to protect and preserve this rugged and beautiful place, so that it might comfort living things for years to come" Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

While the sustainability of the project is discussed secondary to the social and personal benefits of the community, Balsam Mountain Preserve devotes considerable text detailing the project's environmental strengths. Descriptions of the Trust's "stewardship of its natural resources," programs established "so that homeowners and their guests will be able to learn about and enjoy the community's amazing biodiversity," and responsibilities of "management, interpretation and protection of the Preserve's natural and cultural resources" reflect the centrality of management, education, interpretation, and research in the project's green identity. The brochure also explains, "At the Preserve's nature center, members, guests, students and research partners have access to resources that include working labs, a library and a museum housing natural and cultural artifacts, as well as living specimens that are utilized in the center's educational programs" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). This description presents the Preserve's nature center, not as a purveyor of sentimentalism, but as a serious entity involved in rigorous, scientific pursuits.

However, these activities are discussed primarily in the context of their human benefits. While considerable text is devoted to explaining the different activities of the

trust, detailed discussion of the ecological benefits of preserving two-thirds of Balsam Mountain Preserve's 4,400 acres is largely absent from the text. Instead, the benefits of stewardship reflect a strongly anthropocentric view of nature, as evidenced in the primary benefit touted as "so that homeowners and their guests will be able to learn about and enjoy the community's amazing and unique biodiversity" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure									
	Protection-restoration of existing hydrology	Storm-water runoff reduction, infiltration	Water conserv. and reuse	Steep slope protection	Soil conservation and erosion protection	Energy conservation, production, pollution reduc.	Native vegetation protection	Land and Wildlife mgmt.	On Site food prod.	Env'tal education, research, interp.
Cover										
1	■							■		■
2								■		■
3										
4 Sprd										
5						■		■		■
6										
7								■		■
8						■		■		■
9						■				
10										
11										
12										
13								■		■
14						■				
15										■
16								■		
17										
Rear Cov										
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map									
Cover										
1										
2										
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events									
Cover										
1										
2										
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule									
1/Cover										
2										
3										
4										
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter									
								■		■
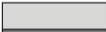
LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 5.1: Recognizable green characteristics at Balsam Mountain Preserve.

The Balsam Mountain Trust pursues its goals in three major ways:

Nearly 3,000 acres of the Preserve are set aside in a permanent conservation easement, never to be developed. The Trust manages these lands.

The Trust develops and presents educational outreach programs to members, guests, educational institutions and the surrounding community.

Careful building practices are important to us. The Trust cooperates with the developer to implement sound land management plans and landscaping practices.

Figure 5.2: Images and text of environmental education, management, and research (source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Third Party Credibility

Project credibility through third parties is garnered throughout Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials. Visually, it is reflected in images of Arnold Palmer, designer of the community's golf course; a brochure insert containing a plethora of

endorsements by various magazines; and the development's own naturalists, employed by the Balsam Mountain Trust. Additionally, project credibility is conveyed through imagery of families assumed to be similar to those targeted as potential buyers. Discussion of the role of families in text and imagery is included under the heading of people and activities.

While the text identifies the adjacent Nantahala National Forest as a contributing factor to the protection of Balsam Mountain Preserve's setting, public lands are not extensively used to bolster the environmental credibility of the project. Instead, third party credibility of the sustainability of the project is achieved primarily through mention and discussion of the Balsam Mountain Trust, the non-profit entity established by the developer. Use of the Trust to built third party credibility represents an interesting variation from strictly external entities. Although the Trust employs three full time naturalists (T. Leatherwood, personal communication, May 11, 2009), its quasi external position cannot be viewed as strictly independent of the development, as it was established by the project's developers.

Consistent with his employment through imagery, Arnold Palmer, designer of the project's Arnold Palmer Signature Golf Course lends his credentials toward the claim of offering a high quality golf experience through ample textual references. Additionally, accolades of the development are found in snippets from a range of different magazines, not only increasing the community's profile among potential consumers but also associating its name with those of renowned publications in golf, travel, and lifestyle

cultivation. Furthermore, testimonials of current buyers are used to reinforce credibility

among potential buyers.

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure			
	Celebrities	Env'tal. Groups	Other Groups	Peers
Cover				
1				
2				
3				
4 Sprd				
5				
6				
7				
8				
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10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
Rear Cov				
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map			
Cover				
1				
2				
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events			
Cover				
1				
2				
Item: Balsam Mountain Prserve, Fee Schedule			
1/Cover				
2				
3				
4				
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter			

LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 5.3: Third party credibility in Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Mountain Homes Southern Style - Awarded "Best Preserve"

"Of its 4,400 stunning acres, 3,000 will remain undisturbed and protected by a conservation easement. The preserved land includes open green spaces, lush forest, wildlife habitats and 38 miles of pristine streams."
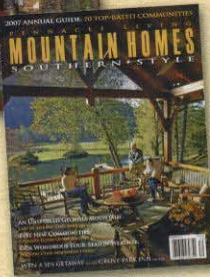
Mountain Homes Southern Style
Recognized as one of the Best Communities for Environmentalists

"The Balsam Mountain Trust also provides educational outreach to members, guests, educational institutions and the surrounding community, conducting joint projects with regional universities and environmental organizations. The trust works with the developer to implement sound land management plans and landscaping practices, in keeping with the careful building practices and environmental awareness that are the core of the community's philosophy."

What They're Saying About Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Chaffin/Light is dedicated to creating authentic, natural, and livable places that foster rewarding life experiences. Balsam Mountain Preserve is a perfect example of that dedication brought to life. Here is what is being said about it in the press.

Chaffin/Light

Stratos

From the article "Communities Go Green" - "It's just gorgeous up there." says Sam Belfore of Ormond Beach, Florida, a retired financial advisor who's currently building at Balsam Mountain. "Most of the homesites are surrounded by trust property, so I won't even see my neighbors. The amenities are just spectacular, the vistas on the new Arnold Palmer signature course are prettier than any I have ever seen."

Luxury Living

"Recently, www.relocate-america.com pinpointed Asheville as the No. 1 place to live in America on its yearly Top 100 List. Gated luxury developments are springing up throughout the region boasting world-class golf courses and all of the typical amenities; tennis, clubhouses, pools, stables, fly-fishing, hiking and bike trails, and nature centers. Balsam Mountain boasts all these amenities and is located just 38 miles west of Asheville."

LINKS 2007/2008

Recognized as one of "America's Top 100 Premier Properties" in 2007 and 2008. "There are thousands of golf communities in the U.S., but only the best are selected for inclusion in LINKS Magazine's America's 100 Premier Properties, the original, most comprehensive, and most authoritative guide to golf real estate".
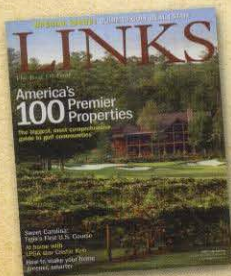
www.BalsamMountain.com   866-452-3456

Figure 5.4: Publications lend third party credibility
(Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*.).

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Representations of the Built Environment

Aesthetic appeals contained in the imagery favor informal, rustic, and traditional styles, set over the backdrop of a landscape that is presented as intact, pristine, and wild. Scenes of the wild landscape prominently showcase forests, mountain vistas, streams, and non-threatening wildlife such as a turtle, "Hootie," a great horned owl, and a trout. Apart from the project logo, threatening wildlife are largely absent from imagery. Constructed areas of the landscape favor the English landscape aesthetic, not only reflected in the design character of the Arnold Palmer Signature golf course, but also in the grassy meadows and lawns that provide the setting for equestrian imagery. While the deliberate geometrical designs of formal landscapes are largely absent from imagery, the placement of buildings amongst native vegetation, and use of informal masses of plantings in between strewn boulders reflects purposeful employment of the natural landscape aesthetic in imagery.

References to the aesthetic quality of the built environment contained in the text present the same rustic, traditional, and informal characteristics contained in the images. Descriptions of the wooded setting, "mountains piled upon mountains," streams, and "natural wonders" found at Balsam Mountain Preserve all reinforce the imagery. Additionally, the aesthetic qualities of "understated amenities" are openly presented. The brochure describes, "Our aesthetic is embodied by the Boarding house, our inn and dining room for members and guests. We feel right at home when buildings reflect and celebrate the landscapes and cultures that surround them" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). In conjunction with descriptions of the Southern hospitality found within the

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walls of the boarding house, references to "mountain simplicity and modern comfort, with shaded porches, glowing fireplaces, inviting furniture, and sumptuous dining" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*) all aim to reinforce the identity first impressed through the image of a rustic, informal, and authentic place. Moreover, adjectives such as "hand hewn," "authentic," "organic," and "hearth-side" emphasize the purported rustic ethos of the place.

The informality and naturalistic qualities reflected in the landscape is extended to built features as well. While some interior views are shown, images overwhelmingly show the exteriors of houses, stables, amenity structures, and other built features. Most structures depicted reflect traditional and rustic styles, constructed of wood and stone, and typically of small to medium size. Weathered wood siding, muted hues, railings fashioned from unpeeled logs and Rhododendron branches, hand-hewn timbers, stacked flagstone, rusted corrugated metal roofing, and traditional furnishings contribute to the rusticity depicted in the brochure's imagery. In conjunction with the aesthetic nature of the wild and disturbed landscape, the styles, materials, and finishes of the structures create an image of a weathered settlement that has stood in its mountain setting for decades. However, visual emphasis is placed not on the qualities of the built environment, but the human activities and interaction contained within.

Page	Forests	Rivers and streams	Hiking Trails	Mountain Vistas	Wildlife-threatening	Wildlife-non-threatening	Domest. animals	Hort.	Golf Courses	English Landscape Aesthetic	Formal Landscape Aesthetic	Naturalistic Landscape Aesthetic
Item:	**Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure**											
	Landscape: Wild						**Landscape: Cultivated**					
Cover		░		░								
1	▒	░	░			▒	▒		▒	▒		
2		░	░		▒	▒	▒					
3		░										
4 Sprd			░	▒								
5		▒										
6	░			▒		░			█	░		
7	▒	░	▒		█							
8	░					░		▒				
9	▒	▒	█	▒			▒		█	█		
10								░				
11												
12												
13	░		░		░				█			
14	░	░		▒					░			
15												
16	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒		░	█			
17			░	▒								
Rear Cov												
Item:	**Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map**											
Cover				░	░							
1	░			░			░		░			░
2												
Item:	**Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events**											
Cover	░				░							
1							░			░		
2				░			░		░			
Item:	**Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule**											
1/Cover												
2												
3												
4												
Item:	**Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter**											
	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒			▒			

LEGEND

Images	░
Text	▒
Image and Text	█

Figure 5.5: Wild vs. cultivated landscape in Balsam Mountain Preserve.
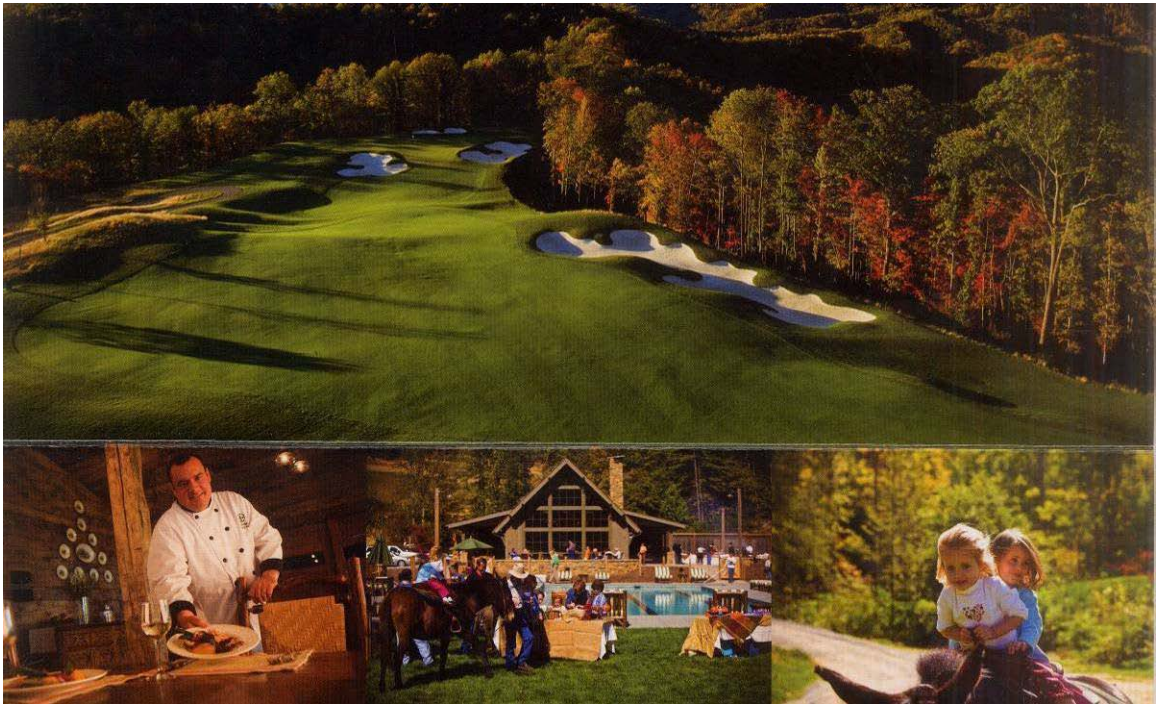
Figure 5.6: Golf and the English landscape aesthetic (Balsam Mountain Preserve, 2008).

354 Homesteads on 4,400 Acres.
38 Miles of Streams, Creeks & Waterfalls.
50 Miles of Hiking, Biking & Equestrian Trails.
100-Mile Views & Elevations Up To 5,481 Feet.
Homesteads From The $400,000's.
Single Family Homes From $1.4 Million.
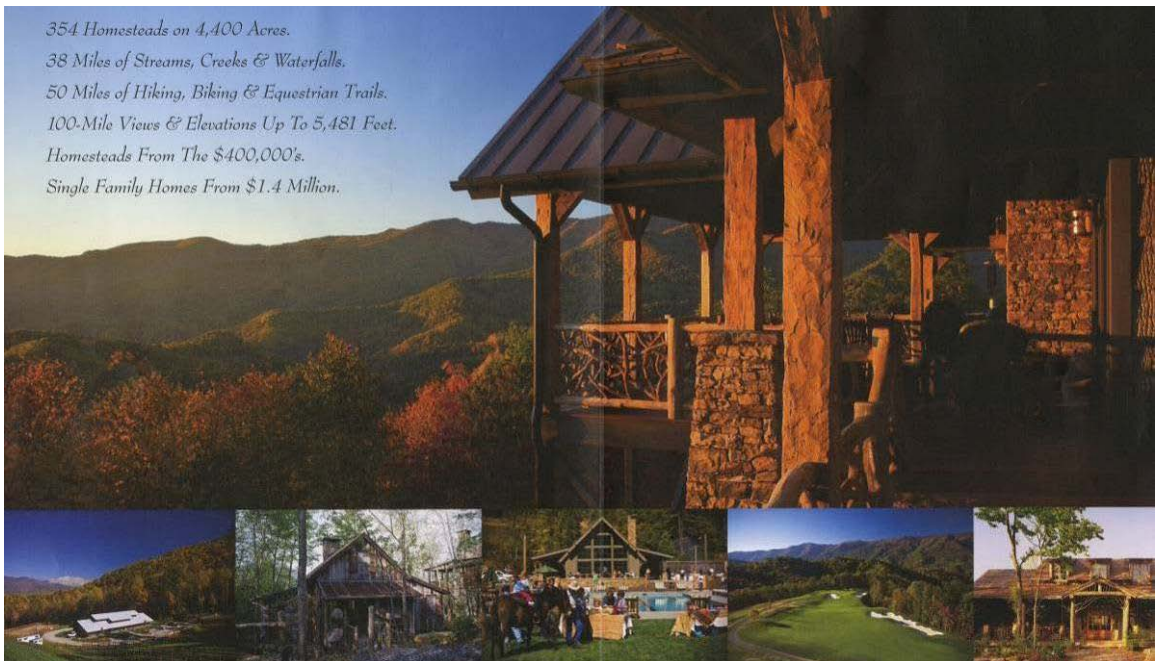
Figure 5.7: Rusticity of structures and landscape at Balsam Mountain Preserve
(Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Site Map*).

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure						
	Structures Depicted (1/2)					
	View		**Dominant Materials**			
Page	**Interior**	**Exterior**	**Wood**	**Stone**	**Metal**	**Synthetic**
Cover						
1		Images		Images		
2						
3						
4 Sprd						
5	Text	Images	Images			
6						
7	Text	Images	Images			
8		Images	Images			
9	Text	Images	Images		Images	
10	Image and Text					
11	Text	Image and Text			Images	
12	Image and Text	Image and Text	Images			
13				Images		
14		Images	Images			
15	Images		Images			
16		Images	Images	Images		
17						
Rear Cov						
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map						
Cover						
1		Images	Images	Images	Images	
2						
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events						
Cover						
1			Images			
2	Images	Images	Images	Images	Images	
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule						
1/Cover						
2						
3						
4						
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter						
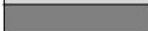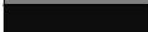
LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 5.8: Views and materials of structures in Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure

Structures Depicted (2/2)

Shading legend — I = Images (light gray), T = Text (medium gray), IT = Image and Text (black)

Page	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover						
1		T	IT	IT	T	T
2						
3						
4 Sprd						
5			IT	IT	T	
6						
7			I	I		
8						
9		T	IT		IT	IT
10			IT		IT	IT
11			IT	IT	T	I
12		I	IT	IT	T	
13		IT	IT			I
14	T	I	I	I	I	I
15						
16		I			I	I
17						
Rear Cov						

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map

Page	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover						
1		I	I	I	I	I
2						

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events

Page	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover						
1			I			
2						

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule

Page	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
1/Cover						
2						
3						
4						

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 5.9: Style and size of structures in Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Figure 5.10: Rustic nostalgia of the Boarding House
(Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*.).

People and Activities

While Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials contain an abundance of images reflecting the rustic character of the project. the expansive mountain views, forested glades, hiking trails, trout streams, and golf course vistas serve as a backdrop for depicting what the brochure entitles, "life on the mountain" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*) Expounded upon through discussion of the Balsam Mountain Trust, Balsam

Mountain Club, amenities, and contextual information concerning the community's location and development team; Balsam Mountain Preserve presents life as engagement in recreational activities and social interaction within the context of the wild, rustic, and forested terrain of the community. Imagery throughout the main brochure reflects the topics of the text. Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials reflect a community of families, and accompanying text bolsters this image. Multiple references to "families," "grand-dad," and the club's "multi-generational membership plan" all reflect the expressed intent of the developer, Chaffin/Light Associates, to "encourage inter-generational activities and create family legacies" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). The recreational opportunities offered through the development's amenities reflect the intergenerational bent of the community. As the brochure explains, "the informality of our place combines with amenities that encourage families and neighbors to be together." Centered in the outdoor setting, "fun filled family programs," a golf course "designed to connect golfers to the land" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*) and a range of passive and active recreational activities reflect the range of activities and desires of families including children, young adults, to the elderly.

People reflected in the images represent a broad range of age groups, including children, young adults, middle-aged, and elderly people. By depicting a range of people, appeals toward those seeking intergenerational relationships with their grown children, grandchildren, and peers are made. Subjects, all of whom are Caucasian, are shown casually dressed, both solitary, as well as in groups, partaking in a broad range of activities. Active outdoor recreational activities such as hiking and fishing are featured

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prominently, while swimming, tennis, and equestrian activities are also shown. Additionally, images, many of them featuring children, engaged in learning about wildlife, catching tadpoles in a stream, and on guided hikes with naturalists all reflect the educational, outreach, and research activities associated with the development's Balsam Mountain Trust, which manages the project's nearly 3,000 acre conservation lands.

As with other examined cases, passive recreation is reflected through presentations of leisure, enjoyment of food and beverages, relaxation, music, and the arts in imagery and text. The images of the brochure can be interpreted to present the ideal of spending time with family, fishing in a mountain stream, learning about the native flora and fauna, partaking in a broad range of active and passive recreational opportunities, and enjoy great food and wine while watching the sun set over the mountains beyond.

Arnold Palmer Signature golf course
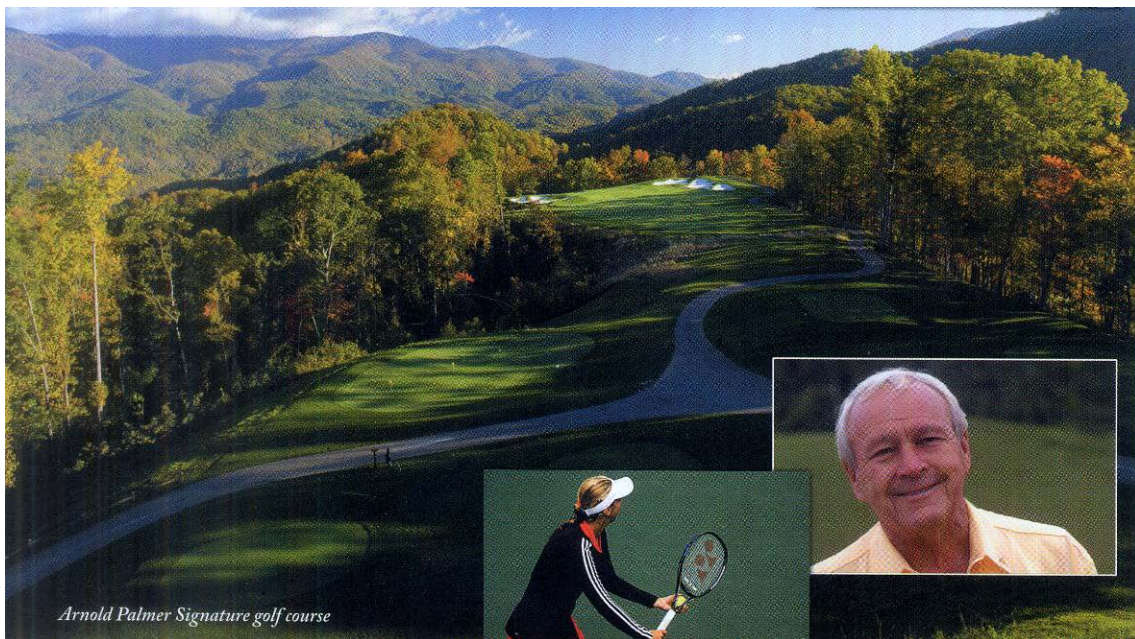
Figure 5.11: Golf takes a high profile share of Balsam Mountain Preserve's recreational opportunities (Source: Balsam Mountain Preserve, *Welcome*).

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure

Page	Family				People		Race		Attire		
	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
Cover											
1				▓							
2	▓	▓	▓	▓							
3											
4 Sprd											
5	■	■	■	▓		░	░		░	░	
6	■	■	■	▓					░	░	
7			░						░		
8	░										
9	■	■	■	▓					░		
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11											
12			░		░		░		░		
13	▓	▓	■	▓						░	
14											
15	░	░			░		░		░		
16		░									░
17											
Rear Cov											

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map

Page	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
Cover											
1						░					
2											

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events

Page	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
Cover											
1			░		░		░		░		
2			░		░		░		░		

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule

Page	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
1/Cover											
2											
3											
4											

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter

Page	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
	▓	▓	▓	▓							

LEGEND

Images	░
Text	▓
Image and Text	■

Figure 5.12: People and activities at Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Life on the Mountain

Before now, people who came into the high coves of the Great Balsam Mountains made their stays fleeting.

The Cherokee came up for thousands of years to hunt and fish, but their homes were lower down, near the rivers. When settlers arrived in the mountains, they began traditions of outdoorsmanship here that have spanned generations, but they, too, tended to choose the valleys to live. Miners were here, and loggers came, too.

But until we arrived, very few people made homes in the Sugarloaf Valley.

Only 354 families will live at Balsam Mountain Preserve. Those who do will enjoy an extraordinary low-density community, with about two-thirds of the land remaining untouched, and seeming much the same as it was a century ago.

Those who've already made homes here enjoy an unpretentious community, with *The Boarding House,* the Balsam Mountain Club's inn and dining room, as a focal point. Here, members meet and make friends to last a lifetime, celebrating common bonds and interests at mealtime and at hearth-side.

Our staff includes a full time activities director and a carefully chosen hospitality staff, who work together to coordinate events and plan fun-filled family programs.

The Balsam Mountain Trust is the Preserve's not-for-profit arm. In addition to the Trust's land management duties, it operates our nature center, conducts activities and excursions, and organizes a visiting artists program.

The informality of our place combines with amenities that encourage families and neighbors to be together.

1. Independence Day
2. Arriving for the Barn Dance
3. The Cisco Playboys entertain at a Barn Dance
4. A winter outing at Dark Ridge Pavilion

Balsam Mountain Preserve's amenities enrich life on the mountain without defining it. Still, we take those amenities seriously, and are dedicated to providing our community with singular details that are appropriate to this special place.

There is no better example than our Arnold Palmer Signature golf course. Palmer's courses are designed to connect golfers to the land - a goal that resonates with the lifestyle and values of Balsam Mountain Preserve. The result is a

Figure 5.13: Intergenerational subjects and activities at Balsam Mountain Preserve (Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Figure 5.14: Family oriented programs at Camp Balsam
(Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure

Legend for cell shading: Images (light), Text (medium), Image and Text (black). Below, cells are marked as I = Images, T = Text, B = Image and Text.

Page	Active									Passive		
	Tennis, swimming pools	Golf	Power Boating	Hunting	Fishing	Hiking and Camping	Climbing	Equestrian	Rafting and Canoeing	Leisure-Relaxation	Music and arts	Food and Drink
Cover												
1	T	T			T	T				T	T	T
2												
3												
4 Sprd												
5				T	T	B				B	B	T
6	B	T			B							
7						B						
8					I					I		
9	B	T			T	T		I		B		B
10										T		T
11										T		B
12										I		I
13		T								B	T	T
14									I	B	T	B
15						B				B	T	I
16	B	B			T	T				T	T	T
17												
Rear Cov												

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map

Page	Active									Passive		
Cover												
1								I		I		
2												

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve Calendar of Events

Page	Active									Passive		
Cover												
1								I				
2	I									I	I	I

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve Fee Schedule

Page	Active									Passive		
1/Cover												
2												
3												
4												

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter

	Active									Passive		
	T	T			T	T				T	T	T

LEGEND

Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 5.15: Active and passive recreation at Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Environmental Rhetoric

Of the four categories of environmentalism, Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials heavily favor preservation environmentalism. Preservation environmentalism received a total of 80 references, reflecting 86 percent of all environmental rhetoric counted. Ecological environmentalism was a distant second, receiving 6 references, and only 6 percent of all environmental rhetoric counted. Deep environmentalism received 5 references, and 5 percent of all environmental rhetoric counted. Integrative environmentalism received 2 references, and only 2 percent of all al environmental rhetoric counted. Consequently, Balsam Mountain Preserve is strongly oriented toward those for whom preservation environmentalism resonates.

The most commonly used word associated with preservation environmentalism was preservation and its variations, preserve and preserved. While many of its 58 references were in recalling the development's name, it was also used as an adjective and verb. Although some may suggest the word, "preserve," should be omitted from the word count due to its use in the development's name, its inclusion in Balsam Mountain Preserve's name only bolsters the assertion that the development is geared toward those who identify with preservation environmentalism.

The second most frequently used word was "natural," used 9 times. The words, "stewardship" and "pristine" both tied for the third most frequently used words, at 3 times each. "Wilderness" and "organic" were both used twice, while "indigenous," "pre-existing," and "native" were each mentioned once.

Preservation environmentalism reflects Balsam Mountain Preserve's emphasis on sense of place, and the organic, natural quality of the setting. However, in all aspects of environmentalism reflected in Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials, emphasis is placed on the human benefits of preserving, protecting, and maintaining the natural qualities of the landscape. While wildlife and sustainability are mentioned and discussed, the vast majority of press given to them is devoted to the human benefits of associated with protecting, managing, and learning about the natural environment.

Table 5.1: Environmental Rhetoric of Balsam Mountain Preserve (Source: Author).

	Deep Environmentalism	Preservation Environmentalism	Integrative Environmentalism	Ecological Environmentalism
Words Used (Frequency)	Nature (5)	Preservation (58) Wilderness (2) Indigenous (1) Preexisting (1) Stewardship (1) Native (1) Natural (9) Organic (2) Pristine (3)	Sustainable Development (1) Harmony (1)	Biodiversity (1) Ecosystems (1) Habitat (4)
Total of Category's References	5	80	2	6
Percentage of Total References	5 %	86%	2%	6%

Temporal Marketing Strategies

While much text is devoted to descriptions of the physical features and activities offered in built environment of Balsam Mountain Preserve, considerable press is also devoted to the temporal marketing strategies aimed at connecting with the values, desires,

and self-image of targeted consumers. Categorized according to their relationship to time, temporal marketing strategies include: past, present, and future orientations. Balsam Mountain Preserve has employed all three temporal marketing strategies, appealing to the past, present, and future. This multi-faceted approach is reflected in its mission statement:

"The mission of Balsam Mountain Preserve is to create a human settlement within a park, whose members share traditional values, a strong sense of place and an ethos of human stewardship of the natural systems that support all life. We seek a legacy of happy, enriching daily life, sustainable harmony within our surroundings and regional environmental leadership. Moreover, we seek to protect and preserve this rugged and beautiful place, so that it might comfort living things for years to come" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).
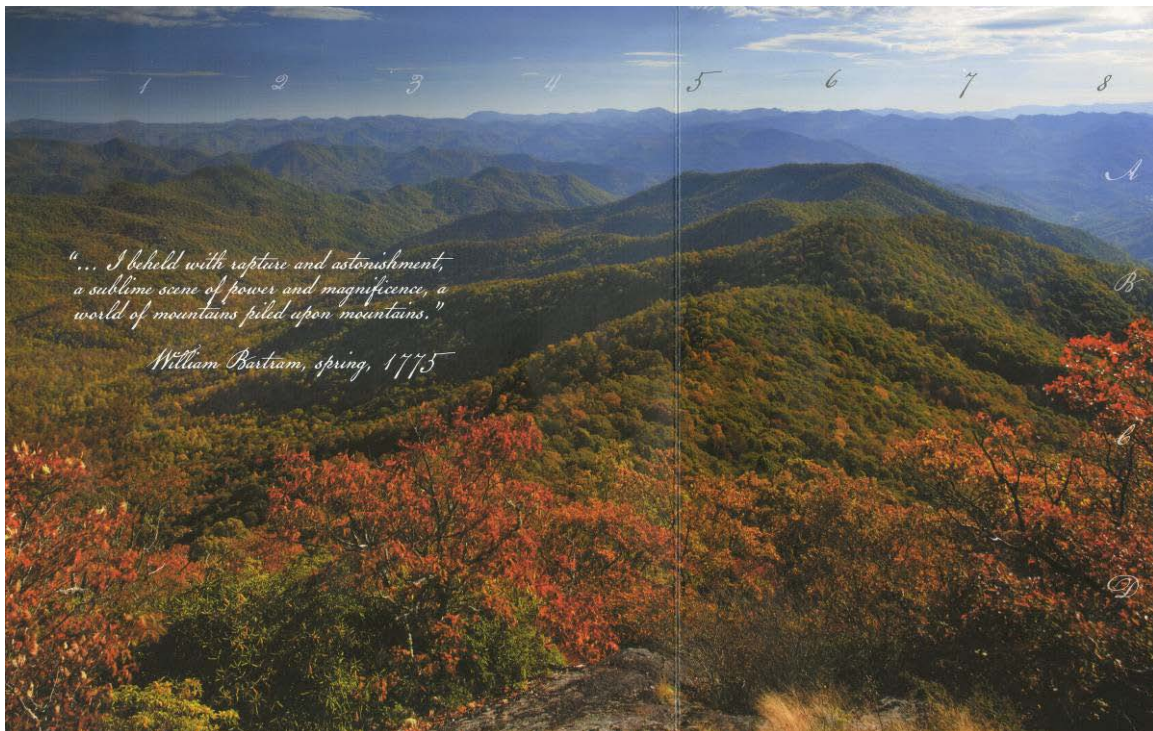
Figure 5.16: Nostalgia through quotation of historic figures
(Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Balsam Mountain Preserve heavily relies on nostalgia, heritage, and history to connect with targeted consumers. References to "grand-dad's fishing hole," Southern hospitality, and descriptions of how the community "is a testament to how beautiful life in this world can be" reflect an emphasis on childhood memories, lack of worry, and simpler times. The community mission statement explicitly appeals to those who "share traditional values" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). Additional references including "traditions of outdoorsmanship here that have spanned generations," "traditional golf challenges," and nearby "main-street towns" reinforce the brand identity reflecting respect for traditional values, wholesomeness, and family heritage. Historical credentials are also lent through the text contained in the promotional materials. The developer is referred to as the "creator." A page, featuring an image spread of an expansive mountain view is super-imposed with a historical quote, written in scripted fashion: *"'...I beheld with rapture and astonishment, a sublime sense of power and magnificence, a world of mountains piled upon mountains.' William Bartram, spring, 1775"* (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). Additional references to Cherokee, early settlers, miners, and loggers not only lend historical context to the setting, but also are used to create an impression of an unspoiled landscape: "Before now, people who came into the high coves of the Great Balsam Mountains made their stays fleeting." Additionally, the developer and prospective buyers are likened to those early inhabitants of the mountainous setting: "But until we arrived, very few people made homes in the Sugarloaf Valley" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). Accounted together, textual references to historical people, and their impressions, activities, and dwellings, combined with

statements of how the contemporary development reflects and celebrates that history amount to powerful appeals to the past.

Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure		
	Nostalgia/Heritage/History		
Page	Childhood, Freedom, Lack of Worry, Simpler Times	Wholesomeness, Traditional Values, Family Heritage	Quotations, Indigenous People, Early Settlers, Developer as "Founder"
Cover			
1	▓		▓
2		▓	
3			
4 Sprd			▓
5		▓	
6			
7			
8			
9		▓	
10			▓
11	▓		
12			
13			▓
14	▓	▓	▓
15			▓
16	▓		▓
17			▓
Rear Cov			
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map		
Cover			
1			
2			
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events		
Cover			
1			
2			
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule		
1/Cover			
2			
3			
4			
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter		
			▓

LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 5.17: The Past at Balsam Mountain Preserve.

In the roaring 20s, when "Ruby City" mine operated at the head of Sugarloaf Creek, the miners stayed at a rambling boarding house nearby. Our inn and dining room are named in honor of that place, and we hope you appreciate our modern translation!

At the Boarding House, warm hearths and warm hospitality are always close at hand.

Figure 5.18: Nostalgia through imagery and textual references
(Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure			
	Personal Enrichment			
Page	Direct or indirect compliment of consumer's values, characteristics, good taste	Exclusivity, Calvinistic Language, fortunate few, carefully chosen, privileged	Aesthetic Appeals, Sense of Place, Peace and Serenity	Sex Appeal/Pleasure
Cover				
1		▓	▓	
2	▓	▓	▓	
3				
4 Sprd			▓	
5	▓	▓	▓	▓
6	▓	▓	▓	
7	▓			
8	▓	▓	▓	
9	▓	▓	▓	
10	▓		▓	
11	▓		▓	▓
12				
13	▓		▓	
14			▓	
15				
16			▓	
17				
Rear Cov			▓	
Item	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map			
Cover				
1				
2				
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events			
Cover				
1				
2				
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule			
1/Cover				
2				
3				
4				
Item:	Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter			
	▓	▓	▓	
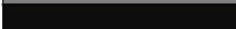
	LEGEND
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 5.19: The Present at Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Present-oriented social marketing strategies are reflected in the concept of personal enrichment. Under the umbrella of personal enrichment are statements that are complimentary of the targeted consumer's values and good taste, emphasize exclusivity, aesthetic appeals, and references to pleasure. The promotional materials for Balsam

Mountain Preserve reflect all of these, with emphases on exclusivity, direct and indirect compliments of the consumer's values and good taste, and aesthetic appeals.

Exclusivity is demonstrated in descriptions of the community's superior qualities and limited availability. A community identity heavily grounded in exclusivity is reflected in the private and gated nature of the development, as well as ubiquitous references to the "only 354 families" whose memberships entitle them to the experiences contained within the gates. "Only 354 families will enjoy homes here." Even the description of the project's location reflects exclusivity:

"Because Balsam Mountain Preserve is protected by National Forest and geography from much of the less carefully considered development that burdens these mountains, it is indeed a rare find. Fortunately for our friends, though, it isn't a *difficult* find. A simple turn off of a divided highway is all it takes to slip into our woods" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Through characterization of "less carefully considered development" as burdensome and necessitating separation, Balsam Mountain Preserve clearly reflects an exclusive development philosophy and exclusive community, unattainable for some, while in easy reach of those characterized as "friends."

However, while an exclusive image is presented, overt ostentation is simultaneously soundly rejected, as conveyed through the detailing the development's hallmark of "offering exclusivity—for the sake of privacy, not pride." Additional text referring to the development as an "unpretentious community," descriptions of its "exquisite, understated amenities," "authentic, organic, and original," "warm, understated, and wonderfully comfortable," and "understated flavor" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*), not only reinforce the image of its rusticity, but also appeal to

consumers who may be repelled by developments they perceive as inauthentic, ostentatious, pretentious, or burdensome. Accordingly, adjectives used to describe the community's physical and social qualities essentially reflect an attempt to connect and appeal to consumers' perceptions of themselves, their character traits, values, and desire to belong in a community that reflects their idealized selves. In addition to the adjectives discussed in previous pages, other statements reflect and compliment the values of consumers. References to members who "share traditional values, a strong sense of place and an ethos of human stewardship of the natural systems" are found in the development's mission statement. Testimonies of common values are reflected by the developer's statement, "we feel right at home when buildings reflect and celebrate the landscapes and cultures that surround them" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). And, quotations from third party praise, such as the community's propensity to "attract the sort of home buyers who compose rhyming odes to nature for their community newsletter" drives home the notion that members of Balsam Mountain Preserve are not typical home buyers.

Figure 5.20: Attracting "the sort of homebuyers" through the Balsam Mountain Trust (Source: Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*.).

The concept of legacy is also heavily reflected in the brochure text of Balsam Mountain Preserve. Among those types of legacies considered under the umbrella of future oriented social marketing strategies, personal and family legacy, legacies of environmental protection, and to a lesser extent, legacy of exclusivity were reflected.

Text that appeals to personal and family legacies is heavily evident throughout the promotional materials. Mentions of the "legacy of enriching daily life," Chaffin/Light's focus on programs that "create family legacies," and the directive "to create a lasting environment to be enjoyed by families for generations to come" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*) all appeal to consumers' interest in establishing a legacy that reflects their own individual and family values. References to legacies of environmental protection are also evident. However, consistent with the anthropocentric values found in the promotional materials' discussion of environmentally beneficial project features, the benefits of the project's environmental legacies are also primarily human in nature. Particularly, the aesthetic benefits of conservation are deemed to be of equal or greater importance than the ecological benefits, as reflected in the sales letter through assertions that the developers "respect the spirit of the area's natural beauty and habitat," and assurance that "to insure the continuity and stewardship of this beauty, we've set aside some 3,000 acres" "to remain untouched, in perpetuity, under the stewardship" (Matzick, B. Letter to the author. June 4, 2008). These statements illustrate the considerable acreage "set aside in a permanent conservation easement," "never to be developed" that what may be "permanently protected in a conservation easement"(Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome.*) may have more to do with the privacy and aesthetic qualities valued by members as habitat preservation. The theme of exclusivity, found throughout the promotional materials, is melded with that of legacy, as potential buyers are assured that "memberships may be bequeathed to your heirs together with the property, to preserve your legacy" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*).

Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Main Brochure				
	Legacy			
Page	Personal and Family Legacy, Longevity	Legacy of Environmental Protection	Legacy of Values and Principles	Legacy of Exclusivity Privilege
Cover				
1		▓		
2	▓	▓	▓	
3				
4 Sprd				
5	▓			
6				
7	▓	▓		
8		▓		
9	▓			▓
10				
11				
12				
13	▓			
14				
15		▓		
16				
17				
Rear Cov				
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Site Map				
Cover				
1				
2				
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Calendar of Events				
Cover				
1				
2				
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Fee Schedule				
1/Cover				
2				
3				
4				
Item: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Letter				
	▓	▓	▓	

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 5.21: The Future at Balsam Mountain Preserve.

Analysis of the Built Environment

Entry

Balsam Mountain Preserve is accessed via the Great Smokey Mountain Expressway, a four-lane divided highway that winds through the mountains between Interstate 40 and Great Smokey Mountains National Park. Visible from the highway, the entry is understated. The community's rustic wooden entry sign, suspended from a log framework blends into the surrounding hardwood forest and is not overtly visible. The

paved entry drive winds up the hill and through the trees to the development's guard house, which is not visible from the highway.

The guard house, which also houses the community's post office, is rustic, featuring large timbers, a steeply pitched wood shingle roof, and massive stonework. A broad covered porch centers on a massive stone outdoor fireplace. Despite its unmistakable rustic and traditional style, the guard house is also technologically advanced, producing its own electricity via geothermal and solar panels. However, these features are not immediately visible, as the solar panels are flush with the shingle roof line, consistent with the community's design guidelines, which prohibit solar panels that protrude above the roof plane (Balsam Mountain Preserve, June 2005). Judiciously thinned trees retained from the property's original forest, coupled with informal massings of plants give the entry a naturalistic landscape aesthetic.

Figure 5.22: Balsam Mountain Preserve entry sign (source: Author).

Figure 5.23: Balsam Mountain Preserve guard house (Source: Author).

Sales Office

A fork in the entry road prior to the guard house leads to the sales office, dubbed the Welcome Center, which is set into the forest. The building is rustic, featuring a rusted raised seam metal porch roof, a small sign, and a weathered false front reminiscent of the Old West. The rustic architectural style of the structure's exterior is carried through the interior as well. Log-framed furniture, a deer skin rug, and an abundance of wood grace its interior. Topographic maps and models, a large site plan indicating lots and green space, and a plethora of nature images adorn the walls, presenting prospective buyers with an image of a community oriented toward the natural environment.

Figure 5.24: Balsam Mountain Preserve sales office (Source: Author).

Vehicular Routes

According to Troy Leatherwood (personal communication, May 11, 2009), the vast majority of Balsam Mountain Preserve's roads are preexisting logging roads that have been improved. Consequently, the need for new roadway construction was minimized through widening and improvement of existing routes. Due to the project's large size and dispersed development pattern, the property reportedly has over 80 miles of access roads that wind through the project's amenity areas, conservation lands, and residential home sites. While the project's roads were originally planned to be unpaved for aesthetic reasons, the maintenance requirements of gravel roads in steep areas led the

developer to pave the primary vehicular routes, leaving secondary roads and driveways unpaved.

The landscape aesthetic most experienced from the vehicular routes is naturalistic, with key areas favoring the English landscape aesthetic. The naturalistic aesthetic is found in the large expanses of preserved forestland, streams and waterfalls and mountain vistas visible from the road. Additionally, where homes are sited near the roadway, the naturalistic aesthetic is also employed through retention of native vegetation and the informal nature of added plantings. Equestrian trails in some cases follow the roadways, while hiking trails are clearly marked where they cross or originate from the roadway. Where the road accesses developed amenity areas, the English landscape aesthetic is favored, particularly near and adjacent to the golf course, horse pastures, and recreational facilities. The rustic qualities found elsewhere throughout the development are also visible from the vehicular routes. Structures such as bridges over streams and guard rails are constructed of wood. Additionally, signage and address markers are rustic, constructed of logs, wooden slabs, and iron hardware. The naturalistic landscape aesthetic and rustic style of built structures cumulatively provide an informal and rural experience from within one's automobile.

Figure 5.25: Bridges in Balsam Mountain Preserve (Source: Author).

Figure 5.26: Gravel road through Boarding House camp (Source: Author).

Figure 5.27: Rustic signage at Balsam Mountain Preserve (Source: Author).

Figure 5.28: Horse pasture along road in Balsam Mountain Preserve (Source: Author).

Developed Amenity Areas

Amenity areas observed in Balsam Mountain Preserve include equestrian stables and pastures, an Arnold Palmer-designed 18-hole golf course, community fitness and recreation facility, and community restaurant, known as the Boarding House. As along vehicular routes, naturalistic and English landscape aesthetics are also favored in areas of developed amenities. The manicured turf found in the golf course contrasts with the grassy meadows found in the pastures, boulder lined planting beds, and informal groupings of naturalizing shrubs and trees that visually blend built structures into the

surrounding forest. Structures seen in all amenity areas favored traditional and rustic architectural styles. Rustic stone, poplar bark shingles, mountain laurel handrails, and reclaimed wood are all seen in the rustic Boarding House. Rail fences, whiskey barrels containing drinking water, log adorned trash receptacles, rustic sign posts, and log benches were found on the manicured golf course. The rustic theme is extended to other areas of the project, including the board and batten clad fitness center, log frame chase lounges, and poolside patio tables.

While the use of recycled and site derived materials such as milled-on-site timbers, reclaimed lumber, and recycled metal roofing is seen throughout developed amenity areas, these features are not recognizable as green characteristics, without prior knowledge or explanation. Instead, these materials more strongly communicate the rustic identity of the project. Furthermore, Balsam Mountain Preserve discourages green features such as solar panels to be used in such a way that draws attention to them, instead requiring these elements to blend in with the architectural styling of structures so they cannot be easily recognized. Consequently, neither third party credibility nor recognizable green characteristics are not overtly visible in developed amenity areas, with the exception of the Nature Center.

The Balsam Mountain Trust, based at Balsam Mountain Preserve, is housed in a preexisting house that has been renovated for research, display, and educational activities. While on site, the researcher observed extensive displays of local flora and fauna, as well as an assortment of live animals under the care of Trust personnel. These included a live Bald Eagle, a variety of venomous and non-venomous snakes, including a copperhead

and rattlesnake. The trust, which employs three full time naturalists conducts ongoing research on the Preserve's conservation lands, educational programs with residents and local schools, and collaborates with the developer in building and management practices. The presence of the Trust, its extensive collections, and involvement in a variety of pursuits portrays a deeper level of commitment to environmental issues than presented on site in other developments.

Figure 5.29: The Nature Center's Bald Eagle (Source: Author).

Figure 5.30: Balsam Equestrian Stable (Source: Author).

Figure 5.31: Rustic fixtures on the Balsam Mountain Preserve golf course
(Source: Author).

Figure 5.32: Rusticity of the Balsam fitness and pool area (Source: Author).

Figure 5.33: Signage at Balsam Mountain Preserve (Source: Author).

Figure 5.34: The Boarding House at Balsam Mountain Preserve (Source: Author).

The flagship structure at Balsam Mountain Preserve, The Boarding House, embodies the rustic aesthetic found in common areas of the development. The building, built of reclaimed lumber, also features unpeeled logs, muted colors, and broad porches adorned with twiggy detailing. Housing a restaurant and concierge service, the Boarding House is not only a hub of activity for residents, but also provides an early impression for prospective buyers. The impression given through the brochure's imagery and descriptions are consistent with the image presented in the built environment. While the promotional materials describe the Boarding House and its surrounding cottages as a nostalgic reinterpretation of the area's historic mining camps, physical site examination reveals this claim to be true.

The same rustic quality is extended from the boarding house to the adjacent cottages. A gravel road hugging the ridgeline on which the Boarding House is sited is lined with small cottages, tightly packed in between trees and the steep embankment below. Flanked by log rail fences that resemble old hitching posts, the cottages are differentiated by log slab markers identifying each by vernacular sounding names such as "Lean To" and "Thistle." Also constructed of reclaimed lumber, the cottages' rusted metal roofs, weathered facades, and steeply pitched roofs refer to the past. As intended; because of its traditional styling, heavy use of aged materials, and rustic fixtures; the complex appears at first glance to be much older than its approximately age of 6 years.

Figure 5.35: Rusticity of the Boarding House (Source: Author).

Figure 5.36: Rustic leisure of the Boarding House (Source: Author).

Figure 5.37: Boarding House Cottages (Source: Author).

Figure 5.38: Boarding House Cabins offer fractional ownership (Source: Author).

Residences

The landscape aesthetic surrounding the homes favors a naturalistic style. In many cases, homes were not overly visible from the roadway; instead they were tucked behind clumps of native vegetation, accessed by narrow unpaved driveways, and concealed from the public view. Informal masses of naturalized plantings mingled with remnants of the pre-existing forest, while Where visible from the road, visual impact of private residences is minimized through use of natural materials, muted tones, and rustic detailing. Wood and stone are prevalent, while architectural styles favor the traditional.

In order to minimize visual impact, as well as accommodate steep topography, several homes' masses are minimized through detaching the garage from the main house.

Figure 5.39: Typical buffering between road and home (Source: Author).

Figure 5.40: Separate house and garage apartment (Source: Author).

Figure 5.41: Stone and wood prevalent in home construction (Source: Author).

Interviews

During the site visit to Balsam Mountain Preserve, interviews were conducted with Troy Leatherwood, Sales Associate; and Brad Loder, Project Manager and Chair of the Architectural Review Board. Interviews were attempted with Jim Chaffin, developer; and Bruce Fine, who works in marketing the project. However, despite repeated attempts, interviews with Mr. Chaffin and Mr. Fine were not arranged. Consequently, questions deferred by Mr. Loder and Mr. Leatherwood to Mr. Chaffin and Mr. Fine were not answered.

Why Green?

Mr. Loder and Mr. Leatherwood deferred to Bruce Fine and Jim Chaffin on this topic. Despite repeated attempts, meetings with Mr. Fine and Mr. Chaffin were not realized.

What Makes it Green?

When asked how Balsam Mountain Preserve is green compared to other projects, B. Loder (personal communication, May 11, 2009) cited the amount of land set aside as a distinguishing factor. He also noted that Chaffin/Light is a conservation based developer who practices good stewardship in their development practices, adding they were doing this before it became popular to do so. T. Leatherwood (personal communication, May 11, 2009) listed several additional factors, including the use of reclaimed materials, use of timbers milled on site from trees cut to make way for roads and building footprints, and

the community's guardhouse use of both geothermal and solar energy. T. Leatherwood added that Balsam Mountain Preserve would be beginning to use prefabricated housing constructed of reclaimed materials in a climate controlled facility, an initiative that reduces construction waste while preventing damage from moisture and humidity. Additionally, Balsam Mountain Preserve's employment of three full-time naturalists through the Balsam Trust demonstrates its environmental commitment.

Role of Site Context

Mr. Loder and Mr. Leatherwood deferred to Bruce Fine and Jim Chaffin on this topic. Despite attempts, meetings with Mr. Fine and Mr. Chaffin were not realized.

Collaborating for Green

When asked whether Chaffin/Light collaborated with other groups in order to make the project green, B. Loder stated that groups from several categories including conservation and environmental groups, local planning agencies, and wildlife organizations were consulted during the planning and design process. In particular, the North American Land Trust, holder of the project's conservation easement, was involved in the project from its inception. Consequently, restrictions on the placement and manner in which development would occur were placed on the property from the beginning, before ground was broken. When asked how these groups helped the project regarding green quality and public perception, B. Loder stated that collaboration with these groups helped adapt the development to its steep, mountainous setting.

B. Loder and T. Leatherwood were asked who has been most supportive of the project because of its greenness. B. Loder stated that local architects and landscape architects have been supportive of the project, as well as "darn near 100 percent of the owners" (personal communication, May 11, 2009). He continued; The Cliffs Communities are a primary competitor of Balsam Mountain Preserve, adding that "either buyers are into 'green' and buy in Balsam Mountain Preserve, or they think it's gone too far and go somewhere else" (personal communication, May 11, 2009).

When asked whether the project encountered any opposition during its planning, B. Loder responded that because of the stigma of development, particularly in western North Carolina, there is always opposition to development. The property was previously owned by Champion Paper. B. Loder stated that prior to its purchase by Chaffin/Light, a prospective buyer planned to build over one thousand homes on the property. This proposal was poorly received; consequently, the much lesser number of units proposed by Chaffin/Light, 354 home sites, was relatively well received. However, he conceded that the project is regarded by some as elitist, although it is low density and low impact. B. Loder credits the project's low density with Balsam Mountain Preserve's positive reception.

Greenness Communicated through Promotional Materials

B. Loder and T. Leatherwood deferred to Bruce Fine and Jim Chaffin on this topic. Despite repeated attempts, meetings with Mr. Fine and Mr. Chaffin were not realized.

Greenness Communicated through the Built Environment

When asked which built features best communicate the project's greenness, B. Loder and T. Leatherwood listed several features. B. Loder listed the Boarding House and adjacent cabins as key in communicating greenness, due to its extensive tree preservation and limited site disturbance. Both B. Loder and T. Leatherwood cited that most of the roads in Balsam Mountain Preserve are pre-existing logging roads that have been improved for year-round vehicular traffic. Consequently, through reuse of existing infrastructure, the amount of clearing and grading for road placement was minimized. Consistent with the promotional materials, both listed the project's large acreage, low density, and resulting open space as key in communicating the project's greenness. They calculated the average project density to be one unit per every 12.5 acres. When asked what role the natural features plan in communicating the greenness of the project, B. Loder responded that natural features were accounted for in the planning and design of the project. He added, that retention of and working around substantial natural features reflects a concern for the natural environment (personal communication, May 11, 2009).

Because of their role in shaping the built environment, B. Loder was asked about the community's residential design guidelines. He responded that they are very specific,

pertaining to siting of homes and driveways, architectural design, materials, and colors allowed in the community. He added, the guidelines strive for a marriage between home and site. When asked how these guidelines promote sustainability, B. Loder answered that overall, they are geared toward sustainability through the manner in which they address multiple facets of site development and construction. B. Loder cited the examples of using reclaimed timbers, as well as using the Preserve's sawmill, located on site, to process trees cut to make way for individual homes.

Figure 5.42: Balsam Mountain Preserve's sawmill (Source: Author).

Challenges and Lessons for the Future

B. Loder identified Chaffin/Light's experience as the greatest asset in bolstering the project's greenness. Citing Mr. Chaffin's work with Charles Fraser, developer of Hilton Head Island on the South Carolina coast, he added "they were doing this before it was cool to do it" (personal communication, May 11, 2009).

When asked about the challenges to developing green, B. Loder cited the project's remote and rural location as a challenge because of local suppliers' lack of familiarity with green building. T. Leatherwood added that the site's topography also posed a substantial challenge. When asked if they would do anything differently in developing the project, B. Loder responded that gradually, due to feedback from buyers, restrictions on view clearing have become relaxed to accommodate homeowners' desire for more expansive views. Additionally, the project's primary roads have been paved to alleviate maintenance requirements of the original gravel roads.

B. Loder also mentioned that the project's golf course would possibly be developed differently, as it is not as highly demanded by consumers as it once was. While many people value living on a golf course because of its open space value, many do not play golf, or even own clubs. Consequently, there are not as many members of the golf club to support its maintenance and operation. While he deferred to Mr. Chaffin for more specific reasons the golf course might be developed differently, B. Loder stated that the golf course itself "probably isn't too environmentally friendly," conceding that regardless, it is now a part of the project (personal communication, May 11, 2009).

B. Loder and T. Leatherwood were asked whether development practices in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains would change in the future. B. Loder responded that he believed it would change for the better. He identified Balsam Mountain Preserve as a model for green development. Because the project maintains an open door policy for other builders to visit the site, they hope the positive aspects of the project will be exported to other projects and sites throughout the region. T. Leatherwood also cited the role of modified regulations in promoting green development in the region, noting that because of challenging topography, more stringent laws protecting steep slopes will likely be enacted (personal communication, May 11, 2009).

Discussion

When compared with the other cases studied, Balsam Mountain Preserve represents a very large project; only The Cliffs at Mountain Park is larger, at 5,000 acres. Additionally, 3,000 of Balsam's 4,400 acres are protected under a conservation easement, a substantial portion of its total land area. These characteristics contrast with the smaller land masses contained in other cases evaluated within this dissertation.

Development Pattern

Because of its extraordinary low density of one home site for every 12.5 acres (Balsam Mountain Preserve, June, 2005), one might assume all lots, buildings, roads, amenities, and infrastructure are concentrated on a relatively compact 1,400 acre area; leaving a monolithic 3,000 acre chunk of land, without intrusion from human

development. However, the site plan demonstrates that this is not the case. Building lots are dispersed across the entire 4,400 acre project, as are the roads and infrastructure that service them. While some lots are clustered together, others reside alone. The built form adopted by the development plan represents a philosophical understanding of green development in a rural mountain setting. The project's promotional materials cite is extraordinary low density as its defining sustainable characteristic. Balsam Mountain Preserve's website hails Chaffin/Light pioneering role in "sustainable development, which calls for planning low-density communities focused on preserving nature and open spaces" (Balsam Mountain Preserve, *The Developer*). However, the dispersed development pattern represents a departure from other theories in conservation planning that claim development should be concentrated in a relatively small area so that large swaths can be preserved without fragmentation or intrusion of development. Instead, the 354 home sites are dispersed throughout most of the site, its 3,000 acres of conservation lands interspersed among homes.

The project's selected development pattern may also be the result of selecting individual home sites that inflict the least amount of individual site disturbance, attempts to dilute 1,400 acres of development with 3,000 of preservation, instead of intensively developing one corner of the project. Yet another proposition is that its development pattern represents the values of its targeted audience.

Figure 5.43: Photo of home sites dispersed throughout Balsam Mountain Preserve
(Source: Author).

Aesthetics and Visual Impact

Paired with its dispersed development pattern, Balsam Mountain Preserve's design guidelines target minimization of visual impact. Titled, *Habitat Review Design Guidelines*, a large portion of the document pertains to wildlife inventories, information on local flora and fauna, and minimization of environmental impact to the individual site. However, much of what is being preserved is aesthetic in nature: the views. The design guidelines devote considerable text and imagery to the minimization of visual impacts, from development, as well as from those features that would boost that development's greenness. For example, solar panels are not allowed to stand out from the rusticity of

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the structure; instead, they must blend in line with the roof pitch so that they are not overtly noticeable (Balsam Mountain Preserve, June 2005). Holistically considered, these guidelines reflect not only concern for minimizing impact on habitat, soils, and water quality, but great emphasis on the visual.
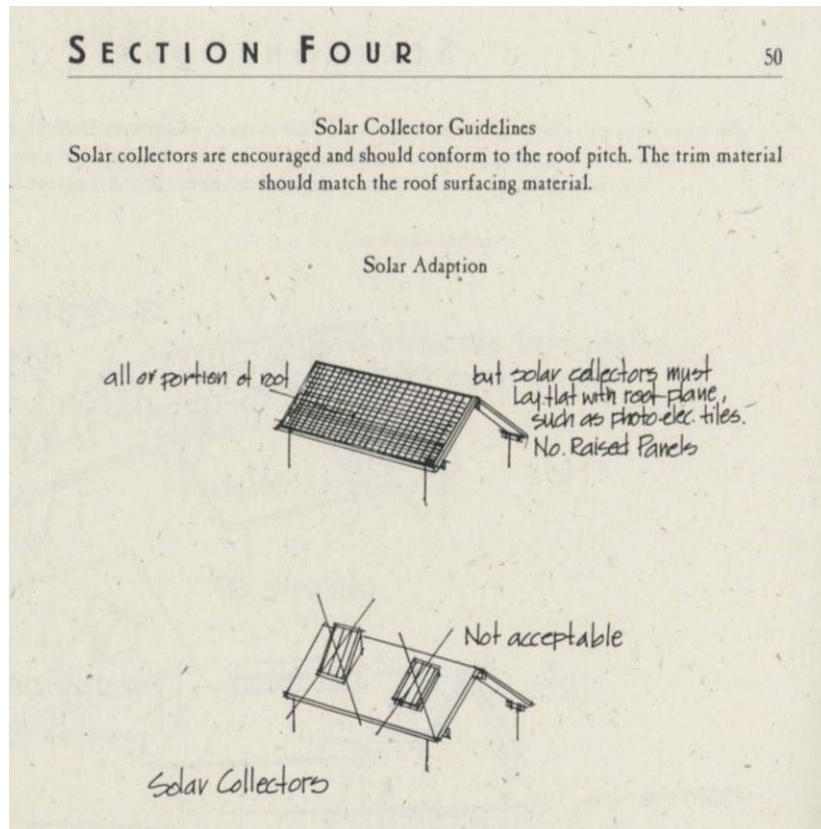
Figure 5.44: Minimization of visual impact of solar collectors
(Source: Balsam Mountain Preserve, 2005, June, p.50).
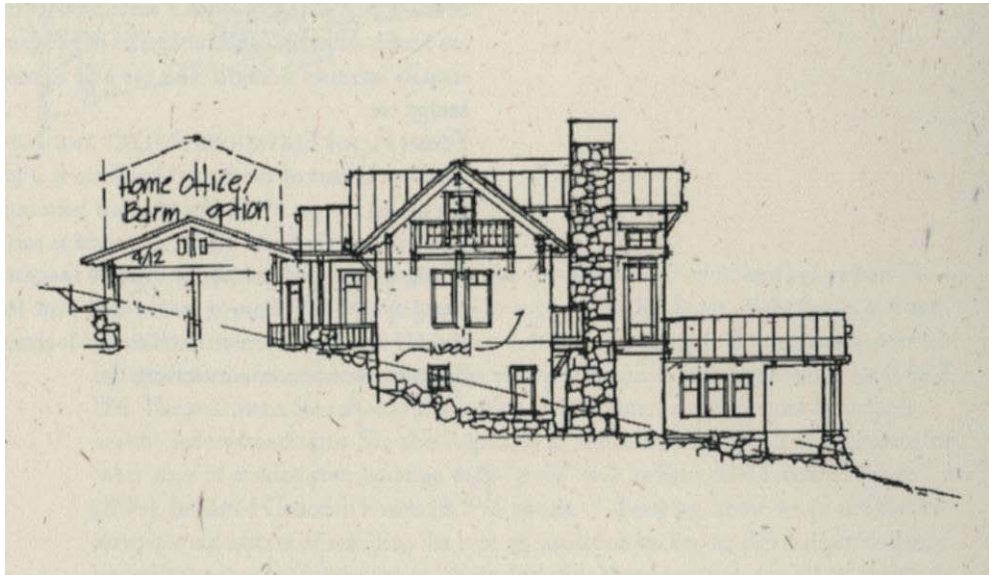
Figure 5.45: Residential styling encouraged by Balsam Mountain Preserve
(Source: Balsam Mountain Preserve, 2005, June, p.38).

PLANTING DESIGN – "NATURAL STYLE" RECOMMENDATIONS SUMMARY

Desirable	Acceptable	Unacceptable
Using native plants in naturalistic patterns.	Planting in geometric patterns or rows if desired.	Invasive Exotic Plants (see Appendix 4).
Certification from the National Wildlife Federation recognizing your yard as an official Backyard Wildlife Habitat site (see Appendix 5).	Homesteads located in low to moderate fire hazard areas may follow the Firewise Landscape Guidelines by forest type (Section 3, Forest Management Principles) under a variance granted by the HRC.	Foundation plantings-shrubs planted in a single row in a 2-3' wide strip along the base of the house.

Figure 5.46: Encouragement of the "natural style" of planting design
(Source: Balsam Mountain Preserve, 2005, June, p.73)

Nostalgia

The temporal marketing strategies employed by Balsam Mountain Preserve reflect all categories; past, present, and future. However, emphasis is placed on the present and most heavily on the past. The past is reflected in words used, historic quotes, references to historic land uses, and the project's family orientation. Nostalgia is also reflected through representations of the built environment found in the promotional materials, as well as well through the aesthetic qualities of the built environment seen during site observation.

However, much of the text and imagery oriented toward the present; appeals to sense of place, aesthetic qualities; are also injected with nostalgia. Traditional architectural styles, rustic materials and finishes, and naturalistic landscapes; while influential in the community's sense of place, also contribute to its nostalgic quality. Gravel driveways, split rail fences, gnarled railings that resemble hitching posts, and hewn log benches are all present throughout the landscape. These qualities are extended to the buildings; use of reclaimed materials, weathered siding, and rusted roofing create an image of a settlement that has weathered the storms of generations. Even though those aesthetic qualities reflect the present enjoyment of owners and guests, they still reflect on the past. Part of Balsam Mountain Preserve's nostalgia is echoed in its emphasis on family.

Intergenerational Interaction and Anthropocentric Environmentalism

Balsam Mountain Preserve's decidedly intergenerational bent is illustrated through the people and recreational activities of its promotional materials. The project's orientation toward family is reflected in imagery and accompanying text contained in promotional materials; it is also reflected through the programming that occurs within the built environment. A mixture of educational activities and outings with the Preserve Trust's naturalists, Camp Balsam, equestrian pursuits, hiking, camping, golf, swimming, and fitness are all aimed to satisfy the different generations within a family. The emphasis on intergenerational interaction and family continuity is also encapsulated within the project's future orientation. References to family legacy, and Balsam Mountain Preserve's role in promoting that legacy reinforce that not all that is being preserved is environmental in nature.

In fact, Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials present an anthropocentric view of preservation. Under the heading of environmental rhetoric, the promotional materials' use of words associated with preservation environmentalism was discussed. While preservation environmentalism is regarded as favoring an anthropocentric view of nature, in need of human stewardship; Balsam Mountain Preserve's use of preservation environmentalism represents only one level of anthropocentrism. This human centered view of nature is also reflected in the activities undertaken under the umbrella of preservation. The project emphasizes environmental education, research, and interpretation. While these activities are likely designed to ultimately promote greater understanding of wildlife, their habitat, and ways in which

they can be managed and protected; the promotional materials present these activities in the context of their benefits toward people. Additionally, minimization of visual impacts through; appropriate architectural styles, preferred materials, and naturalistic planting design; are fundamentally aesthetic. As humans care more deeply than wildlife about view corridors, naturalistic materials, and muted colors; the project's focus on aesthetics reflects that a great deal of Balsam Mountain Preserve's preservation is for the sake of people.

Balsam Mountain Preserve was selected largely due to its inclusion of golf. Because of the inherent environmental risks involved in the construction and maintenance of a large golf course, coupled with the community's strong environmental focus, it was anticipated inclusion of Balsam Mountain Preserve would offer valuable insight into how such a high impact amenity can be greened, or branded as green. From the comments of those interviews, as well as from on site observation, the golf course seems to contribute little to the project's green brand identity. Had the projects' developer, Jim Chaffin, been available for interview, his insights on whether golf would be included if the project were to be developed today would enrich this discussion.

When asked whether his definition of the term "green" had changed from working in the arena of green development, B. Loder responded that he has received a broader understanding of green building. However, he added, "I am liking the idea of 'green' less and less because 'green' is overused and there are different shades of green;" explaining that greenwashing is widespread in development, which dilutes the meaning of the term "green" (personal communication, May 11, 2009).

CHAPTER SIX

CHINQUAPIN

Project Overview

Chinquapin, located near Cashiers, North Carolina is a community in early stages of development. At time of site observation, one home was completed and an additional two were under construction. A total of 200 homes are projected to be built on the 2,000 acre tract. The project is situated in a rural setting between a Christmas tree farm and a nearby 6,000 acre tract of U.S. Forest Service land known as Panthertown.

The project was selected for its ability to provide contrasts with other selected cases. While the project does contain a 9-hole golf course, Chinquapin's course is much smaller than the 18-hole courses contained in Balsam Mountain Preserve and The Cliffs at Mountain Park. Additionally, at 2-9 acres, Chinquapin's lots are larger than the 2 acre lots available at Balsam Mountain Preserve, reflecting an important primary contrast outlined in the case selection criteria. While not directly adjacent to public lands, Chinquapin is located in close proximity to Panthertown National Forest. Similarly to Balsam Mountain Preserve, but in contrast to the Cliffs at Mountain Park, Chinquapin does not contain significant waterfront, but does possess several trout streams. With over 700 acres protected under a conservation easement, Chinquapin exhibits a strong partnership with the North American Land Trust.

Review of Promotional Materials

Promotional materials received from Chinquapin included a hard-covered brochure, titled *Chinquapin Naturally*, inserts titled; "Real Estate," "Land Pursuits," and "The Setting." A sales letter accompanied the promotional materials. Chinquapin's main brochure featured large, glossy nature image spreads of the outdoors, accompanied by minimal text. More detailed narratives were found in the brochure's inserts, pertaining to the each insert's respective topic. Review of these promotional materials included an inventory and analysis of page coverage, imagery, text, and environmental rhetoric.

Recognizable Green Characteristics

The imagery of Chinquapin's promotional materials featured very little of recognizable green characteristics. While its promotional materials included many striking images of natural settings, these images did not explicitly communicate protection of hydrology, soils, native flora and fauna, or environmental education, interpretation, and research.

Some recognizable green considerations mentioned in Chinquapin's text are found in its description of the design and approval process for individual homes. "Environmental factors, such as existing vegetation, topography, drainage, solar orientation, prevailing winds and views can be important design considerations." (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"). The text continues; "The site plan also needs to show the location of existing trees and other significant vegetation to be preserved. When determining the next location for the home on the site, careful consideration should be

given to the environmental and regulatory factors previously identified." (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"). In spite of these specific design considerations, most text alluding to green development is broader and less specific.

The Setting insert states that the developer "has allowed nature to be their guide in creating a land plan that works around nature rather than over it" (Chinquapin). The main brochure declares; "Chinquapin is a mountain sanctuary for nature and for your soul." Employing a "nature over development plan" (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"), Chinquapin reportedly has utmost "Respect for nature and an uncompromising land plan" (Chinquapin). The promotional materials also contain numerous references to the development's protection of 700 acres through a conservation easement. In describing the home design and construction process, the Real Estate insert states; "All decisions will be made in a context of minimizing disturbances to the natural environment." (Chinquapin, "Real Estate").

However, many of the statements that allude to the development's greenness pertain to aesthetics and minimization of visual impacts. This is reflected in the intent "to maintain the highest aesthetic quality and lowest impact on nature" (Chinquapin), that homes are "designed to blend seamlessly with nature," and the declaration that "Homes at Chinquapin will be built with natural, native materials that will work in harmony with their surroundings." Reflecting the goal of minimizing the development's visual impacts, the Real Estate insert continues; "Homes, landscapes, water features, roadways and trails throughout the community will be held to these guidelines to protect the integrity of the natural surrounding beauty." (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"). In spite of concern expressed

for minimizing impacts and protection of "nature," specifics of how these goals are achieved receive little further explanation in the text of Chinquapin's promotional materials.
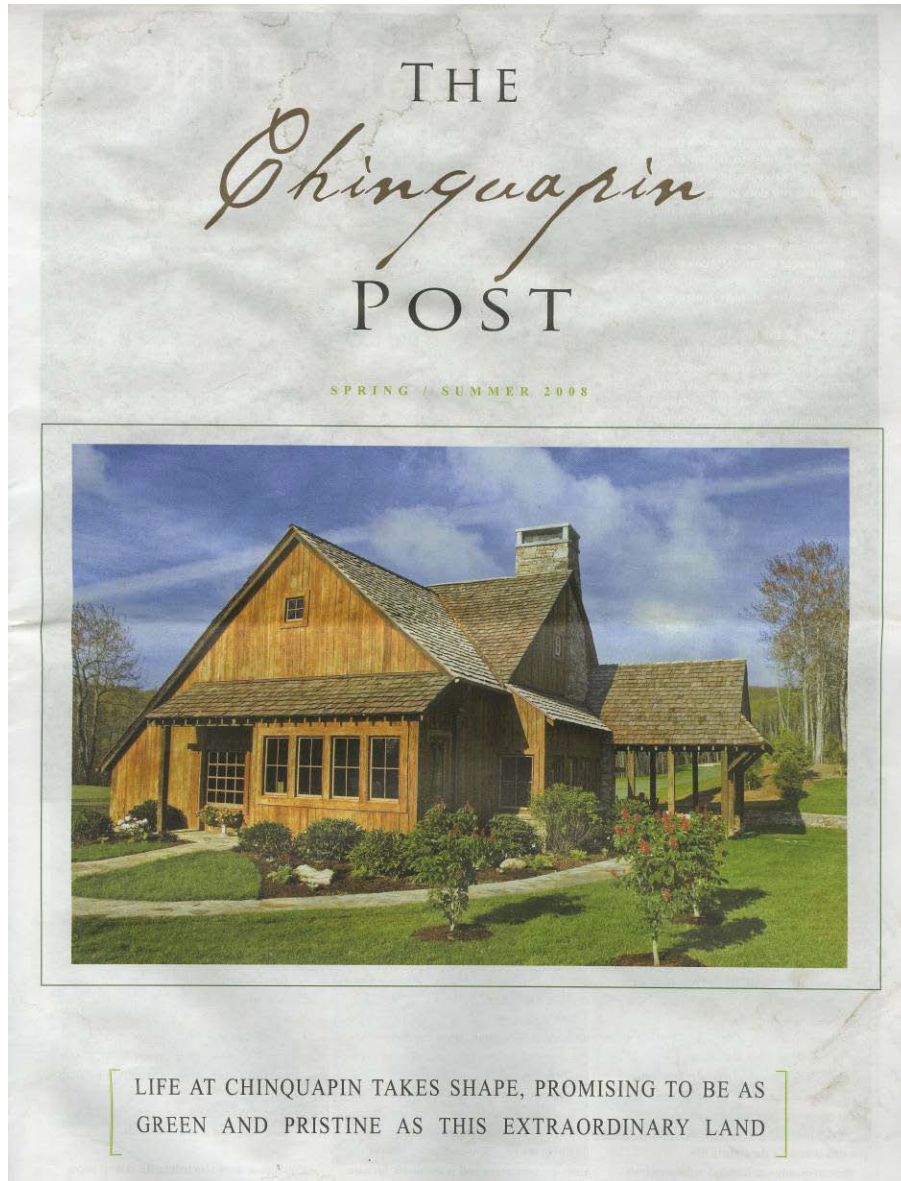
Figure 6.1: "Green and pristine" (Source: *The Chinquapin Post*, Spring/Summer, 2008).

NATURE TAKES CENTER STAGE.
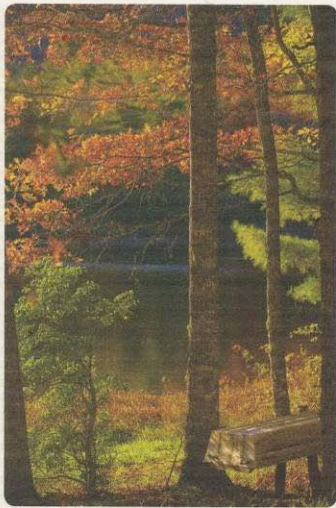
Chinquapin is known throughout the region for its natural, undisturbed beauty and its commitment to maintain that beauty for generations to come. Nestled between a hundred acre Christmas tree farm and 6,600 acre Panthertown Valley National Forest, Chinquapin soars to altitudes of 4,400 ft. offering its inhabitants views that only the Creator, Himself, could provide.

Stunning vistas are only the beginning of the natural gifts to discover here. Four major waterfalls, creeks, streams, granitic domes and age old hardwood forests blanket the land, creating a protected, park-like setting.

In addition to placing more than 700 acres of Chinquapin in conservation with the North American Land Trust, the Trillium Development Team has also allowed nature to be their guide in creating a land plan that works around nature, rather than over it.

Figure 6.2: Nature takes center stage at Chinquapin (Source: Chinquapin, "The Setting.")

Page	Protection-restoration of existing hydrology	Stormwater runoff reduction, infiltration	Water conserv. and reuse	Steep slope protection	Soil conservation and erosion protection	Energy conservation, production, pollution reduc.	Native vegetation protection	Land and Wildlife mgmt.	On Site food prod.	Env'tal education, research, interp.
Item: Chinquapin, Main Brochure										
Cover										
1										
2										
3 Sprd							▓	▓		
4 Sprd										
5 Sprd	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
6 Sprd										
7 Sprd										
8 Sprd										
9 Sprd										
10										
11										
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate										
1/Cover										
2										
3	░									
4										
5	▓			▓	▓	▓	▓	▓		
6				▓	▓		▓			
7										
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits										
1/cover										▓
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting										
1/Cover								▓		
2										
3							▓	▓		
4							▓	▓		
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										
Item: Chinquapin, Letter										

LEGEND
Images ░
Text ▓
Image and Text █

Figure 6.3: Recognizable Green Characteristics for Chinquapin.

Third Party Credibility

Use of third parties to bolster Chinquapin's credibility with prospective buyers is reflected in its promotional materials. With the exception of the presence of Panthertown National Forest and Trillium in context maps, Chinquapin's imagery does not garner third party credibility. However, references to third parties are found throughout the text. The most often mentioned entity is the U.S. Forest Service, found in references to the Nantahala National Forest and Panthertown Valley National Forest, which is nearly adjacent to the property.

Additional third parties mentioned include the North American Land Trust, which holds the conservation easement for the development's conservation lands; Trillium Development Company; designer of the community's amenity structures, "Jeffrey Burden, who holds a Ph.D. in Architecture and Mediterranean Archaeology from the University of California at Berkeley" (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits"); as well as the previous property owners, the Carlton family. Titled, "The Chinquapin Story 'Living Light on the Land'," the promotional materials detail how the family purchased the original tract of land, the recreational activities enjoyed there, and their desire "that this land would be protected forever" (Chinquapin, "The Setting").

Item:	Chinquapin, Main Brochure			
	Celebrities	Environmental Groups	Other Groups	Peers
Cover			▓ (Text)	
1				
2				
3 Sprd				
4 Sprd				
5 Sprd				
6 Sprd				
7 Sprd				
8 Sprd				
9 Sprd				
10				
11				

Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate			
1/Cover				
2				
3				
4				
5			▓ (Text)	
6			▓ (Text)	
7				

Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits			
1/cover			▓ (Text)	
2				
3			▓ (Text)	
4	▓ (Text)		▓ (Text)	
5			▓ (Text)	
6			▓ (Text)	
7	▓ (Text)		▓ (Text)	

Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting			
1/Cover		▓ (Text)	▓ (Text)	
2				
3		▓ (Text)	▓ (Text)	▓ (Text)
4				
5			■ (Image and Text)	
6				
7				
8				
9		▓ (Text)	▓ (Text)	

Item:	Chinquapin, Letter			
			▓ (Text)	

LEGEND

Images	(light gray)
Text	(gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 6.4: Third party credibility at Chinquapin.
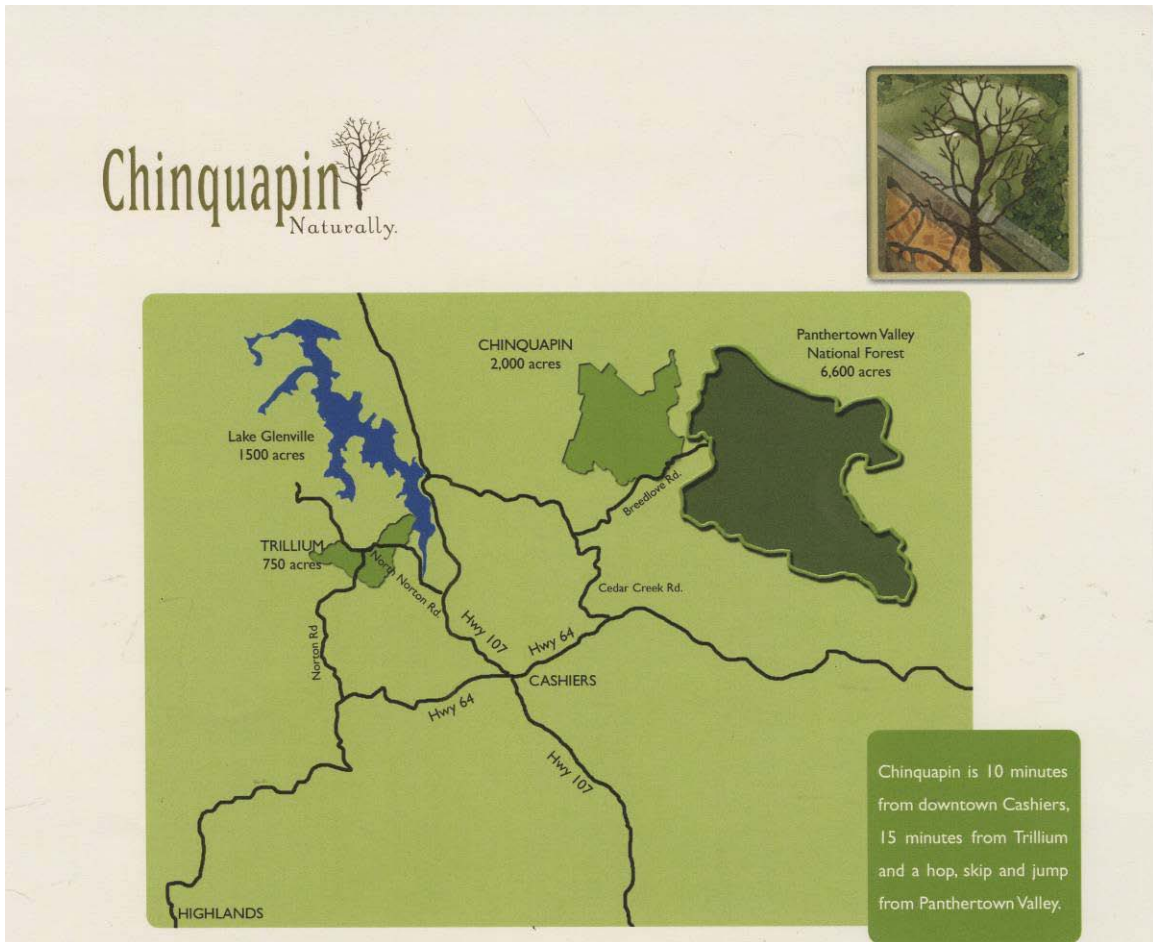
Figure 6.5: Close proximity to Panthertown Valley visually presented
(Source: Chinquapin, "The Setting").

Representations of the Built Environment

Chinquapin's promotional materials were analyzed for their representations of the built environment. In particular, they were examined for their visual and textual representations of wild versus cultivated landscapes; as well as styles, materials, size, and views of built structures.

Chinquapin's promotional materials were found to contain considerably more image and textual representations of wild landscapes, rather than cultivated landscapes. Forests, rivers and streams, hiking trails, mountain views, and wildlife were all visually represented and described in accompanying text. "Stunning vistas at every turn," "streams," "age old hardwoods," and an "indescribably serene ambience" all refer to the wild landscape found throughout the property (Chinquapin, "Real Estate").

Descriptions of the development as a "sanctuary for nature" and haven for "all things created" (Chinquapin), favor the wild landscape. "Its uncommon beauty is the very inspiration for all things created" (Chinquapin). Images of the sun setting over forested mountains, moss-covered rocks in the foreground of a pristine waterfall, and a leaf-littered trail through the deep forest display little evidence of human intervention in the landscape.
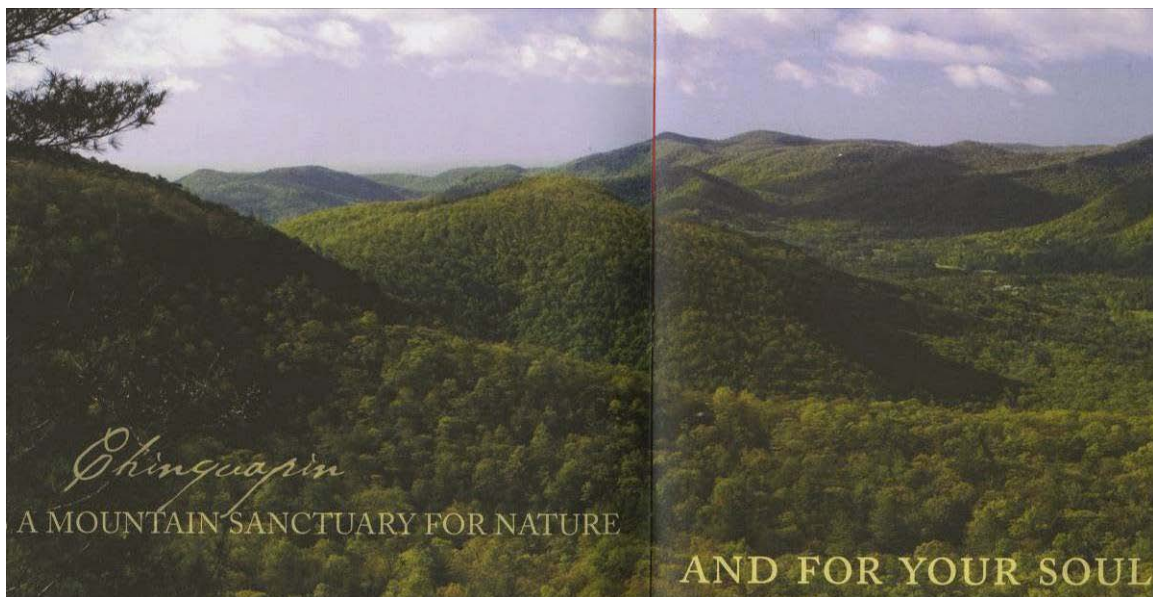
Figure 6.6: Nature and soul sanctuary (Source: Chinquapin).
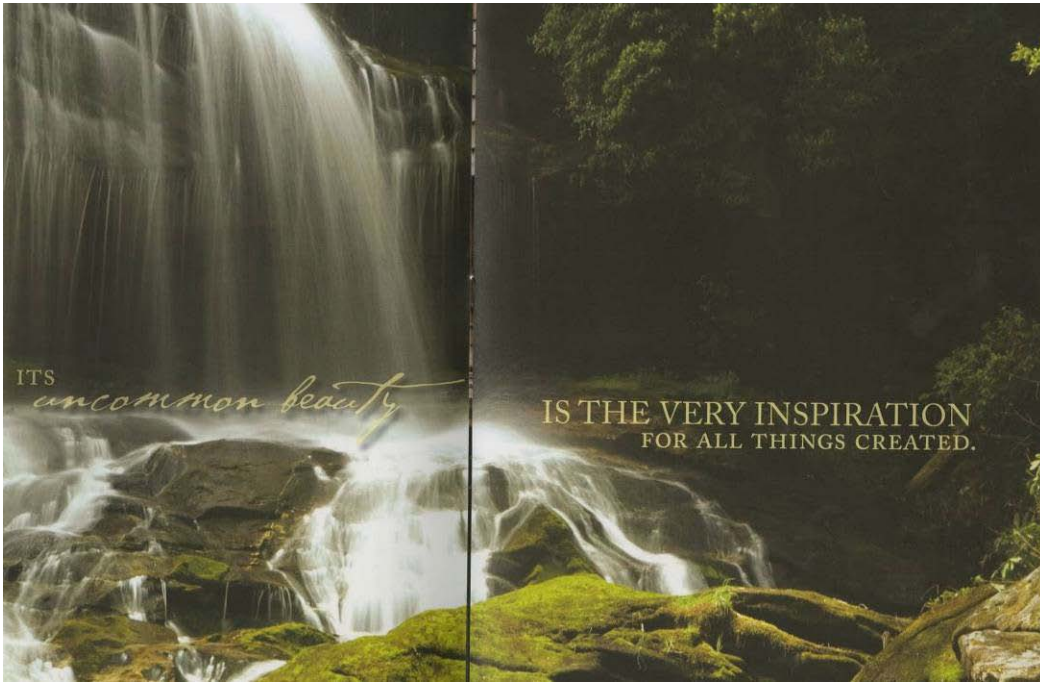
Figure 6.7: Uncommon Beauty (Source: Chinquapin).
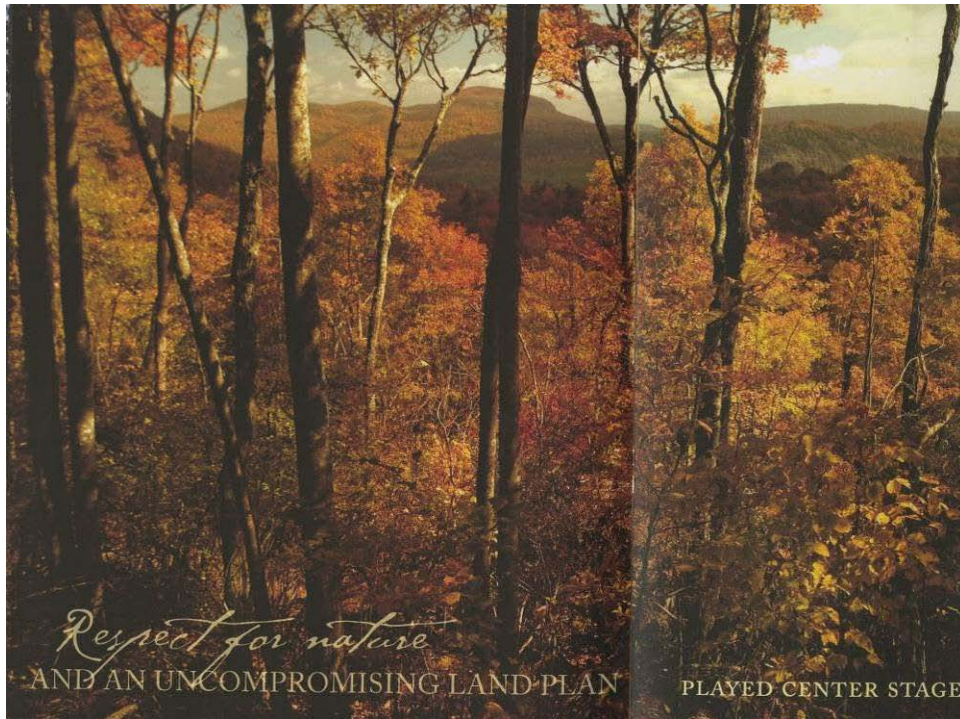
Figure 6.8: Wild landscape depiction (Source: Chinquapin).

Where cultivated landscapes are present in imagery and text, they favor English and naturalistic landscape aesthetics. This is especially true of Chinquapin's golf course, named "Nature's Walk." The insert explains, "Rather than move over the landscape, we let the land guide the flow to create the beautiful regulation-length 9-hole walking course. The promotional materials cite Nature's Walk as "the only mountain course at 4,000 feet that allows you to leave the cart behind and truly be one with nature" (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits"). In describing the settings available for homes, text and imagery favor the naturalistic aesthetic, with particular attention given to the different types of views possessed by different home sites. Consequently, landscapes altered by humans are presented in terms of the naturalistic qualities possessed prior to human intervention.
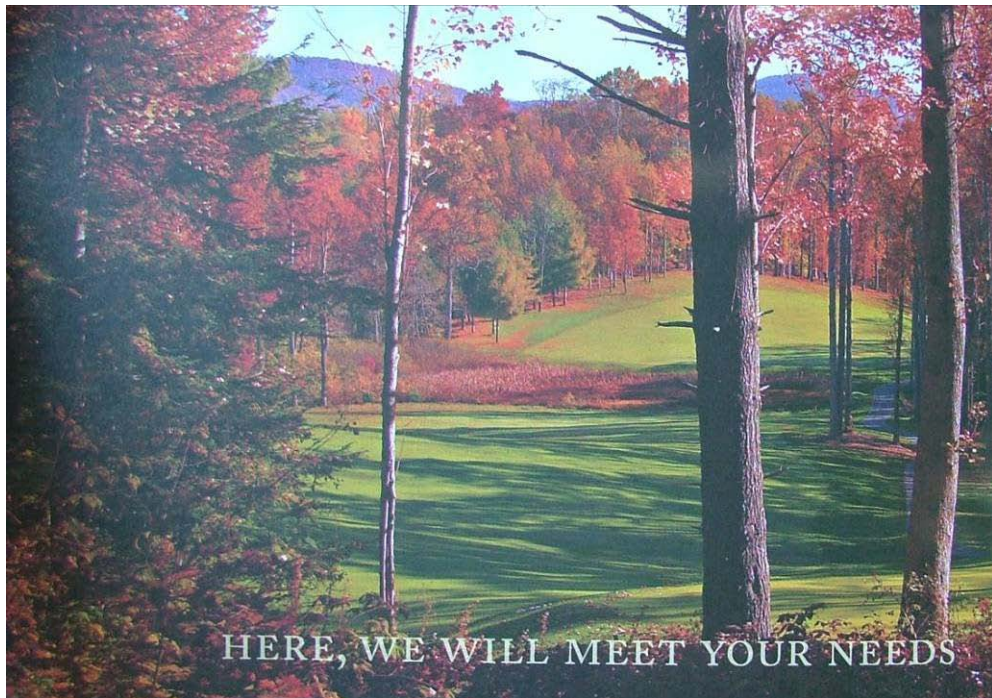
Figure 6.9: English landscape aesthetic at Chinquapin (Source: Chinquapin).

Inventory at Chinquapin is subject to frequent change; however, our current inventory consists of home settings with the following views:

Long-Range Views 7 Settings

Mid-Range Views 8 Settings

Short-Range Views 14 Settings

Wooded Views 7 Settings
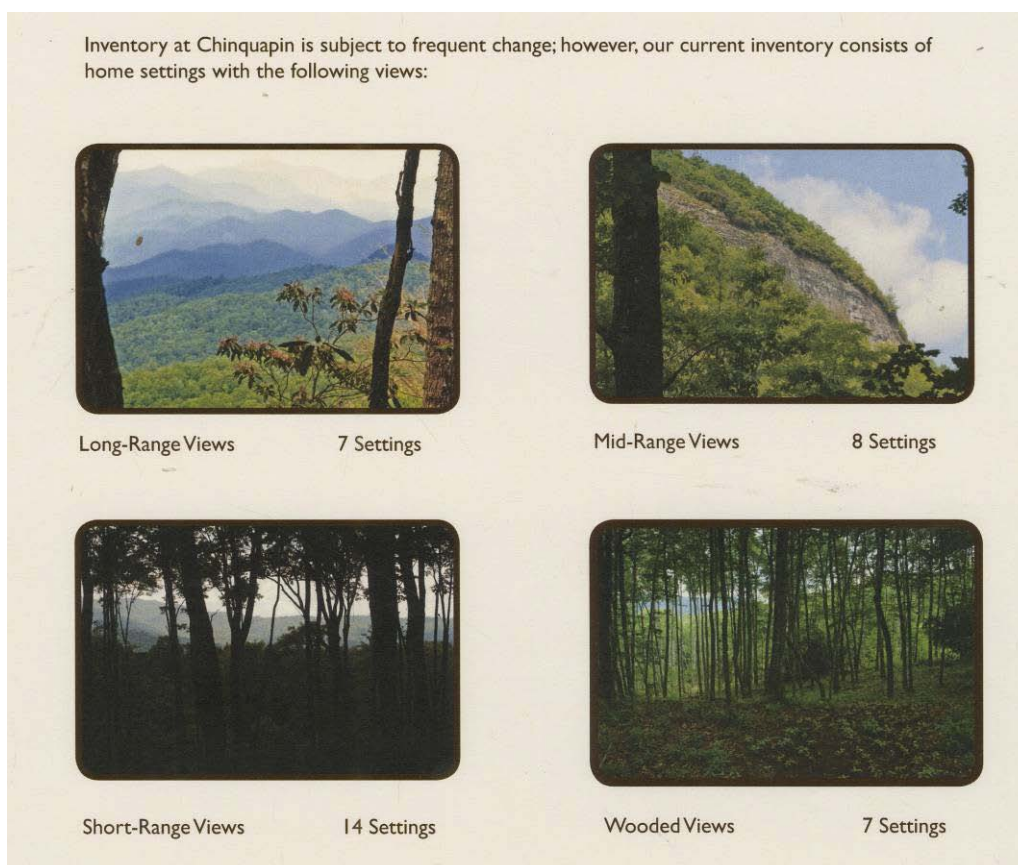
Figure 6.10: Views of home settings (Source: Chinquapin, "Real Estate").

Chinquapin's promotional materials were also analyzed for their representations of built structures. An inventory of images revealed the exteriors of structures were shown more frequently than interior views, although both orientations are presented through the text. Structures depicted through imagery and text favor naturalistic materials.

Extending from descriptions of the cultivated landscape, homes are said to be "designed to blend seamlessly with nature" (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"), blending with the naturalistic landscape aesthetic. Images of the development's show home, built

amenity areas, and artist renderings of the proposed clubhouse reinforce this image. The traditional lines, natural materials, and rustic finishes found in the imagery visually blend the structures with their sites. "Like the land enveloping it, the lodge emerges layer by layer, revealing itself in one intriguing space after another." (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits").
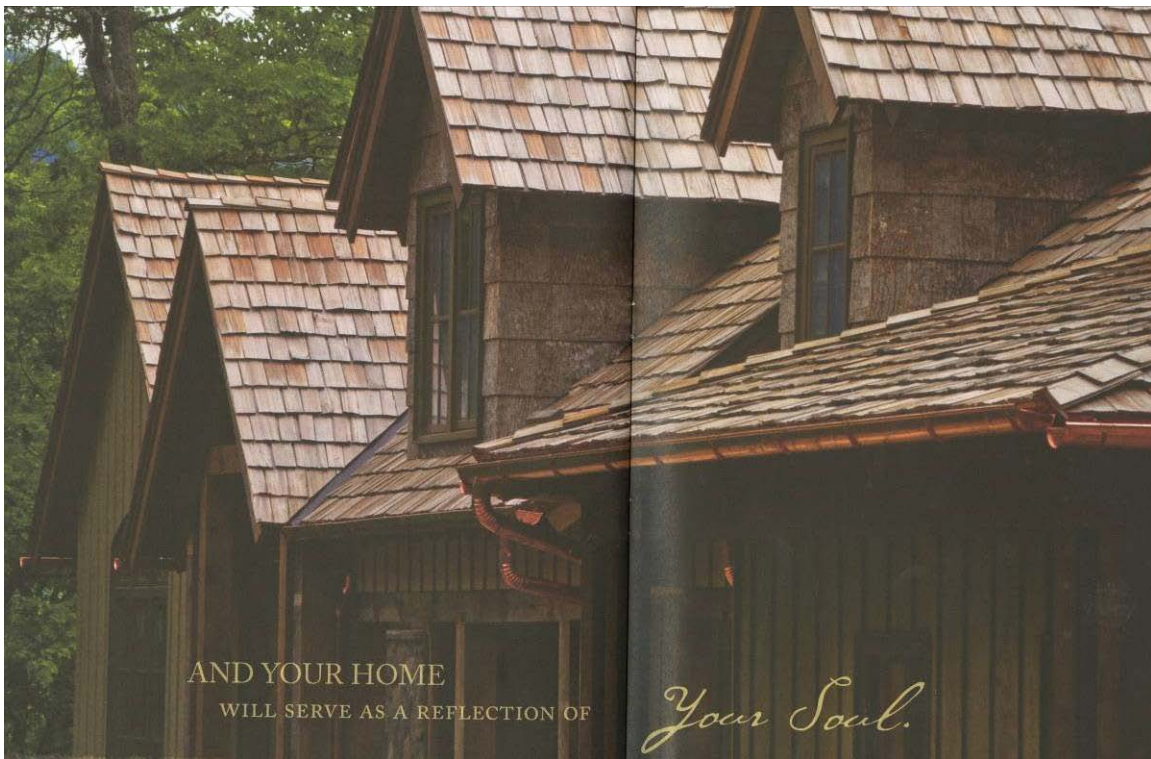
Figure 6.11: Rustic traditionalism of homes (Source: Chinquapin).

According to the promotional materials, individual homes "will deploy natural, native elements that seem to grow out of nature to create a rustic elegance" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). Attempting to paint a mental image, the insert explains that "homes appear to grow from the land" (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"). Additional descriptions of

"rustic cabins" and stables (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits") contribute to the rustic and traditional impression conveyed through the text.

Item:	Chinquapin, Main Brochure											
	Landscape: Wild						Landscape: Cultivated					
Page	Forests	Rivers and streams	Hiking Trails	Mountain Vistas	Wildlife-threatening	Wildlife-non-threatening	Domest. animals	Hort.	Golf Courses	English Landscape Aesthetic	Formal Landscape Aesthetic	Naturalistic Landscape Aesthetic
Cover												
1												
2												
3 Sprd												
4 Sprd												
5 Sprd												
6 Sprd												
7 Sprd												
8 Sprd												
9 Sprd												
10												
11												

Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate
1/cover	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits
1/Cover	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting
1/Cover	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

Item:	Chinquapin, Letter

LEGEND
Images
Text
Image and Text

Figure 6.12: Wild vs. cultivated landscape reflected in Chinquapin.

Page	Interior	Exterior	Wood	Stone	Metal	Synthetic
Item: Chinquapin, Main Brochure						
	View		**Dominant Materials**			
Cover						
1						
2		Images	Images	Images		
3 Sprd						
4 Sprd						
5 Sprd						
6 Sprd						
7 Sprd		Images	Images			
8 Sprd	Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Text	Image and Text	Text
9 Sprd						
10						
11						
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate						
1/Cover	Images		Image and Text	Image and Text		
2		Images	Images	Images		
3				Images		
4				Images		
5		Text	Text	Image and Text		
6	Text			Images		
7		Image and Text	Image and Text	Images		
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits						
1/cover		Images	Images			
2						
3						
4						
5	Text	Image and Text	Images	Images		
6		Images	Images	Images		
7						
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting						
1/Cover						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7		Images	Images	Images		
8		Images	Images	Images	Images	
9						
Item: Chinquapin, Letter						

LEGEND

Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 6.13: Views and dominant materials of structures at Chinquapin.

Item: Chinquapin, Main Brochure						
Structures Depicted (2/2)						
	Style			**Size**		
Page	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover						
1						
2		Images	Images		Images	
3 Sprd						
4 Sprd						
5 Sprd						
6 Sprd						
7 Sprd			Images	Images		
8 Sprd	Text	Text	Image and Text	Text	Image and Text	Text
9 Sprd						
10						
11						
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate						
1/Cover		Image and Text	Image and Text		Images	
2		Image and Text	Image and Text		Image and Text	
3			Images	Images		
4			Images	Images		
5		Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Text	
6		Text	Image and Text	Images		
7		Image and Text	Image and Text			Image and Text
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits						
1/cover			Images	Images		
2						
3		Text	Text			
4						
5		Image and Text	Image and Text			Image and Text
6		Images	Image and Text		Images	
7						Text
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting						
1/Cover						
2						
3						
4						
5		Text		Text		
6		Text	Text	Text		Text
7		Text	Image and Text	Image and Text		
8		Text	Image and Text	Image and Text		
9						
Item: Chinquapin, Letter						
		Text		Text		

LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 6.14: Style and size of structures at Chinquapin.

The Chinquapin Lodge

Jeffrey Burden, who holds a Ph.D. in Architecture and Mediterranean Archaeology from the University of California at Berkely, designed the Chinquapin Lodge to be reminiscent of early Appalachian architecture. Nestled between the first and ninth hole of Nature's Walk, the Chinquapin Lodge will act as an extension of your home, providing intimate dining and gathering spaces. Like the land enveloping it, the lodge emerges layer by layer, revealing itself in one intriguing space after another. You can cozy up in your own little nook of the library loft and get lost in your favorite book, chat at the wine bar with some interesting neighbors, or discover the perfect ambiance to make family memories on the rambling porch overlooking the lush lawn with wooded mountain views.

Figure 6.15: Rustic traditionalism of the Chinquapin Lodge (Source: Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits").

People and Activities

Very few people are depicted in the imagery of Chinquapin's promotional materials. When shown, they are viewed from a distant vantage point, the subject's features blurred from focus. Activities engaged in by human subjects are recreational; golfing and fishing in solitude. Chinquapin's text contains more information on people and their activities.

As in other cases, Chinquapin emphasizes intergenerational interaction and activities. References to "Generations" (Chinquapin), "your family's mountain escape" (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"), and activities "based around every member of the family" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"); all present Chinquapin as a community geared not only to individuals, but also their families.

Recreational activities presented in Chinquapin's promotional materials were analyzed based on two categories; active and passive recreation. In the text, active recreation activities receiving the greatest emphasis are fishing, hiking, and camping. Secondary emphasis is placed on golf, as well as equestrian pursuits, rafting, and canoeing. Passive recreation receiving the greatest emphasis was leisure and relaxation, followed by food and drink. Music and the arts were not emphasized.

In its descriptions of, Chinquapin's promotional materials emphasize its recreational offerings' connection to nature. Examples include the statement that "hikers of all ages and skill levels can enjoy a personal commune with nature at Chinquapin" (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits"). In introducing Chinquapin Stables, the reader is also prompted, "What better way to experience nature than sitting atop a magnificent creature that enjoys meandering through it as much as you do?" Recreational opportunities do not end at the borders of the community; hiking, swimming, and biking are suggested in nearby Panthertown Valley, a 6,600 acre tract managed by the U.S. Forest Service.

Item:	Chinquapin, Main Brochure										
	Family				**People**		**Race**		**Attire**		
Page	**Children**	**Young Adults**	**Middle Aged**	**Elderly**	**Solitary**	**In Groups**	**White**	**Non-White**	**Casual**	**Dressy Casual**	**Formal**
Cover											
1											
2											
3 Sprd											
4 Sprd											
5 Sprd											
6 Sprd											
7 Sprd	Text	Text	Image and Text	Text	Images				Images		
8 Sprd											
9 Sprd											
10											
11											
Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate										
1/Cover	Text	Text	Text	Text							
2											
3			Text								
4											
5											
6											
7	Text	Text	Text	Text							
Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits										
1/Cover											
2	Images		Images				Images	Images	Images		
3											
4											
5	Text	Text	Text	Text							
6											
7	Text										
Item:	Chinquapin, Insert: Setting										
1/Cover											
2											
3	Text	Text	Text	Text							
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9	Text	Text	Text	Text							
Item:	Chinquapin, Letter										

LEGEND

Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 6.16: People at Chinquapin.

270

Item:	Chinquapin, Main Brochure											
	Active									**Passive**		
	Tennis, swimming	Golf	Power Boating	Hunting	Fishing	Hiking and Camping	Climbing	Equestrian	Rafting and Canoeing	Leisure-Relaxation	Music and arts	Food and Drink
Cover						Text				Text		
1												
2					Images							
3 Sprd										Text		
4 Sprd												
5 Sprd												
6 Sprd		Images										
7 Sprd					Images					Images		
8 Sprd												
9 Sprd												
10												
11												
Item:	**Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate**											
1/Cover						Text						
2												
3		Image and Text			Images	Image and Text		Images		Image and Text		
4												
5												
6		Images			Images	Images		Images				
7										Text		
Item:	**Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits**											
1/cover		Images			Text	Text		Text	Text	Text		
2												
3		Text			Text	Text		Text	Text	Text		
4		Text						Text	Text			
5		Text								Text		Text
6		Text			Text	Text		Text	Text	Text		
7	Text	Image and Text	Text		Text	Text		Text	Text	Text		Text
Item:	**Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting**											
1/Cover									Images			
2												
3					Text	Text				Text		
4												
5						Text				Text		Text
6		Text			Text			Text		Text		Text
7												
8												
9		Text										
Item:	**Chinquapin, Letter**											
		Text				Text				Text	Text	Text

LEGEND
- Images
- Text
- Image and Text

Figure 6.17: Active and Passive Recreation at Chinquapin.

Environmental Rhetoric

As with other cases, Chinquapin's environmental rhetoric was analyzed for frequency and fit within the four categories identified by Nadenicek and Hastings (2000).

The strongest brand presented through Chinquapin's environmental rhetoric is preservation environmentalism. Preservation environmentalism received a total of 60 references, representing 63 percent of all words counted. The word displayed with the greatest frequency within Chinquapin's promotional materials is "natural." In fact, Chinquapin's slogan is "naturally." Other words associated with preservation environmentalism were each used less frequently. "Wilderness" and "protected" were both used six times. "Preexisting" was used four times. "Preservation" was used three times. "Indigenous" and "Native" were both used twice; and "pristine" was used once.

The second strongest category presented through Chinquapin's environmental rhetoric is deep environmentalism. Deep environmentalism received 29 references, representing 30 percent of all words counted. "Nature" was the most commonly used word associated with deep environmentalism, counted 24 times. "Spiritual"/"soul" was used four times, and "native" was used once, under the parameters defined by Nadenicek and Hastings (2000) as indicative of deep, rather than preservation environmentalism. In conjunction with the frequent references to nature, Chinquapin's use of spiritual language alludes to a Judeo-Christian worldview concerning the natural world. Greater detail of this is included in the discussion of temporal marketing strategies.

The distant third strongest category displayed through Chinquapin's use of environmental rhetoric is ecological environmentalism, receiving a total of five references and representing only 5 percent of all counted words. "Long range," and "ecosystems" were both used twice; "environmental impact" was used once. Integrative

environmentalism was scarcely reflected, receiving only two references. "Harmony" and "garden" were both used once.

Chinquapin's promotional materials present the development's environmental strengths and appeal to consumers' values largely through the environmental rhetoric of preservation and deep environmentalism. While words associated with integrative and ecological environmentalism indicate concern for minimizing the impacts of development, management of ecosystems, and creating balance between the needs of humans and nature. Through its environmental rhetoric, Chinquapin's presents its underlying philosophy: stewardship of an aesthetically pleasing natural landscape, granted to humans by its Creator. Consequently, stewardship of the land's aesthetic quality is presented as a major concern.

Table 6.1 Environmental Rhetoric at Chinquapin (Source: Author).

	Deep Environmentalism	Preservation Environmentalism	Integrative Environmentalism	Ecological Environmentalism
Words Used (Frequency)	Spiritual/Soul (4) Native (1) Nature (24)	Preservation (3) Wilderness (6) Indigenous (2) Preexisting (4) Native (2) Natural (36) Pristine (1) Protected (6)	Harmony (1) Garden (1)	Long range (2) Environmental Impact (1) Ecosystems (2)
Total of Category's References	29	60	2	5
Percentage of Total References	30%	63%	2%	5%

Temporal Marketing Strategies

The text of Chinquapin's promotional materials was analyzed for their reflection of temporal marketing strategies. These strategies include appeals to the past, present and future. Upon examination of its text, it was determined that Chinquapin uses all three categories to resonate with prospective buyers.

The past is reflected throughout the text of the promotional materials, through appeals to childhood, freedom, lack of worry, and simpler times; wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage; and references to and quotation of historical figures, indigenous inhabitants, and early settlers. The brochure declares: "I long for a place that remains a constant in a world that is not. And when I finally do find this place, I shall call it Home" (Chinquapin). This statement reflects the development as a refuge from the cares and concerns of the outside world. The viewer is further encouraged to "Live life as it was meant to be lived, naturally" (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits"). The brochure makes additional references to childhood, in describing the previous property owners' childhood experiences. "The Carlton children--Julie, Pat, Charlie and Will would work hard to finish their chores early so they could spend their summer afternoons exploring old logging roads to find treasures like waterfalls and springs, sweet spots for fishing and more wildlife than four kids could chase" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). Collectively, these statements present Chinquapin as a place where one can rediscover the simple pleasures of life, in an environment removed from external stress.

Wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage are also employed. Chinquapin's topography and setting are said to offer "its inhabitants views that only the

Creator, Himself, could provide" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). God receives additional mention through "views that could only be produced by the master, Himself."

In addition to references to "down home" and "handmade," nostalgia is reflected through references to family heritage. "The Chinquapin story dates back to the 1970s when the Albert Carlton family purchased a 2,000 acre tract of land." "Albert and Barbara Carlton knew that their children would long appreciate the memories made." "They stood firm in their conviction to preserve their land, but in doing so struggled to find a development team willing to work with their low density land plan" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). These statements cumulatively present the Chinquapin as shaped by, and molding the heritage of the property's previous owners. Prospective buyers may read "The Chinquapin story," and imagine how their family might be written into future chapters.

References to early settlers are also found throughout Chinquapin's promotional materials. Homes are said to "deploy natural, native materials much like the early American homesteads and Appalachian architecture." In recounting recent history, the brochure states, "At the turn of the century, the Carlton children sought out development teams all over the U.S." References to the development as "the Settlement at Chinquapin," its styling "reminiscent of early Appalachian architecture," mention of "indigenous furniture," and naming its sales office "The Trading Post," its mail structure "Chinquapin Post," and its recreational center "The Outpost" (Chinquapin, "Real Estate," "Land Pursuits," "The Setting") all orient the community toward the past.

Item:	Chinquapin, Main Brochure		
	Nostalgia/Heritage/History		
Page	Childhood, Freedom, Lack of Worry, Simpler Times	Wholesomeness, Traditional Values, Family Heritage	Quotations, Indigenous People, Early Settlers, Developer as "Founder"
Cover			▓
1	▓		
2			
3 Sprd			
4 Sprd			▓
5 Sprd			▓
6 Sprd	▓		
7 Sprd			
8 Sprd			
9 Sprd			
10			
11			
Item:	**Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate**		
1/Cover			▓
2			
3		▓	▓
4			
5			
6			
7			
Item:	**Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits**		
1/cover	▓		▓
2			
3	▓		
4			
5			▓
6			▓
7			
Item:	**Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting**		
1/Cover		▓	
2			
3	▓		▓
4			
5		▓	▓
6			▓
7			▓
8			▓
9		▓	
Item:	**Chinquapin, Letter**		
	▓		

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 6.18: The Past at Chinquapin.

The present is also reflected throughout Chinquapin's promotional materials. Orientation toward the present is found in direct and indirect compliments of the consumer's values, characteristics, and good taste; exclusivity, Calvinistic language, and references to privilege; appeals to aesthetics, sense of place, and serenity; and use of pleasure. Cumulatively, these present oriented marketing strategies encapsulate personal enrichment.

Direct and indirect compliments of the consumer's values, characteristics, and taste are ample. Chinquapin's brochure decrees: "I long to find a place where my soul and my ideals come together. Where I can be not just who the world expects me to be- but I can be who I truly am." The brochure assures the reader, "And your home will serve as a reflection of Your Soul." (Chinquapin, "Main Brochure").

Appealing to the environmental values of its buyers, Chinquapin's promotional materials state that "it's only natural that we would respect Mother Nature's eye for design, allowing her to guide us to the ideal locations for amenities, roads, trails, and golf experiences" (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits"). Citing its "respect for nature," "uncompromising" land plan (Chinquapin, "Main Brochure"), and "commitment to…style and quality building standards," (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"), the text not only describes the community and its developers, but also presents the values of its prospective residents. That the Carlton family "stood firm in their conviction" is likely to resonate with buyers' character values. Other character traits likely espoused by its consumers are the "solid value system," "elegance," and "successful and well-respected" identity of the Trillium Development Company and its projects (Chinquapin, "The

Setting"). A more direct compliment of prospective buyers' strong work ethic is found in the brochure's accompanying letter, which identifies the nearby Old Edwards Inn and Spa; offering, "We can even assist you scheduling one of their special massage treatments you need and deserve" (Long, R. Letter to the author, January 5, 2009).

I long to find a place where my soul and my ideals come together.
Where I can be not just who the world expects me to be —

but I can be who I truly am.

I long for a place that remains a constant in a world that is not.

And when I finally do find this place,
I shall call it Home.
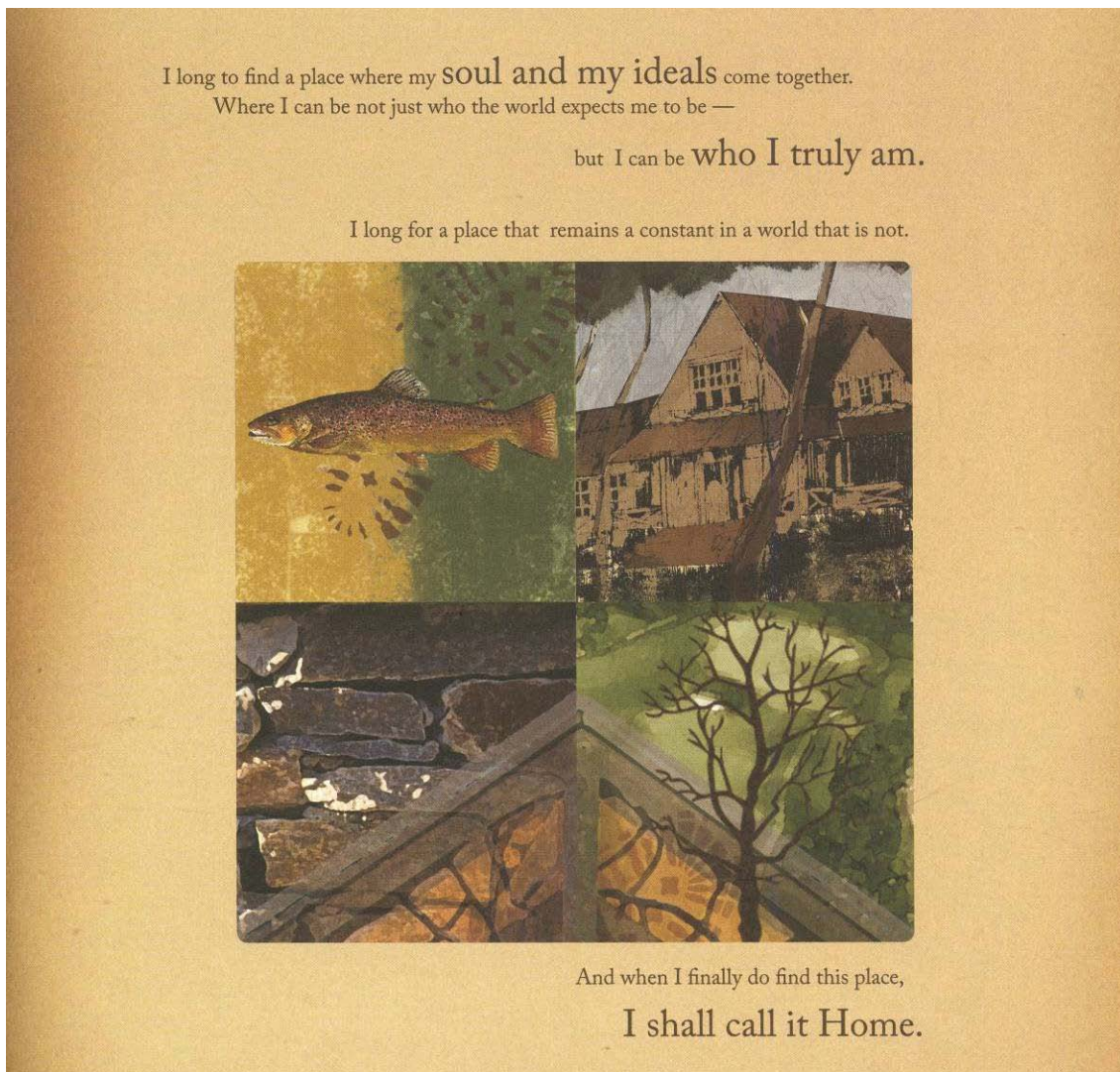
Figure 6.19: Appeals to the present (Source: Chinquapin).

Exclusivity is also displayed through Chinquapin's promotional materials. "Here, we will meet your needs and surpass your expectations" (Chinquapin). While a certain degree of exclusivity is inherent in a community where "Home settings range from the mid $400's to the $800's" and ownership opportunities are "limited to 200 home settings on its 2,000 acre boundary" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"); exclusivity is reflected in additional text. The community's "24-hour gated entrance, ensuring privacy and peacefulness to owners," (Chinquapin, "Real Estate") "uncommon" qualities, and rarity expressed in the phrase "Never Before. Perhaps Never Again," all reflect the fact that ownership and membership at Chinquapin is not attainable for all. Additionally, the statements that "Chinquapin is known throughout the region," "Recognized as one of the most botanically and geologically significant locations in the world," and statements that Chinquapin is "one of the most successful and well-respected private communities" (Chinquapin, "The Setting") contribute to its aura of high standing. However, exclusivity is used lightly, when compared to another present-oriented strategy; the use of aesthetic appeals, descriptions of sense of place, and portrayals of serenity.

"Chinquapin is a mountain sanctuary for nature and for your soul." "Its uncommon beauty is the very inspiration for all things created" (Chinquapin). As the community "soars to altitudes of 4,000 ft," "Stunning vistas are only the beginning of the natural gifts to discover here," the brochure proclaims. The text continues; natural gifts including "waterfalls, creeks, streams, granitic domes and age old hardwood forests blanket the land, creating a protected, park-like setting." "The land was like a hidden jewel," states the brochure (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). With "Stunning vistas at every

turn," "age old hardwoods," and an "indescribably serene ambience," Chinquapin's "ecologically pristine setting," "expansive fairways," and "splendor of [its] natural setting" contribute to its portrayal as a "natural paradise." Closely related to aesthetic appeals, pleasure at Chinquapin is also presented in the text through references to "simple pleasures," its "cool refreshing summer climate," and ability to "satisfy every taste" (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits," "The Setting," "Real Estate").

Figure 6.20: Chinquapin is a limited commodity (Source: Chinquapin).

Item: Chinquapin, Main Brochure				
	Personal Enrichment			
Page	Direct or indirect compliment of consumer's values, characteristics, good taste	Exclusivity, Calvinistic Language, fortunate few, carefully chosen, privileged	Aesthetic Appeals, Sense of Place, Peace and Serenity	Sex Appeal/Pleasure
Cover				
1				
2	■		■	
3 Sprd			■	
4 Sprd		■		
5 Sprd	■			
6 Sprd		■		
7 Sprd				
8 Sprd	■		■	
9 Sprd				
10		■		
11				
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate				
1/Cover	■		■	
2				
3		■		
4				
5			■	
6			■	
7	■		■	
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits				
1/cover	■		■	
2				
3			■	
4				
5			■	
6				
7		■		
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting				
1/Cover	■		■	
2				
3	■	■	■	■
4				■
5	■			■
6	■	■		
7				
8				
9	■	■	■	
Item: Chinquapin, Letter				
			■	■

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(dark gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 6.21: The Present at Chinquapin.

The future is presented in Chinquapin's promotional materials primarily within the context of legacy. This is presented through text reflective of personal and family legacy; legacies of environmental protection; legacies of values and principles; and legacies of exclusivity and privilege. Within the text of Chinquapin's promotional materials, all are reflected to a certain degree.

Personal and family legacy is reflected in several different instances. Prospective buyers are vowed that "Generations will be forever changed as they create memories to last a lifetime" (Chinquapin). Furthermore, Chinquapin's development and building standards are designed to "ensure that Chinquapin inhabitants and their families will share in a mountain legacy for years to come" (Chinquapin, "Real Estate"). The Chinquapin Lodge's rambling porch is cited as "the perfect ambiance to make family memories" (Chinquapin, "Land Pursuits").

The future is also referenced in accounts of the Carlton family's goals for their property's future. "As the children grew older and had children of their own, they wanted to ensure that this land would be protected forever" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). Transitioning into describing the legacy of environmental protection, the next sentence continues: "So, when the decision was made to develop their land, it went without saying that this mountain community would embrace and protect the land, allowing generations to enjoy the simple pleasures found throughout the property." As "Chinquapin is a sanctuary for nature," (Chinquapin) "More than 700 acres of the most ecologically sound land at Chinquapin is in conservation easements with the North American Land Trust" (Chinquapin, "The Setting").

Reflecting a legacy of values and principles, the promotional materials affirm the value of "allowing generations to enjoy the simple pleasures found throughout the property." However, it also details the Carlton's challenge of finding others who shared their values. However, "They stood firm in their conviction to preserve their land, but in doing so struggled to find a development team willing to work with their low density land plan." Values considered in Chinquapin's legacy, as found in the promotional materials, focus on protection of its environmental resources, with emphasis on its aesthetic qualities. This is accomplished through "placing more than 700 acres of Chinquapin in conservation" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). Consequently, Chinquapin is "known throughout the region for its natural, undisturbed beauty and its commitment to maintain that beauty for generations to come."

To a lesser extent, Chinquapin's promotional materials also reflect legacy of exclusivity and privilege. Reflecting an orientation toward the future, Chinquapin's brochure pledges: "Here, we will meet your needs and surpass your expectations" (Chinquapin). The statement: "This safe haven for wildlife, flora, and fauna, also serves as a protected playground for Chinquapin members" subtly reinforces the fact that Chinquapin is a private community with limited access (Chinquapin, "The Setting").

Chinquapin's promotional materials employ all three temporal marketing strategies to highlight the community's offerings, resonate with the values of prospective buyers, and reveal how these values connect with those who reflect on the past, live in the present, and look to the future. "This is Chinquapin. Now and Forevermore" (Chinquapin).

Item: Chinquapin, Main Brochure				
	Legacy			
Page	Personal and Family Legacy, Longevity	Legacy of Environmental Protection	Legacy of Values and Principles	Legacy of Exclusivity Privilege
Cover				
1				
2				
3 Sprd		■	■	
4 Sprd				
5 Sprd		■		
6 Sprd				■
7 Sprd	■			
8 Sprd				
9 Sprd	■	■	■	■
10				
11				
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Real Estate				
1/Cover	■			
2				
3				
4				
5		■	■	
6		■	■	
7				
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: Land Pursuits				
1/cover				
2				
3				
4				
5	■			
6				
7				
Item: Chinquapin, Insert: The Setting				
1/cover		■		
2				
3	■	■	■	■
4				
5				
6		■		
7				
8				
9				
Item: Chinquapin, Letter				
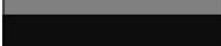
LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 6.22: The Future at Chinquapin.
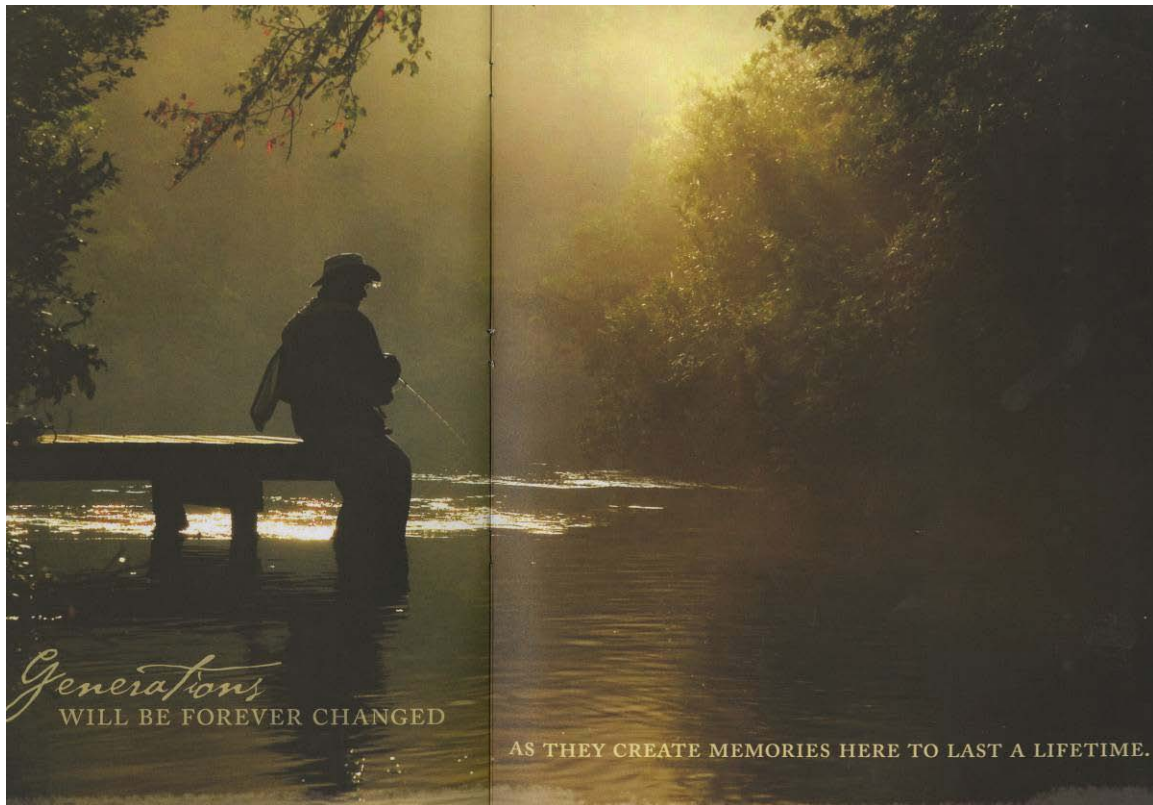
Figure 6.23: Past and Future at Chinquapin (Source: Chinquapin).

Analysis of the Built Environment

Entry

Chinquapin is located in a rural setting approximately 15 minutes from the upscale hamlet of Cashiers, North Carolina. Its immediate setting is between working Christmas tree farms, Panthertown Valley National Forest, and scattered rural development. Monuments and signage aiding in finding the way to the community are naturalistic, and understated. At a fork in the country road approaching the community, a large granite slab is set into the bank along the roadway. Carved on its face was simply, *Chinquapin*, accompanied by an arrow.

Figure 6.24: Approaching Chinquapin (source: Author).

Following a consistently understated theme, Chinquapin's entryways are naturalistic in style, with informal plantings in between large boulders. While variation in the type of stone is found at different entryways, one of the boulders invariably has the development's name engraved on its flat face. Although Chinquapin's entryways are not concealed from the public view, their visual presence is quiet. Entryways are not overtly advertised with billboards, flags, balloons, or synthetic materials. Instead, they reflect the development's slogan, "Naturally," as they visually blend into their surroundings.
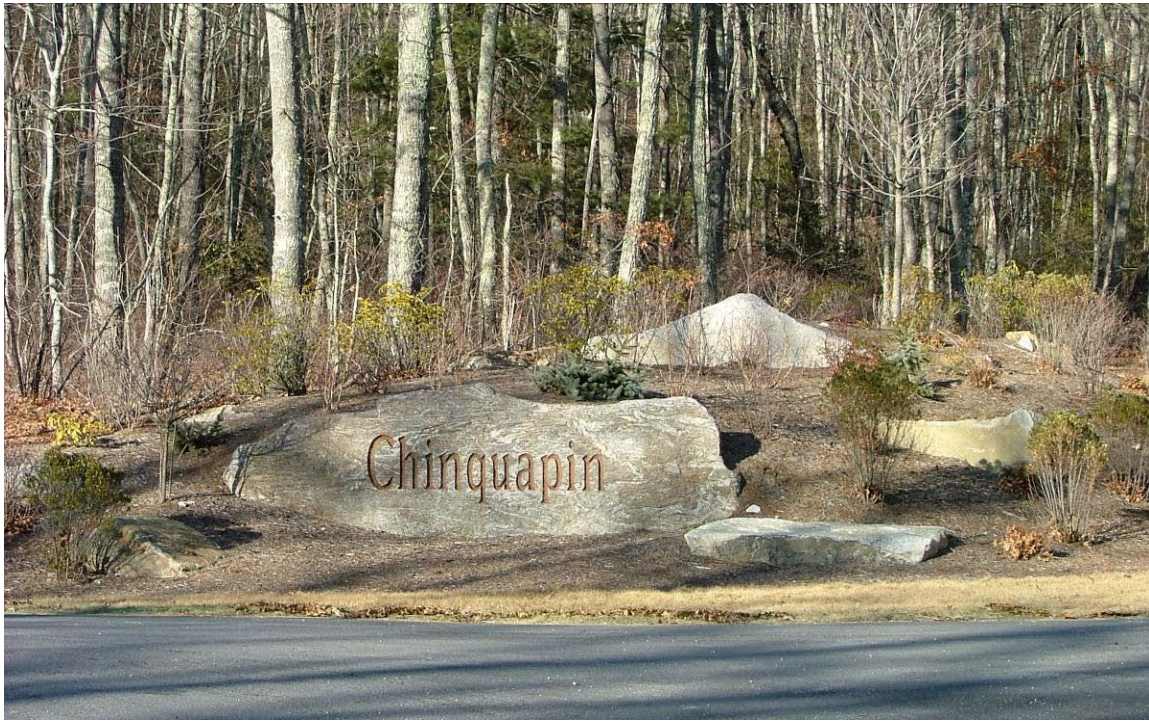
Figure 6.25: Entry signage for Chinquapin (source: Author).
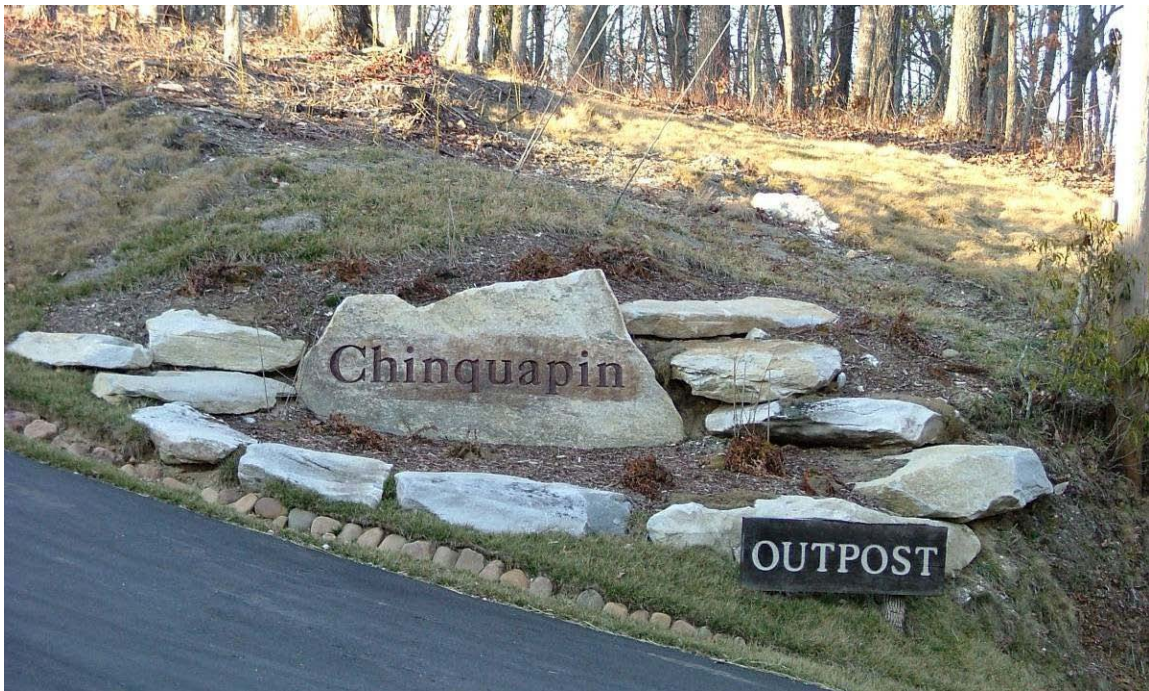
Figure 6.26: Entryway to Chinquapin Outpost (source: Author).

Sales Office

Dubbed, the "Trading Post, Chinquapin's sales office visually blends with the surrounding forest in which it is placed. Nostalgia is present, not only in the office's name, but also in the physical structure and its surroundings. Antique farm implements are displayed between the Trading Post and the road. The building is clad in weathered wood siding, a shake roof, and Mountain Laurel detailing. Combined with the naturalistic and English landscape aesthetic, the structure's rusticity and muted hues, the first impression provided to prospective buyers is of a "Settlement" that has resided in its naturalistic setting for generations.
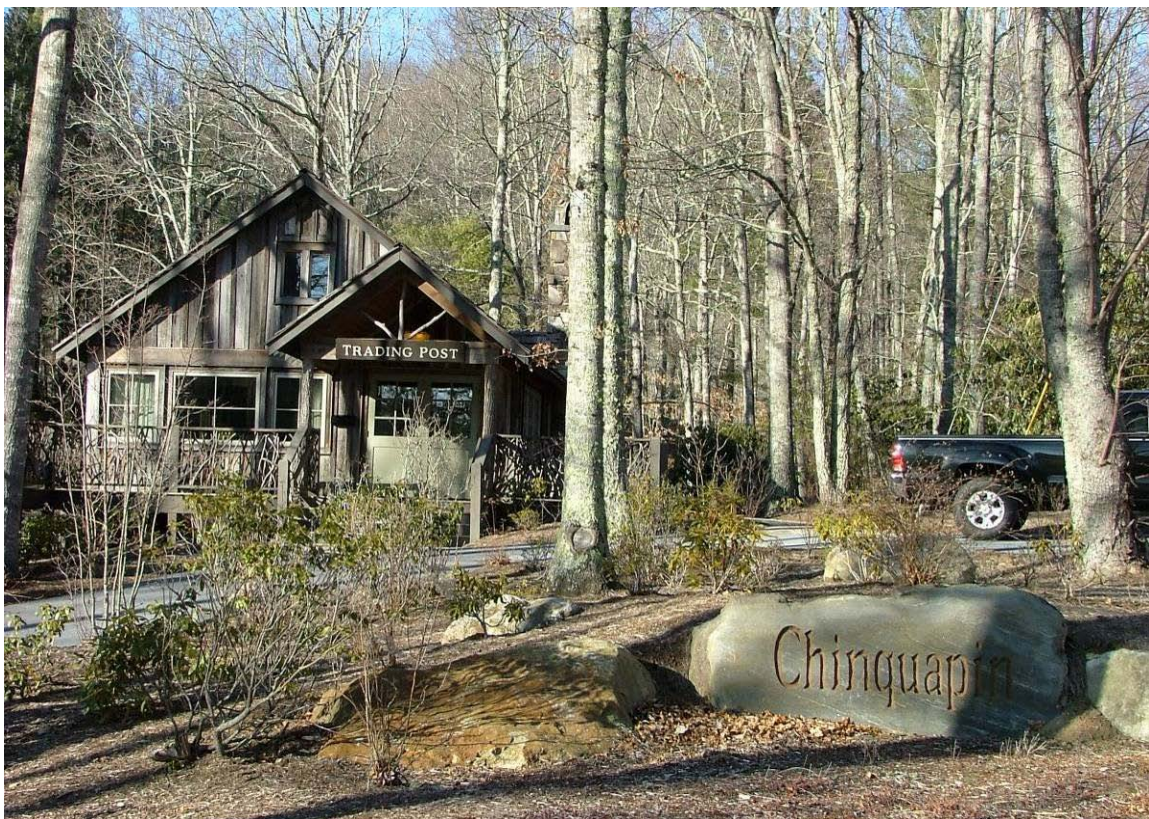
Figure 6.27: Chinquapin sales office, dubbed the Trading Post (source: Author).

Figure 6.28: Rusticity reflected in the Trading Post (source: Author).

Vehicular Routes

The experience of Chinquapin from behind the windshield is an extension of the first impressions gained from observation of the development's entryways and sales office. The landscape style favors the English and naturalistic aesthetics. With the exception of the gravel lane through Chinquapin's 700 acre conservation area, its primary roads are paved with asphalt, their banks and drainage swales are re-vegetated; in some places, evidence of water quality protection through silt fencing and erosion control matting are still discernable. Beyond the road corridor, no clearing is evident. Where

hardscapes and built structures are present along vehicular routes, they employ natural materials, rustic styling, and muted hues. Stone curbing, rustic split rail fences, and stacked stone road monuments display nostalgic rusticity in the landscape. Unlike other communities that used culverts, primary streams were crossed with arched vehicular bridges; their decks built of broad wooden planks and railing of heavy wooden timbers. In key locations, ornamental plantings were observed, but their arrangement was informal, a contributor to the naturalistic landscape aesthetic found elsewhere. Third party credibility along vehicular routes was observed through reference to peers on lot ownership markers. These rustic wooden signs display the name of each sold lot's owner, and their place of full time residence. As displayed throughout Chinquapin's promotional materials, intergenerational interaction is emphasized in these signs; each is transcribed with the owner's last name, followed by, "family."

Figure 6.29: Typical access road in Chinquapin (source: Author).

Figure 6.30: Rustic pastoral character as seen from public roadway (source: Author).

Figure 6.31: Vehicular bridge in Chinquapin (source: Author).

Figure 6.32: Stone curbing and informal plantings at entry to Chinquapin Post
(source: Author).

Figure 6.33: Third party credibility of peers at Chinquapin (source: Author).

Figure 6.34: Rustic road marker in Chinquapin (source: Author).

Developed Amenity Areas

As in Chinquapin's entryways, sales office, and vehicular routes, the community's shared open spaces and developed amenity areas share their traditional, rustic, and naturalistic qualities. The 700 acres preserved under a conservation easement is characterized by expanses of mature forest, gravel access roads, and hiking trails. In places, small, grassy meadows provide respite from the tree cover, representative of the English landscape aesthetic. In areas of Chinquapin's more intensively developed amenity areas, large remnants of pre-existing forest cover reside among new buildings.

These buildings are flanked by informal groupings of ornamental plantings, illustrative of the community's shunning of formality in the design of its buildings and landscape. Grassy expanses found at the community's helipad, which resembles a split rail fenced farm field; as well as Nature's Walk golf course are both indicative of how the English landscape aesthetic is imprinted on the property.

The architectural theme of Chinquapin's "Trading Post" is carried through the other structures found in developed amenity areas. The "Chinquapin Post," which houses residents' mailboxes, possesses more patina than most buildings built in recent history. The building, traditionally styled; has hewn timbers, poplar bark siding, log slab benches, and a roof of wood shakes and rusted corrugated metal roofing. The "Outpost," which serves as a hub for Chinquapin's recreational activities, is similarly nostalgic in its rustic styling. The building resembles an old barn.

The Outpost has weathered board siding, a wood shake roof, and traditional proportions. The traditional rusticity of the structure is extended down to its smaller details. The building's windows are fitted with old, wavy glass; its light fixtures resemble old lanterns; and its furnishings reflect their rustic surroundings through their materials. Renderings of Chinquapin's proposed lodge portray it as similar in style to the Outpost. Through traditional styling, natural and weathered materials, as well as nostalgic architectural details, Chinquapin's amenity buildings appear to have weathered not years, but decades.

Figure 6.35: Gravel road through preserved open space at Chinquapin (source: Author).

Figure 6.36: Nostalgia and rusticity reflected in shared open space at Chinquapin
(source: Author).

Figure 6.37: Chinquapin Post embodies rustic character (source: Author).
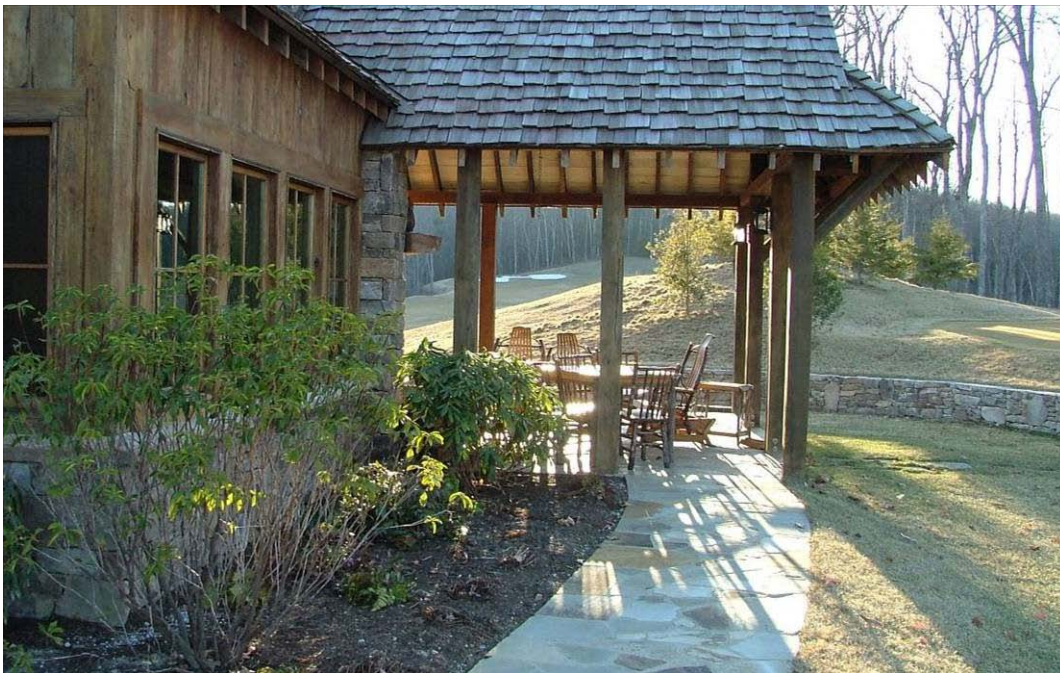
Figure 6.38: Nature's Walk golf course, seen from the Outpost (source: Author).

Figure 6.39: Chinquapin Outpost resembles an old barn (source: Author).

Figure 6.40: Rendering of "The Lodge" at Chinquapin, as seen on site (source: Author).

Figure 6.41: Hewn timbers and rustic fixtures of the Chinquapin Post (source: Author).

Figure 6.42: "Ritz Carlton" fishing cabin at Chinquapin (source: Author).

Figure 6.43: Hewn log fishing cabin at Chinquapin (source: Author).

Residences

During site observation, three private residences were seen, two of which were under construction. In Chinquapin's promotional materials, homes are depicted as traditional in styling and rustic in materials. While all homes observed had used natural materials, two distinct styles were present; traditional and modernist.

Chinquapin's model home, which was also depicted in its promotional materials, was found to be traditional in styling. Steep pitched roofs, multiple dormers, broad covered sitting porches, and traditional detailing characterized the home. Its stone foundation and porch supports, large beams, wood and poplar bark siding, shake roof,

window shutters, and copper rain gutters finish the home's traditional aesthetic. Its traditional style was extended into the landscape through use of an aesthetic indicative of the naturalistic and English landscape. Informal plantings, a rustic stone pathway, and lawn comprised the front yard. In short, the home was found to be in line with the aesthetic theme set by Chinquapin's amenity structures.

However, not all homes must conform to this theme. Another home, which was at the time under construction, displayed a much more modernist character; reminiscent of Frank Lloyd Wright. The house had a flat roof, broad overhangs, cantilevers, expanses of glass, and sleek lines. While finished in slabs of granite, its exterior displayed a stark lack of ornamentation or traditional styling. The structure's modernist style was extended into the landscape; steel railings, a granite slab outdoor fireplace, and expansive view echoed the materials and character of the home. The consistency between the two styles, traditional and modernist; is the use of natural materials; subdued, earthy hues; and resulting minimal visual impact on their respective sites.

Figure 6.44: Blending into the landscape through traditional styling and muted materials (source: Author).

Figure 6.45: Contemporary styling and natural materials combined (source: Author).

Figure 6.46: Contemporary styling extended into the landscape (source: Author).
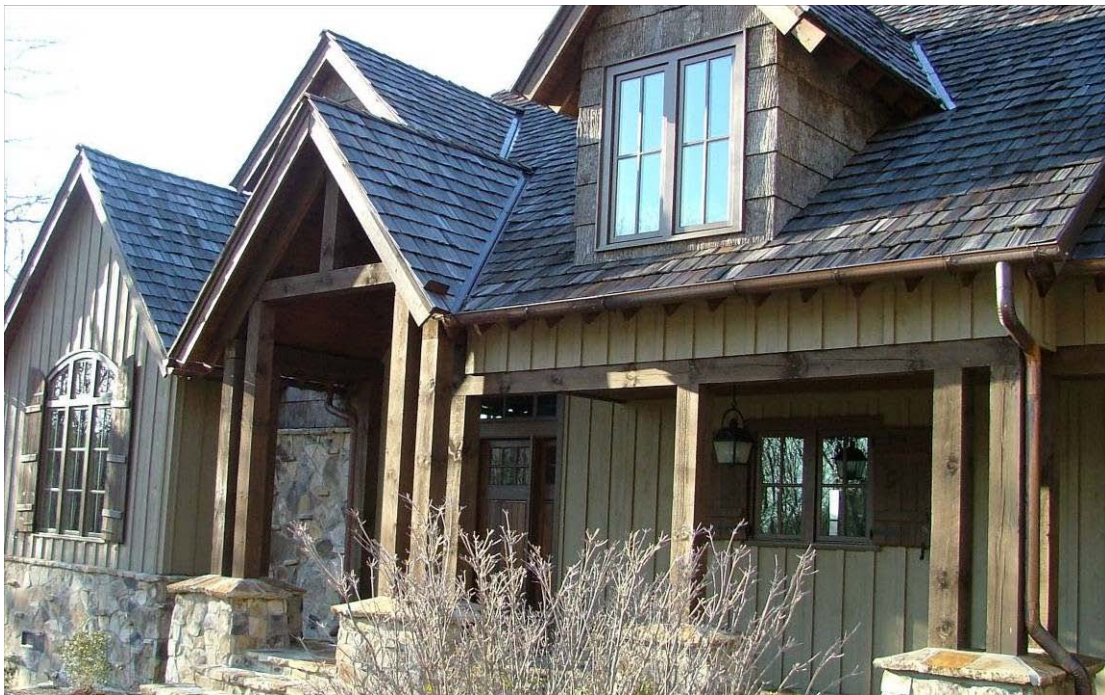
Figure 6.47: Traditional rustic styling and materials (source: Author).

Figure 6.48: Building envelope meets undisturbed forest cover (source: Author)

Figure 6.49: New home undergoing construction (source: Author).

Interviews

Chinquapin is unique among cases, in the active role of its previous property owners, the Carlton family. In addition to members of the development and marketing team, Dr. Barbara Carlton and Pat Carlton were interviewed. As with the other development cases examined, topics of discussions ranged from the project's green attributes, design and marketing process, implementation of brand identity, and achievements and lessons for the future. Their discussions offer valuable insights into not only the challenges of implementing green development, but also in locating a team willing to develop a project according to one's vision.

Pat Carlton, who is one of the property's previous owners, adamantly stated that he and the Carlton family are not the developer, and wanted to make sure the record reflected this fact. Pat Carlton defined the developer as an "operator," who takes a property over from its previous owner. In contrast to this, he stated that the Carltons have maintained involvement with Chinquapin, primarily in the area of its conservation areas (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Why Green?

According to Dr. Barbara Carlton; nine generations of the Carlton family have lived in Florida; dependent on livelihoods ranging from ranching, farming, and banking. Dr. Carlton stated that part of the Carlton family legacy is "to give back, preserve, enhance, and promote a stewardship ethic." According to Dr. Carlton, the family has protected over 10,000 acres of land in Florida, and received recognition for their efforts.

The Carltons bought their Chinquapin property in 1977, from Liberty Life, which owned a total of 15,000 acres, some of which became Panthertown Valley National Forest. During their tenure of ownership, The family managed their mountainous 2,000 acres for timber, wildlife, and recreation.

According to Dr. Carlton, when the real estate market in Cashiers boomed, the family was posed with the option of whether to developer their property, which was owned by Dr. Carlton's four grown children, one of whom is Pat Carlton. Pat Carlton stated that the family chose to develop the property, in order to establish something for the family's next generation, as well as to strategically remove some of the risk associated with its agricultural endeavors. To accomplish this end, Pat Carlton identified three alternatives (personal communication, May 18, 2009). The first option, is to "put it on a shelf." Under this option, the property's 2,000 acres would be preserved in its entirety. He identified another option as to "sell out and never see it again." A third option is to find a balance between the first two options, matching stewardship with development needs; the goal of the family's development plan.

Pat Carlton identified the family's interest in the property as "a long term conservation component," characterized as "stewardship." Quoting his father, Pat Carlton stated, "You can't eat everything." Pat Carlton felt it was important to "do development right," so maintained an active role in its conservation programming. Consequently, the family decided to limit the number of home sites and place 700 acres of the property in conservation easement to protect key habitat of wild brook trout. According to Pat Carlton, "Everything is backwards now. Seven years ago, everyone

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was doing high density; people thought we were crazy for doing super low density" (personal communication). Dr. Carlton added, "Even before the word green was popular, we were involved in stewardship," citing two awards for stewardship for the family's ranch in Florida. Stating that "it was natural to do then," she explained the Carlton family has applied their philosophy of stewardship to the Chinquapin project (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

What Makes it Green?

Dr. Barbara Carlton and Pat Carlton were asked what green characteristics distinguish Chinquapin from its competitors. Dr. Carlton cited the minimized impact of the community's road systems, underground infrastructure, and attention to protection of the property's water quality and streams. Advancing this goal, she cited protection of watersheds and fish through construction of bridges instead of culverts, tree preservation, and re-vegetation with and management of native grasses (personal communication, May 18, 2009). Hanna Moss, who is active in Chinquapin's marketing, listed its conservation lands, protection of watersheds, and focus on outdoor amenities as green distinguishers from Chinquapin's competition (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Pat Carlton asserted that the active role in promoting stewardship through Chinquapin's conservation component by the original property owners is a key distinguishing characteristic. Additionally, Chinquapin is "geared toward the individual outdoor enthusiast instead of the club crowd." Citing Chinquapin's appeal "to those who pursue the stewardship ethic" rather than the social benefits of the club model; Pat

Carlton explained that the community aims to satisfy the reasons for escaping to the mountains in the summer. Although Chinquapin does include a club component, Pat Carlton stated the club secondary to the development's conservation aspects. According to Pat Carlton, Chinquapin's approach is a departure from how most clubs are geared, which he said, tends toward exactly what their clientele are seeking to get away from. He added, Chinquapin is geared toward "hiking boots and blue jeans instead of seersucker" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Role of Site Context?

When asked whether Chinquapin's site context factored into its green identity, Dr. Carlton answered in the affirmative. In particular, she listed Chinquapin's conservation "wilderness" lands close proximity to Panthertown Valley National Forest. "The 700 acres is still tied to its mother, Panthertown," while not through programs, but through geography (personal communication, May 18, 2009). Pat Carlton agreed, adding that Chinquapin's elevation of 4,000 feet, its rural setting, position on the Eastern Continental Divide all factor in. In addition to its rural setting, Hanna Moss affirmed the role of Chinquapin's proximity to large, publicly protected lands in its green brand identity. She stated, "Panthertown National Forest being so close factors in, and we talk about it in the promotional materials" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Collaborating for Green

When asked what kind of team he assembled to market Chinquapin as green, Pat Carlton replied; "I didn't." Instead, he stated that the Carltons provided the community's vision and gave it to the developer. He stated, the "vision was to build something that God could take care of." In contrast to typical high maintenance club amenities, they wanted to have a development "in which nature could be tinkered with in order to make it more usable," but that doesn't require massive modification to the land (personal communication, May 18, 2009). Consequently, Chinquapin amenities required much lesser capital costs, which appealed to the developers. According to Hanna Moss, Chinquapin's branding, logo design, and slogan, "Naturally" were developed by Harrison Kohn. However, current marketing and sales activities are completed internally by the developer (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Aside from collaboration with groups to market Chinquapin, Pat Carlton was asked whether outside groups were consulted in order to bolster the development's green qualities. He responded that the Carltons spoke with the Cashiers Highlands Land Trust and engaged in conversations with environmental consultants early in the planning process. Eventually, the Carltons chose to work with the North American Land Trust, which is based in Pennsylvania. While the Carltons talked to other developers about the project, they all wanted to construct a higher density project accompanied by a 27-36-hole golf course. However, demographic data was examined in order to identify trends in golf. Consequently, the decision was made to limit the size of the golf course to nine holes, and limit the project's overall density to one unit per ten acres.

When asked how collaboration with these groups helped the project regarding public perception, Pat Carlton responded that he was not sure, and is not overly concerned with the project's public image. However, through collaboration with external groups, he stated that he was better able to identify key areas that needed protection, as well as those most suitable for building. According to Pat Carlton, rather than building houses on the land of "highest and best use and conserving whatever land is left over," they chose to conserve the best land and build around it (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

When asked who has been most supportive in the project because of its greenness, Dr. Carlton stated those who come to the mountains are attracted to projects like Chinquapin. However, Pat Carlton does not believe the marketplace fully appreciates or understands the breadth of how these developments exist yet. In spite of the high interest, press, and seeking out of green development, Carlton stated that "those who do get it tend to be in ecological groups." He listed land trusts, conservation groups, Trout Unlimited, and environmentally minded members of the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club as examples. Carlton stated that Chinquapin has become a good contrast for other developments, but added, "This place is not for everybody" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Pat Carlton stated that no opposition was encountered during the proposal and planning of Chinquapin. When asked his opinion of why the project was well receive, he stated; "The commitment up front for the conservation piece, politically took out all the ammunition of the opposition's gun," clarifying that "typical development opposition

was mitigated" (personal communication, May 18, 2009). He explained that when the conservation easement was discovered, many conservation groups were favorable to the project. Also affecting Chinquapin's favorable reception was the regulatory context of Jackson County, in which the development is located. Jackson County has no county-wide zoning. However, while the project was being planned, Jackson County was simultaneously crafting county wide development ordinances. Because Chinquapin provided an example of what the County was trying to achieve, it was cited as a self regulating example of how development can be responsibly executed.

Greenness Communicated through Promotional Materials

Hanna Moss was asked how Chinquapin's promotional materials communicate the project's green identity. She identified the importance of focusing on its 700 acres of conservation lands, and highlighting this feature. Consistent with the project's discussion of preservation of the property's aesthetic qualities, Moss also cited the importance of discussing Chinquapin's view corridors. In textual descriptions, Moss also stated that descriptions focus on the physical site features of the project. When asked whether prospective buyers' perception of Chinquapin's greenness is affected by the colors used in promotional materials, Moss answered that yes, colors used are important. She stated that all promotional materials use a defined set of colors to give them "a natural feel." When asked which words best communicate a green identity, Moss identified the importance of discussing the project's conservation areas, as well as the "natural" appearance of the buildings. In order to visually communicate the project's greenness,

Moss cited the importance of "beautiful views," and that the photos used in the promotional materials are from the property itself (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Greenness Communicated through the Built Environment

Dr. Carlton was asked which of Chinquapin's built features best communicate its greenness. She listed its "wilderness tract," the 700 acres under conservation easement; irrigation of the golf course via a pond that collects runoff from rain that naturally falls in its watershed; and protection of the property's topography and drainage patterns. She added that because the property straddles the eastern Continental Divide, water quality is not only important for streams on the property itself, but has far reaching implications on both sides of the continental divide (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Pat Carlton identified the strategic placement of building envelopes, "so that you feel as if there is nobody else up here." In addition to the seclusion of individual home sites, Carlton added that the property's wilderness cabins run without electricity, but have hot/cold running water, propane. When asked to name other built features indicative of the project's greenness, Carlton identified the trail system, because it connects the natural features of the site.

When asked what role the natural features of the property play in communicating the project's greenness, Pat Carlton listed the topography. According to Carlton, the topography not only affected the layout of development phases but also dictated placement of infrastructure and building envelopes. Dr. Carlton added that careful

management of vegetation also communicated the project's greenness. In contrast to manicuring all vegetation, she stated that grass is allowed to grow tall on roadside banks, which conserves water and provides cover for wildlife.

According to Pat Carlton, Chinquapin's residential design guidelines also promote sustainability through maximum square footage requirements, filtered view preservation instead of clear cutting for views, and measures to minimize visual impacts. He stated, "We don't want any 12,000 square foot houses up here," adding "Build your dream house but don't make everyone else look at it" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Challenges and Lessons for the Future

Dr. Carlton was asked whether her definition of "green" had changed from when Chinquapin was first proposed. Dr. Carlton answered, "It's not green because you say it's green, but because you keep it green." Expressing her concern for water quality, Dr. Carlton stated that the property is a dynamic, fluid management problem, because of management, containment, and treatment of water fluctuates with weather and drought conditions. Pat Carlton stated that his definition of "green" had not really changed. However, he stated that he was still looking for a good definition of the term. He explained; "when you take out the politics and guilt out of the word 'green,' you end up with a farmer" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

When asked to identify the biggest assets in making Chinquapin a green project, Dr. Carlton noted "the aesthetics of the place." She added, "it's very pleasing to the eye." Pat Carlton cited Andy Johnson, of the North American Land Trust as a valuable asset.

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Carlton explained that Johnson is "one of the few people who understand green development, and the capital, sacrifice, and regulations required" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

When asked to identify the biggest challenges to building green, Pat Carlton stated that the golf course was a challenge. However, the flat topography of its site made construction relatively easy. Consequently no dynamite was required in construction of the course. A challenge cited by Dr. Carlton, was the need to monitor the property during construction, in order to protect water quality. She stated that she was known to construction workers as "the Silty Queen" because she monitored the site during construction, and made them install silt fences to protect water quality. According to Dr. Carlton, a running joke was that whenever there was a shovel, there needed to be a roll of silt fencing.

In discussing challenges to building green, Pat Carton stated there are different approaches to construction; mitigation of damage through being proactive, or "do what you want, pick up the pieces, and ask for forgiveness later." In addition to the challenges of remaining proactive, Carlton identified constantly evolving environmental regulations as a challenge, as compliance is not always intuitive (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

When asked whether they would do anything differently with the development process of Chinquapin, both Dr. Carlton and Pat Carlton cited that they would spend more time to understand all the engineering aspects of the project, in order to be proactive in the design and development and construction process. With regard to his consumers'

desires, Pat Carlton wryly answered, he would wait for the market to change (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

Discussion

Chinquapin was selected as a case due to its ability to provide variation from other cases. Specifically, its inclusion of golf, proximity to publicly owned protected lands, broad range of lot sizes, partnership with conservation organizations, and lack of obvious and significant waterfront were primary contrasts. While Chinquapin represents a medium sized project among those considered in this dissertation, its 2,000 acres is a sizable amount of land in western North Carolina, as is the 700 acres permanently protected under conservation easement. Additionally, the project has a very low density of 1 unit per ten acres.

Development Pattern

Because of its extraordinary low density of one home site for every 10 acres, one might assume all lots, buildings, roads, amenities, and infrastructure are concentrated on a relatively compact 1,300 acre area; leaving a monolithic and regularly shaped 700 acre chunk of land, without intrusion from human development. However, the site plan demonstrates that this is not the case. While fully connected, the project's conservation areas are irregularly shaped, encompassing, surrounding, and interspersed with areas of development. They contain a mixture of both larger areas removed residential development, as well as narrower corridors that follow the streams. Consequently, while

building lots are clustered together, these clusters are largely dispersed across a large portion of the 2,000 acre project, as are the roads and infrastructure that service them. The built form adopted by the development plan represents a philosophical understanding of green development in a rural mountain setting. While its relatively dispersed development pattern may be a reflection of the values of its targeted audience, who are assumed to want to escape from the city, Chinquapin's development pattern may be attributed to its streams. During the case selection process, rivers and lakes were considered to be "significant waterfront," while streams were not. However, the streams flowing through Chinquapin were deemed by its former property owners to be significant trout habitat, worthy of conservation. Interestingly, streams considered in the selection process to be "insignificant" appear to be highly significant in affecting Chinquapin's development pattern.
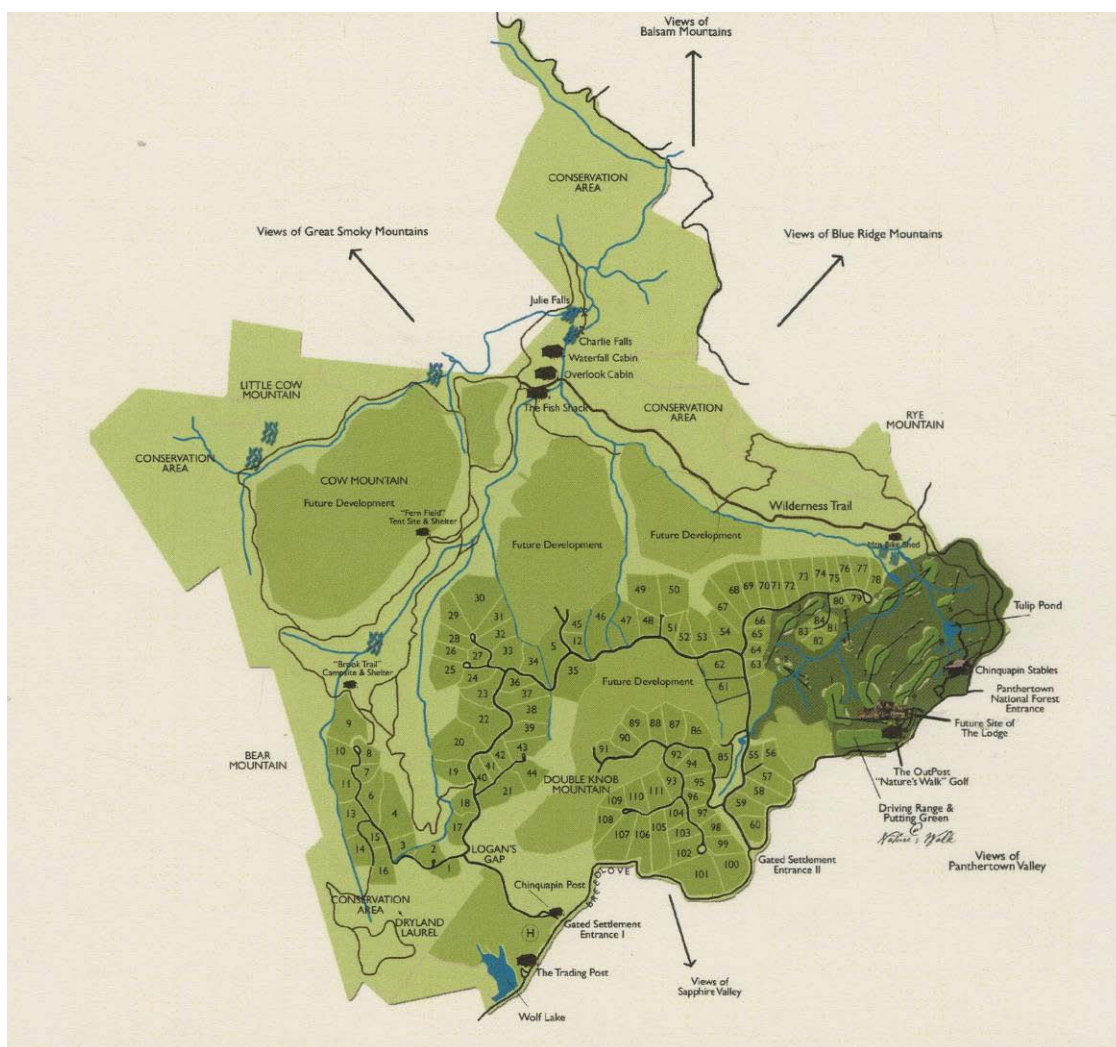
Figure 6.50: Chinquapin's site plan (Source: Chinquapin, "The Master Plan").

Aesthetics and Visual Impact

Paired with its dispersed development pattern, Chinquapin's design guidelines target minimization of visual impact. The design guidelines state: "Chinquapin's vision begins in the woods of the Southern Appalachian mountain range. It is here, in the mountains, that we draw our inspiration for creative mountain design. At Chinquapin, we would like our architecture to reflect the setting in which it exists" (Chinquapin

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Architectural Review Committee, 2008, p.1). In addition to providing guidelines for minimization of environmental impact to the individual site, they address the aesthetic qualities of buildings. The guidelines state that while the "unique nature of each site should greatly influence the design process to produce architecture that complements the site," "influences such as traditional Appalachian architecture, 'parkitecture,' as expressed in the lodges and accessory buildings of our National Parks built in the early 20th century, and other indigenous mountain styles, can provide the basis for new designs at Chinquapin" (Chinquapin Architectural Review Committee, 2008, p.1).

In essence, much of what is being preserved is aesthetic: the views. Holistically considered, these guidelines reflect not only concern for minimizing impact on habitat, soils, and water quality, but great emphasis on ensuring that buildings "that seem to grow out of the environment" (Chinquapin Architectural Review Committee, 2008, p.1).

Nostalgia

The temporal marketing strategies employed by Chinquapin reflect all categories; past, present, and future. However, emphasis is placed on the present and most heavily on the past. The past is reflected in words used, historic quotes, references to historic land uses, and the project's family orientation. Nostalgia is also reflected through representations of the built environment found in the promotional materials, as well as through the aesthetic qualities of the built environment seen during site observation.

However, much of the text and imagery oriented toward the present; appeals to sense of place, aesthetic qualities; are also injected with nostalgia. Traditional

architectural styles, rustic materials and finishes, and naturalistic landscapes; while influential in the community's sense of place, also contribute to its nostalgic quality. Use of reclaimed materials, weathered siding, and rusted roofing create an image of a settlement that has weathered the storms of generations. Even though those aesthetic qualities reflect the present enjoyment of owners and guests, they still reflect on the past. Chinquapin's use of nostalgia is echoed in its emphasis on family.

Intergenerational Interaction and Anthropocentric Environmentalism

Chinquapin's decidedly intergenerational bent is illustrated through the text of its promotional materials. Recreational activities, amenities, and programs are designed to appeal to different ages and members of the family. The emphasis on intergenerational interaction and family continuity is also encapsulated within the project's future orientation. References to family heritage and Chinquapin's role in its cultivation reinforce the idea that the family legacies are being protected, as well as the land that supports them.

Chinquapin's promotional materials present an anthropocentric view of land preservation. Under the heading of environmental rhetoric, the promotional materials' use of words associated with preservation and deep environmentalism were discussed. While preservation environmentalism is regarded as favoring an anthropocentric view of nature, in need of human stewardship; Chinquapin's orientation toward anthropocentrism is also reflected in its emphasis on minimizing visual impacts. As humans care more deeply than wildlife about view corridors, naturalistic materials, and muted colors; the

project's focus on aesthetics illustrates that a substantial share of the Chinquapin's preservation is not only for trout, but for people.

Chinquapin was selected partly due to its inclusion of golf. Because of the inherent environmental risks involved in the construction and maintenance of a golf course, coupled with the community's strong environmental focus, it was anticipated inclusion of Chinquapin would offer valuable insight into how a potentially high impact amenity can be greened, or branded as green. From the comments of those interviews, as well as from on site observation, the golf course's size seems to be a contributing factor to the project's green brand identity. Construction of the relatively small 9-hole course on a gently sloping part of the property appears to not only minimize environmental impact. It's smaller size and reduced capital costs also may be a better reflection of consumer demands, as once high demand for golf wanes. Citing her original opposition to the golf course, Dr. Carlton said she feels the course, Natures Walk, made the project "a better unit," adding the current challenge is monitoring chemical application and protecting water quality. She explained that during construction of the golf course, "it was destruction, now it's restoration. It was painful to see the trees cut. Now, it's covered with grass" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

When asked whether she thought the manner in which development occurs in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains would change, Dr. Carlton answered; "I hope so," adding "there has been enough jumping up and down over water and air pollution" that hopefully development practices will improve. Pat Carlton predicts that developers will be held increasingly more accountable for their projects. Referencing the role of supply

and demand in determining market demand for green development, he added that "if these developments prove to be economically advantageous, there will be more of them. However, if they prove to not be economically advantageous, fewer of them will be seen" (personal communication, May 18, 2009).

CHAPTER SEVEN

SANTEETLAH LAKESIDE

Project Overview

Santeetlah Lakeside, located in Lake Santeetlah, North Carolina is by far the smallest development of the five selected cases. At only ten acres, the project is projected to contain only 32 homes. The case was initially selected due to its ability to provide contrasts over several key dimensions. In addition to its modest project size, Santeetlah Lakeside was selected due to its strong identification as a lakefront community, situated on the 3,000 acre Lake Santeetlah; exclusion of golf; reported direct adjacency to the Nantahala National Forest; and relatively small lot sizes. In contrast to other cases studied, the project is not apparently in cooperation with any conservation organizations regarding its development or management. Due to the role of waterfront in its real estate, prices found in Santeetlah Lakeside are higher than those found in other cases. Lots, ranging from $1/10^{th}$ acre to 1/4 acre, are priced from $450,000 for those with lake views to $595,000 for those with waterfront. Homes on view lots start at around $1 million. As the only lakefront community, Santeetlah Lakeside was included due to its unique potential to illustrate how green branding occurs on a project of this type.

Santeetlah Lakeside is developed by IBEX Mountain Group, described by the promotional materials as "a selective wilderness developer dedicated to the creation of unique, high-end niche communities in untapped mountain regions. IBEX, as an uncompromising mountain developer, combines rigorous development guidelines with a comprehensive land stewardship program in building communities within secluded,

natural settings that define exclusivity and refuge" (IBEX Mountain Group). The "Great Camps of the Smokies" is defined by IBEX as their "development initiative," which "blends a respect and reverence of nature with careful land planning and thoughtful architectural expression." According to the promotional materials, "The Great Camps fulfills a second home buyer's desire to experience an active and adventurous lifestyle while enjoying the seclusion and privacy provided by natural and pristine settings" (IBEX Mountain Group).

Review of Promotional Materials

Review of Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials included an inventory and analysis of page coverage, imagery, text, environmental rhetoric, and temporal marketing strategies. Promotional materials received from Santeetlah included a soft-bound brochure detailing projects by Santeetlah's developer, Great Camps of the Smokies; an insert specific to the Santeetlah project, supplemental site map and sales letter. All materials featured an abundance of glossy outdoor images. The majority of pages in the brochure contained high coverage of images, accompanied by abundant text supporting the messages of the imagery. Throughout Santeetlah's promotional materials, a redundancy was observed, in the repetitive use of the same text and images, in separate items and on different pages.

Recognizable Green Characteristics

Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve's promotional materials were analyzed for textual and image content containing recognizable green characteristics. These characteristics included the general topics of hydrology, soil conservation, energy conservation and production, pollution reduction, protection and management of native flora and fauna, as well as environmental education, research, and interpretation. From the inventory of image content, it was determined that none of these characteristics were overtly reflected in imagery. However, while not present in imagery, they received some attention in the text.

Protection of existing hydrology was reflected in reference to "minimal impact homesites," which presumably minimize impacts on site hydrology (Great Camps of the Smokies). Protection of native vegetation was indirectly reflected in the use of "beetle killed pine" in home construction (IBEX Mountain Group). The overview brochure of the Great Camps of the Smokies, developer of Santeetlah Lakeside, contains references the "dedicated land stewardship program" of one of its other projects, Wildsprings, identified as "an eco-sensitive vacation community that serves as a model for the Wilderness Village concept in woodland development" (Great Camps of the Smokies). While its consideration in the development of Santeetlah's site is not mentioned, concern for steep slope protection and soil conservation receives mention in discussion of its development context, Graham County, North Carolina. The brochure explains, "With over 80% of the land protected as National Forest, Nature Conservancy, or National Wilderness, this area is not only the most beautiful and scenic area in the Smokies, but

also has the greatest scarcity of private land." The text continues, "Over 90% of the county has slopes greater than 30 degrees, and over 50% of the private land has slopes considered undevelopable. This leaves only about 15% of the county that can ever be developed" (Great Camps of the Smokies). Consequently, concern for protection of steep slopes is discussed primarily as it relates to its role in reducing development pressures. Additionally, whether Santeetlah Lakeside's steep topography would be considered developable under these standards is not discussed.

Figure 7.1: Steep slopes within Santeetlah Lakeside deemed developable
(Source: Author).

Page	Protection-restoration of existing hydrology	Stormwater runoff reduction, infiltration	Water conserv. and reuse	Steep slope protection	Soil conservation and erosion protection	Energy conservation, production, pollution reduc.	Native vegetation protection	Land and Wildlife mgmt.	On Site food prod.	Env'tal education, research, interp.
Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure										
Cover										
1										
2							■			
3										
4								■		
5										
6										
7							■			
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure										
1/Cover										
2	■	■					■			
3										
4	■							■	■	
5								■		
6 Sprd										
7										
8										
9				■	■					
10										
Rear cov										
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside										
1/cover										
2										
3										
Item: Site Map										
1/Cover									■	■
Item: Santeetlah, Letter										

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(dark gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 7.2: Recognizable green characteristics at Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve.

Third Party Credibility

Credibility of Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve is garnered via a broad range of third parties. The promotional materials were scanned for both textual and image references to celebrities, environmental groups, other groups, as well as consumer peers.

Celebrities were not used to bolster the credibility of Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve. Environmental groups, while not reflected in imagery, received reference in

the text of Santeetlah's promotional materials. The primary environmental group mentioned is the Nature Conservancy, particularly in its role of preserving substantial acreage in Graham County, thus rendering it unavailable for future development. The text did not reference any other environmental groups. However, other entities did receive substantial references in Santeetlah's text. Those involved in designing and furnishing the homes were mentioned. The project is reportedly also "Awarded 'Best Lakefront Community for 2006' in the Southern Highlands, by the editors of the prestigious Pinnacle Living Magazine" (Great Camps of the Smokies). However, publicly owned lands and the agencies that manage them receive the greatest number of references related to third party credibility. These include the Nantahala National Forest, Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest, Slickrock Creek Wilderness Area, Smoky Mountain National Park, and Snowbird Backcountry Area. References to the Nantahala National Forest abounded throughout the promotional materials, particularly for its role in rendering large swaths of the area undevelopable.

Lake Santeetlah is identified as "A 3,000 acre wilderness lake, with 80 miles of shoreline, nearly 90% of which lie within over half a million acres of the Nantahala National Forest…ensuring the preservation and integrity of this wilderness sanctuary." This concept is reiterated, in its role in ensuring the setting "will remain pristine forever as part of the wilderness sanctuary of the Nantahala National Forest" (Great Camps of the Smokies). The development is also defined as "containing thirty-two minimal impact homesites, perched on the shoreline of a 3,000 acre wilderness lake, hidden among and completely surrounded by over half a million acres of the Nantahala National Forest"

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(Great Camps of the Smokies). Through these statements, the promotional materials present Santeetlah Lakeside as completely surrounded by undeveloped public land, preserved in perpetuity.

Testimonials of peers are also used to bolster Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve's credibility to prospective buyers. This is reflected in the extensive interviews of one of the couples who have purchased a home in the development. Under a heading titled, "About the Home Owners," Santeetlah Lakeside's main brochure states: "Craig and Lexy Zachrich live outside of Chicago. Craig, an Architect by profession, closed his firm a few years ago to join the fourth generation family business that Lexy has been managing since 1979." In addition to presenting Santeetlah's buyers as accomplished professionals, the promotional materials also present their environmental sensibilities. "'Everyone in the Lake Santeetlah community that we've met so far feels a sense of responsibility to protect and preserve the extreme beauty of this area. We are stewards of this place and want to insure that we can pass it on to next generations.'—Craig and Lexy Zachrich" (IBEX Mountain Group). Their interview spans several pages of the brochure. Topics cover how they decided to purchase a home in the development, the recreational amenities of the lake, and the qualities of the area they enjoy. "In researching and traveling to a few other mountain-lake developments they decided the larger communities with golf courses and many other amenities were just not for them" (IBEX Mountain Group). In describing the feeling their home, dubbed the "Carolina Treehouse," gives them, the promotional materials state; "'The sheer beauty and intimacy of this place is what we were searching for. Sitting on our deck, looking over the clear, splendid Lake,

on to the forests and the mountains, or snuggled up inside with a cheerful fire in the fireplace, a steaming cup of coffee and a good book enjoying this with family and friends it's hypnotizing, peaceful and perfect!'" (IBEX Mountain Group).

Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure	Celebrities	Environmental Groups	Other Groups	Peers
Cover				
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure				
1/Cover				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6 Sprd				
7				
8				
9				
10				
Rear cov				
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside				
1/cover				
2				
3				
Item: Site Map				
1/Cover				
Item: Santeetlah Letter				
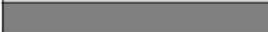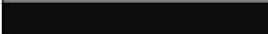
LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 7.3: Third party credibility at Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve.

Representations of the Built Environment

Promotional materials for Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve were also analyzed for the reflection of wild and cultivated landscapes in their imagery and text. The wild

landscape received considerably more reflection in text and imagery than the cultivated landscape.

Examples of the wild landscape Forests, waterfront, hiking trails, and mountain vistas were depicted in Santeetlah's imagery and described in its text. While "wildlife" is generically mentioned in the text (Great Camps of the Smokies), it is not heavily reflected.

In the imagery of Santeetlah's promotional materials, distinctions between the wild and cultivated landscape are blurred, as the project significantly borrows scenery from external features, such as the lake and tree covered mountains seen across the water. Nearly all pages showcase images containing the lake. Variations of this view are provided some lake views are unobstructed, while others are filtered through tree trunks, from within buildings, and from high above the water's surface. Where the landscape is depicted as recipient of human intervention, these renderings of the cultivated landscape are inextricably tied to the architectural style of buildings and blended with the wild landscape. This visual blending is accomplished through employment of the naturalistic landscape aesthetic, manifested through informal masses of plantings, retention of preexisting tree canopy, and avoidance of elements that communicate formality. Portrayals of Santeetlah's wild and cultivated landscapes are also reflected in the text of its promotional materials.

A strong connection to the wild landscape is reflected not only in descriptions of the land within Santeetlah's boundaries, but also in its context, Graham County, North Carolina. "Nestled among hundreds of thousands of acres of wilderness and amidst a

variety of landscapes, Graham County has the most protected land of any county in the Smokies and boasts wilderness rivaled only by its neighbor, the Smoky Mountain National Park. Situated in a natural bowl, it is surrounded on all sides by the Unicoi, Snowbird, Yellow Creek, and Cheoa mountain ranges." In detailing the setting of Lake Santeetlah, the promotional materials describe it as "Tucked into a forested mountain valley laced with trout streams, waterfalls, and miles of walking trails." The theme carries through discussions of the Great Camps developments, one of which is Santeetlah Lakeside. "Water... walking trails… wildlife… quiet gardens… ancient mountains… fish-filled streams… whitewater rapids… surrounded by National Forest lands that will always remain protected" assures the brochure (Great Camps of the Smokies).
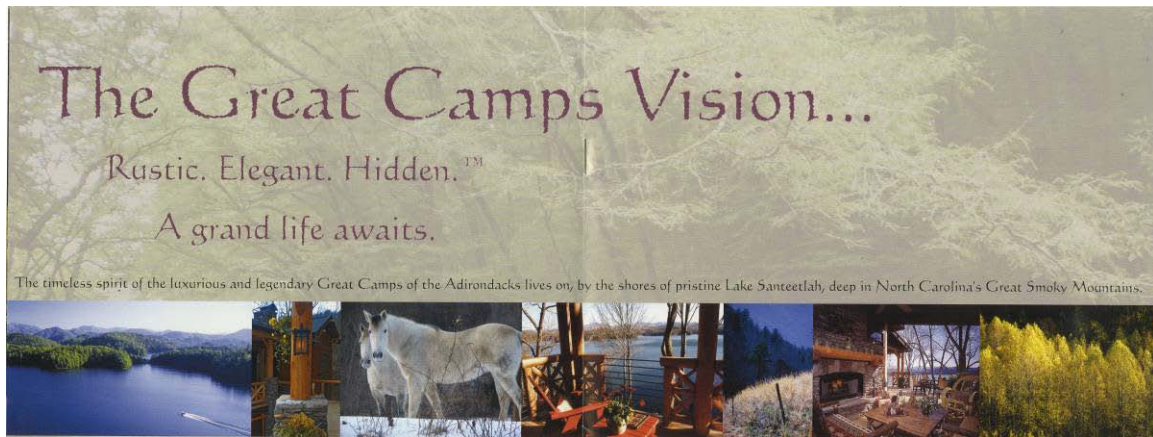
Figure 7.4: Great Camps emphasizes the outdoors (Source: Great Camps of the Smokies).

Where the cultivated landscape is reflected in imagery and text, these reflections favor the English and naturalistic landscape aesthetics, particularly in discussions of the ornamental horticultural amenities of the community. The formal landscape aesthetic is not displayed in imagery or conveyed through the text. Golf courses are not discussed,

with the exception of the interviews with Santeetlah's homeowners, who said that larger golf communities "were just not for them" (IBEX Mountain Group). Instead, the cultivated landscape is typically discussed as an extension of the rustic structures that comprise the community. In reference to the Canoe Club, Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials invite: "As crisp fall weather sets in, drop in to enjoy a cup of hot cocoa or spiced cider by the fireplace before heading out to see the fiery red, orange, and golden trees that line the lakeshore and blanket the surrounding mountains." (Great Camps of the Smokies).
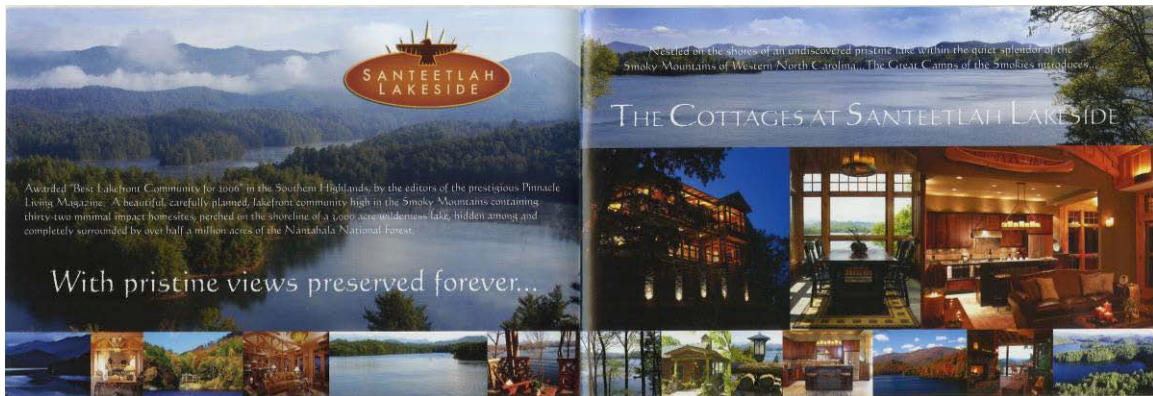
Figure 7.5: Landscape and architecture of Santeetlah Lakeside
(Source: Great Camps of the Smokies).
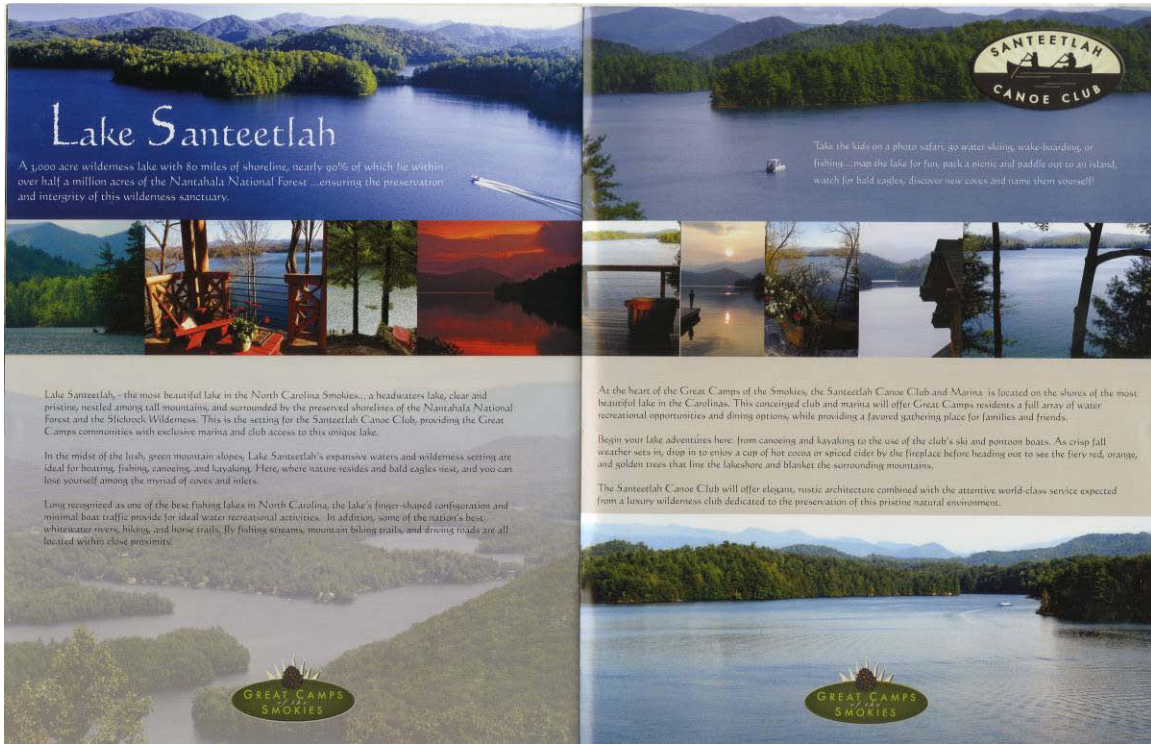
Figure 7.6: Naturalistic landscape aesthetic of Santeetlah Lakeside (Source: Great Camps of the Smokies).

Figure 7.7 — Wild vs. cultivated landscapes at Santeetlah

Page	Landscape: Wild						Landscape: Cultivated					
	Forests	Rivers and streams	Hiking Trails	Mountain Vistas	Wildlife-threatening	Wildlife-non-threatening	Domest. animals	Hort.	Golf Courses	English Landscape Aesthetic	Formal Landscape Aesthetic	Naturalistic Landscape Aesthetic
Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure												
Cover	░	█		░								
1	░	░		░								
2	█	█		░								▒
3	█	█	▒	█					▒			█
4	░	░						░				░
5												
6	█	▒		▒								▒
7			▒	█								
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure												
1/Cover	█	█	▒	█								
2	█	█	▒	█				░				█
3	█	█	▒	█								█
4	█	█	▒	█			░	▒		█		█
5	█	█	▒	█				█		█		█
6 Sprd	█	█		█	▒	▒	░	█		▒		█
7	█	█	▒			▒	░					█
8	█	█	▒	█								▒
9	█	█		█								
10	░											
Rear cov												
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside												
1/cover	█	█		█				░				█
2	░											
3	░			░								░
Item: Site Map												
1/Cover	█	█	▒					█		█		▒
Item: Santeetlah Letter												
1/Cover	▒	▒	▒									

LEGEND

Images	░ (light gray)
Text	▒ (medium gray)
Image and Text	█ (black)

Figure 7.7: Wild vs. cultivated landscapes at Santeetlah.

Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve's depiction and reference to built features through imagery and text was also analyzed. Included in this analysis were inventories of the dominant views, materials, style, and size of structures in image and text.

Santeetlah's imagery indicates the project favors traditional and rustic styling for its built features. An abundance of wood, accents of stone and log timbers, as well as

traditional furnishings characterize Santeetlah's imagery. Exteriors of homes were depicted more frequently than their interiors. However, when views showcased homes' interiors, they often revealed views to the lake. The connection between homes and the lake are found throughout the text as well. "Each cottage has its own unique sense of place and character, along with an individual boat slip only yards away at the adjacent private Lakeside Marina." (Great Camps of the Smokies). The promotional materials also explain that homes are "designed to use natural materials and blend into the landscape with no home blocking the view of another residence." (IBEX Mountain Group).

The materials most commonly depicted in these structures were wood and stone. Metal was infrequently shown. Synthetic materials were not discussed or reflected in Santeetlah's imagery. Most structures depicted were small to medium in size. While larger structures were present, they did not receive as much content in the text or imagery. However, emphasis is not placed on the size of buildings, but on their rustic and traditional styling, which is reflected throughout both imagery and text. The promotional materials state: "Designed in a village-like grouping, each cottage retains its own unique integrity, creating a balance of community and retreat that provides both sanctuary and inspiration." In describing the connection between home and site, the brochure explains that "Elegantly rustic architectural guidelines ensure distinctive design and lush, natural settings that blend almost invisibly into the environment" (Great Camps of the Smokies). In describing one of the development's signature homes, the brochure conveys, "All natural materials were used in the building of the home: stone, wood,

gigantic logs and timbers." (IBEX Mountain Group). The rustic theme is continued

through descriptions of the community's public amenities. "The Santeetlah Canoe Club

will offer elegant, rustic architecture combined with the attentive world-class service

expected from a luxury wilderness club dedicated to the preservation of this pristine

natural environment." (Great Camps of the Smokies).
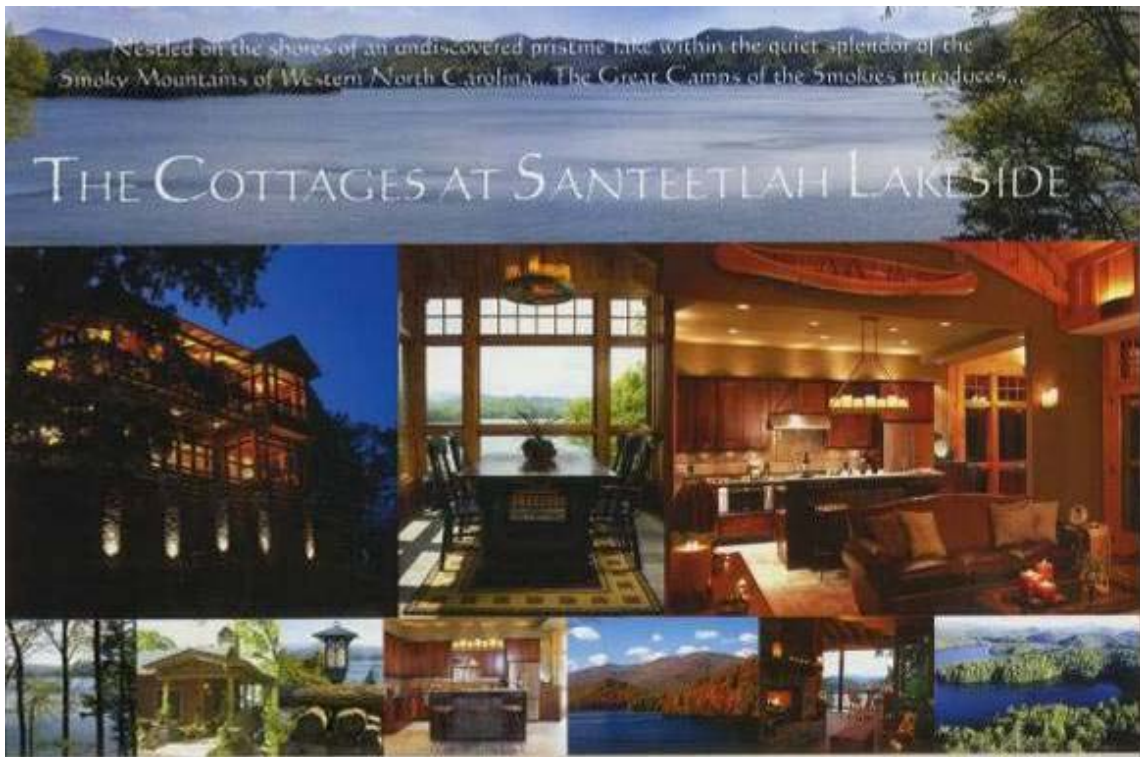
Figure 7.8: Cottages of Santeetlah Lakeside (Source: Great Camps of the Smokies).

Figure 7.9: "Treehouse at Santeetlah Lakeside (Source: IBEX Mountain Group).

Figure 7.10: Home styles of Santeetlah Lakeside (Source: Moss Creek, 2007).

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Figure 7.11: Architectural styles and the surrounding outdoors
(Source: Great Camps of the Smokies).

Figure 7.12: Living space extended outdoors (Source: IBEX Mountain Group).

Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure						
	Structures Depicted (1/2)					
	View		**Dominant Materials**			
Page	Interior	Exterior	Wood	Stone	Metal	Synthetic
Cover	░ (Images)	░	░	░		
1	░	░	░			
2	▨ (Text)	■	■	■		
3		■	░	░		
4		■	░	░		
5		░	░			
6	▨	■	■	■		
7					░	
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure						
1/Cover		░	░	░		
2	░		░	░		
3	■	■	■	■		
4		■	░	░		
5		■	■	■		
6 Sprd		░	░	░		
7		░	░	░		
8		░	░			
9		░	░			
10						
Rear cov						
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside						
1/cover	■	■	■	■		
2	░	░	░			
3	░	░	░			
Item: Site Map						
1/Cover		░	░	░		
Item: Santeetlah Letter						

LEGEND	
Images	░ (light gray)
Text	▨ (medium gray)
Image and Text	■ (black)
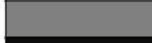
Figure 7.13: Views and materials of structures at Santeetlah Lakeside.

Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure						
Structures Depicted (2/2)						
	Style			**Size**		
Page	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover			Images	Images	Images	
1		Text				
2		Text	Image and Text		Image and Text	Images
3			Image and Text		Text	
4		Text	Image and Text	Image and Text		
5			Images	Images		
6		Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Text	
7			Images			Images
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure						
1/Cover			Images	Images		Images
2			Image and Text	Image and Text	Images	
3		Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	
4			Image and Text	Image and Text	Text	
5	Image and Text		Images	Image and Text	Image and Text	
6 Sprd	Text		Image and Text	Images	Images	
7			Images	Images		
8	Text		Image and Text	Images		
9			Images	Images		
10						
Rear cov						
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside						
1/cover		Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	
2	Images		Images	Images	Images	Images
3		Images	Images		Images	Images
Item: Site Map						
1/Cover				Images	Images	Images
Item: Santeetlah Letter						

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(gray)
Image and Text	(black)
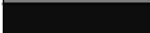
Figure 7.14: Style and size of built structures in Santeetlah Lakeside.

People and Activities

In the images of Santeetlah's promotional materials, people are infrequently depicted. Images that depict the development's homes and built structures never feature people. While their comfortably appointed interiors, inviting covered decks, and warmly lit kitchens are shown, they are devoid of humans. While people are not the focus of the

landscape imagery, they are present, engaging in recreational activities. While hiking, biking, and camping are present in imagery and text, the focus of both active and passive recreational activities centers on the lake. Boating, fishing, canoeing, and leisure take place in the context of Santeetlah's identity as a waterfront community.

A powerboat, glimpsed from a distance, glides across the surface of the lake. The silhouette of a child stands at the end of the dock, fishing pole in hand, as the sun sets across the water. Another silhouette shows a figure waterskiing. Two girls are seen from behind, as they jump, arms outstretched into the water. A person pauses next to their mountain bike, as they survey their surroundings from atop a mountain. A man and young boy, both wearing waders are shown standing in a stream as the man instructs the boy how to cast. Where people are present in the imagery, they are depicted alone or in pairs. However, the focus is not on the individuals, but the recreational activities and landscape that provide such experiences. Santeetlah's promotional materials contain text that alludes to the intergenerational, close human interaction with nature depicted in its imagery.

"Last century's Great Camps of the Adirondacks were luxurious wilderness retreats where people gathered to celebrate life… marking holidays, the changing seasons, and the growing of children always with family and close friends." "Private and secluded, these elegant homes were quietly hidden in remote locations with easy lake access. Laced through the surrounding woods, rustic walking trails connected everything and everyone. Each of these family compounds was known as a 'Camp.' The Great Camps of the Smokies are built with the same principles in mind, providing the perfect setting to build timeless family traditions… a place where you, your children, and your grandchildren can reconnect with nature and each other." (Great Camps of the Smokies).

The brochure suggests how the development can afford prospective buyers with opportunities to reconnect with their families, in a natural setting. "Take the kids on a photo safari, go water skiing, wake-boarding, or fishing... map the lake for fun, pack a picnic and paddle out to an island, watch for bald eagles, discover new coves and name them yourself!" (Great Camps of the Smokies).
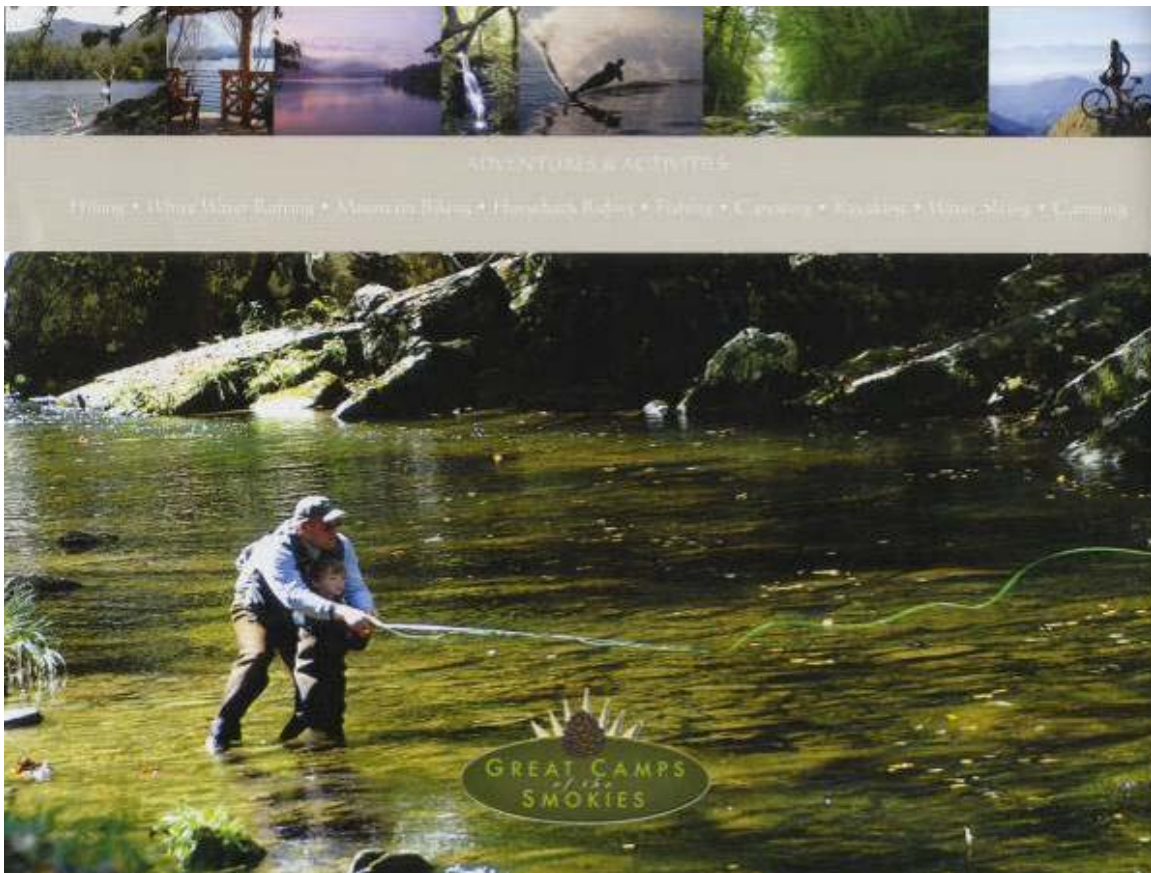
Figure 7.15: People and outdoor recreational pursuits at Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve (Source: Great Camps of the Smokies).

Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure											
	Family				People		Race		Attire		
Page	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
Cover											
1	Images				Images						
2			Text								
3			Text								
4											
5											
6	Text		Text								
7											
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure											
1/Cover	Images		Images			Images	Images		Images		
2											
3											
4	Images				Images		Images		Images		
5	Text	Text	Image and Text	Text	Images		Images		Images		
6 Sprd	Text	Text	Text	Text							
7											
8	Image and Text		Text		Images						
9	Images		Text		Images		Images		Images		
10											
Rear cov											
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside											
1/cover	Text	Text	Text	Text							
2											
3											
Item: Site Map											
1/Cover											
Item: Santeetlah Letter											

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 7.16: People at Santeetlah Lakeside.

Item:	Santeetlah, Main Brochure											
	Active									Passive		
	Tennis, swimming pools	Golf	Power Boating	Hunting	Fishing	Hiking and Camping	Climbing	Equestrian	Rafting and Canoeing	Leisure-Relaxation	Music and arts	Food and Drink
Cover												
1			Images		Images							
2			Images									
3	Text		Text		Text	Text			Text	Text	Text	Text
4			Text		Text	Text			Text	Text		
5										Images		
6										Text		Text
7					Text	Text				Image and Text		
Item:	**Great Camps, Overview Brochure**											
1/Cover					Images							
2			Image and Text		Text				Text	Text		Text
3			Text		Text	Text			Text	Text		
4					Text	Image and Text				Image and Text		
5					Image and Text	Text			Images	Image and Text		
6 Sprd			Images		Text	Text			Text	Text		
7			Image and Text		Image and Text	Text		Text	Image and Text	Text		
8			Image and Text		Image and Text	Image and Text			Text	Image and Text		Text
9			Text		Text	Text		Text	Text			
10												
Rear cov										Text		
Item:	**Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside**											
1/cover			Images							Image and Text		
2												
3										Images		
Item:	**Site Map**											
1/Cover			Images							Images		
Item:	**Santeetlah Letter**											
			Text		Text	Text			Text	Text		Text

LEGEND
- Images (light gray)
- Text (gray)
- Image and Text (black)

Figure 7.17: Active and passive recreation at Santeetlah Lakeside.

Environmental Rhetoric

Included in the analysis of Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials was an inventory of its environmental rhetoric. While all categories of environmentalism receive some word mention, preservation environmentalism is heavily emphasized, receiving 82

percent of all environmental rhetoric counted. Integrative environmentalism was a distant second, at 9 percent, trailed by deep and ecological environmentalism, which received 6 and 3 percent of environmental rhetorical references, respectively.

Words associated with preservation environmentalism found in Santeetlah's promotional materials are as follows. "Wilderness" was the most common word, used 20 times. "Natural" was used 13 times. "Wildness" and its variations were used 12 times. Variations of the words, "preserve" and "pristine" were both used 9 times. "Stewardship" was used 5 times. "Native" was used twice. Lastly, "responsibility" and "preexisting" were both used once.

Integrative environmentalism is reflected in the use of the words "interdependence," which was used 4 times; "garden," which was used 3 times; and "balance," which was used twice. Deep environmentalism is reflected through use of the word "nature," which Santeetlah's promotional materials use six times. Additionally, the developer, Jose Rosado's quotation about "primordial elements… …that touch archetypical images out of which our personal myths are formed," the completion of which allow us to "find ourselves again" reflects the spiritual component often contained within deep environmentalism (IBEX Mountain Group). Ecological environmentalism is represented through "recycled," "environmental impact," and "environmentally sensitive," which are each referenced once.

While Santeetlah Lakeside's choice of words may be coincidental, it also may reflect an astute understanding of consumer values and a strategy to appeal to a maximum number of potential buyers. According to Nadenicek and Hastings (2000), preservation

environmentalism played a key role in the development of the National Parks, National Forests, and other conservation initiatives under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. Due to Santeetlah Lakeside's frequent mention of surrounding National Forest and wilderness lands and heavy use of nostalgia, which is detailed in the following pages; preservation environmentalism is a natural course to focus Santeetlah's environmental rhetoric. However, by also including rhetoric associated with integrative environmentalism with which the contemporary environmental movement is most strongly aligned along with, to a lesser degree, ecological environmentalism and deep environmentalism Santeetlah casts a wide net over a diverse group of potential buyers representing a common concern for the natural environment.

Table 7.1: Environmental Rhetoric at Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve (Source: Author).

	Deep Environmentalism	Preservation Environmentalism	Integrative Environmentalism	Ecological Environmentalism
Words Used (Frequency)	Nature (6)	Preservation (9) Responsibility (1) Wilderness (20) Wildness (12) Preexisting (1) Stewardship (5) Native (2) Natural (13) Pristine (9) Protected (9)	Garden (3) Inter-dependence (4) Balance (2)	Recycled (1) Environmental Impact (1) Environmentally Sensitive (1)
Total of Category's References	6	81	9	3
Percentage of Total References	6%	82%	9%	3%

Temporal Marketing Strategies

The text of Santeetlah's promotional materials was analyzed for its reflection of temporal marketing strategies. These strategies include appeals to the past, present and future. Upon examination of its text, it was determined that Santeetlah Lakeside uses all three categories to resonate with prospective buyers.

The past is embodied in the text through appeals to childhood, freedom, lack of worry, and simpler times; wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage; and references to and quotation of historical figures, indigenous inhabitants, and early settlers. Contributing to Santeetlah's orientation toward the past, are references to the developer's own childhood memories and their effect on the development's character. "The developer, Jose Rosado, and the architect, Bill Tunnell, have developed a design style they call 'rustic mountain lake architecture,' which blends the styles of the Appalachian region with Jose's fond childhood memories of Lake Placid and the Adirondack style of architecture." Additionally, statements by the developer, Jose Rosado concerning how the outdoors can allow us to "'find ourselves again- go back to the mysteries we left behind'" appeal to past experiences (IBEX Mountain Group).

Wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage are also found throughout the Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials. Modeled after, "Last century's Great Camps of the Adirondacks…where people gathered to celebrate life…marking holidays, the changing seasons, and the growing of children- always with family and close friends," Santeetlah is asserted as "providing the perfect setting to build timeless family traditions," its Canoe Club "a favored gathering place for families and friends."

Santeetlah's family orientation is also expressed in the encouragement to "Take the kids on a photo safari…pack a picnic…discover new coves and name them yourself!" (Great Camps of the Smokies).

Wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage are also employed through third party testimony. Homeowners, Craig and Lexy Zachrich ensure the reader that "'Southern hospitality is alive and well in this community,'" and espouse the benefits of "'enjoying this with family'" (IBEX Mountain Group). Santeetlah's sister community, Wildsprings builds on this identity, described as a "family-friendly retreat that appears to have been in existence for generations" (Great Camps of the Smokies).

References to indigenous people, early settlers, and the developer as a pioneer are also present. In descriptions of Santeetlah Lakeside and other projects undertaken by the developer, use of "stacked Cherokee stone" and relics such as an "authentic tobacco barn" are described (IBEX Mountain Group, Great Camps of the Smokies). "Inspired by the wilderness ethic that gave rise to The Great Camps of the Adirondacks in the 1880s," The Great Camps of the Smokies is identified as a "development initiative pioneered by the IBEX Mountain Group" (IBEX Mountain Group). The theme of pioneering is extended to the "concept of Wilderness Village development, pioneered by the Great Camps of the Smokies" (Great Camps of the Smokies).

Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure			
	Nostalgia/Heritage/History		
Page	**Childhood, Freedom, Lack of Worry, Simpler Times**	**Wholesomeness, Traditional Values, Family Heritage**	**Quotations, Indigenous People, Early Settlers, Developer as "Founder"**
Cover			
1			
2	■		■
3			
4			
5			
6	■		■
7	■		■
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure			
1/Cover			
2			
3			
4		■	■
5		■	
6 Sprd	■	■	
7			
8	■	■	
9			
10			
Rear cov	■		■
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside			
1/cover			
2			
3			
Item: Site Map			
1/Cover			
Item: Santeetlah Letter			

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 7.18: The Past at Santeetlah Lakeside.

The present is also reflected throughout Santeetlah's promotional materials. Orientation toward the present is found in direct and indirect compliments of the consumer's values, characteristics, and good taste. Exclusivity, Calvinistic language, and

references to privilege form a second category. Appeals to aesthetics, sense of place, and serenity; and use of pleasure also represent the present. Cumulatively, these present oriented marketing strategies encapsulate personal enrichment.

Statements interpreted as complimentary of prospective buyers include references to commendable values that consumers are assumed to identify with. Consequently, these statements are interpreted as indirect compliments of potential consumers. Homeowners, Craig and Lexy Zachrich are quoted, "'Everyone in the Lake Santeetlah community that we've met so far feels a sense of responsibility to protect and preserve,'" adding that "'We are the stewards of this place'" (IBEX Mountain Group). These statements are likely to resonate with prospective buyers who consider themselves to responsible stewards. Additional statements attempt to resonate with home buyers who likely consider themselves to not typical consumers, but valuing as important things not recognized by the general public. Homeowners, Craig and Lexy Zachrich are described as deciding that "the larger communities with golf courses and many other amenities were just not for them" (Santeetlah, p3). Instead, prospective buyers are encouraged to become a part of a community that shares their values. One of these values is encapsulated in a quote by Henry David Thoreau, "A man is rich in proportion to the number of things which he can afford to let alone." (Great Camps of the Smokies).

Additional terms and phrases, such as "rustic sophistication," "respect and reverence of nature," and "thoughtful architectural expression" are likely to appeal to consumers who consider themselves as sophisticated, respectful of nature, and thoughtful (IBEX Mountain Group).

"Masterfully planned," "elegantly rustic," "distinctive design," "private," and "classic," while used to describe the built environment can also be interpreted as describing the values of the individuals who will consume the community's character. Descriptions of how structures are "discreetly situated," the developer's use of an "unparalleled land stewardship program," can be interpreted as appeals to consumers who consider themselves to be discreet and possessing an appreciation for land stewardship programs. Santeetlah Lakeside's Canoe Club, possessive of the "attentive world-class service expected" (Great Camps of the Smokies) would likely be lost on consumers who do not value and expect world class service.

Exclusivity, which also appeals to the present, is reflected in Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials. The Great Camps of the Smokies, of which Santeetlah is a part, is "defined by five core principles: exclusivity, escape, conservation, adventure, and serenity" (IBEX Mountain Group). Santeetlah Lakeside is defined as an "exclusive natural retreat consisting of only 32 home sites." Exclusivity is reflected in other text, although in less explicitly. Quotation of Santeetlah's homeowners, Craig and Lexy Zachrich reflects the distinction and separation of the development and its setting. They state, "'Lake Santeetlah is still somewhat a secret place, unspoiled by the commercialism one finds around other lake communities.'" Additional descriptions of the community's "select number of home sites," and the Santeetlah Canoe Club and Marina as "dedicated exclusively to the Great Camps," an "exclusive retreat" and "consisting of all the permitted expansion of boat slips on this pristine lake" reflect the community's exclusive nature. Exclusivity is also employed in descriptions of IBEX, the project's "selective

wilderness developer" and its activities of "building communities within secluded, natural settings that define exclusivity and refuge" (IBEX Mountain Group).

Santeetlah Lakeside's surroundings are also presented as contributors to its exclusive quality. Its setting, Graham County, is described as having "the greatest scarcity of private land." Its setting on a "3,000 acre wilderness lake, hidden among and completely surrounded by over half a million acres of the Nantahala National Forest" is identified as a factor limiting the real estate opportunities available in the area. Providing "the best mountain-lake living in the Smokies" (Great Camps of the Smokies), and "exclusive marina and club access to this unique lake," those who purchase are encouraged that "A grand life awaits" (IBEX Mountain Group).

Aesthetic appeals, references to sense of place, and characteristics of peace and serenity are also referenced throughout Santeetlah's promotional materials. Combined with spiritual references, these present oriented marketing strategies are reflected in a statement by the developer.

"'The design and creation of our Great Camps of the Smokies communities are guided by a yearning, a mythic quest. We all feel it at one time or another, it pulls on us, it pushes us to the expansive view, it draws us to the nest. Our communities are a catalyst for transformation, an opportunity for rediscovery, a mirror reflecting beyond the surface. The Great Camps communities are set in and contain places where primordial elements exist elements that touch archetypal images out of which are personal myths are formed…the mountains, the forests, deep lakes, rivers, waterfalls, hidden coves, mountain peaks. Within these elements our personal myths can be completed…we can find ourselves again…go back to the mysteries we left behind.' Jose F. Rosado, Developer Great Camps of the Smokies." (Great Camps of the Smokies).

Other textual references also reflect Santeetlah Lakeside's sense of place. Described as a "waterfront wonder," of unparalleled beauty whose homes are embodied by "built in

rustic elegance and blended into their natural setting" (IBEX Mountain Group), the development is presented as a community of homes, each with "its own unique sense of place" (Great Camps of the Smokies). Santeetlah's promotional materials articulate: "Designed in a village-like grouping, each cottage retains its own unique integrity, creating a balance of community and retreat that provides both sanctuary and inspiration" (Great Camps of the Smokies). The brochure describes how homes are "nestled on the shores of an undiscovered pristine lake within the quiet splendor" (Great Camps of the Smokies). Aesthetic appeals are reinforced through assurances that "The timeless spirit of the luxurious and legendary Great Camps of the Adirondacks lives on, by the shores of pristine Lake Santeetlah, deep in North Carolina's Great Smoky Mountains" (IBEX Mountain Group).

Item: Santeetlah, Main Brochure				
	Personal Enrichment			
Page	Direct or indirect compliment of consumer's values, characteristics, good taste	Exclusivity, Calvinistic Language, fortunate few, carefully chosen, privileged	Aesthetic Appeals, Sense of Place, Peace and Serenity	Sex Appeal/Pleasure
Cover			▓	
1				
2	▓		▓	
3	▓	▓	▓	
4		▓	▓	
5				
6	▓	▓	▓	▓
7	▓	▓	▓	▓
Item: Great Camps, Overview Brochure				
1/Cover			▓	
2	▓	▓	▓	
3	▓	▓	▓	
4	▓	▓	▓	
5	▓	▓	▓	
6 Sprd	▓	▓	▓	
7	▓	▓	▓	
8	▓		▓	
9	▓	▓	▓	
10			▓	
Rear cov	▓			
Item: Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside				
1/cover			▓	
2				
3				
Item: Site Map				
1/Cover				
Item: Santeetlah Letter				
	▓	▓	▓	

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 7.19: The Present at Santeetlah Lakeside.

The future is presented in Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials primarily within the context of legacy. This is presented through text reflective of personal and family legacy; legacies of environmental protection; legacies of values and principles;

and legacies of exclusivity and privilege. Within the text of Santeetlah's promotional materials, all are reflected to a certain degree.

Personal and family legacy is reflected in the statement by homeowners, Craig and Lexy Zachrich, "'We are the stewards of this place and want to insure that we can pass it on to the next generation'" (IBEX Mountain Group). Santeetlah's sister community Wildsprings is described as offering a "variety of sites, including expansive Camps- ideal for family compounds," as well as "spacious estates" (Great Camps of the Smokies). Family legacy is also reflected in the statement that the Great Camps of the Smokies are constructed with the goal of "providing the perfect setting to built timeless family traditions... a place where you, your children, and your grandchildren can reconnect with nature and each other" (Great Camps of the Smokies).

Legacies of values and environmental protection are also reflected, intertwined in through statements that primarily reflect a concern for aesthetics and minimization of visual impact. Santeetlah's setting in close proximity to publicly protected lands is integral in this discussion. The brochure states:

"With over 80% of the land protected as National Forest, Nature Conservancy, or National Wilderness, this area is not only the most beautiful and scenic area in the Smokies, but also has the greatest scarcity of private land. Over 90% of the county has slopes greater than 30 degrees, and over 50% of the private land has slopes considered undevelopable. This leaves only about 15% of the county that can ever be developed." (Great Camps of the Smokies).

In addition to repeatedly mentioning the scarcity of privately owned, developable land in Graham County, the promotional materials also state that "most mountain tops in the area are owned and protected by the U.S. Forest Service" (IBEX Mountain Group).

Large land holdings by the Nantahala National Forest, "ensuring the preservation and integrity of this wilderness sanctuary," and the development's setting "surrounded by preserved shorelines," its "pristine views preserved forever" (Great Camps of the Smokies) are cited throughout the promotional materials. Consequently, while its residents recognize a "responsibility to protect and preserve the extreme beauty of this area" (IBEX Mountain Group), Santeetlah's Club is described as "dedicated to the preservation of this pristine natural environment" (Great Camps of the Smokies), and the need "to preserve lake and mountain views" (IBEX Mountain Group) are frequently mentioned; much of this protection has already been accomplished by the U.S. Forest Service, Nature Conservancy, and other pre-existing land ownership patterns.

Item:	Santeetlah, Main Brochure			
	Legacy			
Page	Personal and Family Legacy, Longevity	Legacy of Environmental Protection	Legacy of Values and Principles	Legacy of Exclusivity Privilege
Cover				
1				
2	▓	▓	▓	
3				
4		▓	▓	
5				
6				
7				
Item:	Great Camps, Overview Brochure			
1/Cover				
2		▓		
3				
4		▓		
5	▓	▓	▓	
6 Sprd	▓	▓		
7		▓		
8		▓		
9		▓		
10				
Rear cov				
Item:	Cottages at Santeetlah Lakeside			
1/cover				
2				
3				
Item:	Site Map			
1/Cover				
Item:	Santeetlah Letter			

LEGEND	
Images	░
Text	▓
Image and Text	█

Figure 7.20: The Future at Santeetlah Lakeside.

Analysis of the Built Environment

With the developer's permission, a visit to the physical development site was arranged. During the site visit, the physical site features of the built environment were observed and noted. The purpose of the site visit was to determine whether the physical site features were consistent with the characteristics displayed through imagery and text in the promotional materials. As the built environment was noted in the sequence in which a prospective buyer might experience the site, the following six physical zones were examined: the entryway, sales office, developed amenity areas, shared open space, private residences, and vehicular routes. Similarly to how features were recorded by page in the inventory and analysis of image content, the features visible in each physical zone were noted and photographically documented. These observations concluded that the aesthetics and temporal marketing strategies displayed in the promotional materials were consistent with those illustrated through the built environment. However, site observations also determined the development's surroundings are not as devoid of development as the promotional materials had impressed.

Entry

Santeetlah Lakeside is located in the incorporated hamlet of Lake Santeetlah, in rural Graham County, North Carolina. According to the Town of Lake Santeetlah, the community is comprised of 200 homes, most of which are second homes whose owners reside permanently in Georgia and Florida (Town of Lake Santeetlah, 2009). The drive to the property revealed a mixture of older modest homes interspersed between

sporadically placed newer residential developments and resorts. Between them were wide stretches of wild and undeveloped landscapes characterized by forested mountains and rugged river gorges untrammeled by development. Also visible along the route were frequent recreational areas catering toward visitors to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. While amenities included hiking, gem mining, and other tourist activities; recreational emphasis was on whitewater river rafting. In the town of Lake Santeetlah, a billboard advertising the development provided direction down a winding, paved road curves above the shore of the lake below. Between established modest lake homes and forested tracts, the entrances to Santeetlah Lakeside were found.

Figure 7.21: Wooded character within the town of Lake Santeetlah (Source: Author).

In the entrance zone of Santeetlah Lakeside, neither recognizable green characteristics nor third party credibility were visible. The aesthetic qualities of the entry zone were analyzed in relationship to both the wild and cultivated landscape, as well as built features. The view at the entryway is dominated by the lake below. The naturalistic and English landscape aesthetics are favored through informal plantings blended into the roadside, as well as the expanse of grass in the foreground of the lake view. Signage announcing the entry was traditional and rustic in style, constructed of stacked stone, log timbers, and traditional lighting. While in the distance, the recreational amenity of the lake is starkly visible from the viewpoint of the entryway.

Figure 7.22: Lake Santeetlah is visible from the development's entrance
(Source: Author).

Figure 7.23: Rustic design and materials of Santeetlah's entry sign (Source: Author).

Sales Office

As a redevelopment property, Santeetlah Lakeside's 10 acre site formerly housed a hotel and lodge. While the hotel and accompanying swimming pool were demolished to make way for new homes, the former lodge still stands, temporarily housing the development's sales office.   The site plan identifies the structure as "future development," which is constituted by a clubhouse dubbed the "Santeetlah Canoe Club." Neither recognizable green characteristics nor use of third party credibility are visible at the sales office. The landscape aesthetic surrounding the structure favors the naturalistic. The building's entrance is accessed by a rustic flagstone path, flanked by boulders strewn among informal masses of plantings.

The style of the 1960s structure shows some modification for its current use as the development's sales office. A portico of stacked stone and large wooden beams has been added to the existing building mass, evidenced by its newer roofing. Other unmodified portions of the building are heavily screened from the entrance with plantings. The landscape aesthetics, combined with the style and materials of the entrance provide a first impression to prospective buyers that focuses on the project's naturalistic rusticity.

Figure 7.24: Santeetlah Lakeside sales office (Source: Author).

Vehicular Routes

Santeetlah Lakeside occupies a very steep site. The development's access roads utilize switchbacks as they traverse the steep slopes down toward the lake. At the

project's entrance, access roads are paved with asphalt. However, as they progress down the hill and toward the lake, some roads are paved with gravel. Recognizable green features were not visible from vehicular routes, with the exception of a lack of curb and gutter, allowing storm water runoff to percolate into the soil. Appeals to third party credibility were not visible from vehicular routes.

The landscape aesthetic viewed from the vehicular routes reflected the naturalistic aesthetic through informal ornamental plant massings, remnants of the property's preexisting forest cover, and use of boulders and timbers to retain steep slopes. The English landscape aesthetic was reflected through the presence of mown grass near the road as well as along the lake shore. However, these areas represent vacant lots on which homes have not yet been built. The experience from the road will likely be substantially different when the project is built out to its projected 32 homes.

Figure 7.25: A gravel route accessing homes with lake views (Source: Author).

Figure 7.26: Relationship among road, home, and topography (Source: Author).

Figure 7.27: Access road through Santeetlah Lakeside (Source: Author).

Figure 7.28: Home and vacant lot in foreground (Source: Author).

Figure 7.29: Vacant lots where the hotel once sat (Source: Author).

Developed Amenity Areas

Current developed amenity areas within Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve are its mail kiosk, lakeside pavilion, marina, and landscaped common areas. Eventually, its clubhouse, dubbed the Santeetlah Canoe Club, will replace the existing sales office. Although they were looked for, recognizable green characteristics were not viewed in developed amenity areas. Use of third parties in garnering credibility was also not observed.

The landscape aesthetic found in Santeetlah Lakeside's common areas is naturalistic. Human-made waterfalls, masses of ornamental shrubs and perennials, as well as the blending of these features into remnants of the pre-existing forest embody the project's rustic, informal, and naturalistic aesthetic.

Built structures within developed amenity areas favor rustic and traditional styling. Stacked flagstone, log beams, milled timbers are used to finish the traditional styles found in the project's mail kiosk and lakeside pavilion. The pavilion features a large stone fireplace, the stones above the mantle arranged to form a bird with outstretched wings. Accessed by a series of rustic wooden steps, the pavilion is set within a grove of preexisting trees. From within the pavilion, the view overlooks the lake, project's marina, as well as the public marina beyond. Also visible from the pavilion and private marina is a line of high tension power lines that cross the lake.

Figure 7.30: Naturalistic aesthetic of ornamental landscape (Source: Author).

Figure 7.31: Traditional styling and rustic materials in mail kiosk (Source: Author).

Figure 7.32: Water feature along road (Source: Author).

Figure 7.33: Lakeside Pavilion (Source: Author).

Figure 7.34: Santeetlah Lakeside pavilion (Source: Author).

Figure 7.35: Stonework in lakeside pavilion chimney (Source: Author).

Figure 7.36: Rustic construction of the lakeside pavilion (Source: Author).

Figure 7.37: Public marina as seen from Santeetlah Lakeside's pavilion (Source: Author).

Figure 7.38: View from private marina below pavilion (Source: Author).

Residences

Santeetlah Lakeside is slated to have 32 homes on its ten acres. Consequently, residences are placed on minimally sized lots. At the time of physical site observation, approximately only 6 homes were completed, and construction on an additional home was underway. As a result, most of the development's lots are not yet built upon.

During physical site observation, no recognizable green characteristics were immediately evident. Additionally, credibility through third parties was not visible in residences. As the setting for its homes, the landscape aesthetic found at Santeetlah is naturalistic. The informal plant massings, retention of preexisting trees, and use of stone and wood communicate the project's rustic and naturalistic aesthetic in the landscape. While the English landscape aesthetic is also visible in the landscape adjoining constructed homes, many of these open and grassy areas are vacant lots, as identified by

the site plan. Consequently, as these areas are built upon, representations of the English landscape aesthetic will likely be divided, planted, and transformed, as areas directly adjacent to existing homes have been. Additionally, the expansive character now seen on the development will likely be replaced as homes are built closely to each other.

Figure 7.39: Rustic styling, natural materials, and muted colors typify Santeetlah's homes (Source: Author).

As portrayed in Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials, its homes display traditional and rustic styling. Finished in natural materials such as wood and stone, the homes are moderately sized at approximately 2,000-3,000 square feet. Whether built directly on the lakeshore or on a secondary lot, each home is oriented toward the development's primary amenity the lake. Those at higher elevations of the development are designed for optimal views of the lake and mountains beyond, while those directly on the water allow direct waterfront access. Because of the small lot sizes, homes did not

have large setbacks between each other, from the development's access roads, or from the water's edge. In addition to their orientation toward the lake, all homes appeared to be designed to accommodate the development's other prominent site characteristic its steep slopes.

Figure 7.40: Traditional styles and rustic materials typify Santeetlah's homes
(Source: Author).

Figure 7.41: Site preparation for a new home at edge of lake (Source: Author).

Figure 7.42: A vacant building lot, viewed from above (Source: Author).

Figure 7.43: Vacant building lot, viewed from below (Source: Author).

Figure 7.44: Stairs provide lake access from a waterfront home (Source: Author).

Figure 7.45: Lakefront home built directly on the shore (Source: Author).

Figure 7.46: Secondary lots are oriented toward lake views (Source: Author).

Figure 7.47: Covered porches extend living spaces outdoors (Source: Author).

Figure 7.48: Site preparation for lakefront home (Source: Author).

Interviews

In conjunction with observation of Santeetlah Lakeside's physical site, interviews with representatives of its developer, IBEX Mountain Group were arranged. Joseph Parker worked as sales director for the development. He stated that he is no longer compensated for work with Santeetlah Lakeside specifically, although he is still employed by the developer. Due to a scheduling conflict, Mr. Parker was unable to attend the site visit or participate in an interview. In his place, his associate, Aura Griffith was interviewed. A. Griffith and her husband previously owned the property, operating a restaurant and lodge. Due to its short operating season, high maintenance costs and rising taxes, they sold the property to IBEX. Subsequently, the hotel and

swimming pool were torn down to make way for the new development, while the lodge was converted to the sales office where A. Griffith currently works.

A follow up interview with J. Parker was conducted via telephone. A. Griffith and J. Parker deferred some questions to the project's developer, Jose Rosado. However, due to scheduling conflicts, interviews with Mr. Rosado were not realized.

Why Green?

According to J. Parker, crafting of the community's brand identity was conducted during its initial planning. However, according to J. Parker's knowledge, the developer, Jose Rosado never approached Santeetlah Lakeside as a green community. Instead, the project's greenness was a bonus of other development objectives. While J. Parker stated: "He has never insinuated to me that it was to be developed as a green community," adding that the development vision was for a sense of community within the development as well as "respect for the environmental surroundings" (personal communication, June 15, 2009). He added that "by default it became a green community, but it was not the intent to build it green."

A. Griffith (personal communication, May 20, 2009) cited the developer, Jose Rosado's personal values as contributing to the development's green identity. She stated that "Jose loves nature. He's a very spiritual, quiet person and values trees and wildlife."

What Makes it Green?

According to A. Griffith, the project is green because of the trees preserved during development. She stated that trees are not unnecessarily removed, but only to make way for homes. She added that they are replanted and that "the property is kept natural." While J. Parker deferred the question of Santeetlah Lakeside's greenness to the developer, he cited the ambiguity of defining the term "green," due to different perspectives, values, perceptions, and measurements. He did not that the term "green" reflects consideration of all things in a development. He added, "The natural elements and tones just by default make it into a more of a green presence As opposed to communities that don't use natural stone" (personal communication, May 15, 2009).

Role of Site Context?

When asked whether the project's location and surroundings played a role in its green identity, J. Parker stated Santeetlah Lakeside's surroundings played a role in its selection for development. Specifically, its location was attractive for development "because it was a well preserved area of the Smoky Mountains and it is lakefront" (personal communication, June 15, 2009). Citing the low population density of Graham County, he stated that it is "highly unusual for lakes in the mountains" to have such a large percentage of their shorelines owned and protected by U.S. Forest Service lands. He added, "that's where the considerations for green may have passed." A. Griffith agreed that Santeetlah's site context played a role in its greenness "because it is surrounded by Forest Service land" (personal communication, May 20,. 2009).

Collaborating for Green

When asked what kind of team was assembled to market the community as "green," J. Parker replied that IBEX employs a marketing director for all of its communities. A. Griffith added that landscape architects and horticulturists were consulted for the landscape. She added that wildlife groups were also consulted, and that native plants were used in order to blend the development with its surroundings. A. Griffith stated that collaboration with these groups has helped the public's perception of the project. She added that the property is frequently visited and photographed by others who use its features as inspiration for their own properties.

A. Griffith noted that older couples are most interested in the project. However, J. Parker downplayed the role of the project's green identity in attracting buyers. He explained: "The people I dealt with—green was not on their list. Lakefront was the consideration" (personal communication, June 15, 2009). He added that the project's architects could explain in more detail the characteristics desired by Santeetlah Lakeside's targeted buyers.

J. Parker stated that According to A. Griffith, there was minimal opposition to the project during its planning. Regarding complaints about the development, J. Parker stated that "the only one that came in, was because it promoted growth" (personal communication, June 15, 2009). He added that the growth, brought by the project, was inevitable. A. Griffith explained, "Some people thought it would be too crowded. Maybe two neighbors were opposed. However, the project made the neighborhood more

valuable too" (personal communication, May 20, 2009). However, J. Parker stated that the little opposition experienced did not impact the greenness of the project.

Greenness Communicated through Promotional Materials

According to J. Parker, Santeetlah Lakeside has "received a lot of publication notoriety. But really, it's all been focused around the getaway, resort destination" (personal communication, June 15, 2009). He added that while the promotional materials mention Santeetlah's green considerations, they are "not focused on green solely," and when mentioned, are "not that strong for the green considerations." However, he stated that green considerations were integral for Santeetlah's sister development, Wildsprings. A. Griffith noted that the project's green identity is reflected through use of nature images including those of the area, as well as "remarks about the mountains, fresh air, and clean water." When asked what kinds of images were included in order to tell viewers about the greenness of the project, J. Parker cited aerial photos of the project site and its surroundings. J. Parker was asked which words in Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials best communicate a green identity. He listed, "stewardship," "consideration," and "environmental preservation."

When asked about the role of the promotional materials colors and materials in affecting consumer's perceptions of the development's environmental quality, J. Parker stated that "they were taken into consideration" (personal communication, June 15, 2009). A. Griffith explained that "earth tone blend with nature," and added that "green colored roofs blend with the mountains," while "red roofs stand out."

Greenness Communicated through the Built Environment

When asked which of Santeetlah Lakeside's built features best communicate greenness, A. Griffith listed the property's constructed waterfalls, use of earth tones, and conservation of preexisting trees." J. Parker cited the project's bio-waste water system, which purifies the development's waste water to the purity of drinking water. The system then irrigates a green space in the community. However, according to J. Parker, the system was proposed and installed not to bolster the greenness of the project but "to offer a better opportunity for density, while considering the environment" (personal communication, June 15, 2009). He explained: "They didn't put it in because it was green, but because they wanted a higher density. It was a solution to their problem, and just so happened to keep a green consideration."

When asked which natural features communicate the project's greenness, J. Parker listed its native plants, as well as the "lay of the land." A. Griffith added that the mountains and the lake are the primary amenities that buyers look for.

According to J. Parker, Santeetlah Lakeside has extensive residential design guidelines, which promote what A. Griffith identified as "rustic elegance," a refined style that is also understated. When asked how these guidelines promote sustainability, J. Parker answered that they deal with key elements including views, materials and other impacts are strong elements in environmental consideration. A. Griffith added that the stone walls found throughout the property prevent erosion.

J. Parker and A. Griffith were both asked for their insights on future changes in the manner in which development occurs in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains.

Noting past issues with erosion, landslides, and inappropriately sited homes, J. Parker stated that development has undergone positive changes recently, largely due to more stringent land development regulations in mountainous areas. In spite of these changes, A. Griffith noted that some people still do not understand or care about reducing impacts on the natural environment.

Discussion

When asked to identify the greatest assets in contributing to Santeetlah Lakeside's green identity, A. Griffith cited its undeveloped surroundings. However, she added that in order to make a project green "it costs more money." However, J. Parker was reluctant to comment on assets and challenges to making Santeetlah Lakeside green. He stated "I don't want to say the focus was to build it green." J. Parker added that "green" is challenging to define, due to changing considerations, viewpoints, and definitions, in addition to perception vs. reality. He added, "Some people might not see any green here, but would consider them uneducated." He added that better educated individuals will see the project as greener (personal communication, June 15, 2009).

Branded as "Green?"

Santeetlah Lakeside contrasts with other cases because of the detachment between data collected from its promotional materials and from interviews. The project's green identity is compellingly portrayed in its promotional materials, which use descriptions of the project's greenness to resonate with potential buyers. However, during interviews

with representatives of the developer, the project's green identity was downplayed, a secondary factor when compared to the goals of promoting a strong sense of place, maintaining aesthetic quality, and increasing housing density. Potentially, this disconnect would not exist if a different representative of the project were interviewed. Notably, project characteristics that could elevate its green credentials a redevelopment project construction on a previously developed site, as well as its bio-waste water system are never touted in its promotional materials. Instead, repeated and discussed at length are the project's surroundings.

Perceptions of Wilderness and Adjacency of Public Lands

Santeetlah's promotional materials present the project as "containing thirty-two minimal impact homesites, perched on the shoreline of a 3,000 acre wilderness lake, hidden among and completely surrounded by over half a million acres of the Nantahala National Forest" (Great Camps of the Smokies). Through these statements, the promotional materials present Santeetlah Lakeside as completely surrounded by undeveloped public land. This was one of the factors contributing to its selection as a case. However, the site observation revealed the project is not "completely surrounded" by public lands. While U.S. Forest Service lands are in close proximity across the road even Santeetlah Lakeside is constructed within the boundaries of an incorporated town with hundreds of homes (Town of Lake Santeetlah, 2009). The lakefront development is situated between residential development to the west, and a public marina and residences to the west. Its immediate surroundings relatively densely developed second-home

lakefront development, public marina, and high tension power lines reflect a higher degree of human intervention than what typically constitutes areas known as "wilderness." Minimization of surrounding human impacts in Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials illustrate the importance its context, or perception thereof, to its brand identity.

Figure 7.49: Approximate boundaries of Santeetlah Lakeside (Source: Google Maps).

Similarly, Santeetlah Lakeside's density and degree of site disturbance are also minimized in its promotional materials. Its Canoe Club is represented as "dedicated to the preservation of this pristine natural environment." (Great Camps of the Smokies). It's homeowners are quoted that "'Everyone in the Lake Santeetlah community that we've met so far feels a sense of responsibility to protect and preserve.'" They explain, "'We

are the stewards of this place'" (IBEX Mountain Group). While the project does represent development, one would be challenged to claim that placing 32 single-family homes, dispersed across a ten acre waterfront site, constitutes "minimal impact" to its site particularly when the site is characterized by steep slopes and negligible buffering between homes and water's edge.

Figure 7.50: Santeetlah Lakeside site plan (Source: *Santeetlah Lakeside*).

Preservation of Nostalgia

Combined with references to "minimal impact" and "preservation," Santeetlah Lakeside's promotional materials heavily employ preservation environmentalism.

Consequently, one may ask what is being preserved by the project. A great deal of the environmental rhetoric words used that deal with preservation environmentalism pertain to what has already been preserved- by others outside the project's boundaries, specifically by the U.S. Forest Service. While the terms "wilderness" and "wild" are used extensively in its promotional materials, they do not reflect the landscape within the borders of Santeetlah Lakeside, but lands that provide the greater context in which the community and its adjacent lakefront development reside.

The primary object of preservation by the development appears to be an aesthetic quality, characterized by nostalgia. Nostalgic mention of camps, their rustic styles, and traditional family interactions are mentioned as inspirational in Santeetlah Lakeside's inception. The brochure states: "The Great Camps of the Smokies are built with the same principles in mind, providing the perfect setting to build timeless family traditions… a place where you, your children, and your grandchildren can reconnect with nature and each other." (Great Camps of the Smokies). The role of such places in shaping the developer's own fond childhood memories is also described. The rustic qualities portrayed through the promotional materials are consistent with these nostalgic settings. The rusticity, materials, and muted hues observed on site are also consistent with the project's claim of "minimal impact," of the visual experience. Consequently, preservation of nostalgia characterized by its rustic aesthetic appears to be a primary object of Santeetlah Lakeside's preservation and stewardship.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WHISPER MOUNTAIN

Project Overview

Whisper Mountain was selected due to its ability to provide contrasts with the other four selected cases. Located near Leicester, North Carolina, the project contains 450 acres of mountainous terrain. Of the total 450 acres, 270 acres are slated for 73 homes, while the remaining 175 acres will be preserved in a conservation easement. Lot prices range from $90,000-350,000, while homes cost between $350,000 and $1 Million. Currently, three homes are completed, while one additional cottage is under construction.

Whisper Mountain provides an additional opportunity to examine a green branded development that does not contain a golf course. Additionally, the project is not directly adjacent to public lands. In contrast to the other non-golf course community, Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve, Whisper Mountain provides contrasts on three important dimensions. Whisper Mountain does not possess significant waterfront, contains lot sizes ranging from less than 2 acres to nearly 10 acres, and has forged a partnership with both Southern Living Magazine and the U.S. Green Building Council.

Review of Promotional Materials

Review of Whisper Mountain's promotional materials included an inventory and analysis of page coverage, imagery, text, and environmental rhetoric. These are described in detail, reflected under the large content categories of recognizable green

characteristics, third party credibility, representations of the built environment, people and activities, environmental rhetoric, and temporal marketing strategies.

Recognizable Green Characteristics

As with the review of other communities' promotional materials, Whisper Mountain's promotional materials were scanned for imagery content and textual references to recognizable green characteristics. These characteristics included the general topics of hydrology, soil conservation, energy conservation and production, pollution reduction, protection and management of native flora and fauna, as well as environmental education, research, and interpretation. From the inventory of imagery, it was determined that none of the images included in the promotional materials overtly reflected any of these characteristics as their subject. However, while these characteristics were not present in imagery, they were referenced in the text.

Protection of existing hydrology, minimization of storm water runoff and pollution, water conservation and reuse, soil conservation and erosion protection, energy conservation and production, pollution reduction, native vegetation, land management, on-site food production, and environmental education and interpretation all received mention. Also, the text for Whisper Mountain provided considerably greater specificity in detailing the green characteristics of its homes than other communities. While green characteristics of pertaining to the site were mentioned, such as the "area disturbed by construction [was] kept to an absolute minimum" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Green Features*), the majority of the text devoted to specific green features and characteristics

focused on the built structures, particularly the community's lodge and homes. Some of the features and characteristics contained in the text include the "rainwater catchment system" (*Homes*), "harvested rain water," "energy efficiency" (*Green Ideas*), indoor air quality, and repeated mentions of the use of reclaimed, reused, and site harvested materials.

Item:	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure									
Page	Protection-restoration of existing hydrology	Stormwater runoff reduction, infiltration	Water conserv. and reuse	Steep slope protection	Soil conservation and erosion protection	Energy conservation, production, pollution reduc.	Native vegetation protection	Land and Wildlife mgmt.	On Site food prod.	Env'tal education, research, interp.
Cover										
1 Sprd	■			■						
2 Sprd										■
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet									
				■						■
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter									
	■					■				
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Site Map									
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Website									
1. Welcome										■
2. Community									■	
3. Master Plan										
4. Amenities						■				
5. Homesites										
6. Homes		■				■				■
7. The Area										
8. Green Ideas		■				■				■
9. Videos										
10. About Us										
11. Gallery										
12. Blog Overview										
13. News										
14. Contact										
15. Green Details	■				■	■				■

LEGEND
Images
Text
Image and Text

Figure 8.1: Recognizable Green Characteristics of Whisper Mountain.

The frequent mention that the project is host to the Southern Living Green Idea House reflects the presence of environmental education, as the considerable number of visitors receives exposure and education on the concepts of sustainability included in the project.

Third Party Credibility

Credibility of Whisper Mountain is garnered via a broad range of third parties. The promotional materials were scanned for both textual and image references to celebrities, environmental groups, other groups, as well as consumer peers. The inventory found textual references and quotations of celebrities to be present on every page of the website. References to and quotations of famous figures include conservationists, writers, and artists. "'Oh, these vast, calm, measureless mountain days John Muir'" was repeatedly used throughout the website (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Home, Gallery, Green Features*). Muir's position as one of the early fathers of the conservation movement in America is used to resonate with the environmental sensibilities of the community's targeted consumers, while his quote bolsters the community's claim of possessing a peaceful, carefree setting and atmosphere. Statements, "'Adopt the pace of nature: her secret is patience.'- Ralph Waldo Emerson" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *The Area*) and "'Heaven is under our feet as well as over our heads.'-Thoreau" (*Amenities*) reinforce the conservationist identity of the project. Emerson and Thoreau, both famous nature writers, are also credited with shaping the environmental sensibilities of Americans. Their perceptions and philosophical understanding of nature have had consequential impact on the contemporary

environmental movement, and as with Muir's, their words are likely used to resonate with prospective owners in the community.

Quotations by Picasso, Thomas Wolfe, and James Taylor indirectly bolster the community's identity as a carefree and simpler place, while their status as renowned creative people may connect with those consumers who are members of the "creative class" (Florida, 2002). "'Everything you can Imagine is Real.'—Pablo Picasso" (*Community*), "'Prevent life from escaping you.'—Thomas Wolfe" (*Homesites*), and "'Whisper something warm and kind, I'm going to Carolina in my mind.'—James Taylor" (*Master Plan*, *Green Ideas*) all target those who are creatively inclined, or consider themselves to be creative. While these statements suggest the serene sense of place of Whisper Mountain, they also identify with the project's name, hint at the possibility of being a part of something greater, and imply a sense of urgency to act, lest the opportunity escape.

Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure				
Page	Celebrities	Environmental Groups	Other Groups	Peers
Cover				
1 Sprd				
2 Sprd				
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet			
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter			
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Site Map			
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Website			
1. Welcome				
2. Community				
3. Master Plan				
4. Amenities				
5. Homesites				
6. Homes				
7. The Area				
8. Green Ideas				
9. Videos				
10. About Us				
11. Gallery				
12. Blog Overview				
13. News				
14. Contact				
15. Green Details				

LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 8.2: Third Party Credibility in Whisper Mountain.

Environmental groups also receive mention throughout Whisper Mountain's promotional materials. These include the National Wildlife Federation, Southern Appalachian Highlands Conservancy (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Home*), the North Carolina HealthyBuilt Homes Program, "5-Star 'ENERGY STAR' rating," Western North Carolina Green Building Council (*Homes*), Conservation Trust of N.C. (*About Us*), and Forest Stewardship Council (*Green Features*). As these groups have had involvement in the project, they all receive mention.

Other groups are also used extensively to garner credibility for the project. While other entities such as the nearby Pisgah National Forest, and the surrounding attractions of Asheville are mentioned, Southern Living Magazine receives the most reference. As Whisper Mountain has hosted the Southern Living Idea House, references to the magazine are frequent and its logo prominently displayed throughout the promotional materials, as well as on billboards and signage on site. Cumulatively, the quotations and references to famous creative individuals, references to freedom and tranquility, and mentions of environmental groups appeal to consumers' values.

Figure 8.3: Third party credibility through Southern Living (source: Author).

Figure 8.4: Third party credibility as seen on the Whisper Mountain website
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Home*).

Representations of the Built Environment

Images and text were also examined for representations of the built environment.

Among these representations, both the landscape and built structures were considered.

Both wild and cultivated landscapes were regarded in the inventory of landscape imagery

and textual references. Throughout the promotional materials, a wealth of imagery and

text was centered upon the wild landscape. Forests, rivers and streams, hiking trails, and mountain vistas all received considerable exposure in imagery and text. While non-threatening wildlife received some reflection in text and imagery, threatening wildlife was not reflected in the promotional materials. The one exception to this finding, was that the *Whisper Mountain Field Guide*, which was not included in the central analysis of promotional materials featured images and descriptions of indigenous foxes, coyotes, bobcats, black bears, skunks, and mountain lions, in addition to other flora and fauna. However, similarly to the website, the field guide focused predominantly on non-threatening wildlife such as butterflies, birds, deer, and rabbits. While prominently featured in such oral histories such as the Foxfire anthology, references and descriptions to poisonous snakes are understandably absent from the promotional materials of Whisper Mountain, as well as other developments studied.

Of the facets of cultivated landscapes for which the promotional materials were scanned, Whisper Mountain contained imagery and textual references to domesticated animals such as horses and dogs, horticultural activities, and landscape aesthetics favoring English and naturalistic characteristics. In consistency with the promotional materials of other communities, the formal landscape aesthetic was largely absent. In fact, it was only present in descriptions of the nearby Biltmore Estate in Asheville. In contrast to other communities examined, but in keeping with Whisper Mountain's status as a non-golf course community, golf courses were absent from text and imagery.

Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure												
	Nature: Wild						**Nature: Cultivated**					
Page	Forests	Rivers and streams	Hiking Trails	Mountain Vistas	Wildlife-threatening	Wildlife-non-threatening	Domest. animals	Hort.	Golf Courses	English Lanscape Aesthetic	Formal Landsape Aesthetic	Naturalistic Landscape Aesthetic
Cover												
1 Sprd												
2 Sprd												
Reinc	Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet											
Reinc	Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter											
Reinc	Whisper Mountain, Site Map											
Reinc	Whisper Mountain, Website											
1. Welcome												
2. Community												
3. Master Plan												
4. Amenities												
5. Homesites												
6. Homes												
7. The Area												
8. Green Ideas												
9. Videos												
10. About Us												
11. Gallery												
12. Blog Overview												
13. News												
14. Contact												
15. Green Details												

LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 8.5: Wild vs. cultivated landscapes of Whisper Mountain.
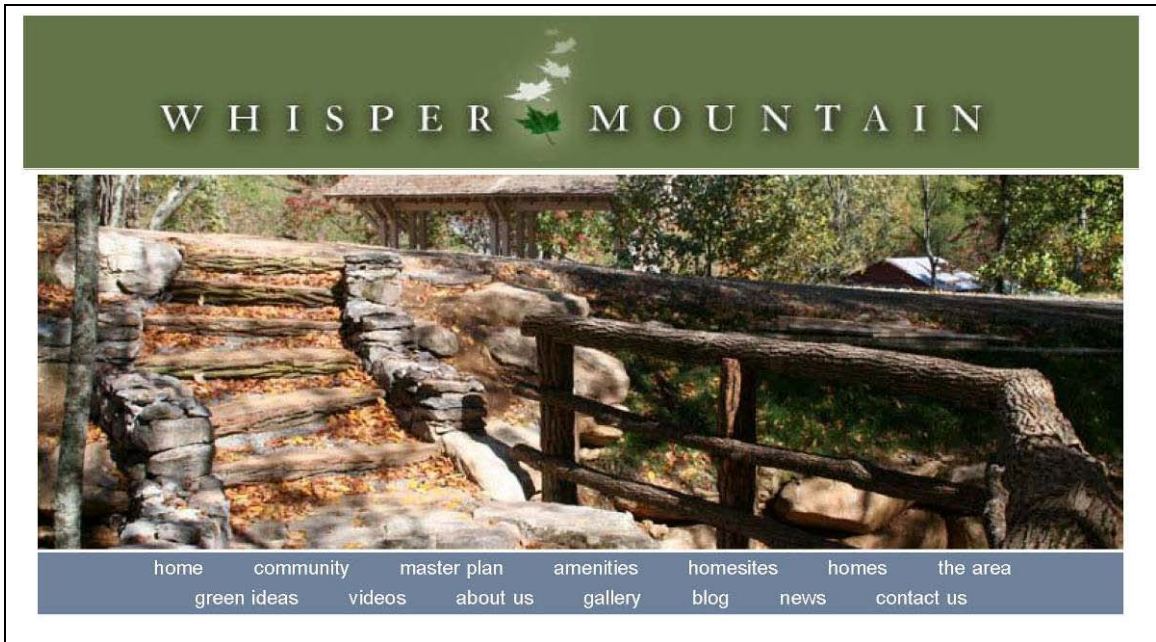
Figure 8.6: Naturalistic landscape aesthetic from Whisper Mountain
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Homesites*).

Figure 8.7: Non threatening wildlife from Whisper Mountain
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, Green Ideas).
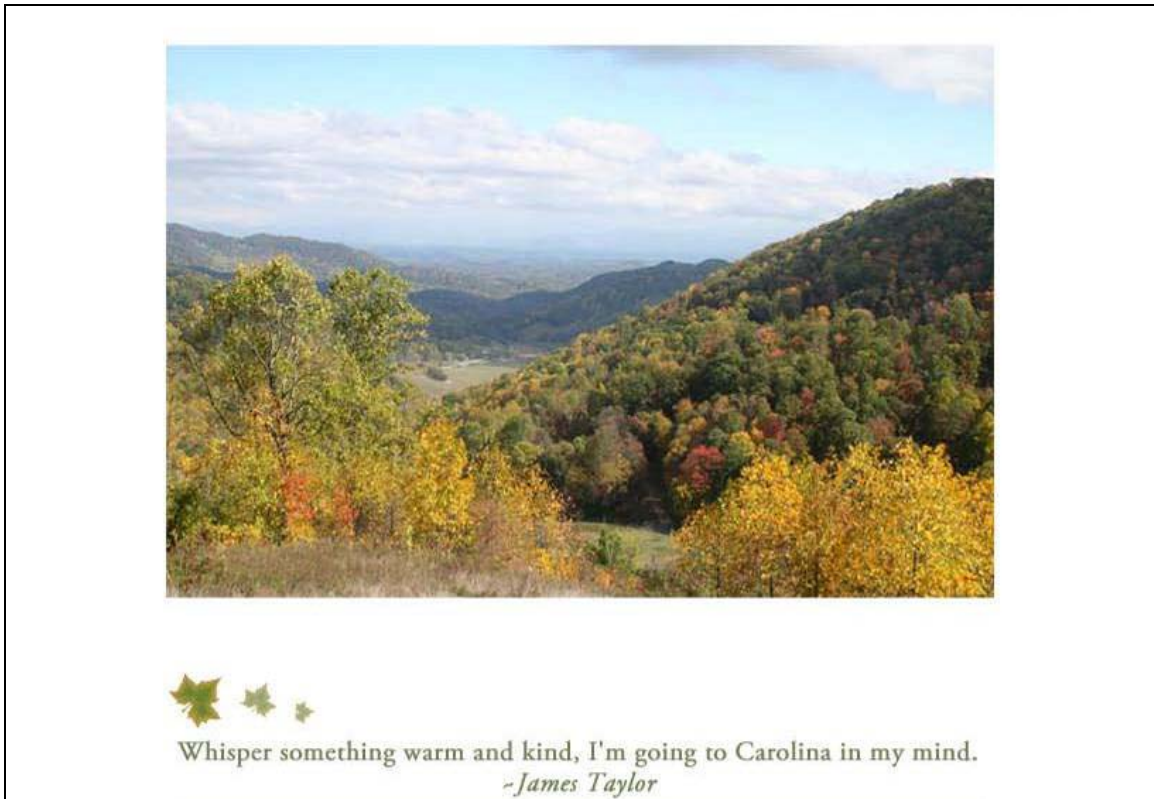
Figure 8.8: Example of landscape imagery from Whisper Mountain
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, Master Plan).

Built structures depicted in text and imagery were also examined. The inventory found that Whisper Mountain's promotional materials depicted the exterior of structures more often than their interiors. Materials featured in imagery and textual descriptions favored natural materials such as wood and stone. Metal was featured frequently as a roofing material, while synthetic materials were rarely mentioned or shown.

Rerc:	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure					
	Structures Depicted (1/2)					
	View		Dominant Materials			
Page	Interior	Exterior	Wood	Stone	Metal	Synthetic
Cover			Images			
1 Sprd		Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Images	
2 Sprd		Images	Images	Images		
Rerc:	**Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet**					
	Text	Text	Text			
Rerc:	**Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter**					
			Text			
Rerc:	**Whisper Mountain, Site Map**					
Rerc:	**Whisper Mountain, Website**					
1. Welcome		Images	Image and Text	Image and Text		
2. Community		Image and Text	Images	Images	Images	
3. Master Plan		Image and Text	Image and Text	Images	Images	
4. Amenities	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Images	
5. Homesites	Images	Image and Text	Images	Images		
6. Homes	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Images	
7. The Area		Images	Images	Images	Images	Images
8. Green Ideas	Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Text	Image and Text	
9. Videos						
10. About Us						
11. Gallery	Images	Images	Images	Images	Images	
12. Blog Overview		Images	Images		Images	
13. News		Images	Images			
14. Contact		Images	Images			
15. Green Details		Images	Images	Images		
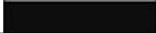
LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 8.9: Structure views and materials for Whisper Mountain.

The styles and size of the buildings and built structures were also examined. The styles found in Whisper Mountain were favored traditional and rustic aesthetics. With the exception of depictions of downtown Asheville, modern or contemporary styles were absent from imagery and text. The analysis found a wide range of sizes reflected in the images and text, from small foot bridges and cottages, ranging to medium sized homes upward to larger structures such as the community's lodge.

Item:	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure					
Structures Depicted (2/2)						
	Style			**Size**		
Page	Modern	Traditional	Rustic	Small	Medium	Large
Cover						
1 Sprd		Image and Text	Images	Image and Text	Image and Text	
2 Sprd						
Item: Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet						
	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text	Text
Item: Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter						
			Text	Text	Text	
Item: Whisper Mountain, Site Map						
				Images		
Item: Whisper Mountain, Website						
1. Welcome		Image and Text	Image and Text	Images		Text
2. Community		Image and Text	Image and Text	Images	Image and Text	Image and Text
3. Master Plan		Image and Text	Image and Text			Text
4. Amenities		Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Images	Text
5. Homesites		Images	Images	Images		Images
6. Homes		Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	
7. The Area	Images	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text		Text
8. Green Ideas		Images		Image and Text	Images	
9. Videos		Images	Images	Images		
10. About Us						
11. Gallery		Images	Images	Images		Images
12. Blog Overview		Images	Images	Images	Images	
13. News		Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Text	
14. Contact						
15. Green Details		Images	Images	Images		

LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 8.10: Structure styles and size for Whisper Mountain.

Figure 8.11: A range of sizes of structures depicted in Whisper Mountain
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Community*).

Amenities

Be a Guest

When you plan your visit to Whisper Mountain, consider staying on site at one of our authentic restored log homes. Property Owners may reserve nights at Poplar Ridge or the Homestead Cabin, making their visits to Whisper Mountain a true luxury mountain experience. These properties are available to Whisper Mountain guests and property owners year round. For more information »» **Reserve Your Place**

For the more spirited, consider Glamping, glamorous camping, at our historic tent camp. Our luxurious tents are 11x14 with queen sized beds, hand cut bedside tables, camp stoves and lanterns, and conveniently located near the Sky Valley Lodge, for bathroom facilities. Enjoy a cup of hot chocolate by the campfire and create memories with your friends or family.

Figure 8.12: Rustic styles of Whisper Mountain
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Amenities*).

Longview House

The Longview House is named for the magnificent 30+ mile, long-range mountain views of Mt. Mitchell, as well as the Black Mountains to the east and the Newfound Mountains to the south. The home is designed by Allison Ramsey Architects, also the architect for the Southern Living Green Idea House at Whisper Mountain, and it overlooks 30 acres of dedicated parkland. The home will be located on Homesite 70, is approximately 2,900 square feet and has 4 bedrooms, 3.5 baths with the master on the first floor and long range mountain views from every room. The Longview House is ready for immediate construction and is priced at $985,000. Click here to view the plans and contact us at 877-689-2626 for more information.

Historic Timber Frame

This historic reconstruction is based on the structure of a hand hewn oak timber frame barn built in Ohio in the 1840s. The home offers a soaring great room with expansive windows to capture views from the homesite of your choice. With three bedrooms and a guest suite above the detached garage, there will always be plenty of room for your frequent guests. The home is 2,811 square feet with a downstairs master suite that features its own covered porch and private sun deck. This home will have antique heart pine floors, native stone fireplace and exposed hand hewn oak timbers throughout. Construction of the home can begin immediately upon selection of a homesite. Click here to view the plans.
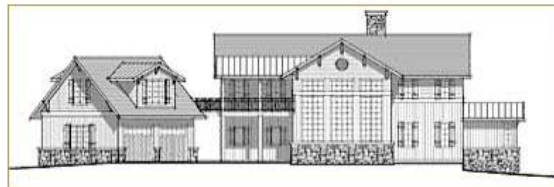
Figure 8.13: Traditional building styles depicted in Whisper Mountain
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, Homes).

People and Activities

The people depicted through imagery and text reflect a family oriented, predominantly white, and intergenerational focus. Images show a range of children, young adults, middle aged people and elderly. Both solitary figures and people in groups, typically dressed casually. Of active recreation pursuits, heavy emphasis is placed on hiking and camping, both in text and imagery. Passive recreation options are prevalently showcased in both text and imagery. Leisure and relaxation, music and the arts are emphasized most, followed by food and drink.

Item:	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure										
	Family				People		Race		Attire		
Page	Children	Young Adults	Middle Aged	Elderly	Solitary	In Groups	White	Non-White	Casual	Dressy Casual	Formal
Cover											
1 Sprd		▨			▨				▨		
2											
Item:	**Whipser Mountain, Information Sheet**										
Item:	**Whipser Mountain, Sales Letter**										
Item:	**Whipser Mountain, Site Map**										
Item:	**Whisper Mountain, Website**										
1. Welcome	▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	
2. Community			■		▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	
3. Master Plan			▨		▨	▨	▨		▨		
4. Amenities		▨	▨		▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	
5. Homesites											
6. Homes			▨		▨	▨	▨		▨	▨	
7. The Area	■	■	■	▩	▨	▨	▨		▨		
8. Green Ideas	▨				▨	▨	▨		▨		
9. Videos					▨	▨	▨		▨		
10. About Us	■		■			▨	▨		▨		
11. Gallery	▨		▨		▨	▨	▨		▨		
12. Blog Overview				■	▨	▨	▨		▨		
13. News	▨		▨		▨		▨		▨		
14. Contact											
15. Green Details	▩		▩								

LEGEND	
Images	▨
Text	▩
Image and Text	■

Figure 8.14: People at Whisper Mountain.

"I looked at every mountain property within 100 miles of Asheville for 4 years and when I found Whisper Mountain, I knew this was it!" ~Gary Woodall and Mike Brosnan from Candler, NC

Figure 8.15: Couples at Whisper Mountain
(Source: Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Community*).

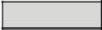| Item:	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure											
						Active				**Passive**		
	Tennis, swimming pools	Golf	Power Boating	Hunting	Fishing	Hiking and Camping	Climbing	Equestrian	Rafting and Canoeing	Leisure-Relaxation	Music and arts	Food and Drink
Cover												
1 Sprd						Text				Image and Text		
2 Sprd					Text	Text			Text	Text	Text	
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet											
						Text				Text		Text
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter											
						Text				Text	Text	Text
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Site Map											
						Images						
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Website											
1. Welcome						Image and Text				Image and Text	Images	Images
2. Community						Image and Text				Image and Text	Images	Images
3. Master Plan						Image and Text				Image and Text	Images	
4. Amenities						Image and Text				Image and Text		Text
5. Homesites												
6. Homes						Text				Images		
7. The Area	Text				Text	Image and Text	Text	Image and Text	Text	Image and Text	Image and Text	Image and Text
8. Green Ideas						Text				Image and Text		
9. Videos												
10. About Us								Text				
11. Gallery						Images				Images	Images	
12. Blog Overview									Images	Image and Text	Image and Text	Text
13. News						Images				Image and Text	Text	Text
14. Contact												
15. Green Details												

LEGEND

Images	(light gray)
Text	(gray)
Image and Text	(black)

Figure 8.16: Activities at Whisper Mountain.

Environmental Rhetoric

While all categories of environmentalism receive some word mention, emphasis is on preservation environmentalism, followed by integrative environmentalism, trailed by ecological and deep environmentalism. While the word choice of Whisper Mountain may be coincidental, it also may reflect an astute understanding of consumer values and a strategy to appeal to a maximum number of potential buyers. According to Nadenicek

and Hastings (2000), preservation environmentalism played a key role in the development of the National Parks, National Forests, and other conservation initiatives under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. Due to Whisper Mountain's use of nostalgia, which is detailed in the following pages, preservation environmentalism is a likely place in which to focus environmental rhetoric. However, by also including rhetoric associated with integrative environmentalism with which the contemporary environmental movement is most strongly aligned along with, to a lesser degree, ecological environmentalism and deep environmentalism Whisper Mountain casts a wide net over a diverse group of potential buyers representing a common concern for the natural environment.

Table 8.1: Environmental Rhetoric of Whisper Mountain.

	Deep Environmentalism	Preservation Environmentalism	Integrative Environmentalism	Ecological Environmentalism
Words Used (Frequency)	Spiritual (2) Earth (2) Native (9) Nature (11)	Preservation (14) Wilderness (1) Wildness (4) Stewardship (2) Native (8) Natural (22) Organic (6) Pristine (3) Protected (7)	Sustainable Development (12) Garden (7) Balance (6) Health/ Wellness (16)	Renewable (3) Recycled (5) Long term (9) Environmental Impact (1) Environmentally Sensitive (9) Ecosystems (4) Habitat (2)
Total of Category's References	24	66	41	33
Percentage of Total References	15%	40%	25%	20%

Temporal Marketing Strategies

For an additional layer of understanding of how Whisper Mountain is marketed, the temporal marketing strategies of the past, present, and future were included in the textual inventory and analysis. While the imagery of the promotional materials is supportive of these three categories, this inventory focused on words and phrases contained in the text. The temporal marketing strategies employed by Whisper Mountain are most heavily tilted toward the past and present, with lightest emphasis on the future.

The past is used heavily to promote Whisper Mountain—not only through text, but also through imagery and architectural styling and details found in the built environment. Throughout the promotional materials, the past is reflected in several key statements and descriptions. Under the umbrella of the past, are several subcategories that are utilized. The first includes references to childhood, freedom, simpler times, and a lack of worry. The second subcategory includes an aggregation of wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage. The third and last subcategory is comprised of references to and quotations by indigenous people, early settlers, and references to the developer as "founder." In Whisper Mountain's promotional materials, all three of these subcategories are present to some degree, as illustrated by Figure 8.18.

Quotations by famous figures featured on the website reflect on freedom, lack of worry, and simpler times (Whisper Mountain, 2008). Examples include, "'Whisper something warm and kind, I'm going to Carolina in my mind.' James Taylor" (*Master Plan*), "'Heaven is under our feet as well as over our heads.' Thoreau" (*Amenities*), "'Prevent life from escaping you.' Thomas Wolfe" (*Homesites*), and "'Oh, these vast,

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calm, measureless mountain days' John Muir" (*Contact*). Additional text reflecting a place free from worry includes the invitations to "Enjoy a cup of hot chocolate by the campfire and create memories with your friends or family," "Stroll along gurgling mountain creeks with your Whisper Mountain Field Guide in hand," and to "Enjoy a tranquil moment or a sunset picnic" (*Amenities*). The statement, "You are certain to discover delicate flowers, butterflies, and even little native fish" (*Amenities*) provides additional assurance one will experience the abundant discoveries typically associated with childhood and simpler times.

Wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage are also evident throughout the promotional materials. These are especially found in descriptions of architectural features of the project and its context including "our historic and heritage themed owner's lodge and homes" (*Green Ideas*), "the quaint 'mom and pop' shops that dotted the town's landscape, made for a perfect representation of the typical American boomtown" (*The Area*), and activities such as "fireside conversations," gatherings at the "community lodge during a heritage event" and that "residents can pick apples or plant a garden in our historic garden location, just steps away from an early tobacco barn." (*Community*). Descriptions of the built environment, such as "Our historic themed Tent Camp and Family Camp offer overnight and evening campfire adventures," and "historic new construction" (*information sheet*) that "recalls the historic inns of America's National Parks" (*Home*) all reflect on the past.

Additionally, the historic nature and of the site, reuse of historic structures and reclaimed materials, and references to early settlers all receive vivid and extensive

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descriptions. Beginning with references to the "majesty of two ancient arms of the Appalachian Mountain Range" and references to "Cherokee history," Whisper Mountain's promotional materials assert that "the Asheville area consisted of Indian trails and crossroads for early frontiersmen" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *The Area*). The text continues: "In 1880, the arrival of the railroads brought new visitors and settlers to these mountains. One such settler was George Vanderbilt, who purchased 120,000 acres in one of the most scenic locations in the valley. There he began construction of what was to be his summer home" (*The Area*).

Throughout the text, descriptions of the Whisper Mountain's built environment emphasize its connections to history. "Our gated entry stands on a historical route to Davidson Gap" (*Home*). "Fabricated in a way that commemorates the skills of the area's early settlers, our beautiful owners' lodge was hand-hewn from 160-year-old hemlock from an old barn." References to "our historic tent camp," "the Homestead Cabin," "our authentic restored log homes," "hand crafted," "an old mountain pass," "antique quarter sawn," and "built with heritage wood harvested from an old barn at Whisper Mountain" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Amenities*, *Homes*) emphasize connections to the past.

Moreover, the naming of site features plays off the project's historical orientation. "Twenty acres of meadows banked by Homestead and Whisper Creeks make up Old Settlers Park, with the historic Little Sandy Methodist Church log building at its center." "This historic reconstruction is based on the structure of a hand-hewn oak timber frame barn built in Ohio in the 1840s." "At the heart of Poplar Ridge is a Kentucky homestead structure that was built in the 1880's" and "This hand hewn log structure was moved to its

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present location decades ago and was originally part of the Little Sandy Methodist Church" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Homes*) all describe in depth the integration of history into structures constructed in the contemporary day and age The description of "An extensive trail system, which winds through historic sites that preserve the heritage of early settler's of the land, gives residents and visitors the opportunity for peace and tranquility in the context of a private community" (*Green Ideas*) and "With rich resources, artisans and local story tellers, we are able to explore the abundance of the mountains and their eclectic history," and "the preservation of this land and its history" (*Community*) give prospective buyers the impression that by purchasing a home in Whisper Mountain, they will not only be able to live a green lifestyle, but also conserve a piece of history for future generations.

Item:	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure		
	Nostalgia/Heritage/History		
Page	Childhood, Freedom, Lack of Worry, Simpler Times	Wholesomeness, Traditional Values, Family Heritage	Quotations, Indigenous People, Early Settlers, Developer as "Founder"
Cover			
1 Sprd		Text	Text
2 Sprd	Text		
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet		
		Text	Text
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Letter		
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Site Map		
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Website		
1. Welcome	Text		Text
2. Community	Text		Text
3. Master Plan	Text		Text
4. Amenities	Text		Text
5. Homesites	Text		Text
6. Homes	Text		Text
7. The Area	Text		Text
8. Green Ideas	Text		Text
9. Videos	Text		
10. About Us	Text		
11. Gallery	Text		
12. Blog Overview	Text		
13. News	Text		
14. Contact	Text		
15. Green Details	Text		

LEGEND	
Images	(light gray)
Text	(medium gray)
Image and Text	(black)
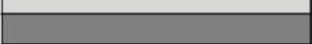
Figure 8.17: The past in Whisper Mountain.

Appeals to the present are also reflected throughout the promotional materials. They are reflected most heavily in text that is indirectly complimentary of consumers' values, characteristics, and taste, exclusivity; and appeals to aesthetics, peace and serenity, and sense of place. As an additional temporal marketing strategy appealing to the present, pleasure is also found, albeit to a lesser extent. In many cases, sentences contain more than one of these subcategories, reflecting a blurring and overlap between present-oriented marketing strategies. .

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Text that is indirectly complimentary of consumers is plentiful. Appealing to consumers who value authenticity, the second page of the printed brochure reads, "Whisper Mountain is true to its name on many levels," adding that "Like a whisper is to a conversation, quietly we touch the land in a development philosophy rarely encountered," using "sensitive design and respectful planning" to create a community "where you mean something" (Whisper Mountain, *Where Conservation Meets Preservation*).

The uniqueness of each individual prospective buyer is also acknowledged: "Each homesite is unique in its own way, as are the families that will make this place their home." The text adds, "These are not simply sites for new green houses, these lush properties provide the natural foundation for true homes, homes where memories will be made" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Homesites*). Acknowledging the busy professional lives of prospective buyers, the narrative continues: "For many emerging from an urban lifestyle or a busy life, living green complements living in balance with nature and embracing the land… …this is what it means to make your home at Whisper Mountain, where conservation and preservation meet," explaining that Whisper Mountain is "a thoughtfully planned private community with full regard for environmental preservation." Appeals to those who consider themselves to be committed to greenness, the development claims common a common mindset: "we take green building seriously," adding the importance of "smart use of natural resources" (*Green Ideas*).

In appealing to those who share "a socially and environmentally aware collective conscience, Asheville is your utopia," the text assures. Additionally, the text details "The

contributions of visionaries, philanthropists, and other creative minds who have been subject to the power and majesty of the area have helped Asheville bridge its past to its future," where "unique specialty shops harmonize perfectly with Williams-Sonoma, Talbots and Chico's" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *The Area*).

Consequently, to those seeking "to find the smartest, greenest, forward thinking community in the Asheville area" (*Home*), the website admonishes the viewer to look no further than Whisper Mountain, where "active property owners" are invited to "Come see our world, and discover a place where humanity and nature thrive in delicate symmetry" (*Master Plan*). With extensive discussion of the intellectual, creative, and cultural amenities of the greater Asheville area, the text illuminates the type of consumer it hopes to draw to Whisper Mountain. The text appeals to those who value "Living in balance with nature and embracing the land," who have a high "regard for environmental preservation," "tread lightly," and desire to live a "contemporary lifestyle in a rustic setting" (*Master Plan*). Additionally, those who regard themselves as adventurous are informed, "For the more spirited, consider Glamping, glamorous camping." An active social life is assumed, as "there will always be plenty of room for your frequent guests" (*Homes*) and the lodge contains a "sophisticated entertaining kitchen" (*Amenities*).

In spite of a heavy bent emphasizing the present, Whisper Mountain uses exclusivity only lightly, particularly when compared with other developments. References to "ultimate privacy," the "most sensitive habitat" (*Homesites*), "exclusive amenities" (*Home*), and "the finest" (*Homes*) contain some level of inherent exclusivity. The invitation, "Come see our world" (*Master Plan*) offers prospective buyers "the

opportunity for peace and tranquility in the context of a private community" (*Green Ideas*). While some are invited, these statements allude to Whisper Mountain's limited access as a private community.

Appeals to sense of place and aesthetic quality are also embodied in the text of Whisper Mountain's promotional materials. At the regional scale, "It is an area that is immersed in natural beauty, embraced by the nurturing majesty of two ancient arms of the Appalachian Mountain Range." Reportedly "heralded for its countless splendors," the text explains that "Some might even say that Asheville is a state of mind, a place to where people seem magically drawn" (*The Area*). In discussion Asheville, the website cites, that "Each year, the city receives awards and recognition for outdoor adventure opportunities, local arts, cuisine, architecture, organic and vegetarian food, historical and environmental preservation, and Southern charm."

Accordingly, concerning Whisper Mountain, the "pristine valleys," and "the community's proximity to the enchanting Pisgah National Forest and the rugged Appalachian trail give it an alluring advantage" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Community*). Viewers are enticed to "Find yourself perusing the shops of downtown Asheville, cruising along the breathtaking Blue Ridge Parkway, taking in the waterfalls at Pisgah National Forest, or hiking one of the area's many scenic trails" (*Community*). As Whisper Mountain is "a place surrounded by natural beauty and culture" (Master Plan), the property "boasts 270 resplendent acres of mountain streams, spring fed creeks, long range mountain and valley views, and miles of well-tended trails, camps and protected areas" (*Amenities*). In addition, "Wild Flame Leaf Azaleas and native Rhododendrons"

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reportedly grow in an environment "embraced by soaring Tulip Poplars and Dogwood trees" (*Homesites*). The text states that "The riot of color in the fall can only be measured by the magnificence of the starry nights over Davidson Gap." Buyers are informed: "Whether you are looking for the most sensitive habitat or the sounds of a tumbling stream, you will find it all at Whisper Mountain" (*Homesites*).

Renc	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure			
	Personal Enrichment			
Page	Direct or indirect compliment of consumer's values, characteristics, good taste	Exclusivity, Calvinistic Language, fortunate few, carefully chosen, privileged	Aesthetic Appeals, Sense of Place, Peace and Serenity	Pleasure/Sex Appeal
Cover				
1 Sprd				
2 Sprd				
Renc	Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet			
Renc	Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter			
Renc	Whisper Mountain, Site Map			
Renc	Whisper Mountain, Website			
1. Welcome				
2. Community				
3. Master Plan				
4. Amenities				
5. Homesites				
6. Homes				
7. The Area				
8. Green Ideas				
9. Videos				
10. About Us				
11. Gallery				
12. Blog Overview				
13. News				
14. Contact				
15. Green Details				

LEGEND	
Images	
Text	
Image and Text	

Figure 8.18: The present in Whisper Mountain.

While not emphasized, the future is lightly referenced through the following the promotional materials as well. Citing its development approach, the development is said to be "designed to protect the natural mountain streams, waterfalls, high mountain meadows, and natural environment that has thrived here long before our arrival" (Ball, C. and Ball, T. Letter to the author, n.d.). The website explains, "Our adherence to a green agenda in all aspects of planning will encourage a higher quality of life for both humanity and our natural surroundings." "The preservation of this land and its history makes Whisper Mountain the unique community that it is now and will be for generations to come" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Community*). In addition to references to environmental legacy, family legacy receives text coverage as well: "These are not simply sites for new green houses, these lush properties provide the natural foundation for true homes, homes where memories will be made" (*Homesites*). Legacy of values is revealed in the intention "to ensure integrity for generations" (*Amenities*). These statements illustrate that while Whisper Mountain's promotional materials place greatest emphasis on connections to the past and present, the future is also considered when attempting to connect with prospective buyers.

Item:	Whisper Mountain, Main Brochure			
	Legacy			
Page	Personal and Family Legacy, Longevity	Legacy of Environmmental Protection	Legacy of Values and Principles	Legacy of Exclusivity Privilege
Cover				
1 Sprd				
2 Sprd				
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Information Sheet			
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Sales Letter			
		▓▓▓		
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Site Map			
Item:	Whisper Mountain, Website			
1. Welcome	▓▓▓			
2. Community		▓▓▓	▓▓▓	
3. Master Plan				
4. Amenities		▓▓▓		
5. Homesites	▓▓▓			
6. Homes				
7. The Area				
8. Green Ideas				
9. Videos				
10. About Us				
11. Gallery				
12. Blog Overview				
13. News				
14. Contact				
15. Green Details				

LEGEND	
Images	░░░
Text	▓▓▓
Image and Text	███

Figure 8.19: The future in Whisper Mountain.

Analysis of the Built Environment

With the permission of the developer, a visit to the physical development site was arranged. During the site visit, the physical site features of the built environment were examined and noted. The purpose of the site visits was to determine whether the physical site features were consistent with the characteristics displayed through imagery and text in the promotional materials. As the built environment was noted in the sequence in

which a prospective buyer might experience the site, the following six physical zones were examined: the entryway, sales office, developed amenity areas, shared open space, private residences, and vehicular routes. Similarly to how features were recorded by page in the inventory and analysis of image content, the features visible in each physical zone were noted and photographically documented. These observations concluded that the aesthetics and temporal marketing strategies displayed in the promotional materials were consistent with those illustrated through the built environment.

Entry

Whisper Mountain is located in a rural area near Leicester, North Carolina, in an outlying area near the Asheville metropolitan area. In the drive from Asheville to the property, the progression revealed a mixture of older farms and homesteads, newer residential developments constructed on what were once working agricultural properties, and forested ridges and mountains. On several occasions on the route approaching the project, billboards and banners advertising the development were visible. At a sharp turn in the winding, paved road, the gate announced the entrance to the community.

In the entrance zone of Whisper Mountain, recognizable green characteristics were not visible. However, the entrance not only featured the development's name, but also featured third party credibility through *Southern Living*, whose name and logo was prominently featured.

The aesthetic qualities of the entry zone were analyzed in relationship to both the wild and cultivated landscape, as well as built features. Views at the entryway included

both forests and streams, while favoring the English and naturalistic landscape aesthetic. The pastoral quality of the landscape at this viewpoint blended with the surrounding agricultural land uses, while providing views of the homes constructed above. The gate house at the entry was traditional and rustic in style, constructed of stacked stone, cypress timbers, metal gates, and a wooden shingle roof topped with a cupola. No recreational amenities were visible from this viewpoint.

Figure 8.20: The rural landscape surrounding Whisper Mountain (Source: Author).

Figure 8.21 Entrance to Whisper Mountain (Source: Author).

Figure 8.22: Third party credibility at the Whisper Mountain entry (Source: Author).

Sales Office

Whisper Mountain's sales office also serves as its community lodge. A description of the character of the lodge can be found under the amenities section of this chapter.

Vehicular Routes

Beginning at the development entry, Whisper Mountain's primary vehicular routes are paved with asphalt, with drainage provided through swales rather than curb and gutter. As the roads progress through the development, their asphalt paving eventually ends, and is replaced with crushed rock. According to the developer, all shared access roads will eventually be paved, as more homes are built. Evidence of protection against erosion through re-vegetation was evident along vehicular routes, many of which are situated on very steep slopes. Additionally, protection of stream channels was also visible, as some were bridged with half culverts. However, further upstream, other crossings were obtained through the use of smaller culverts that had been doubled up for adequate capacity. As in the development entryway, third parties, most notably Southern Living receives exposure through signage.

Similarly to the development entrance, vehicular routes feature aesthetic qualities that favor the English and naturalistic aesthetics. Roadways meander through grassy meadows, snake in between groves of trees, and offer dramatic views of the surrounding mountains. The built features visible from the roads are rustic in style, with the material dominance of wood.

Figure 8.23: A large half culvert allows the existing stream channel to remain intact (Source: Author).

Figure 8.24: Culverts on the stream (Source: Author).

Figure 8.25: Access roads throughout the project (Source: Author).

Figure 8.26: Steep topography found on site necessitates substantial grading for road placement (Source: Author).

Figure 8.27: Steep slopes are modified to accommodate access roads (Source: Author).

Figure 8.28: Rustic wooden security camera stand (Source: Author).

Figure 8.29: "Settler's Park," with the owners' lodge in background (Source: Author).

Developed Amenity Areas and Shared Open Space

From the vehicular routes, hiking trails are conspicuously identified with signage. Many of these trails follow the streams, connecting shared open space and developed amenity areas with private residences. Along these trails, third party credibility is displayed via signage. Areas that are certified by the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) as meeting the needs of wildlife for food, water, cover and places to raise their young are labeled as such, identified through signage featuring the NWF's logo.

Figure 8.30: Third party credibility displayed on a trail (Source: Author).

The landscape aesthetic found in the developed amenity areas and shared open space is consistent with that viewed from the entry and vehicular routes. An open and grassy expanse named "Old Settler's Park" is located in the most level area of the project, visible from the main road up to the lodge, as well as from the constructed hiking trails. Consistent with impression created by the promotional materials, the featured active recreation amenity is the network of hiking trails. In addition to the English landscape aesthetic that dominates the park, most of the landscape aesthetic contained in the project's shared open spaces is naturalistic in character. Loose groves of trees, informal ornamental plantings, gravel pathways, dry stacked stone walls, and boulder strewn stream beds are all found throughout these common open spaces.

The architectural style of shared amenity areas is decidedly rustic in nature. Most of the built features are fashioned from site-derived materials. Informal stone walls line portions of the hiking trails. A pergola is crafted from site-harvested unpeeled locust logs, and handrails are fashioned from branches and twigs. These recently constructed structures blend in with the old log tobacco barn, which still stands near the community's common garden plots, where individuals can grow their own produce. With the exception of the community lodge, which also serves as the development sales office, all structures contained within the developed amenity areas and shared open space are relatively small in size.
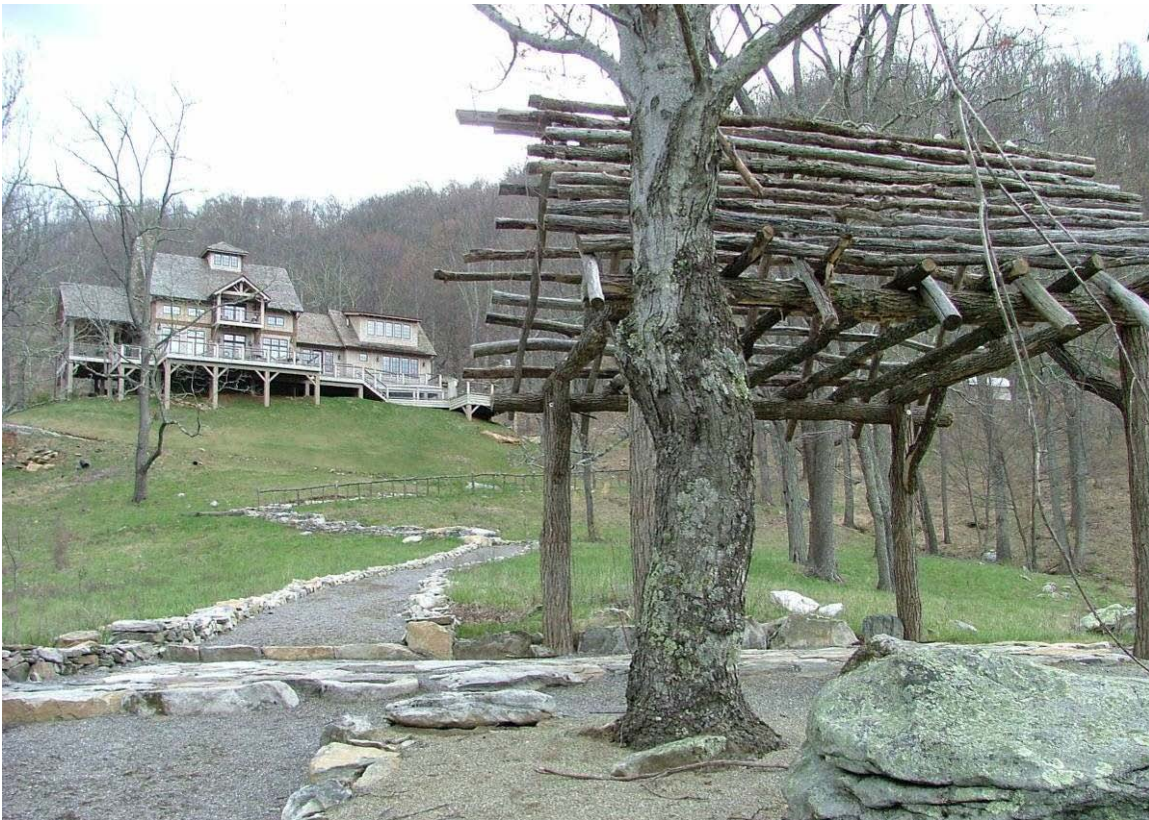
Figure 8.31: Log pergola with lodge in background (Source: Author).

Figure 8.32: Old log tobacco barn (Source: Author).

Figure 8.33: Signage found throughout the site (Source: Author).

Figure 8.34: The trail through "Settler's Park" (Source: Author).

The community's traditionally-styled lodge is the largest and grandest of all structures currently constructed in the project. However, in spite of its refined features, its aesthetic character is still decidedly rustic. Featuring stone accents, wooden siding, a roof of cedar shakes and rusted corrugated metal, the lodge reflects a decision to reject a scrubbed and bright architectural aesthetic in favor of one that provides the illusion of a structure that has weathered many seasons in its mountain setting. Its rustic aesthetic is also reflected in its ancillary structure, the rustic canvas tent camp, where residents and guests can sleep outside while in close proximity to indoor plumbing.

Figure 8.35: The traditional and rustic style of the lodge is visible throughout the site (Source: Author).

Figure 8.36: Tent camp adjacent to the lodge (Source: Author).

Residences

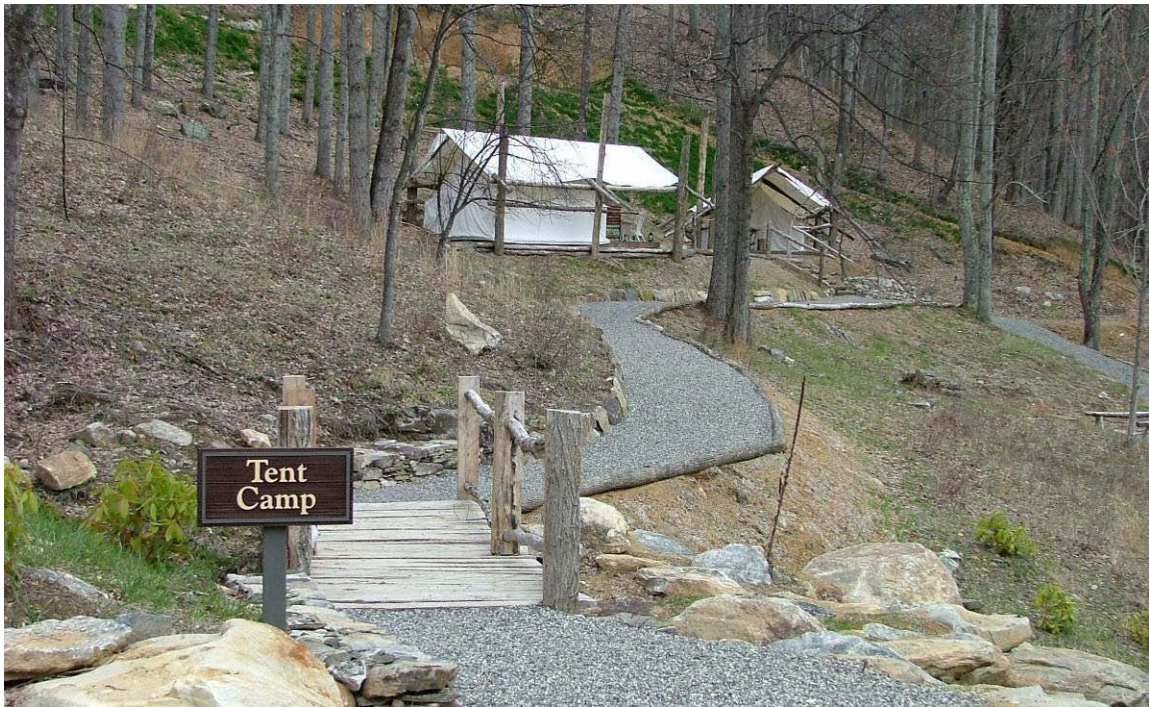Situated in groves of trees adjacent to the roads and shared open space, views from the residences also favor the English and naturalistic landscape aesthetic. The few residences visible on site all reflect traditional and rustic architectural styles. According to the developer, their situation and style followed a concept, illustrating how vernacular dwellings evolve and adapt to changing economic cultural conditions. The theme of the property is the progression of historic to more modern development archetypes (T. Ball, personal communication, March 31, 2009). As visitors cross through the gateway structure, the first building they encounter is a hewn log cabin, which is recycled from its former life as a Methodist chapel. Next, they pass by a hewn log cabin with framed additions, reflecting an "authentic" generational, evolved farmstead. Lastly, visitors encounter the 2008 Southern Living home, a traditional style farmhouse.

While visiting the project, the researcher witnessed the assembly of the 2009 *Southern Living* cottage, a modular home constructed off site in a climate controlled facility. While the home's exterior was unfinished, its relative modest size and traditional styling demonstrate the home is in keeping with the rusticity and traditionalism embodied in not only the other homes in Whisper Mountain, but all other structures including the gate house, community lodge, and landscape structures.

Figure 8.37: "Homestead Cabin" incorporates parts of a 1800s hewn log chapel (Source: Author).

Figure 8.38: "Authentic" generational farmstead (Source: Author).

Figure 8.39: Solar panels and a green roof adorn the 2008 Southern Living farmhouse
(Source: Author).

Recognizable green features and third party credibility are visible in two of the

residences found on site. In the 2008 *Southern Living* green idea house, evidence of both

water conservation and reuse, storm water runoff and reduction, and energy conservation

and production, as well as pollution reduction are visible. These characteristics are

prominently displayed through the use of a green roof on an ancillary portion of the

home's detached garage, as well as through solar panels mounted on the roof.

Environmental education, research, and interpretation are demonstrated through the

learning opportunities afforded to the many visitors who toured through the home while it

was open to the public. An additional green quality represented in the private residences was the minimization of waste through use of site derived and reclaimed materials in construction. According to the developer, much of the stone was locally obtained, while trees removed during the development's road construction were milled to provide timbers. Other logs and limbs were used to construct bridges, pergolas, and handrails. Additionally, two of the homes incorporated old hewn log structures, recycling the materials from these structures into the new residences.

Figure 8.40: Poplar logs cut from the site await milling (Source: Author).

Third party credibility was also visible through the private residences found on site. In addition to the credibility gleaned from the mention of partnering contractors,

builders, and local craftsmen, third party credibility is gained through the display of *Southern Living*, the US Green Building Council, and NC Healthy Built, which both certified the home as green. Mention of these third parties not only bolster the credibility of the developer's green claims, but are also used to educate the visiting public on green construction and its agencies of certification.

Figure 8.41: The 2009 *Southern Living* cottage undergoes assembly (Source: Author).

Interviews

While conducting the site visit, interviews were conducted with the developers, Charlie and Troy Ball; Bill Allison, architect of the Southern Living cottage undergoing construction; Hans Doellgast, general contractor and owner of Jade Mountain Builders; and Tim Watson, of Haven Homes, which prefabricated the home. Participants were asked questions pertaining to their original motivation for involvement in green development, specific green qualities embodied by Whisper Mountain, potential shortcomings and challenges to greenness that the project might also possess, and how the green qualities of the project are communicated to prospective buyers.

Why Green?

When asked why they chose to build Whisper Mountain as a green community, Charlie and Troy Ball cited their past work with the Nature Conservancy in Texas and Montana as integral in shaping their environmental sensibilities. C. Ball (personal communication, March 31, 2009) also noted the dramatic landscape of the site demanded that whatever was designed and constructed be sensitive to existing site features. T. Ball (personal communication, March 31, 2009) noted they strove to "be light on the land," and accomplished this through placing utilities underground, which she stated is rare for developers to do, carefully placing roads on the existing topography, and that green development was a logical extension of this philosophy.

When asked what makes Whisper Mountain greener than comparable but conventionally developed mountain communities, C. Ball cited the preliminary work that occurred on site. He reportedly walked the property, became acquainted with its topography and features, and "listened to the land." Asserting that the key is to "do less," C. Ball explained that lots that were originally approved by Madison County were eliminated from the development plan. This goal was also fulfilled by building fewer homes than are allowed by local development ordinances, preservation of existing vegetation, and minimization of cut and fill all fulfill this goal. At the land planning scale, both T. Ball and C. Ball also cited the project's "ultra low density" and "preservation of open spaces" as integral to its green identity, alleging this approach resulted in less site disturbance (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

Incorporating "wise use," of resources, including reuse of materials harvested from the land, including timber and stone, reusing historic structures and materials, requiring N.C. Healthy Built certification for all homes constructed, protection of hydrology, and aggressive re-vegetation of disturbed soils were also noted by C. Ball as bolstering the project's claim of green development. Environmental educational programming is also conducted with naturalists who visit the site and educate homeowners about local flora and fauna. To educate owners on both environmental and cultural topics, speakers have included topics that incorporate natural and cultural history, touching on subjects such as Ginseng and moonshine. According to C. Ball, the developers wanted a "blank slate" site to develop, so they would not have to work with

existing structures. They purposefully sought out a property that fit this character. C. Ball described the project as a "unified approach" and opportunity to prevent fragmented development, because 13 different parcels were assembled to create the single tract on which Whisper Mountain was built. According to C. Ball, he envisions the development serving as an experimental training ground for different types of green construction techniques, with the long term goal of "net zero" homes, where energy production balances energy consumption (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

In addition to energy efficiency and indoor air quality, T. Watson, of Haven Homes cites the off-site prefabricated construction approach as conducive to green building. Because the home's modular components are assembled indoors, moisture that typically penetrates buildings during conventional on site construction is prevented. T. Watson (personal communication, March 31, 2009) also contends that during its construction, only 3 cubic yards of waste were produced during the off site construction of the 2009 *Southern Living* cottage. In addition to the elimination of significant construction waste, B. Allison noted prefabricated construction reduces driving to the construction site. Through incorporation of natural insulation and recycled materials, energy efficiency, active solar for heating and electrical generation, rainwater catchment systems, and other features, the 2008 *Southern Living* home on site is LEED gold-certified through the U.S. Green Building Council (B. Allison, personal communication, March 31, 2009). In addition to using advanced technology to increase the greenness of the construction, H Doellgast, general contractor and owner of Jade Mountain Builders noted that social aspects of sustainability are also integrated into the construction process,

citing that he pays his crews a living wage, which "disperses the wealth a little bit" (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

Role of Site Context

When asked whether the project's location or surroundings played a role in its green identity, T. Ball declared that the project's green identity is affected just by being in the mountains, citing proximity to public and protected lands, natural features, and cultural amenities would encourage buyers who demand green development as well. However, the site location was viewed by B. Allison as a challenge. As much of his practice involves new urbanist development, B. Allison asserts that because of its intrinsic characteristics of gridded, narrow streets, dense and walkable development patterns, and mixture of different uses, new urbanist development is inherently green. However, he contends a certain amount of this inherent greenness is sacrificed due to the relatively remote location of the development site (B. Allison, personal communication, March 31, 2009). However, he also counters that the site challenges are counterbalanced with protection of ridgelines, careful site selection, minimal grading, use of site derived materials, and other green construction practices.

Collaborating for Green

When inquired about what kind of collaboration contributed to the project's greenness, T. Ball (personal communication, March 31, 2009) noted that the Southern Appalachian Highlands Conservancy is responsible for overseeing the conservation

easement. However, the organization did not contribute to the planning of the development. She added that proceeds from admission charged to the *Southern Living* magazine home will benefit the Conservancy. In addition to the interdisciplinary team of designers, B. Allison (personal communication, March 31, 2009) cited the U.S. Green Building Council, NC Healthy Built, Handmade America, *Southern Living*, and local artisans as additional contributors.

When asked whether these groups aided the project in its public perception, T. Ball asserted that the collaboration and certification indicates the developers' commitment to green development. Additionally, because of the huge press afforded by *Southern Living*, 20,000 visitors got exposure to green construction. As to whether certification and team collaboration contributed to the actual greenness of the project, both C. Ball and T. Ball insisted that even independent of these groups, the project would have been green, regardless (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

When inquired about who has been most supportive/interested in this project because of its greenness, B. Allison, divulged that the *Southern Living* editorial staff originally balked at showcasing a green idea house, because they didn't want to scare their readership. However, visitor response was overall very positive. Allison claims the *Southern Living* idea house was significant because it showed the general public that a home could be both green and traditional in style, shattering the perception of many that green homes are both expensive and ugly (personal communication, March 31, 2009). According to C. Ball, the common theme that brings buyers to Whisper Mountain is the green project characteristics. Buyers tend to be of a like mind set. According to C. Ball,

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buyers do not require education on the green attributes because many are already familiar with its features and value them.

Concerning whether the project received public opposition, C. Ball noted that because Whisper Mountain is located in rural, lightly regulated Madison County, the development practices happened to be performed at a higher level than required by the local planning regulations. T. Ball added that the project did not receive opposition, likely because the developer did not request any variances and made clear they intended to be a "good steward" during the development proposal (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

Next, the developers were asked about how the green brand identity was implemented, both through promotional materials as well as through the built environment. Because C. Ball and T. Ball were actively involved in both the marketing and design of the promotional materials as well as site design, their expertise was deemed to be of particular relevance.

Greenness Communicated through Promotional Materials

When asked about how the promotional materials communicate the community's green identity, C. Ball noted that most of the promotional materials are internet based. Because of this, "there is no slick brochure, and minimal paper consumed." When asked whether he believed the color and materials of the marketing materials affect how consumers perceive the development's environmental quality, C. Ball replied that yes, using tones that communicate earthy, natural, and authentic qualities is important. T.

Ball added that the colors and design of the marketing materials should be appropriate for a green project. Additionally, she expounded that the "clean website," which does not contain excessive information is "uncluttered and reflects the sense of space found on the site." According to T. Ball, the project's green identity is also reflected in its logo design (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

When asked which words best communicate a green identity, C. Ball asserted the importance of not using "big superlatives," adding rather that "the text should be fact based, and philosophy based." T. Ball noted the value of including checklists, and "academic information," and descriptive information such as species of trees and shrubs, communicated through a consistent tone of language.

The developers were also asked about what kinds of images were included in the promotional materials in order to communicate the greenness of the project. Both T. Ball and C. Ball claim the importance of using authentic imagery, noting that most of the images contained in Whisper Mountain's promotional materials are from the property itself. C. Ball asserted the imagery featured on the website are not staged, showing "pretty people around a campfire" but instead show friends, residents, and visitors. T. Ball added, "it's all about the people utilizing all this green space," explaining that photos should reflect the quality of work, attention to natural materials and quality details, and should show people enjoying their surroundings. She added that the green identity of the project is reflected in the Field Guide to Whisper Mountain, which includes information about local flora and fauna (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

Greenness Communicated through the Built Environment

Developers, C. Ball and T. Ball were also asked how the built environment communicated Whisper Mountain's green identity. When asked specifically which features communicate its green status, they noted both technical as well as aesthetic characteristics of the project. Among technical characteristics, C. Ball (personal communication, March 31, 2009) cited the absence of curb and gutter, asphalt paving to reduce maintenance and sediment runoff. He noted that driveways may be gravel unless they are steep, in which case they must be paved.

Both C. Ball and T. Ball listed the community lodge as a representation of the project's green identity. Both noted that because it incorporates reused materials, wood milled on site, and stone from on site, the structure embodies this green identity, while C. Ball added that it uses "sustainable Ironwood from South America, which has a longer lifecycle." According to C. Ball, the aesthetic qualities of the lodge also communicate its greenness, citing its subdued color scheme, lack of shiny materials, reflection of local and historic qualities of the site and area, use of local materials, red barn trim, and views of nature from out of the windows help it blend in with its surroundings (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

The developers also mentioned the community's trail system as a representation of the project's green identity, "because it encourages people to enjoy the beauty of the site." C. Ball also lists the community's shared open space as a reflection of the project's green identity, "because it preserves the flattest and best land," adding the fact that the development was planned with the motto, "Do Less" is reflected throughout the project.

When inquired about what role the natural features play in communicating greenness, C. Ball listed the two year-round creeks as the reason the original reason farmers were attracted to the site, adding they "draw us to them now." Other natural features cited by C. Ball as indicative of the project's greenness included the rocky outcrops, trees, and soil qualities, views Mount Mitchell, while T. Ball added orientation of amenities is based around the creeks, as environmental features (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

According to C. Ball, the project does not currently have formal architectural design standards, although an architectural guidebook is currently in development. He listed four basic archetypes to be allowed in the development. They are: contemporary mountain, arts and crafts, farmhouse, and mountain heritage. While he reportedly sees the possibility of allowing modernist styles, he contends natural materials and subdued color schemes are favored.

When asked how these guidelines promote sustainability, C. Ball noted that all homes constructed in Whisper Mountain are required by the developer to be certified North Carolina Healthy homes. He added, the aesthetics of the building requirements strive to appear grounded, require a style of patina and certain aesthetic quality, meaning "no shiny red roofs" (personal communication, C. Ball, March 31, 2000).

Discussion

According to Doellgast, Asheville is the epicenter of green building in the Southeast. Consequently, public demand for green construction is huge. As "slash and burn development gets bad press," non green is non-marketable in Asheville (personal communication, March 31, 2009). Whisper Mountain offers valuable contrasts with the other cases in the research project, particularly in the relative absence of the active recreational amenities offered by other communities. In contrast, Whisper Mountain's active amenities are limited to hiking and camping. However, its heavy use of nostalgia and historical references to sell greenness is an aspect the community shares with other cases, particularly Balsam Mountain Preserve, Chinquapin, and Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve. Architect, B. Watson explains this as the social nature of sustainability, stressing that sustainability must have a contextual fit, timeless qualities, and social appeal (personal communication, March 31, 2009). Consequently, he asserts that in order for a green community to be successful, it must possess context specific features that make the development appealing to people. B. Allison noted that while his own idea of green development has not changed during his time in architectural practice, he sees Whisper Mountain as an opportunity to change the public's perception of what green development can be. In the cases of Whisper Mountain, its traditional and rustic architectural styling and materials, which appeal to consumers, advance this objective. T. Watson (personal communication, March 31, 2009) hinted at this also, stating that while there are regional differences in green construction, "it is not nearly as cost prohibitive or as ugly as it once was."

Authenticity

A theme that recurred throughout interviews with the developers, architect, and builders, is a reluctance embrace labels. C Ball adamantly stated that the project is not about marketing, but more about "being authentic, loving the land, and respecting it." He stated his reluctance to label the development as green, "because green is ill defined," instead, offering that "it's where conservation meets preservation." He added, if anything, we're trying to distinguish from greenwashing" (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

In terms of providing information on the green features of the homes constructed on Whisper Mountain, its promotional materials do include a wealth of specific and highly technical information not typically found in the promotional materials for other communities studied. And, this same specificity is extended to descriptions of some of the local flora and fauna found on site. However, in descriptions of the green features of the landscape, much of this specific and technically presented information is replaced with descriptions that tilt more heavily toward the sentimental. Examples include descriptions of "listening to the land," accounts of breathtaking views, and aesthetic appeals.

Challenges and Lessons for the Future

A major challenge to the sustainability of Whisper Mountain is its location and decentralized development pattern. As Brad Wyche asserted, the Southern Appalachian Mountains are ill suited for real estate development due to their highly erodible soils,

small streams that are easily clogged by sedimentation, and rich biodiversity (personal communication, February 24, 2009). The property site of Whisper Mountain illustrates the challenges of building in such a setting. Because of the steep setting, many of the roads of Whisper Mountain required considerable grading, which while it was mitigated through erosion control and re-vegetation measures, is inherently unnecessary in less mountainous regions. The dominant view in conservation planning and design advocates the concentration of units into a smaller land area so that greater amounts of land can be preserved. Whisper Mountain does concentrate 73 units on only 270 of its 450 site, even as the property was approved for a larger number of units. However, some might argue these home sites could have been concentrated on a much smaller land area. This principle was alluded to in interviews. B. Allison (personal communication, March 31, 2009) stated that he would concentrate the housing more tightly, which would require a lesser distance of roadway. When asked if she would do anything differently, T. Ball (personal communication, March 31, 2009) also noted the possibility that options that resulted in less disturbance would possibly be considered.

When asked about development challenges, C. Ball stated that he would not label the project, "sustainable," "because we're not there yet, regarding complete net zero or self sufficiency," citing the role of American values and lifestyle expectations as a challenge to truly attain sustainability in terms of balancing inputs and outputs (personal communication, March 31, 2009). However, he also noted, "we have reached a tipping point, where green is appealing. Now, bragging rights are having a small house rather than a large one," adding that "smaller is better." Homes currently constructed range

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from 1,200 to 3,100 square feet. According to C. Ball, he envisions that most houses in Whisper Mountain will be 2,000 square feet or smaller. Currently, the minimum square footage allowed is 1,400, while the maximum is set at 5,000.

B. Allison agreed there has been a consumer value shift, noting that the demand for green construction is fed by public demand, as well as technological advances that have resulted in the recent affordability of green features. Consequently, there are far more options of different products available than before (personal communication, March 31, 2009). However, B. Allison noted the greatest challenge to green development is still the cost. T. Ball (personal communication, March 31, 2009) agreed, stating that the lower density results in less profit for the developer. She explained that every lot eliminated from the master plan results in a loss of between $100,000-300,000 for the developer. However, the project's green agenda been aided by other factors. According to C. Ball, Whisper Mountain has experienced better absorption of sales than other communities, noting the possibility this may be because of the greater exposure brought by the involvement of *Southern Living*.

When asked whether she thought the manner in which development occurs would change in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains, T. Ball (March 31, 2009) responded, "I wish." When inquired on what would stimulate positive changes in development practices, she asserted that better regulation of development in lightly regulated Madison County "would raise the entry barriers" for development, adding that current entry barriers for bad development are relatively low. However, H. Doellgast added, "green is what is making people succeed right now. It makes the difference of

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whether someone buys the home or not" (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

When asked whether he would do anything differently, C. Ball stated that while he initially used a marketing firm, he would have done all the marketing in house, adding "we are selling a dream, vision, and lifestyle rather than selling just the dirt, or piece of land" (personal communication, March 31, 2009).

CHAPTER NINE

SYNTHESIS

Research Questions Addressed

The primary research question addressed in this dissertation asks how producers of residential developments in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains brand their projects as "green." The secondary research question asks to identify challenges to implementing sustainable development in this context.

Through a rigorous review of each case's promotional materials, their "green" brand identities were documented, accomplished through a detailed inventory and analysis of text and image content. Through physical site observation and photographic documentation, the extension of each case's brand identity to the built environment was recorded. Environmental, cultural, and economic challenges to implementing green development were identified through these site observations as well as from interviews with developers, builders, conservation organizations, and others familiar with the selected projects.

This synthesis of findings illuminates the larger trends of how the selected cases are branded as "green" through their promotional materials and the built environment. Additionally, different development characteristics and their contributions to the "green" brand identities are discussed. Finally, challenges to implementing green development in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains are identified.

Key Findings

From evaluation of the promotional materials, general trends in communicating projects' "green" brand identities were illustrated. They include: indirect persuasion and ambiguity in communicating projects' greenness, the secondary nature of "greenness" to other development characteristics, and prevalence of promotional materials' appeals to social values. These include aesthetics, temporal marketing strategies, and anthropocentrism.

Indirectly "Green"

The promotional materials of each case were evaluated for inclusion of recognizable green characteristics in their image and text content. Reflecting environmental, economic, and cultural facets of greenness, these characteristics included a broad range of concerns deemed to be indicative of environmental concern (Thompson and Sorvig, 2000; Balmori and Benoit, 2007; U.S. Green Building Council, 2007; Sustainable Sites Initiative, 2008). They included protection and restoration of existing hydrology; storm water runoff reduction and infiltration; water conservation and reuse; steep slope protection; soil conservation and erosion protection; energy conservation, production, and pollution reduction; on site food production; native vegetation protection; land and wildlife management; as well as social aspects such as environmental education, research, and interpretation.

In recommending how marketing professionals should sell green products, McCall (2004, p.49) states that it is "better to promote the beauty and functionality of the

design first, and attach the environmental good that it does as icing on the cake." Similarly, "green" branded real estate developments were not found to be introduced by explanation of their specific green merits.

With the exception of one case, Whisper Mountain, technical aspects of projects' greenness received minimal detailed description. Direct green claims, represented by inclusion of technical specifications and detailed information concerning environmental effects were found to be the exception. While text and imagery were abundant, ambiguity was favored over detailed descriptions of specific features that constituted the projects' greenness. Instead, a high degree of ambiguity was used when asserting projects' greenness through imagery and text. While each case reflected a green brand identity of varying proportion, it was invariably shrouded in the social, aesthetic, and emotional content of text and imagery. Often, when recognizable green characteristics were discussed, they were mediated through references to and testimonials by third parties.

Indirectly "Green" through Third Parties

While brand trust is often garnered through direct experience, Elliot and Yannapoulou (2007) discuss the role of third parties in bolstering credibility. Employing stories to facilitate consumer relationships with a given product (Twitchell, 2004), third parties are documented as vital to bolstering claims of credibility (Escalas, 2004), leading to an increased level of consumer trust. The examined cases were found to use a broad range of external entities to bolster their credibility and trust among consumers. Third

parties found in the promotional materials may be placed in two categories—those who have credentials in green issues, and those whose primary area of expertise resides elsewhere.

Those with green credentials included land trusts, environmental groups, wildlife conservation groups, and individual naturalists. Others whose credentials are not necessarily in green development included other consumers, celebrity athletes, and popular magazines. While their credibility may be doubted by some, their roles in evoking an emotional response from viewers should not be underestimated.

Indirect claims of greenness are not limited to direct endorsements by third parties directly associated with the given development projects. Just as designers employ "borrowed scenery"—the physical and geographic features located off site as a backdrop for design features—the contexts in which the developments are situated are employed to bolster claims of greenness. In particular, public lands adjacent to or in the general vicinity of the project were frequently cited for their roles in ensuring the "pristine" setting in which the project is developed. Conservation activities by others beyond development boundaries were also sometimes indirectly claimed by developments. Because a governmental entity or private conservation organization preserved land adjacent or nearby, developments are sometimes branded as similarly "preserved," simply due to their close physical proximity to protected lands. While claims of greenness are often made through indirect routes, these claims were found to be often wrapped in ambiguity.

Ambiguously "Green"

As early as the 19th century, British landscape architect Humphrey Repton recognized the power of the image in conveying a particular story about a designed place (Tufte, 1997). The potency of images in influencing attitudes and beliefs (Blair, 1996), effects of prior knowledge and beliefs on individuals' perceptions of images (Berger, 1972), and their ability to create unconscious, unexamined identification are displayed through the extensive use of imagery in communicating developments' brand identities. The majority of promotional materials feature an abundance of nature images—rushing streams, dramatic mountain vistas, quiet hiking paths, and shady coves. Images of built features focus on their rustic materials, appropriate scales, and attention to detail. Images feature people engaged in leisure activities—gazing over a mountainside ablaze in fall color, enjoying dinner with family, or hiking with their spouse.

What causes visual messages to be influential, "is not any argumentative function they may perform, but the unconscious identifications they invoke" (Blair, 1996, p34). The advantages of visual argumentation—its power and suggestiveness—are realized through loss of clarity and precision. The majority of images found in the developments' promotional materials do not contain detailed explanations of their content. In fact, the heavy use of imagery used to communicate the projects' "green" identities were often accompanied by minimal or no text.

When accompanied by text, explanations of imagery through sharp, deliberate, and specific assertions of sustainability were rare. Coinciding with the understanding that persuasion is enhanced through ambiguity (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005), the

promotional materials used terms that have the potential to appeal to a wide array of interpretations. Instead of making direct claims of how given projects are "green," the concept is alluded to through ambiguously fuzzy references to "stewardship," "green," "pristine," "responsibility," and "unspoiled beauty." In these cases, there is no doubt that a green claim is being made. However, they are claims that cannot be definitively measured, often cannot be proven or disproven, and are likely to also be more persuasive. When recognizable green characteristics were reflected, focus was on environmental interpretation and education—social aspects of the community's greenness.

While often accompanied by few words—"ELEVATED Natural. Fulfilling." (The Cliffs Communities, *Elevated*)—in other cases, the text and image content do not pertain to the same subject. While the text may pertain to the greenness of the community, its accompanying imagery focuses on social interaction, such as a family enjoying dinner together. Descriptions of the community's careful building practices and the amount of land set aside are accompanied by a montage of photos depicting a girl gazing into the face of a turtle, a boy casting, and children playing in a stream. When viewed in conjunction with indirect claims expressed through metaphorical headlines, viewers may create a positive argument in their own mind that is custom tailored to their own individual values.

The power of aesthetics in conjuring an image in the consumer's mind is extended to the built environment. Consequently, the development's story is communicated to the buyers through its landscape aesthetic, building styles, and materials. The resulting image is designed to elicit certain emotions. Aesthetically pleasing images whose

messages are positive and imprecise, judicious amounts of text that are ambiguously uplifting, and messages that are vaguely "green" allow viewers to interpret what is shown, fill in the missing information, and craft their own self-tailored arguments for the projects' greenness.

Green as Secondary to Aesthetics

In promotional materials, reporting on specific green features was found to be secondary to developments' aesthetic qualities, represented by the suburban ideal. Images contained in the promotional materials showcase the outdoors. Both wild and cultivated landscapes were shown, with favor to the English and naturalistic landscape aesthetics. When buildings are present, their depiction is most often of their exteriors; when interior are shown, views are often oriented toward the outside. Building characteristics favor rustic and traditional styles, their featured materials being wood, stone, and metal. Through their traditionalism, rusticity, and materials, structure often possess an appearance of aged patina.

This impression conveyed through the promotional materials is exhibited in the built environment. In most cases, the landscape and building characteristics observed on site were consistent with those portrayed in promotional materials. Similarly, symbolism reflected in the imagery is also found in built forms—characterized by use of natural materials, traditional styles, and rustic ornamentation. While this dissertation does not extensively inquire about the degree to which these qualities are simply reflective of

consumers' aesthetic tastes, they may be symbolic of greenness—particularly when considered within the context of minimization of visual impacts and the suburban ideal.

If the promotional materials and built environment are to be considered representative of consumer values and fulfilling of their demands, and the built environment is reflective of cultural values (Lewis, 1979), the suburban ideal is still highly relevant in steering the values and demands of potential buyers. The concept of an idealized suburban existence—its roots stemming from the tastes of Andrew Jackson Downing, Calvert Vaux, and Catharine Beecher—has long been regarded as foundational for contemporary development patterns and aesthetic tastes in America (Jackson, 1985). Andrew Jackson Downing's advocacy of private residences far from the pollution and corruption of the city during the 19th century was combined with an overall rejection of formal landscape aesthetics, in favor of the picturesque, also known as the English landscape aesthetic (Sokol, 1996).

In contrast to the wild landscape then yet uninhabited by European-Americans Downing wrote, "But, when smiling lawns and tasteful cottages begin to embellish a country, we know that order and culture are established" (Elliot, 1995 p.15). The vision of a romantic existence in a shady glen, surrounded by a tended landscape garden sold to Americans in the middle Nineteenth century is not far removed from the image presented in the promotional materials for each of the five cases.

In particular, the English landscape aesthetic is ubiquitous, not only in the promotional materials' imagery, but in the landscape itself. Sunny meadows, smooth manicured lawns, park-like settings shaded by arching tree canopies, and curvilinear

forms are combined with the naturalistic landscape aesthetic. Informal massings of plants, rustic stone walls, and strewn boulders meld the cultivated landscape into the surrounding forest. The English and naturalistic aesthetics embodied within the cultivated landscape envelop traditionally styled, intimately scaled, and rustically finished structures.

If the promotional materials are to be interpreted as representative of their targeted buyers' values, the appeal of Downing's references to "smiling lawns" and "culture established" through the design of places that have been carefully carved out from the surrounding wilderness has proved to be enduring. Consequently, the suburban ideal, combined with its accompanying landscape aesthetic, appears to be highly compatible with consumers' views of green development.

Conflation of Green with Pleasing Aesthetics

Throughout the cases examined, a visually pleasing environment is equated with an ecologically healthy one. Similarly to how image overrides text, the aesthetic qualities of the built environment appear to be conflated with greenness, and in some cases supersede measures of environmental quality. As long as a development feature blends visually, it is deemed to be environmentally friendly. Structures rarely feature recognizably high-tech greenness. Instead, the development regulations of some communities actually place such importance on minimization of visual impacts that they prohibit the prominent display of high-tech features such as solar panels. A high degree of emphasis is placed on the low visual impact of homes and amenities through retention

of preexisting vegetation; preservation of view corridors; as well as the use of natural materials, muted hues, and rustic detailing in structures. Value placed on visual quality also affects popular understandings of environmental health in the landscape (Moore, 2000) (Mozingo, 1997) (Nassauer, 1997).

For example, many people would judge a golf course as more environmentally healthy than a clear cut pine plantation that has recently been replanted with seedlings. Neither landscape is "natural" in the sense that both are impacted by human intervention. One typically has a plethora of pesticides and fertilizers applied. The other contains a plethora of slowly decaying organic matter. One is jagged, bumpy, and has many tripping hazards. One is smooth, soft, and easy to walk barefoot upon. One may be appropriately conceived of as a forest at the beginning stages of growth. The other is deceptively representative of deforestation. One is viewed as "ugly," while the other is judged to be pleasing to the eye. One provides excellent bird habitat. The other provides superb habitat for golfers. And because it is pleasing to gaze upon, agreeable to walk upon, and conducive to human recreation, many perceive that it must also be good for the environment. Persuasiveness of communities' green claims may be attributed to the possibility that these developments are less about greenness, and more about cultural values and the social interactions that will purportedly occur within the community.

Green as Secondary to Social Interactions

The Brundtland Commission's report (1987) identified a triad of social, economic, and environmental facets of sustainable development. During the evaluation

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of promotional materials, this research considered the inclusion of all three facets. Of the three, community's social characteristics received the most attention.

While this study is not an exhaustive evaluation of projects' consideration for environmental sustainability, this facet figures surprisingly little in the branding strategies observed in the five cases. In imagery and text, projects' environmental qualities are often secondary to their promotion of traditional cultural values and mores, emphasis on intergenerational social interaction, and socio-economic status.

Economic aspects of their sustainability would be reflected in the developments' promotion of economic equity, as well as their ability to pay for themselves over a long period of time. However, none of the projects examined would be considered affordable, their affluence illustrated by their real estate prices. Consequently, their attainability for the masses is not reflected their branding strategies. Instead, projects' affluent economic standing was reflected in conjunction with their socially exclusive nature.

Throughout discussions with development representatives, targeted consumers were identified as affluent couples seeking a second home or place in which to retire. Success of these "green" branded communities depends on establishing a connection with consumers who identify with the development's "green" brand identity. Fundamental in identification is a distinction of oneself as separate from others, accomplished through emphasis of differences; accompaniment of value judgments, and perspective that one is not only different, but better.

Identification, Sustainability, and Socio-economic Class

Inherent in identification is a sense of insiders vs. outsiders, us vs. them, and in the context of green branded development: those who consider, value, and respect the environment vs. those who do not. This is visible in the manner in which the cases discuss their competition, indirectly through their promotional materials. Routinely, developments identified themselves as "communities," while competitors' projects were simply referred to as "developments." However, the conversation of delineating and differentiating oneself from the competition inevitably appears to creep toward issues of class. While none of the developments examined could be classified as affordable—their prices out of range of most buyers—issues of socio-economic class were found to transcend the limited range of price points represented by the cases. As one example, Balsam Mountain Preserve presents itself as a contrast to other nearby developments.

"Because Balsam Mountain Preserve is protected by National Forest and geography from much of the less carefully considered development that burdens these mountains, it is indeed a rare find. Fortunately for our friends, though, it isn't a *difficult* find. A simple turn off of a divided highway is all it takes to slip into our woods" (Balsam Mountain Preserve, *Welcome*).

If one were to interpret this statement as metaphorical of society, the obvious implication is that it is a critique of those who are "producers" vs. those who are "burdensome." This narrative routinely shows up on both ends of the political spectrum in discussions of welfare, entitlements, environmental protection, and other government programs and interventions. This statement, while potentially coincidental, may reflect a subtle, indirect plea of identification with the project's targeted consumers, who likely deem themselves as economic producers, rather than burdens. Conversely, it may be a

plea of identification to those who value themselves as champions of societal progress, as opposed to those who would burden and obstruct its path. Class issues associated with green building and sustainability cut further than purely economic status. They also extend toward political, cultural, and philosophical persuasions.

Stewardship is presented as something unfitting for unintelligent, ignorant, uncultured, unsophisticated people. It is an activity for people who are enlightened, educated, progressive, and refined. In short, the message is communicated that green development is not for the ordinary person, the typical suburbanite, or consumer of economically accessible development. Instead, it is for those who have discriminating taste. The concept of exclusivity may be closely related to consumers' self-concepts of defying ordinary consumption in favor of environmentally-conscious identities. Summarily, the differentiation of oneself from others extends beyond economic status to environmental values. As stewardship is an activity reserved for an elite group who are responsible for protecting the environment from the less enlightened; exclusivity and greenness were found to be inextricably tied together in brand identities.

The context in which cases are located also appears to influence means of identification and differentiation. For example, Whisper Mountain is closer to Asheville, North Carolina. Consequently, it may be drawing from a more politically liberal audience than other communities that are located in more politically conservative contexts, such as The Cliffs at Mountain Park. Consequently, approaches by the two communities to identify with their target audiences contrast with each other. Whisper

Mountain utilizes references to the socio-political values of Asheville, descriptions of the arts, and institutions of higher education in the vicinity.

Whisper Mountain's text explains that "some might even say that Asheville is a state of mind, a place to where people seem magically drawn" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *The Area*). The text continues to state that "each year, the city receives awards and recognition for outdoor adventure opportunities, local arts, cuisine, architecture, organic and vegetarian food, historical and environmental preservation, and Southern charm." In contrast, other communities contain more references to exclusivity, golf celebrities, and the social status of their residents. While contextual differences appear to influence how identification and greenness are communicated, differentiation from others was found to be a universal technique.

Nostalgia and Appeals to Traditional Values

During review of promotional materials, developments' employment of temporal marketing strategies was evaluated. Reflected through their orientation toward time, the intrinsically derived temporal marketing strategies included emphases on the past, present, and future. While cases were nuanced in their reflection of time in their promotional materials, the past was heavily reflected through nearly all cases. Through their imagery and accompanying descriptions, the impression presented through the promotional materials and built environment is traditional and nostalgic. While nostalgia is sometimes used as a pejorative term, the choice of the word in this discussion is used

neither pejoratively nor complimentarily. Instead, it is intended to reflect homesickness for positive attributes typically associated in consumers' minds with the past.

According to Berger (1972), advertisements never speak of the present, opting instead for references to the past and future. The nostalgia displayed through imagery and physical forms of the built environment were echoed through the case's temporal marketing strategies. Repeated references to childhood memories, traditional values, simpler times, and wholesomeness were reflected through most cases' promotional materials.

Even when referring to the present and future, the promotional materials still contained traces of nostalgia. In appeals to the present, descriptions of the unique sense of place experienced in the community were inherently nostalgic and traditional in their characteristics and representation. Whisper Mountain's entry "stands on a historical route to Davidson Gap." Its lodge is "fabricated in a way that commemorates the skills of the area's early settlers," and is "hand-hewn from 160-year-old hemlock from an old barn." The community's recently constructed "historic tent camp," "authentic restored log homes," and construction using "heritage wood harvested from an old barn" all appeal to nostalgia (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Amenities, Home, Homes*).

In describing the future, legacies established by the community often were unable to evade nostalgia—as their legacies were often about preserving a fleeting commodity of the past so that future generations might also enjoy and value it. Emphasis on the past in the built environment is useful in demonstrating that "green" development does not necessarily have to look unfamiliar, futuristic, or "ugly."

The promotional materials reviewed in the five selected cases are designed to resonate with the values of their targeted audience. The developments' promotional materials reflected this through their text and imagery. Throughout the imagery and accompanying text, heavy emphasis was placed on social interaction, both with friends and family. Additionally, intergenerational interaction was repeatedly contained in textual references to "family" and images containing a range of ages including early retirees, young adults, and children. References to "grand-dad," "fun filled family programs," and the club's "multi-generational membership plan" all reflect Balsam Mountain Preserve's aim to "encourage inter-generational activities and create family legacies" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). The brochure explains that "the informality of our place combines with amenities that encourage families and neighbors to be together." Wholesomeness, traditional values, and family heritage are also employed. Balsam Mountain Preserve is identified as a community "whose members share traditional values" (Balsam Mountain Preserve, *Welcome*). Chinquapin's setting reportedly offers "its inhabitants views that only the Creator, Himself, could provide" (Chinquapin, "The Setting"). Prospective buyers are encouraged to "enjoy a cup of hot chocolate by the campfire and create memories with your friends or family" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Amenities*). Across cases, nostalgia is heavily reflected through emphasis on traditional values, family orientation, intergenerational interaction, and the past-oriented aesthetic qualities of the built environment which supports them.

Anthropocentrism of "Green" Branded Development

Communities' strong emphasis on social interaction reflects their fundamental purpose: to satisfy the needs of people. However, the anthropocentrism displayed through emphasis on socio-economic exclusivity, intergenerational interaction, and family orientation is not limited to facets of social interaction. It is extended to areas of greenness, particularly through conflation of pleasing aesthetic qualities with environmental health, as well as through environmental rhetoric.

In many of the cases examined, the aesthetic qualities of the project are the primary concern. While mitigation of erosion, protection of streams, and preservation of key habitat were also goals of some projects, communication of these concerns in promotional materials was secondary to the value placed on projects' low visual impact. While the aesthetic qualities of the structures, as well as landscape plans that focus on "preserving beauty" assuage the concerns of environmentally concerned humans, they are of little direct importance to other species. The birds who glean food from the scrubby replanted pine plantation are not focused on its aesthetic qualities. Visual impact is a human concern.

Similarly, mediation of greenness through nature centers and educational programs housed within the communities are reflective of anthropocentric greenness. While these programs do pertain to flora and fauna, it may be argued that the protection of the wildlife and native vegetation is not done simply for its own sake, but for the people who will learn about them. The Balsam Mountain Trust was established "so that homeowners and their guests will be able to learn about and enjoy the community's

amazing and unique biodiversity" (Chaffin/Light Associates, *Welcome*). While wildlife may benefit from these activities, the primary beneficiaries are those who have been entertained and educated through their educational and interpretive activities. Additionally, the environmental rhetoric used to describe the selected projects is reflective of anthropocentrism.

Earlier discussions on environmental rhetoric detail various streams of preservation, integrative, ecological, and deep environmentalism. Each approaches environmentalism from a different understanding— their unique perspectives represented and communicated through distinct rhetoric. Reflected through their words are distinct values and motivators for environmental concern. One of these motivators, anthropocentrism, is encapsulated in the most commonly displayed form of environmental rhetoric—preservation environmentalism. Characterized by a deep concern for the needs and benefits of humans as the central focus of environmental protection, anthropocentrism is most obviously reflected in the five case's frequent references to stewardship and heavy emphasis on aesthetics.

Table 9.1 illustrates that among the five cases, preservation environmentalism was most strongly represented through its associated environmental rhetoric. This perspective of environmentalism was heavily dominant in four out of the five cases. Only one case, The Cliffs at Mountain Park, was most heavily focused elsewhere. Its focus, integrative environmentalism, which attempts to balance human and environmental needs, is largely a result of its emphasis on human health and wellness, an anthropocentric ambition.

The environmental rhetoric used to promote the five cases represents a deliberate attempt to connect with the values of targeted consumers. Use of words such as "stewardship," "preservation" and "natural" reflect developers' and marketing professionals' recognition that consumers of "green" development may be motivated by primarily human concerns. Those who advocate sustainable development in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains may benefit from similarly utilizing anthropocentric appeals.

Table 9.1: Environmental rhetoric across five cases (Source: Author).

Case	Deep	Preservation	Integrative	Ecological
Balsam Mountain Preserve	5 % (5)	**86 %** (80)	2 % (2)	7 % (6)
Chinquapin	30 % (29)	**63 %** (60)	2 % (2)	5 % (5)
The Cliffs at Mountain Park	24 % (14)	31 % (18)	**45 %** (26)	0% (0)
Santeetlah Lakeside Preserve	5 % (5)	**84 %** (77)	8 % (7)	3 % (3)
Whisper Mountain	6 % (1)	**56 %** (9)	0 % (0)	38 % (6)

Issues Raised for Implementation of Green Development

Cases were originally selected for their ability to demonstrate how a "green" project identity is communicated across the diversity of development situations found in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. The array of situations commonly encountered within the development context also pose challenges to implementing actual green development in the context of the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. Through physical site observations and interviews with representatives of the five developments and conservation organizations, cases illuminate some of the issues across a variety of situations.

Most notable among these are, proximity to public lands, inclusion of golf, inclusion of significant waterfront, and variation of development patterns. How these characteristics are capitalized upon—or mitigated—illustrates some of the challenges to green development in the context. Issues raised include varying scales of greenness, the perceptions of public lands and "pristine" nature, ramifications of golf in green development, and the implications of development patterns in the physical environment.

Scales of Greenness

Greenness can be considered at various scales of development. Scales include global and national levels, regional and community planning impact levels, the individual project level, and individual site and structure levels (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) (Odum, 1997) (Marsh, 1998) (McHarg, 1969). The *Brundtland Report* (1987) focused on sustainable development at the global level. A

host of environmental statutes in the United States, such as the National Environmental Policy Act, represent attempts at greenness at the national level. States and regional planning entities tackle environmental issues at the regional scale. Straddling the regional and project levels are ecological planning projects. Most landscape architects work at the project or site level, while architects focus on the individual building scale. While this analysis does not address whether each project is truly green, it did consider the scale at which each community is branded as "green."

Evaluation of the cases revealed that most are branded as "green" at a level limited to the project scale and smaller. Greenness at a global or national level did not receive mention, while regional sustainability also received minimal discussion. In fact, most of the projects do not account for how their individual project will impact the larger context. Brad Wyche, Executive Director of Upstate Forever, a conservation advocacy group, questions the appropriateness of projects that are located in ecologically sensitive areas with a high biodiversity value (personal communication, February 24, 2009). The projects in this study were concerned primarily with the individual building and site level, up to the project level. Rarely do they mention the larger implications at the regional or larger scales. While Balsam Mountain Preserve's promotional materials discusses setting a positive example for development in the region through its nature center, the example it aims to set is not for regional development, but rather for development at the level of the individual site. Chinquapin addresses the regional scale in its promotional materials, with respect to preserving trout habitat, and it also addresses water quality impacts not only on site, but on both sides of the eastern Continental Divide. Santeetlah Lakeside cites the

"pristine" nature of its surrounding region as a contributor to its greenness. All cases exhibit the individual and buildings scales as contributors to their green brand identities, if only for their minimal visual impact on surroundings.

In addition to emphasizing different scales of greenness, the cases' promotional materials focus on different facets of emphasis. For example, Whisper Mountain emphasizes green construction of individual homes, through technical descriptions and explanations of LEED certification and accreditation through other programs such as NC Healthy Built. Balsam Mountain Preserve and Chinquapin both emphasize ecological planning. Specifically, they identified key habitat areas to be avoided by development and preserved. Additionally, Chinquapin uses water quality and protection of trout habitat as a green focus to differentiate itself from its competition. Santeetlah Lakeside, as with all other cases, stresses its low visual impact, equating it with greenness.

Public Lands: Pristine Nature of the Site

In preliminary exploration of the cases, public and other protected lands were routinely mentioned as surrogates of the development in promoting greenness. The variation in the role played by public and other protected lands in the brand identity of "green" projects was deemed to be an important dimension, particularly as many "green" branded projects in rural settings are located near public lands. Projects that are directly adjacent, in the general vicinity, as well as those that are not near public lands were examined for their ability to illustrate contrasts in branding strategies.

National Forest and other public lands appear to figure heavily into projects' green identities. In fact, the analysis of cases revealed a degree of inconsistency in which proximity to public lands is presented between promotional materials, interviews, and observation of the built environment. On occasion, the close proximity, direct adjacency, and bounded nature of public lands are exaggerated. In addition to the relationship to public lands, pristine site contexts were also found to be somewhat overstated. In both cases, the context in which projects are developed figures heavily into their green brand identities. This shows the power that the developers apparently ascribe to proximity to public lands as a desirable amenity, and strong contributor to a project's green brand identity.

In some cases, the development context is "preserved"—not by what the developer has done, but by federal and state governments, by the work of private conservation organizations, or a combination of both. In these cases, the project's green identity is heavily affected by the sheer fact that its surroundings are protected. Consequently, the development itself is presented as "green" simply because of its surroundings.

Similarly, the high environmental quality of existing greenfield sites are often touted as bolstering the environmental sustainability of the projects themselves. This is in direct contradiction to prevailing views among planners that judge infill and redevelopment sites as greener (Sustainable Sites Initiative, 2008; U.S. Green Building Council). For example, under its descriptions of home sites, Whisper Mountain's website claims, "whether you are looking for the most sensitive habitat or the sounds of a

tumbling stream, you will find it all at Whisper Mountain" (Whisper Mountain, 2008, *Homesites*). Others advertise the adjacency of large public lands, the excellent water quality of the sites, and wildlife habitat value.

There seems to be a perception that if the project is constructed on a site of high environmental quality, meaning one that is "pristine," contains "sensitive habitat" or is adjacent to protected lands, then the development added to the site is naturally green, because of these site qualities. While one of the cases was a redevelopment of a previously built upon site, the recycled nature of the site was never mentioned as a bonus to the project's green identity. In another case, the developer stated that he purposely sought out a site that had not been built upon, to simplify the development process, and eliminate the challenge of having to integrate existing buildings with new development.

From a planning and design perspective, areas containing pristine wilderness, fragile ecosystems, and key species habitat are considered avoidances rather than attractions for new development (McHarg, 1969) (Marsh, 1998) (Howe, et.al, 1997). In fact, most ecologically based land suitability analyses are based on the view that disturbance of and building in close proximity to sensitive site features reduces the overall sustainability/greenness of the projects. Paradoxically, the things that would disqualify the site for large scale residential development—their pristine quality, habitat sensitivity and overall fragility—are used to brand development projects as "green."

However, the developers of these sites might argue that if they hadn't developed these sites, they likely would have succumbed to development at the hand of a less environmentally-sensitive developer. The argument could be made that the upscale

developments built on these rural sites—while second best to strict preservation—represent a better alternative to a scenario in which the sites are covered with inexpensive homes with little or no consideration to visual and environmental impacts.

While sensitive areas might not be conserved by less responsible development, "green" development that includes building in close proximity to fragile site features and placing hundreds of residents in a previously sparsely populated area far from services is likely to elicit some skepticism. In spite of this, the message contained in several cases' promotional materials is that development located on an unspoiled site is greener and more pristine than its competition.

Development Patterns, Lot Sizes, and Density

Many green developments boast about the amount of land preserved or set aside by their projects. However, the nature of this protected land is inextricably tied to development pattern. Development can be concentrated, clustered, and consolidated into smaller areas, leaving monolithic preservation land that are unpenetrated by roads, utilities, and substantial human activity. Conversely, development can be dispersed over the majority of the project site, mixed with preservation lands in between. While an unconsolidated pattern requires infrastructure to service far flung residences, it may also fragment wildlife habitat on site (Odum, 1997). Where development is dispersed, with open spaces interspersed between individual lots, the issue becomes one of ownership of open space: community or private individual. Through covenants and design guidelines, site disturbance can be limited to a modestly sized building envelope within a building

lot. Outside of the building envelope, site disturbance is limited and fences are largely prohibited. Consequently, when modestly sized building lots are dispersed across a site, individually embedded in preservation lands, the physical effect is largely the same as if lots were larger, but under the same restrictions. Figure 9.2 features a portion of Balsam Mountain Preserve's site plan. Individual lots are shown in tan. Note that the entire lot cannot be disturbed— only a small portion within each lot can be cleared and built upon. Lands protected under conservation easement are indicated in green. The plan shows a scenario of dispersed development interspersed with community-held preservation lands.

Superimposed on this situation, is an alternative development scenario—one that on paper is much different, but results in the same physical built environment. The alternative scenario is one in which the individual building lots remain in their original positions, dispersed across the site. However, property lines have been adjusted so that individual lots are much larger than before, replacing community owned preservation lands. While this appears to be vastly different than the original development scenario, the physical result is identical. Because protective covenants limit site disturbance to the building envelope as before, the amount and placement of land "protected" from disturbance is the same as before. Because covenants prohibit property owners from erecting fences along the perimeter of their properties, wildlife is not impeded. The distinction between the two is not the amount or placement of lands set aside from development, but ownership of these lands.

While both scenarios achieve the same physical effect, a question remains about whether the latter alternative—protected but individually and privately owned—would

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compromise the ability of developers to brand a development as "green." In its current scenario, the developer can claim that 3,000 acres have been "protected" from development. However, while the alternative scenario in which all "protected" land is privately owned results in no discernable physical differences, it may not be as effective in branding the project as "green."

Figure 9.1: Individual vs. shared open space
(Source: Balsam Mountain Preserve, Author).

In nearly every case examined, high density was characterized as the enemy of greenness. At build out, Chinquapin will have only 1 unit per 10 acres. Balsam Mountain Preserve will have 1 unit for every 12.4 acres. Whisper Mountain will have a density of 1 unit for every 5 acres. Because The Cliffs Communities has not disclosed its ultimate build out for Mountain Park, its density is unknown. Only one case exhibited a high density; Santeetlah Lakeside's projected 32 homes over 10 acres result in a density

of 1 unit per 0.3 acre. However, its high density did not appear to factor into the project's green brand identity. The project's status as an infill development on a previously developed site was also not used to brand the community as "green." Instead, these facts were downplayed in the promotional materials, which instead represented Santeetlah Lakeside as the only development in a pristine setting, completely surrounded by National Forest.

Figure 9.2: Santeetlah Lakeside's site, indicated in red, is adjacent to residential and commercial development (Source: Google Earth, 2009).

Golf Course Challenges

Inclusion of golf was selected as an important contrast due to the detrimental affects routinely alleged against golf courses. In particular, the role of pesticides, chemical fertilizers, increased storm water runoff, and replacement of native wildlife habitat with an intensively maintained landscape that offers little biodiversity are among the concerns commonly leveled against golf courses. Consequently, an examination of "green" branded projects that include golf courses vs. those that purposefully exclude them from their design programs was anticipated to reveal substantial contrasts in the branding strategies of "green" development. Two cases, Chinquapin and Balsam Mountain Preserve, include golf courses. If and how the golf courses contribute to the "green" brand identity of the projects were explored.

Chinquapin seems to mitigate the damage commonly attributed to golf courses, partly through the smaller size of its 9-hole course, which consumes less land than 18-holes. Also, the course was placed on one of the more level areas of the property, which minimized grading necessary on a mountainside site. Consequently, the project's former property owners state that environmental damage done to the site through construction of this typically high impact amenity was minimized (B. Carlton and P. Carlton, personal communication, May 18, 2009). They also cited its maintenance and irrigation programs and runoff monitoring as key in minimizing water pollution. Chinquapin's former property owners acknowledged the golf course's potential negative impacts. However, through its design, as well as proactive management, they stated that these impacts can be minimized. As a smaller scale, walkable course, dubbed "Nature's Walk," Chinquapin's

"green" brand identity appears to be extended to this recreational amenity. Consequently, the development's green brand identity seems to be at the very least, not undermined by the course's inclusion. It may even be enhanced through emphasis on the connection to nature experienced by those who play on the course. From review of promotional materials, observation of the physical site, and interviews with the former property owners, the course does not appear to detract from Chinquapin's green brand identity.

Balsam Mountain Preserve's course is a contrast to Chinquapin's, due to its larger size, placement, and contribution to the community's brand identity. A substantial portion of Balsam Mountain Preserve's 18-hole course is located on very steep terrain. Combined with its larger size, the placement of the course required substantial land clearing and grading on steep slopes. When asked, development representatives were hesitant to state that the course positively contributes to the Balsam Mountain Preserve's green brand identity (B. Loder, personal communication, May 11, 2009).

However, GreenGolfCommunities.net—which rates golf course communities for greenness—has bestowed the development with their highest level, "Vanguard." "Vanguard level properties on GreenGolfCommunities.net are driven to innovate and take the lead in environmental activism. These early adapters pioneer green efforts and aggressively seek out new ways to be environmentally progressive" (GolfCourseHome®, *Green Golf Communities*). To confound the issue of the golf course as contributor to the project's "green" brand identity, wrangling over issues with the course have been chronicled in a series of newspaper articles.

Following the collapse of an earthen dam on Balsam Mountain Preserve's golf course, sedimentation "depleted aquatic ecosystems for miles downstream" and "led to massive die-offs of fish and aquatic insects, according to the Division of Water Quality, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and N.C. Wildlife Resources Commission" (Johnson, 2008, May 14). The Jackson County Sedimentation and Erosion Control Office originally fined the development $300,000 for violating the County's sediment and erosion control ordinance (Garlesky, 2008, April 23). However, the fine was reduced to $150,000 during negotiations. Balsam Mountain Preserve was also fined $10,000 by the N.C. Division of Water Quality, in addition to $1,693 for enforcement costs for actions prior to the irrigation pond's dam collapse, "namely runoff from hillsides left barren and exposed for months on end during the golf course construction, according to the citations" (Johnson, 2008, May 14).

Figure 9.3: Construction of Balsam Mountain Preserve's golf course captured by Google Earth (Source: Google Earth, 2009).

While the development has proposed once again damming the creek for a new irrigation pond, obtaining the permit from the Army Corp of Engineers could prove challenging. Because of the first dam's collapse, "'[e]vidence of the severe impact of the dam failure can still be seen today in the sediment deposits that remain in sections throughout Scotts Creek,' according to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife biologist Brian Thompkins" (Johnson, 2008, May 21). The development's "failure to comply with the environmental terms and conditions laid out in an initial Army Corps permit for the dam granted in 2002" and other site modifications poses an additional challenge (Johnson, 2008, May 21). The development built the dam in a different place than it initially said it

would. Additionally, "The golf course alone filled in nearly half a mile of streams. But as with the dam, this was done in different places and a different manner than the permit called for—again due to a revised master plan" (Johnson, 2008, May 21). According to Lori Beckwith, an engineer with the Army Corps of Engineers, the developer failed to check with the Corps before deviating from their original permit. Consequently, the developer must obtain retro-active permission from the Army Corps for existing site conditions. According to the Smoky Mountain News, "both U.S. Fish and Wildlife and the N.C. Wildlife Resources Commission are opposing the new permit" (Johnson, 2008, May 21). "'We believe that BMP has exacerbated the impacts to aquatic resources by their lack of compliance and has discharged excessive amounts of sediment into area streams, resulting in severely impacted water quality, the loss of aquatic species, and degraded aquatic habitats,' Fish and Wildlife wrote in a formal objection to the permit" (Johnson, 2008, May 21).

While recognition as a vanguard of green golf community development by one organization bolsters its "green" credentials, documented concerns with its golf course raise the issue of whether or not inclusion of golf has positively contributed to its "green" brand identity. If interviews had been available with the project's developer, Jim Chaffin, these issues would have been explored further.

According to County Officer Robbie Shelton, "'you can't build a golf course without having problems, not in the mountains'" (Johnson, 2007, July 4). Whether the alleged issues of mountain golf course development in the rural Appalachian Mountains

are adequately mitigated by "green golf research" and "green development" initiatives will likely provide opportunities for future research.

The Rhetorical Situation as Context

The late U.S. Speaker of the House, "Tip" O'Neill Jr. famously stated that "all politics is local" (O'Neill, 1994). Similarly to political realities, the manner in which the selected cases are branded as "green" is determined by their context within the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. "Green" branded real estate development in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains occurs within particular social, political, and economic constraints. As the promotional materials may be considered a work of rhetoric, their purpose is to persuade an audience of the community's greenness, leading to a purchase decision.

Bitzer (1968) states that there are three constituents of any rhetorical situation: the exigence, audience, and constraints. In "green" branded development, the exigence, described as a problem that cannot be left unaddressed, may be thought of as the need to sell real estate. Conversely, it could also include fears of environmental catastrophe in the minds of consumers, exacerbated by development that does not respect the environment. The rhetorical situation's audience is comprised of targeted consumers; its constraints are composed of people, events, objects, and relationships that have the power to constrain decisions and actions of the audience. They include beliefs, attitudes, facts, traditions, documents, images, motives, and interests.

For the selected cases, constraints define the context within which "green" branded development occurs. This context influences how the message is framed and communicated. Specifically, dichotomies between social stability and influx, economic poverty and affluence, environmental threats and protection, and social conservatism and progressiveness shape the context and method in which "green" real estate development is branded in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains.

The selected cases represent how real estate development is branded as "green" in a particular context, constrained by local geographic, environmental, economic, and social conditions. Naturally, the promotional materials of the selected cases are a reflection of the socio-political values of their targeted consumers.

Despite a large influx of new residents, the Southern Appalachian Mountains are still widely regarded as traditionally minded. Consequently, the marketing strategy of emphasizing family, intergenerational interaction, and nostalgia reflects the socio-political climate of western North Carolina and the upstate of South Carolina. Much of what is used to market these communities as "green" are traditional values, nostalgia, continuity of tradition, and family legacy. Just as the branding approach in a politically and socially liberal locale may not resonate with consumers in the South, the mores and values used to brand communities as "green" may not be applicable to other contexts. The means of conveying a "green" identity may not be the same when attempting to appeal to a different audience under a separate set of constraints.

In a different context, contrasting social interactions and values might be used to identify with targeted consumers. Nostalgia and traditional social values might be

shunned while progressive outlooks toward an unfamiliar and liberated future may be embraced. Promotional materials' use of exclusivity might be replaced with egalitarianism. The third parties used to indirectly bolster "green" claims may be different if appealing to a different demographic group. In a different context—possibly an urban environment or non-mountainous region, the desirable amenity may be something other than large holdings of public lands. In a context in which different aesthetic qualities are valued, the aesthetic appeals used to brand communities as "green" may be different than those used in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. Exploration of "green" branded development in a context distinct from the environmental, social, and economic constraints of the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains constitutes a potential wealth of future research.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

Limitations

Cases contained in this research study were selected based on their potential to reflect the various development types and constraints found in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. They represent communities with and without golf courses. Projects built upon significant waterfront, as well as those that feature only minimal streams were included. Project sizes range from just 10 acres, to 5,000 acres. Some projects are directly adjacent to public lands, others are in the vicinity, and some are not. Some were developed in cooperation with conservation organizations, while some were developed independently of these credibility enhancing groups.

In spite of this variation of development types and characteristics, the research does contain limitations. Foremost, the five cases examined represent a limited number of developments—and consequently provide a limited representation of development in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. In spite of reflecting a diverse range across these contrasting dimensions, the five cases do not in any way exhaustively reflect all nuances found in real estate developments in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. Additionally, in order to comprehensively reflect all subtle differences among various types of developments, a greater number of cases would be required.

The research process undertaken for the five cases uses a rigorous and replicable methodology. While largely replicable, the research findings cannot be generalized across other geographical, environmental, economic, or cultural contexts. Consequently,

research findings would likely yield different results if applied in an environmentally, economically, or culturally dissimilar context.

During case selection, price was included as a secondary contrast. While the cases included in this research study represent a variation of price points, their range of variation is skewed. During recognizance of potential cases, no affordable "green" branded projects were discovered. Because the selected cases are not representative of average housing prices, the research results are not necessarily applicable to more affordable real estate developments.

Lastly, the exploration of challenges to implementing green development in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains is strictly exploratory. The process does not represent a meticulous, exhaustive, or comprehensive analysis of all challenges. Neither are the results of this undertaking reflective of all challenges faced in implementation of green development. Due to their exploratory nature, the identification of challenges is meant to serve as a springboard for future research activities in this area.

Significance:

In spite of its limitations, this research is significant for the study green branding of real estate development, analysis of the built environment, and study of community growth and change in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. Through the methodology established, the data collected, and interpretations synthesized, significance for future research as well as practical applications is anticipated.

During the inventory and analysis of text and imagery in the developments' promotional materials, an existing methodological framework was not available. Consequently, assembly of intrinsically and extrinsically derived characteristic categories, creation of spreadsheets, collection of data, and interpretation of content was developed during the research process. The systematic method of analysis has the potential to show how the branding process works in a specific context. This detailed methodology provides a framework that can be used for analyzing other types of branded development in across other contexts, including their imagery, text, and the built environment. Through the process and findings of this research, a foundation for future research and outreach activities is provided.

Practical Applications

Planners, designers, and academics often express consternation at how environmental policies and green building practices are received—particularly in rural areas where policies have sometimes resulted in unintended economic consequences. If the manner in which these "green" projects are branded constitutes a reasonable impression of consumer values, then the five cases may offer insights on how sustainable development practices may be presented to the general public in a manner that is more palatable. Specifically, if green development practices are to be proposed in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains, the framing utilized by these cases offers some insights of how to sell it to the buying public.

For example, recreational amenities used to brand developments as "green" tend to require lower capital costs than some more intensive and conventional amenities. Hiking trails, naturalistic recreation areas, and wildlife habitat areas are far less expensive and labor intensive to build and maintain than golf courses or manicured parks. Additionally, developments that are a part of larger networks are able to share amenities, rather than each individual development supplying its own golf course, fitness center, and clubhouse. Sharing amenity privileges among different projects also eliminates redundancy— and environmental impact of large golf courses. This potential was displayed at some level in The Cliffs at Mountain Park, Balsam Mountain Preserve, Chinquapin, and Santeetlah Lakeside.

However, if the manner in which the examined cases are branded is a reliable indicator of consumer values, the most relevant way of selling sustainability is to emphasize its social aspects. Particularly, the context and values of the targeted audience are paramount. While consumers' value should be reflected in appeals, for ultimate acceptance, they should also be reflected in the built environment. In the context of the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains, the cultural values of its inhabitants should be reflected in the manner in which sustainable development is framed. In this context, nostalgia, traditional values, and emphasis on family can be used to promote sustainability.

Benefits to families, promotion of intergenerational interaction, and ensuring a positive legacy can all be used to articulate that greenness can benefit not only wildlife, but also people. Emphasis on the human benefits—anthropocentrism—has the potential

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to tangibly impact the adoption of policies that also have environmental benefits. In short, planners and designers should show that people do not have to abandon all of their aesthetic and social values in order to be green, but that sustainable development can preserve the environment in which these values originate.

All of the cases examined display buildings that prominently features traditional and rustic styling, and natural materials. Their aesthetic qualities may be of a lower visual impact than other styles and material compositions. However, these cases usefully display that "green" development does not necessarily need to be esoteric, futuristic, or stark. Green development can be implemented in a manner that is traditional, rustic, and familiar to its targeted consumer group. Consequently, reflection of traditional and vernacular styles indicative of the region may be more positively received in the rural Southern Appalachian Mountains. Through appealing to defined audience values, sustainable development can be more palatably proposed, received, and implemented.

Future Research

Areas of future research fit within the triad of sustainability and its environmental, economic, and social facets. In the realm of environmental analysis, this research sets the stage for future research that compares the image presented through promotional materials with the actual environmental quality of their corresponding built environments. Through future research endeavors, differences between the substance and symbolism of sustainable development should be determined.

During the execution of this research study, one of the most drastic economic meltdowns occurred. At the core of this catastrophe were the real estate bubble, subsequent burst, and mortgage crash. This may alter the context in which luxury and second home real estate development occurs, and research could be conducted to assess these changes. Additionally, the success of "green" branding strategies may be measured by the financial success of projects. A study at a later date may be able to assess the success of the branding strategies through a survey of lots sold, homes constructed, and interviews directed at the issue of financial return.

Many opportunities exist for future research on the social aspects of sustainability. All cases examined in this research study exhibit a strong propensity for traditional and rustic aesthetic qualities. Future research could compare projects that are branded through nostalgia vs. other temporal marketing strategies. The role of aesthetics in other social and geographic contexts is ripe for exploration. Future research could explore whether there are differences in the branding of "green" development in different contexts. These could include rural vs. urban settings, mountainous vs. coastal settings, and temperate vs. desert settings.

Additionally, the evolution of "green" branded real estate development over time offers fertile ground for future research. As the phenomenon of branding is profoundly shaped by consumers' perceptions, features that are emphasized in the brand identity may change over time, depending on shifting environmental and economic conditions, and their effect on consumer perceptions and values. Future research offers the potential to

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track changes in "green" branding over time. This study establishes a baseline for the study of similar projects in the years and decades ahead.

Summary

The majority of research in "green" development focuses on defining "green" within a particular context, through listing the characteristics and criteria a project should possess in order to be considered "green." This research has explored the same topic, but from a different angle. Rather than defining what qualities green development should possess, it attempts to illustrate how "green development" is branded as such—through appeals to environmental, social, and economic values within the constraints of a particular context. This research has resulted in a replicable methodology that can be applied in future research, has documented how a "green" brand identity is conveyed, identified challenges to implementing green development, and yielded strategies for how projects that are actually sustainability can be presented in a way that is resonating, acceptable, and culturally appealing within a particular context.

Widespread disagreement and confusion plague the quest for an operational definition of "green" that transcends the environmental, economic, and social constraints of variant contexts. In particular, which qualities are nonnegotiable, which tradeoffs are inevitable, and how they should be applied across different contexts are likely to yield abundant animated discussions. A universal definition that transcends context, development type, and beholder is not likely to be arrived at in the near future.

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